A Note on Rock Paintings Recently Discovered near Ipoh, Perak, Federation of Malaya
(with Plates A and B and four text figures)
J. M. Matthews

Environmental Modification of Mammalian Morphology
Dr. G. Ainsworth Harrison

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute
Current Research into British Community Life

Shorter Notes
Canute and the Waves
Lord Raglan

A Note on the ‘Poor Kayak’ of the Western Labrador Eskimo
(with a text figure)
Asen Balikci

Correspondence
Reviews

General: Asia: Europe

Published by
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

Annual Subscription 30s.
CONTENTS

The numbers refer not to pages but to articles, by which references are normally made to matter published in MAN.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

A Note on Rock Paintings Recently Discovered near Ipoh, Perak, Federation of Malaya. J. M. MATTHEWS. With Plates A and B and four text figures ........................................ 1

Environmental Modification of Mammalian Morphology. Dr. G. A. HARRISON .................................................. 2

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

Current Research into British Community Life. Communicated by J. G. Jenkins ......................................................... 3

SHORTER NOTES

Canute and the Waves. LORD RAGLAN ........................................................................................................ 4

A Note on the ‘Poor Kayak' of the Western Labrador Eskimo. A. BALIKCI. With a text figure ..................................................... 5

CORRESPONDENCE

Descent, Filiation and Affinity. Dr. E. R. LEACH ........................................................................................... 6

The Ch’iang. DR. D. C. GRAHAM .............................................................................................................. 7

Maize Impressions on Ancient Nigerian Pottery. F. WILLET .............................................................. 8

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Pâleontologie humaine. By J. Piveteau. Dr. E. H. ASHTON ........................................................................... 9

Human Groups. By W. J. H. Sprott. DR. M. JAHODA ............................................................................. 10

From Ape to Angel. By M. R. Hayes. D. MAYBURY-LEWIS ........................................................................ 11

Man's Way: A Preface to the Understanding of Human Society. By W. Goldschmidt. LORD RAGLAN ................. 12

A History of Science: Hellenistic Science and Culture in the Last Three Centuries B.C. By G. Sarton. PROFESSOR H. J. ROSE ............................................................... 13


Orto y Ocaso del Feminismo. By C. Colmeiro-Laforet. C. LISON-TOLOSAÑA .................................................. 15

Reasons and Faiths. By N. Smart. THE REV. DR. D. W. GUNDY ........................................................... 16

Reader in Comparative Religion. Compiled by W. A. Lesz and E. Z. Vogt. THE REV. DR. D. W. GUNDY ........... 17

Archaeometry. Vol. II. Edited by E. T. Hall. H. W. M. HODGES .............................................................. 18

ASIA

Children of the Kibbutz. By M. E. Spiro. P. S. COHEN .................................................................................. 19


Kurds, Turks and Arabs. By C. J. Edmonds. DR. P. STIRLING ........................................................................ 21


Myths of the North-East Frontier of India. By V. Elwin. PROFESSOR J. H. HUTTON, C.I.E. .................. 23

EUROPE

Koltan- ja kuolanlapin sanakirja (Wörterbuch des Kolta- und Kolalappischen), Vols. I and II. By T. I. ikkonen. DR. B. WICKMAN ................................................................. 24

Lapparnas Heliga Ställen. By E. Manaker. R. PAINE .................................................................................... 25

Narre Fjand. By G. Hatt. J. EAMES ............................................................................................................. 26

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

President: Miss Audrey I. Richards, M.A., Ph.D.

Hon. Secretary: Marian W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D.  Hon. Treasurer: Sir George Beresford-Stooke, K.C.M.G.

Hon. Editor of the JOURNAL: G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc.  Hon. Editor of MAN: W. B. Fagg, M.A.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS OF THE INSTITUTE

7 April  Early Relations between English Anthropologists and Psychologists. PROFESSOR T. H. PEER

5 May  Studies of Growth and Physique in some African Populations. DR. D. F. B. ROBERTS, M.A., D.Phil.

26 May  Man and Cattle, final session of a Symposium on Domestication

2 June  Interpretation. ERNEST GELLNER, M.A.

23 June  Recent Field Work on Aboriginal Australians (illus. by films). PROFESSOR A. A. ABBE, M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.A.C.P.

30 June  Annual General Meeting. DR. AUDREY I. RICHARDS, M.A., Ph.D., Presidential Address.
LIST OF AUTHORS

The article numbers to which an asterisk is added are those of book reviews.

AALTO, Dr. P., 202*
ABBOTT, D. N., 89*
ADAM, THE Late Dr. L., 34
AITKEN, Mrs. B. W., 46*
ALLARD, Dr. E., 191*
ALCHIN, Dr. B., 135*, 196, 239*
ALCHIN, Dr. F. R., 110*
ALLEN, I. M., 120
ALLISON, Dr. A. C., 58*, 59*
ALPORT, Dr. E. A., 104*
ANATI, Dr. E., 145
ARDENER, E. W., 67*
ARELLI, Dr. A. J., 52
ARMSTRONG, Dr. T. E., 136*
ARNOTT, D. W., 185*
ASA, T., 99
ASHTON, Dr. E. H., 9*
BAILEY, Dr. F. G., 251*
BAKÉ, Dr. A. A., 112*
BALICKI, A., 5
BARNEY, Professor J. A., 40*
BARTLETT, Sir FREDERICK, F.R.S., 79*
BAWDEN, Dr. C. R., 132*
BAXTER, Dr. P. W., 240*, 242*
BERESFORD-STOOKES, Sir GEORGE, K.C.M.G., 105*
BÉTÉILLE, A., 233
BRAUNHOLTZ, H. J., C.B.E., 229
BROKE, W. C., 190*, 200*, 203*, 254*
BROTHELL, D. R., 65*
BUSHNELL, Dr. G. H. S., 163*
CARR, H. G., 137
CASSAR, Dr. P., 235
CATON-THOMPSON, Dr. G., F.B.A., 72
CEDER, E. B., 109*
CHANCE, Dr. M. R. A., 179
CHIA, I., 182
CHRISTIE, A. H., 208*, 209*
COGHLAN, H. H., 230
COHEN, P. S., 19*, 20*
CRANSTONE, B. A. L., 69*, 116*, 177*, 227*
CROSSE-UPCOTT, A. R. W., 98
DOUGLAS, Dr. M. M., 220*
DUMONT, Dr. L., 125
EAMES, J., 26*
EMMET, Professor D., 80*
EMORY, Dr. K. P., 49*
ETTINGER, Mrs. E., 92*, 164*
EVANS-PRITCHARD, Professor E. E., F.B.A., 141, 213, 236, 243*
FAGG, B. E. B., 155
FAGG, W. B., 155
FIELD, Dr. H., 30, 187*, 214
FIRTH, Professor R. W., F.B.A., 27, 225*
FLEURE, Professor H. J., F.R.S., 43*, 96, 174*, 201*, 203*
FOGG, W., 44*, 221*
FORSYTH, J. A. W., 154*
FORTUNE, Dr. R. F., 146
FRANKENBERG, Dr. R., 252*
FRASER, Dr. D., 94
FREEDMAN, Dr. M., 83*, 119, 167*
FÜBER-HAINDORF, Professor C. von, 48*, 212, 218*, 250*
FUSSELL, G. E., 144
GABRIG, Professor P., 127*
GARLICK, J. P., 108*
GATES, Professor R. R., F.R.S., 71
GILLIAND, W. M., 158
GLUCKMAN, Professor H. M., 139*
GOODY, Dr. J. R., 55
GORDON, Lt.-Col. D. H., 22*
GRAHAM, Dr. D. C., 7
GRANT, M. W., 41*
GUNDY, THE REV'd. Dr. D. W., 16*, 17*
HAGUE, D. B., 126
HARDYING, Miss J. R., 180
HARRISON, Dr. G. A., 2
HATT, THE Late Professor G., 113*
HODGES, H. W. M., 18*
HODSON, F. R., 138*
HOVYKAAS, Dr. C., 231
HOTOPP, W. H. N., 128*
HUNTINGFORD, G. W. B., 166*, 184*
HUTTON, Professor J. H., C.I.E., 23*, 121, 206*, 207*, 249*
JACOBS, A. H., 66*
JAHN, Dr. J., 102*
JAHODA, Dr. M., 10*
JAMES, Professor E. O., 198*
JEFFREYS, Drs. M. D. W., 77
JENKINS, J. G., 3, 171*
JENKINS, Mrs. J. L., 178
JOEL, C. E., 36
JONES, G. I., 222*
KENNEDY, R. A., 78
KIRK-GREENE, A. H. M., 149*
KOLMAS, Dr. J., 194
KOOPMAN, Dr. S., 211, 224*, 226*
KUP, Dr. A. P., 131*, 156
LACAILLE, A. D., 143
LAYARD, Dr. J. W., 76
LEACH, Dr. E. R., 6, 217*, 237*
LEHMANN, Dr. H., 57*, 195
LEWIS, I. M., 38*
LEON-TOLOSANA, C., 15*
LISOWSKI, Dr. F. P., 31, 74
LITTLE, Dr. K. L., 219*, 234
LOEWENSTEIN, Prince JOHN, 189*
LOMMEL, Dr. A., 176*
MACBEATH, Professor A., 81*
McCORMACK, W., 137*, 153*
MACRae, D. G., 63*
MAIR, Dr. L. P., 150*
MAJURDI, THE Late Professor D. N., 117*
MANN, S. E., 53, 197
MASON, P., 173*
MATTHEWS, J. M., 1
MAUNY, Dr. R., 107*
MAYBURY-LEWIS, D., 11*, 45*, 90*
MAYER, Dr. A. C., 138*
MENDELSON, Dr. E. M., 246*
MIDDLETON, Dr. J. F. M., 39*, 232
MILLER, D., 114*, 162*
MOUNTFORD, C. P., 118, 192
MURRAY, Dr. M. A., 238*
NEEDHAM, Dr. R., 168*
NEWELL, Dr. W. H., 186*
NICHOLS, Miss J., 195
OAKLEY, Dr. K. P., F.B.A., 122
PAINE, R., 25*
PARK, G. K., 103*
PATTENSON, Miss S., 129*
PÁULME-SCHAFFNER, Mme. D., 161*
PENNMAN, T. K., 120
PETTER, H.R.H. PRINCE OF GREECE AND DENMARK, 131*
POCOCK, Dr. D. E., 183
POUCHA, Dr. P., 194
POWERS, Miss R., 123
ROBERTS, Dr. D. F., 60*, 111*, 169*
ROBS, R. H., 64*
ROBINSON, Professor J. T., 75
ROSE, Professor H. J., 13*, 14*, 204*
ROSENFIELD, Dr. H., 95
RUET, M. J., 241*, 244*
RYCROFT, D., 148*
SASSOON, H., 70
SHAPIRO, Dr. H. L., 199*
SHAW, C. T., 210
SIEVEKING, G. DE, 140
SIMMONS, D. C., 73
SHIBIN, L., 35*
SHERR, Professor B., 215
SKINNER, Dr. E. P., 28
SÜNDERBERG, Dr. B., 37*
STIRLING, Dr. A. 115*
SWINTON, Dr. W. E., 163*
THOMSON, Dr. D. F., 228
THOMSON, Dr. J. E. S., F.B.A., 86*
TOBIAS, Professor P. V., 29
TOOLEY, Mrs. M., 33, 188*
TURBULL, C. M., 53
TURNER, G. E. S., 88*, 247*
UCKO, P. J., 160
VALÁK, Dr. J. A., 195
VAYDA, Dr. A. P., 54, 97
VÉBER, P., 101*, 102*
VIDICH, Dr. A. J., 166*
VITEK, Professor E., 124, 194
WACHSMANN, Dr. K. P., 68*
WAECHTER, Dr. J. D'A., 233*
WALTON, J., 36*
WARDLE, D., 46*
WASSÉN, Dr. S. H., 151*
WATKIN, Dr. L. M., 193
WELLS, Professor L. H., 181
WHITE, C. M. N., 142
WICKMAN, Dr. B., 24*
WILLETT, F., 8
WISEMAN, D. J., 115*
ZEUNER, Professor E. F., 50
ZUIDEMA, R. T., 87*, 248*
## CONTENTS

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

#### General
- Environmental Modification of Mammalian Morphology. **G. A. Harrison**... 2
- Kohler's Chimpanzees—How Did They Perform? **M. R. A. Chance**. With five text figures... 179

#### Africa
- An Account of the Tribal Distribution of Sierra Leone. **A. P. Kup**. With three maps... 156
- African Masks from an Unrecorded Style Province. **D. Fraser**. With Plate G... 94
- Cave Paintings Recently Discovered near Bauchi, Northern Nigeria. **H. Sassoon**. With Plate F and two text figures... 70
- The Ethnic Origins of Zande Office-Holders. **E. E. Evans-Pritchard**... 141
- Excavations at Igbo-Ukwu, Eastern Nigeria: An Interim Report. **C. T. Shaw**. With Plate N and three text figures... 210
- Field Work among the Bambuti Pygmies, Belgian Congo: A Preliminary Report. **C. M. Turnbull**. With a text figure... 51
- The Mossi Pogosiure. **E. P. Skinner**... 28
- Prehistoric Idols from Gran Canaria. **F. E. Zeuner**. With Plate E and two text figures... 50
- On Some Crucibles and Associated Finds from the Coast of Tanganyika. **J. R. Harding**. With three text figures and a table... 180
- The Ritual Stools of Ancient Ic. **B. E. B. Fagg and W. B. Fagg**. With Plates J and K and three text figures... 155

#### Asia
- The Moriensh: A Mongolian Fiddle. **J. L. Jenkins**. With Plate L... 178
- Morhna Pahar: or the Mystery of A. C. Carlyle. **G. de G. Steevking**. With Plate I... 140
- A Note on Rock Paintings Recently Discovered near Ipoh, Perak, Federation of Malaya. **J. M. Matthews**. With Plates A and B and four text figures... 1
- A Note on Social Organization in a Rural Area of Greater Djakarta. **M. Freedman**... 119
- On Determinants of the Status of Arab Village Women. **H. Rosenfield**... 95

#### Europe
- A Metallurgical Study of Four Irish Early Bronze Age Ribbed Halberds in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. **T. K. Penniman and I. M. Allen**. With six text figures... 120
- Some Dental Characteristics of the Middle Minoans. **H. G. Carr**. With five tables and a text figure... 157
- A Viking Settlement in Little England beyond Wales: ABO Blood-Group Evidence. **I. M. Watkin**. With a map and a table... 193

#### Oceania
- The Australian Aborigines in a New Setting. **R. R. Gates**... 71
- A Bark Sandal from the Desert of Central Western Australia. **D. F. Thomson**. With Plate O and two text figures... 238
- A Papuan Lunar ‘Calendar’: The Reckoning of Moons and Seasons by the Marind-Anim of Netherland New Guinea. **S. Kooijman**. With two text figures and a table... 211
- Phallic Objects of the Australian Aborigines. **C. P. Mountford**. With Plate H... 118
- Simple Rock Engravings in Central Australia. **C. P. Mountford**. With Plate M and seven text figures... 192
- Tikopia Woodworking Ornament. **R. W. Firth**. With Plates C and D and three text figures... 27

### OBITUARIES

- **Leonhard Adam**: 1891–1960. **H. J. Brauhnoltz**... 239
- **Guy Atwater Gardner**: 1881–1959. **G. Caton-Thompson**... 72
- **Dhirendra Nath Majumdar**: 1903–1960. **C. von Fuerer-Haimendorf**... 212
- **James Philip Mills**: 1890–1960. **J. H. Hutton**. With a portrait... 121

### PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

The Loyal Address of the Royal Anthropological Institute to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II on the Occasion of the Birth of Prince Andrew, and the Gracious Reply Thereto.

- A Congratulatory Address Presented by the Royal Anthropological Institute to the Royal Society on the Occasion of its Tercentenary. **J. G. Jenkins**... 3
- Land and Settlement in Zanzibar. **J. F. M. Middleton**... 232
- Land Tenure and Village Structure among the Luvale Compared with Other Northern Rhodesian Tribes. **C. M. N. White**... 142
- Two Exorcist Priests in Bali. **C. Hooykaas**... 231

### SHORTER NOTES

- The **ABO System of Blood Groups in Khalkha Mongols**. **E. Vlček**. With a table... 124
- Ancient Preserved Brains. **K. P. Oakley**. With a text figure... 122
- Ancient Preserved Brains: A Further Note. **R. Powers**... 123
- A Brief Note on the Role of Cross-Cutting Alliances in Segmentary Political Systems. **A. Béteille**... 233
- Brother-Sister Respect in Manihiki and Rakahanga. **A. P. Vayda**... 54
- Canute and the Waves. **Lord Raglan**... 4
- Carbon-14 Date for a ‘Neolithic’ Site in the Rub’al Khali. **H. Field**... 214
The Congress of Czechoslovak Anthropologists. F. FISOWSKI
The Decipherment of Cypro-Mycenaean. S. E. MANN. With a text figure
Diagnosis of the 'Wild Man' according to Buddhist Literary Sources from Tibet, Mongolia and China E. VLČEK, J. KOLMAŠ and P. POCHTA. With two text figures
Differences in Limb Proportions between Modern American and Earlier British Skeletal Material. L. H. WELLS. With a table
Enigma Ethishe. W. M. GILLAND. With two text figures
The Hainault Scythe in England. G. E. FUSSELL. With seven text figures
Horniman Museum Lectures and Concerts, October—December, 1960
Ibibio Topical Ballads. D. C. SIMMONS...
Impending Congresses
Maori Women and Maori Cannibalism. A. P. VAYDA
Massive Acheulian Implements from Thames and Solent Gravels. A. D. LACAILLE. With three text figures
A Note on the 'Poor Kayak' of the Western Labrador Eskimo. A. BALIKCI
The Origin of the Majunaji Revolt. A. R. W. CROSS-UPCOTT
A Protractor with a Rotating Cursor. F. P. LISOWSKI. With a text figure
A Puzzling Scene from Val Canonica. E. ANATI. With a text figure
Social Anthropology at Edinburgh: An Honours Degree. K. L. LITTLE
Stone Implements from the Rub' al Khali. H. FIELD
Studies on the Occipital Bone in Africa: VI, The Relative Usefulness of Pearson's Occipital Index and the Occipital Chord-Arc Index. P. V. TOBIAS. With two tables
Zande Clans and Settlements. E. E. EVANS-Pritchard

**CORRESPONDENCE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asia and Africa.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Raglan</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Museums. L. Adam</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Azande. E. E. EVANS-Pritchard</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caste and Varna. D. F. POCOCK</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Indian Prehistory: The Carlyle Collections. B. ALLCHIN</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ch'tiang. D. C. GRAHAM</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypro-Mycenaean. S. E. MANN</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cypro-Mycenaean and Early Agriculture. I. CHIVA</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Definition of Marriage. T. ASAD</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descent, Filiation and Affinity. E. R. LEACH</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grooved Rocks in Nigeria. R. A. KENNEDY</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homind Nomencelature. J. T. ROBINSON</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary Evidence for the Existence of the 'Snow Man'. M. Topley</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize Impressions on Ancient Nigerian Pottery. F. WILLET</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mankind Quarterly. B. ŠKELJ</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Guinea Warfare: Correction of a Mistake Previously Published. R. F. FORTUNE</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edipus and Job in West African Religion. J. W. LAYARD</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Phallic Object from North Wales. D. B. HAGUE. With a text figure</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phallic Objects from Australia and Wales. P. CASSAR</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prehistoric Idols from Gran Canaria. P. J. UCKO</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology and Ethnology among the Lodagaa. J. R. GOODY</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural Theory and Descent-Group Theory in South India. L. DUMONT</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**REVIEWS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General. Adam, L., Art Primitif. D. PAULME-SCHAEFFNER</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam, L., and H. Trimborn, editors, Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde. C. VON FÖRER-HAEMENDORF</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bianchi, U., Problemi di Storia delle Religioni. H. J. ROSE</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood Groups. A. C. ALLISON</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brillault, R., The Mothers. E. R. LEACH</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cailllos, R., Man and the Sacred. LORD RAGLAN</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannon, H. G., Lamanack and Modern Genetics. LORD RAGLAN</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chisholm, B., Can People Learn to Learn How to Know Each Other? LORD RAGLAN</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohen, M., La grande invention de l'écriture et son évolution. W. C. BRICE</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colmeiro-Laforet, C., Orto y ocaso del Feminismo. C. LISON-TOLOSA</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coulborn, R., The Origin of Civilized Societies. LORD RAGLAN</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond, A. S., The History and Origin of Language. R. H. ROBINS</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evolution of the Speech Apparatus</td>
<td>DuBrul, E. L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heredity and Evolution in Human Populations</td>
<td>Dunn, L. C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropology and Ethics</td>
<td>Edel, M. and A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Theories of Fertility and the Malthusian Debate</td>
<td>Eversley, D. E. C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schamanenrunde dargestellt am Beispiel der Besessenheitspriester nordeuropäischer Völker</td>
<td>Findeisen, H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rites of Passage</td>
<td>Gennep, A. van</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man's Way: A Preface to the Understanding of Human Society</td>
<td>Goldschmidt, W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeometry, Vol. II</td>
<td>Hall, E. T., editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Ape to Angel</td>
<td>Hays, M. R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death and the Right Hand</td>
<td>Hertz, R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Change</td>
<td>Hogbin, H. I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Reader's Guide to the Social Sciences</td>
<td>Hoselitz, B. F., editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utopia and Experiment</td>
<td>Infield, H. F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People in Episteme</td>
<td>Infield, H. F. and K. Freier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abnormal Haemoglobins</td>
<td>Joinus, J. H. P., and J. F. Delafresnaye, editors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das Elefantenspiel</td>
<td>Kohl-Larsen, L., editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Grand Festa: Storia del Capodanno nelle civiltà primitive</td>
<td>Lanternari, V.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reader in Comparative Religion</td>
<td>Lessa, W. A., and E. Z. Vogt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropologie structurale</td>
<td>Lévi-Strauss, C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Shame and the Search for Identity</td>
<td>Lynd, H. M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sociological Imagination</td>
<td>Mills, C. Wright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Stadt der Tausend Drachen</td>
<td>Nevermann, H., editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimme des Wasserbüffels</td>
<td>Nevermann, H., editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paleontologie humaine</td>
<td>Piveteau, J.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy</td>
<td>Polani, M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Introduction to Medical Genetics</td>
<td>Roberts, J. A., Fraser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Adventures Great Explorers Told Me</td>
<td>Ross, B.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A History of Science: Hellenistic Science and Culture in the Last Three Centuries B.C.</td>
<td>Sarton, G.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Psychology of Affiliation: Experimental Studies of the Sources of Gregariousness</td>
<td>Schachter, S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Testing of Negro Intelligence</td>
<td>Shuey, A. M., Hotoff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons and Faiths</td>
<td>Smart, N.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Groups</td>
<td>Sprott, W. J. H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time, Life and Man: The Fossil Record</td>
<td>Stirton, R.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores and Morals</td>
<td>Sumner, W. G., Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores and Morals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton, 1582–3</td>
<td>Taylor, E. G. R., editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rare—Individual and Collective Behaviour</td>
<td>Thompson, E. T., and E. C. Hughes, editors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man, the State and War</td>
<td>Waltz, K. N.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evolution, Marxist Biology and the Social Scene</td>
<td>Zirkle, C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An African Kingdom</td>
<td>Beattie, J. H. M., Bunyoro: An African Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mugwe, A Failing Prophet</td>
<td>Bernardi, B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recherches anthropologiques sur l'origine des Malgaches</td>
<td>Chamala-M-C.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomades noirs du Sahara</td>
<td>Chapelle-J.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prehistoric of Southern Africa</td>
<td>Clark, J. D.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Policy in Changing Africa</td>
<td>Cohen, Sir A. B.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnographic Survey of Africa: The Gisu of Uganda</td>
<td>Fontaine, J. S. La</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Context of Belief: A Consideration of Fetishism among the Yaki</td>
<td>Forde, D.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company, 1894–1914</td>
<td>Gann, L. H.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Superstizione Zande</td>
<td>Gero, E. E. Evans-Pritchard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Maghrīb central a l'époque des Zirides</td>
<td>Golvin, L.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biologie du Noir</td>
<td>Heuse, G. A.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geschichte von Zamfara, Sokoto-Provinz, Nordafrika</td>
<td>Kreiger, K.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Teda von Tibesti</td>
<td>Kronenberg, A., Die Teda von Tibesti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La possession et ses aspects théatraux chez les Ethiopiens de Gondar</td>
<td>Leiris, M.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dispossessed: A Study of the Sex Life of Bantu Women in and around Johannesburg</td>
<td>Longmore, L.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt</td>
<td>Meyerowitz, E. L. R.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa: its Peoples and their Culture History</td>
<td>Murdock, G. P.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultures and Societies of Africa</td>
<td>Ottenberg, S. and P., editors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quin, P. J., Foods and Feeding Habits of the Pedi.</td>
<td>M. W. Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rackow, E., Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos.</td>
<td>W. Fogg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robinson, K. R., Khani Ruins.</td>
<td>J. Walton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santos, J. R. dos, Junior, Table for General Shape of the Negroes’ Hair.</td>
<td>H. J. Fleure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schlösser, K., Eingehorenkirchen in Süd- und Südwest-Afrika.</td>
<td>L. P. Maier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Söderberg, B., Les Instruments de musique au Bas-Congo, et dans les régions avoisinantes.</td>
<td>K. P. Wachsmann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sommerfeld, A., Political Cohesion in a Stateless Society: The Tallensi of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast (Ghana).</td>
<td>G. K. Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorensen, M., Les Kongo nord-occidentals.</td>
<td>M. Söderberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stenning, D. J., Savannah Nomads: A Study of the Wodaabe Pastoral Fulani of Western Bornu Province, Northern Region, Nigeria.</td>
<td>A. H. Jacobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tardits, C., Porto Novo: Les nouvelles générations africaines entre leurs traditions et l’occident.</td>
<td>J. Jahn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tardits, C., Les Bamilélé de l’Ouest Cameroun.</td>
<td>Lord Raglan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ullendorff, E., The Ethiopians: An Introduction to Country and People.</td>
<td>G. W. B. Huntingford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson, M., Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa.</td>
<td>J. F. M. Middleton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter, E. H., Beyond the Mountains of the Moon: The Lives of Four Africans.</td>
<td>M. J. Ruel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worthington, E. B., Science in the Development of Africa.</td>
<td>R. Mauny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, E. F., Varley and R. Flaherty, Eskimo.</td>
<td>D. N. Abbott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, M., Health in the Mexican-American Culture: A Community Study.</td>
<td>A. J. Vidich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collier, D., Indian Art of the Americas.</td>
<td>G. H. S. Bushnell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorson, R. M., American Folklore.</td>
<td>Lord Raglan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feriz, H., Zwischen Peru und Mexico.</td>
<td>S. H. Wassén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartmann, G., Alkoholische Getränke bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas.</td>
<td>D. Maybury-Lewis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huxley, F. J. H., Affable Savages.</td>
<td>D. Maybury-Lewis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lara, J., L. Flachkampf and H. Trimborn, Volksdichtung der Ketscha.</td>
<td>E. Ettlinger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Métraux, A., Voodoo in Haiti.</td>
<td>P. Verger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mills, G., Navaho Art and Culture.</td>
<td>B. W. Atkin and D. Warble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan, L. H., The Indian Journals, 1859–62.</td>
<td>G. E. S. Turner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson, D., Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: The Metropolitan Schools.</td>
<td>J. E. S. Thompson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uhle, M., Wesen und Ordnung der altpersischen Kulturen.</td>
<td>R. T. Zuidema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vogt, E. Z., and R. Hyman, Water Witching U.S.A.</td>
<td>Lord Raglan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolf, E. R., Sons of the Shaking Earth.</td>
<td>E. M. Mendelson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashkenazi, T., The Bedouins: Manners and Customs.</td>
<td>D. Miller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barth, F., Political Leadership among Swat Pathans.</td>
<td>F. G. Bailey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beidelman, T. O., A Comparative Analysis of the Jajmani System.</td>
<td>D. N. Majumdar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bessaignet, P., Tribusmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.</td>
<td>J. H. Hutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanchard, W., et al., Thailand: Its People, its Society, its Culture.</td>
<td>Prince John Loewenstein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djamou, J., Malay Kinship and Marriage in Singapore.</td>
<td>M. Topley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumont, L., and D. F. Pocock, editors, Contributions to Indian Sociology, II and III.</td>
<td>W. McCormack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonds, C. J., Kurds, Turks and Arabs.</td>
<td>A. P. Stirling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elwin, V., The Art of the North-East Frontier of India.</td>
<td>J. H. Hutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elwin, V., Mythos of the North-East Frontier of India.</td>
<td>J. H. Hutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elwin, V., A Philosophy for NEFA.</td>
<td>C. von Führer-Haimendorf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golomb, L., Die Bodenkultur in Ost-Turkestan: Ostwirtschaft und Nomadentum.</td>
<td>G. Hatt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon, D. H., The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture.</td>
<td>F. R. Allchin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrision, T., World Within: A Borneo Story.</td>
<td>B. A. L. Cranstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lipsky, George A., Saudi Arabia: Its People, its Society, its Culture.</td>
<td>H. Field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majumdar, D. N., Costume and Communication in an Indian Village.</td>
<td>A. C. Mayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majumdar, D. N., Races and Cultures of India.</td>
<td>J. H. Hutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majumdar, D. N., and C. Radhakrishna Rao, Race Elements in Bengal.</td>
<td>D. F. Roberts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik, S. C., The Stone Age Industries of the Bombay and Satara Districts.</td>
<td>B. Allchin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okladnikov, A. P., Ancient Populations of Siberia and its Cultures.</td>
<td>T. E. Armstrong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Schmid, T., The Eighty-Five Siddhas. H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark  
Skinner, G. W., Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Thailand. W. H. Newell  
Spiro, M. E., Children of the Kibbutz. P. S. Cohen  
Srivastava, S. K., The Tharus: A Study in Culture Dynamics. W. McCormack  
Steinberg, D. J., Cambodia. A. H. Christie  
Suzuki, P., Critical Survey of Studies on the Anthropology of Nias, Mentawai and Enggano. B. A. L. Cranstone  
Traditional Cultures in South-East Africa. M. H. Freedman  
Vree-de Stuers, C., L'émancipation de la femme indonésienne. R. Needham  
Wright, A. F., Buddhism in Chinese History. A. H. Christie  
Zoete, B. de, Dance and Magic Drama in Ceylon. A. A. Baké  

Bloch, R., The Etruscans. Lord Raglan  
Burns, T., Management in the Electronics Industry. R. Frankenberg  
Christiansen, R. Th., Studies in Irish and Scandinavian Folktale. Lord Raglan  
Fox, Sir C., Life and Death in the Bronze Age. W. C. Brice  
Freedman, M., editor, A Minority in Britain: Social Studies of the Anglo-Jewish Community. H. M. Gluckman  
Hatt, G., Norre Fjard. J. Eames  
Hibben, F. C., Prehistoric Man in Europe. J. d'A. Waechter  
Ishwaran, K., Family Life in the Netherlands. E. Allard  
Itkonen, T. I., Kolta- ja kuutanolapi sanakirja (Wörterbuch des Kolta- und Kolalappischen), Vols. I and II. B. Wickman  
Manker, E., Lapparnas Heliga Ställen. R. Paine  
Michelson, P., Danish Wheel Ploughs. J. G. Jenkins  
opie, I. and P., The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren. Lord Raglan  
Toynbee, A. J., Hellenism. W. C. Brice  
Wolstenholme, G. E. W., and C. M. O'Conner, Medical Biology and Etruscan Origins. D. F. Roberts  

Oceania. Anthropological Research in New Guinea since 1930. K. Kooyman  
Guira, J., Espiritu Santo (Nouvelles Hébrides). B. A. L. Cranstone  
Johansen, J. P., Studies in Maori Rites and Myths. K. P. Emory  
Kooyman, S., The Art of Lake Sentani. J. A. W. Forge  
Mountford, C. P., The Tiwi: Their Art, Myth and Ceremony. A. Lommel  
O'Reilly, P., and J. Poirier, Nouvelle-Calédonie: Documents iconographiques anciens. B. A. L. Cranstone  
Tischner, H., Kulturen der Südsee: Einführung in die Völkerkunde Ozeaniens. S. Kooyman  

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES  
Plate A The Rock Paintings at Gunong Panjang, near Ipoh  
B Rock Drawings at Gunong Panjang  
C Tikopia Woodcarvings  
D Tikopia Wooden Bowls for holding Coconut Cream  
E Prehistoric Idols from Gran Canaria  
F Paintings on the Left Side of the Rock Shelter at Geji  
G African Masks from an Unrecorded Style Province  
H Phallic Objects of the Australian Aborigines  
I Drawings of Indian Stone Implements probably by A. C. Carlyle  
J Oni Adelekan's Gift to Sir Gilbert Carter in 1896  
K Ancient Stools at Ife and near Iwo  
L Khalkha Mongol Fiddle from Ulan Bator in the Lindgren Collection  
M Rock Engravings at Ewaninga, Central Australia  
N The Excavations at Igbo-Ukwu, Nigeria, 1960  
O The Bindibah Bark Sandal

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEXT FIGURES  
Paintings at Gunong Panjang (4)  
The 'Poor Kayak'  
Housepost Ornamenation, Tikopia; Housepost Ornaments, Tikopia; Incised Ornament on Canoe Hull, Tikopia, 1929  
Reconstruction Sketch of the Clay Idol from Tara; Violin-Shaped Idols from Gran Canaria
Sketch Map of the Ituri Forest
The Enkomai Grid
Part of Northern Nigeria (map); Paintings on the Right Side of the Rock Shelter at Geji
Protractor with Rotating Cursor
Hardness Values of Bronze and Copper; Early Bronze Age Halberd Blank; Early Bronze Age Halberd (3); Early Bronze Age Dagger
James Philip Mills, C.S.I., C.L.E
Fragment of a Cerebral Hemisphere Preserved in 'Grave-Wax'
Plaster Phallic from North Wales
Massive Acheulian Implement from Farnham Royal; Massive Acheulian Handaxe from Swanscombe; Massive Acheulian Ovate Found near Shirley, Hants.
Parts of Scythes Tried at Northampton in 1763; Mowing Corn with the Scythe; Reaping with the Hainault Scythe; The Common Reaping Scythe; The Kentish Hink and Twibil; A Scottish Form of Cradle Scythe; The Kentish Cradle Scythe
The Problem Picture at Val Camonica
Stool Fragments in the Ife Museum; Wooden Stool (erhe) from Benin; Ceremonial Box-Seat from Ikka, Igala Country, Northern Nigeria
Routes of Main Invasions into Sierra Leone: c. 1400; c. 1600; c. 1800
Distances of Certain Peoples from the Middle Minoans
Ehsishe at Ado-Ekiti; Framework for the Ehsishe Costume
Kohler's Basket of Fruit; Climbing a Pole Before it Falls; Box-Stacking; Fitting Two Sticks Together; Schiller's Ladder of Progress in Problem-Solving
Crucibles and Glass from Kisiju, South of Dar es Salaam; Beads, Celadon and a Copper Rod from Kisiju; Sketch Map of Part of Tanganyika Coast
Sites of Rock Engravings in Central Australia; Rock Engravings at Ewaninga (3); Cup-shaped Depressions at Ewaninga
A Gene Frequency in Pembroke
Representations of the 'Wild Man' according to the Peking and Urga Editions
Bronze Potstand, Igbo-Ugwu, 1960; Bronze Snake with Egg; Bronze Objects in situ, Igbo-Ugwu, 1960
Lunar Calendars (Balé Tang) from Marind-Anim; Versions of the Names of the Moons in Marind-Anim
Bindibub Bark Sandal; Sole of Bindibu Bark Sandal

With Article

51
53
70
74
120
121
122
126
143
144
145
155
156
157
158
179
180
192
193
194
210
211
228

Printed in Great Britain by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles
(a) The rock shelter looking to the north. The figure stands on breccia, and large broken pieces of breccia can be seen in the left foreground. The main group of paintings is on the wall of the shelter extending from the centre of the photograph to the large stalagmite on the right. The lighter weathered surface of the shelter wall marks the lowest limit of this group of paintings, which extends to the top of the photograph and beyond.

(b) The rock shelter looking to the south. The figure stands on the lip of a pit excavated by guano-diggers. Part of the detritus of limestone fragments can be seen in the left foreground. The main group of paintings is high on the shelter wall on the figure's right hand.

THE ROCK PAINTINGS AT GUNONG PANJANG, NEAR IPOH

All photographs: Dr. H. A. Lamb, 1959
ROCK PAINTINGS AT GUNONG PANJANG

Colour photographs: Dr. H. A. Lamb, 1959
A NOTE ON ROCK PAINTINGS RECENTLY DISCOVERED
NEAR IPOH, PERAK, FEDERATION OF MALAYA*

by

J. M. MATTHEWS
Curator of Museums, Federation of Malaya

I

A number of rock paintings were discovered in May, 1959, on Gunong Panjang, near Ipoh, Perak, by Lt. R. L. Rawlings of the 2nd Battalion Q.E.O. Gurkha Rifles. Gunong Panjang is an isolated limestone hill rising 1,150 feet from the flat alluvium of the Kinta Valley. It is on the eastern side of Ipoh, just outside the town limits.

The paintings are between 20 and 40 feet above a rock ledge which is about 100 feet from the floor of the valley. The climb up to the ledge is partly over a loose scree and is not difficult. Above the paintings the cliff extends outwards and upwards for at least 500 feet. The place is a gigantic rock shelter, 300 yards long. The ledge or floor of the shelter is 60 feet wide in the centre of the shelter, the widest part. Although the shelter is open it is very dry; it is unlikely that very much rain can reach the paintings even during the most violent storms.

The shelter (see Plate A) faces to the west. Immediately under the main group of paintings the shelter floor is a breccia with a calcareous matrix. To the north the breccia seems to dip steeply and is covered with a detritus of angular fragments of exfoliated limestone which contains a considerable quantity of bird guano. There is evidence which may indicate that at one time there was a deposit about four feet deep under the main group of paintings and that the deposit extended at the same level to the north. The site has been extensively quarried for guano by Chinese cultivators for use as fertilizer on their gardens. If there was a deposit overlying the breccia and the detritus of limestone fragments then it has been removed completely by the guano-diggers. The scree, mentioned above, over which the shelter is reached is spoil which the guano-diggers have thrown out of the shelter. The paintings, illustrated by the colour photographs by Dr. H. A. Lamb of the University of Malaya, have been drawn with hematite. Some of the drawings are large; there are animals six feet and more in length. Beasts and men are represented as well as abstract designs. Weathering and exfoliation have obviously obliterated a number of paintings but over 50 can be seen clearly. The surviving paintings are mainly in a group at about the centre of the shelter; there is a small group of paintings removed a little from the main group both to the north and to the south which possibly may indicate the limits of an extensive and continuous mural which has partly disappeared.

Various shades of hematite have been used, ranging from purple to pale red. At least three styles can be distinguished. One (Plate Ba) depicts animals as an outline figure with the body filled with a line or striped design; another (Plate Bb) depicts animals as a solid silhouette; a third style (fig. 1) differs from the second in that the filling of the body of the silhouette is stippled. It is possible to interpret several of the drawings as human figures.

One (fig. 2), a dancing man who apparently holds a club in his right hand, is unlike any of the others and is next to a five-fingered drooping design.

Another small outline figure (fig. 3), considerably above the other paintings, has a spiked design around the head which could be taken to represent a kind of headdress sometimes worn by Malayan Negritos.

The abstract designs include lines of dots, a five-pointed star and a rectangular design. Although there can be no

* With Plates A and B and four text figures
doubt that many of the drawings represent animals, various observers have interpreted them in several ways; probably it would be unwise to try to identify them specifically. One of the animals drawn as an outline figure appears to be a pregnant female with an infant inside its belly (Plate Ba); another (fig. 4) may represent a tapir. It is interesting to note that at several places the surface of the limestone has flaked away so that only a portion of a painting remains.

FIG. 3. PAINTING AT GUNONG PANJANG

In one or two cases the haematite paint has etched into the limestone so that an indication of the original drawing remains on the weathered surface.

Forty-nine granite and quartzite river stones and pebbles have been found on the floor of the shelter where they have been rejected by the guano-diggers. All of the quartzite pebbles have been bruised by percussion; eleven of the granite stones have been worn smooth in places by grinding. The provenance of these stones and the indications of use on a number of them must demonstrate that they had been carried into the shelter as implements. Thirty-two are stained with haematite and fragments of haematite are common at the site. Five flakes and five flat flaked artifacts of hornfels schist have also been found on the floor of the shelter. All these implements and artifacts could be placed in a Hoabinhian context.

Slightly to the north of the main group of paintings a small tree is growing at a place where a spring seeps out of the limestone. The root system of this tree seems to have retained the original surface deposit of the rock shelter and it was possible to excavate an area of 20 square feet to a depth of two feet. Fifteen flakes, two flat artifacts of hornfels schist and over 400 fragments of bone were discovered. It would appear that many of these fragments were produced by deliberately shattering the bones and a number of the fragments have been burnt. Both reptiles and mammals are represented; the reptiles include the freshwater turtle Trionyx and tortoise, Testudo; the mammals include Sus sp. and monkeys are also represented. Shells of the freshwater mollusc Brodia costula were found in association with the bone fragments in the excavation and are common on the floor of the shelter. The apices have been broken off all those shells which have been examined. Brodia costula is invariably associated with Hoabinhian industries in Malaya. It is unfortunate that at present there is no evidence that the paintings are associated with the stone artifacts and implements with the bone fragments.

Mr. F. D. McCarthy, Curator of Anthropology at the Australian Museum, and author of Australian Aboriginal Rock Art, has seen photographs of the Ipoh paintings. He writes in a letter that two of the styles present, viz. (1) an outline with a barred, striped or other line design filling the body, and with solid head, neck, limbs and tail and (2) a monochrome silhouette, are both widespread in Australia. In New Guinea, Mr. McCarthy writes, the cave paintings display many geometrical and linear designs, stencils of human hands and silhouettes and monochromes of lizards and other figures. There is an emphasis on curvilinear motifs, animals are rare. The human figures, in silhouette or in outline with a line design on the body, often wear a rayed ornament on the head and carry a weapon or other object in their hands. The genitalia are often exaggerated in size. The photograph of the Ipoh paintings does not reveal any close parallels with those of New Guinea. Thus, he says, although similarities can be found in Indonesia and Australia with the Ipoh paintings, there is as yet insufficient evidence to postulate a direct correlation or, in other words, to claim that the Ipoh and Indonesian paintings are connected with the migration of the Australoid people to Australia.

Mr. H. R. van Heeckenen, of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, has also seen photographs of the paintings. In a letter he writes that the animals drawn in outline with bodies filled with a line design are like a rock painting which he recently discovered in the South Celebes; he mentions also similarities with rock paintings in South and Central India.

The Negritos of Malaya draw with charcoal in caves and rock shelters. I. H. N. Evans published photographs of
Negrito drawings from a cave near Lenggong, Upper Perak. The Negrito drawings often include cars and bicycles; it is possible to see profound differences in style, technique and subject in a comparison of the Ipoh drawings with Negrito drawings known in Malaya.

The discovery of the Ipoh rock paintings is of great interest. As the site has been thoroughly disturbed and as it has not been possible to determine any exact correlation between these rock paintings and any others known in South-East Asia, no origin can be suggested for them. There is no evidence which suggests that they have been drawn recently; and it is possible that they are of considerable antiquity.

Notes
1 Guanong Panjang, Malay: The Long Hill, or Mountain, English.
2 At latitude 4° 36' N., longitude 101° 08' E.

ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION OF MAMMALIAN MORPHOLOGY*

by

DR. G. AINSWORTH HARRISON
Anthropology Laboratory, Department of Anatomy, University of Liverpool

2 For many years most physical anthropologists regarded environmentally caused differences between people as a nuisance. This was because attention then was principally focused on the phyletic history and relationships of human populations, in ascertaining which, only genetically determined characters are of biological relevance. Yet in its widest scope physical anthropology is the study of the nature and causes for all the non-pathological similarities and differences between both individuals and populations, and it is, therefore, not surprising that ever more attention is being devoted to the role of the environment.

There has been much barren dispute about the relative importance of 'nature' and 'nurture' in the determination of human differences and I do not wish to concern myself with this problem here. Rather I want to examine the biological significance of differences which are known to be of environmental origin. It is an important attribute of the environment that usually it selects what it itself in part determines, though the selecting component, of course, need not necessarily be the same as the determining one. When one is considering, therefore, such problems as the adaptiveness of characters or the comparative fitness of forms the quality of this interaction between the two roles of the environment is an essential aspect of the problem.

The characters of an organism are usually referred to either as morphological or as physiological. While the distinction is certainly arbitrary, and functional differences in general have at some level a structural basis, it is a convenient one; more particularly because structural characters are typically only determinable during their growth phase, which in 'higher' animals is essentially but a limited period of the life history. Morphological responses to any intrinsic or extrinsic factor are therefore either irreversible, or only slowly or partly reversible depending upon the nature of the response, the length and other characteristics of the growth phase of the structures concerned, and the developmental stage at which the response is elicited and its reversibility demanded. Normal physiological changes, on the other hand, are typically reversible at all ages and are relatively rapid. It must be stressed, however, that every stage of intermediacy between irreversible and instantaneously reversible responses can occur.

In plants and 'lower' animals environmental differences are known to affect morphogenesis profoundly. For instance, the structure of the leaves of many water plants depends upon whether they are formed above or below the water level and the intimate anatomy of some parasitic wasps is determined by which host they parasitize. It can, however, never be advantageous to make permanent responses to temporary non-recurrent influences and 'canalizing selection' (Waddington, 1957) has produced in 'higher' animals and in particular, in birds and mammals, individuals of which move over large distances through a variety of environments, very powerful physiological homeostatic mechanisms, which buffer the growth and development of the individual against the fluctuations which occur in every natural environment. It is sometimes
assumed that such homeostatic mechanisms completely isolate the morphological development of these animals from environmental changes that they normally meet and that if deviations from a fixed course of development occur, it is because the homeostatic mechanisms are breaking down and the results are to a greater or less extent pathological. An increasing number of examples, however, are becoming known in which environmentally caused alterations of mammalian morphological development turn out not to be pathological. The external environment of animals can be considered as made up of 'physical' and 'biotic' factors. The latter may be subdivided into 'food', 'the presence of other animals of the same kind' and 'the presence of animals of other kinds.' Not only are these components interdependent but also there is no clear-cut distinction between them: 'food' and 'the presence of animals of other kinds' frequently, for instance, amounting to the same thing. Nevertheless these categories are convenient in discussing the effects of the environment on growth and development.

So far as terrestrial animals are concerned, temperature is one of the most important 'physical factors' which vary greatly from time to time and place to place and the available evidence suggests that it can have a profound determining effect on the morphology of at least some mammals. Growth in body weight for example has been shown on a number of occasions to be very temperature-labile. Thus, within wide limits, the higher the temperature the smaller is the adult weight of rats and mice, and incidentally of chickens also (Sumner, 1909, 1915, Sundstroem, 1922, 1930, Ogle, 1934a, Allee and Lutherman, 1940, Sakharov, 1949). The effect of temperature, however, seems to be dependent on the age and size of these animals for Harrison, Morton and Weiner (1959) found that growth at 90°F was usually faster in young mice than at 70°F, but that during the puberty period, the heat-reared animals grew much more slowly than those kept under temperate conditions. Mice of different genotype respond differently to high temperatures but the general pattern is always the same under the experimental conditions employed by these investigators. Even more striking than the effect of environmental temperature on growth in body weight is its effect on the growth of extremities. The higher the temperature, the larger are the feet and, more spectacularly, the longer are the tails of rats and mice (Sumner, 1909, 1915, Sundstroem, 1922, 1930, Prizibram, 1925, Ogle, 1934a, Sakharov, 1949). The tails of mice, for instance, reared from three to 16 weeks of age at 90°F may be more than two centimetres longer than when the animals are reared at 70°F (Harrison, Morton, Weiner, 1959). The ear growth of rabbits (Mills, 1945) and the shank lengths of chickens (Allee and Lutherman, 1940) are known to make comparable responses. It has also been shown that the hair growth of mice is temperature-determined: the higher the temperature, the smaller the total amount of fur (Barnett, 1939, Harrison, unpublished).

The effects of varying both the amount and composition of 'food' on the growth of mammals, particularly domesticated forms, have been studied intensively (reviewed in Hammond, 1955). Suffice it to say here that not only the adult body size and the growth rate but also the proportions and physique of these animals are dependent on the nutritional plane and also on the developmental stage at which it is altered. It is further well known that specific nutritional deficiencies can greatly alter the structure of mammals, e.g. the effects of Vitamin D deficiency. Mention may also be made here of the interesting discovery of McCay and his colleagues (reviewed in McCay, 1952) who found that giving rats a minimal caloric intake greatly retarded the development of sexual maturity and strikingly extended the life span.

One of the, at first sight, most unexpected effects of the presence of other animals of the same kind on the growth of a mammal was first reported by Vetulani (1921) who found that mice reared on their own grew less rapidly than when kept in groups of two to four. This seems ultimately to be due to an effect of temperature, since Retzloff (1919) showed that the phenomenon did not occur at high environmental temperatures. Certainly at low temperatures mice huddle together and it may be surmised that this behaviour generates a microclimate nearer the thermal neutrality of young animals, whose small size makes difficult their heat-conservation. Vetulani also found that the skin lesions to which his mice were prone were more pronounced in the isolated animals than in the grouped ones. It would appear that the mutual licking which occurs when mice are kept together prevented the development of these lesions.

In those social animals which co-operatively exploit the environment, the nutritional status of the individual and, therefore, its growth are highly dependent upon the biological efficiency of the social system and one must also regard artificially produced head, foot and neck deformations and circumcision for instance, as examples of environmental determination of human physique.

In considering the effects of animals of different types on the development of mammals, the consequences on growth of being parasitized are obviously very important. No doubt the establishment of symbiotic associations of various sorts is also influential. Although there seems to be no evidence for the view, one would suspect that the introduction of the horse to the American plains modified the physique of Indians, since it resulted in a major change in their mode of locomotion.

It is relevant to mention at this juncture that it has been clearly demonstrated that the musculature plays an important determining role in the development of skeletal morphology and it is well known that the hypertrophy of muscles in response to their exercise modifies the growth of the bones to which they are attached (reviewed in Scott, 1957). The left arm bones of Roman soldiers are frequently more strongly developed than those of the right. This is probably due to their carrying a heavy shield on this arm for long periods. Further the crania of peoples with no Eskimo ancestry but living under similar circumstances are not unlike those of Eskimo and while some of
this similarity may be due to selectional change, much is without doubt a consequence of the hypertrophy of the jaw muscles in both groups. Indeed, it seems possible that many of the resemblances between the crania of Chancelade and Obercassel man and the Eskimo are the consequence of the same environmental determination of the skull phenotype.

In considering the biological significance of environmentally determined differences two questions are of import: (1) Are the responses to a particular environment adaptive, i.e. do the responses facilitate survival in the environment that produced them? (2) What is the comparative fitness of two or more environmentally produced different forms?

It seems very necessary to distinguish between these two problems, for, while it is obvious that if an environment elicits pathological responses, an organism must be less fit in this environment than in another in which its responses are adaptive, all the differences between two forms may be adaptive without this meaning that they are equally fit. Physiological acclimatization by Europeans seems to involve a series of adaptive responses, but Europeans are probably not as fit in the tropics as they are at home. The first question is qualitative and though one may need two different environmental forms to answer it, essentially it only concerns the organism and its own particular environment; the second is quantitative, and is the comparative success of adaptation to different environments.

When the responses previously mentioned are examined in these terms, it is obvious that some are adaptive and some are not. If a society regards small feet as a desirable character, the fact that growing feet respond appropriately to bandaging is, by definition, an adaptive response in that society. Conversely the development of rickets can hardly be regarded as an adaptive response to Vitamin D deficiency. In other words, on any particular diet, individuals who do not develop this disease have a greater somatic fitness than those that do.

In other cases, the adaptiveness of the responses is not so obvious and needs to be experimentally tested. While the growth responses of rats and mice to temperature produce accordance with Bergmann’s and Allen’s climatic rules, in view of Scholander’s criticism (1953) that small variations in surface area to volume relationships have insignificant effects on thermo-regulation, it cannot be automatically assumed that they are adaptive. I have, however, recently tested the adaptiveness of the high-temperature responses, by comparing the survival times of mice reared at 70°F and 90°F at a lethal temperature (Harrison, 1958). The results demonstrate categorically that the animals reared at the high temperature are very much better able to withstand extreme heat than the temperature-reared forms and the evidence strongly suggests that the morphological responses are at least as important as the physiological ones.

So far as I know, the effects of under-nutrition have not been examined in a comparable way. While it is common knowledge that restriction of the calorie-intake retards growth and that small animals have lower dietary require-

ments than large ones, there seems to be no information on whether long under-nourished animals can withstand severe malnutrition better than well fed ones. No doubt comparative fitness will depend upon the extent of the under-nutrition and the degree of the starvation, but the problem is of such paramount humanitarian importance that it should be tackled. A study of the childhood of those who withstood the severe deprivations of Japanese P.O.W. camps might provide illuminating evidence.

Genes which confer adaptive morphological flexibility will become fixed by natural selection, just like those which confer physiological and behavioural adaptability. All are homostastic mechanisms. But the conditions under which irreversible responses can become fixed are more stringent than those which demand only reversible changes. However, many morphological responses are in part, or for a time, reversible, such as the effects of under-nourishment on growth or of muscle on bone development, and it is of further interest that epiphyseal union occurs very late in the life history of temperature-reared rats and mice and may indeed never be complete, so that these animals retain, to some extent, a capacity to increase their tail length long after they are mature when the environmental temperature rises. The life cycles of these animals are, however, of such duration that appropriate seasonal forms can be produced even were their morphological adaptability totally irreversible.

It may further be mentioned that it is unnecessary to assume that each functionally discrete flexible unit has its own particular genetic basis and arose as a separate evolutionary event. It seems likely that often some specific adaptability is established in a way that automatically confers a real or a potential adaptability throughout the morphological system concerned, and the potential component may, of course, at some subsequent time be realized, i.e. turn out to have been a pre-adaptation.

The precise way in which some environmentally determined modifications are produced is not known, for instance the means by which tail growth in rats and mice is controlled by environmental temperature. It is possible, in this case, that blood temperature plays an influential role. If this were so it could lead to a perfect auto-regulating system in which tails were induced to grow only so long as their blood temperature tended to be high, i.e. until an adequate cooling system was established.

While in general it may be supposed that animals will be most fit in those environments to which they are principally exposed, the only unequivocal way of determining the comparative fitness of different environmental forms is to compare the fecundity and the chance of survival up to and during the reproductive period of these forms, each in its own environment. Little information is as yet available on these aspects of the fitness of environmentally produced mammalian differences, but it seems that in special circumstances, evidence can be obtained from other sources. It is necessary at this stage to distinguish between the two facets of all of an animal’s characteristics. Each structure or group of structures not only performs a particular function or set of functions, but
also reflects the overall integrity of the organism to produce them. Some characters are much better reflections of this integrity of organization than others. Body weight, for instance, is dependent on the orderly integration of so many functions that it must contain extensive information about the suitability of the environment. Such characters are frequently referred to as vigour characters. In optimal conditions, homeostatic mechanisms will have their maximum efficiency and the environmentally determined population variance of such vigour characters will be low. If then, two environments fluctuate equally, that environment which produces the least variability in the vigour component of characters will be the most favourable and at least somatic fitness will be greatest in it. As yet it is difficult to partition out the extent of the environmental contribution to the variance of a genetically segregating population, but the results of Ashoub, Biggers, McLaren and Michie (1958) and Harrison, Morton and Weiner (1959) on genetically homogeneous populations of mice support the argument. Not surprisingly, the suitability of an environment depends upon the age as well as the genotype of animals. Thus the variance of body weight of young mice is lower at high temperatures than at temperate ones but later the trend changes direction and by maturity the variance at the lower temperature may be the smaller. This accords with the findings of Ogle (1942) that fertility is greater in ‘laboratory’ mice at temperate than at tropical temperatures. It may further be noted that the comparative behaviour of the variance of body weight at different temperatures is similar to the comparative growth rates so that at least when the effects of temperature are considered there is objective evidence that the growth in body weight can also be regarded as an index of fitness.

Although our knowledge of the extent and manner of the environmental modification of mammalian and in particular human morphology is still very poor, I hope that I have shown that there is now considerable evidence that mammalian development is adaptable and that a study of the biological significance of environmentally caused differences is very relevant to physical anthropology.

References


McCay, C. M., In A. I. Lansing (ed.), Problems of Aging, Baltimore (Williams & Wilkins), 1952.


ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
PROCEEDINGS


The information given below has been gathered together by members of the Social Anthropology section of the British Ethnography Committee. It is hoped that similar lists will appear from time to time and the Committee would be grateful for information regarding other research programmes which are at present being carried out. Details should be sent to the Honorary Secretary of the Social Anthropology Sub-Committee, c/o 21 Bedford Square, London W.C.1.

A. UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTS

(i) University of Liverpool, Department of Social Science (from information supplied by Professor T. S. Simey). A series of investi-
gations is being undertaken by the Community Research Section into the problems of a blighted area in the centre of Liverpool.

(a) A study by C. H. Vereker and J. B. Mays concerned with relating social conditions to the physical environment of the area; with the economic background of the social structure and family life of the area; and with the residential mobility of the inhabitants. The results of this work will be published shortly.

(b) A study by J. B. Mays of the work and special problems of both primary and secondary modern schools in the research area. The results of this work will be published shortly.

(c) Leisure-time activities of young people in this area.

(d) Aspects of the religious life of this area.

(2) University of Manchester, Department of Social Anthropology and Sociology. Under the direction of Dr. W. Watson, an intensive study is being made of the social composition of a Lancashire industrial town (Leigh: pop. 50,000). The central theme of the research is to investigate the patterns of mobility between jobs, between districts, and between the social classes, and to inquire further into the relation of these patterns to the distribution of power and influence within the town. Sociological investigation will be broken down into two main parts:

(a) An analysis of the number and function of the professional, managerial and administrative groups and their role in the life of the community.

(b) A study of the working-class population and its part in political and associational life and the relation of local culture to natural culture.

Individual projects already arranged are:

(i) The investigation of the professional groups (Dr. W. Watson).

(ii) The sociological analysis of the community.

(iii) The study of women at work (Miss Ann Bird).

(iv) A study of emigration among schoolchildren as an indicator of social stress (Dr. R. Stein and A. Wilson).

(v) A study of school-leavers (J. Grange).

(3) University of Nottingham, Department of Social Science. A study of the social structure of Corby New Town.

(4) University of Oxford, Berinsfield Social Survey. A study of a new village being built in Oxfordshire on the site of a squatter settlement. It aims to discover changes in family relations as families are moved into the new houses; to plot the changes in community relations as an admixture of strangers is added to an already existing community; to study the ways in which the inhabitants participate in membership of formal organizations, and the ways in which they view such voluntary or official associations.

(5) University of Reading, Museum of English Rural Life. An economic and social study of the parishes of Ardington and Lockinge on the Berkshire Downs.

(6) University of Swansea, Social Science Department (communicated by R. Huws Jones). A study of family life in Swansea with special reference to the position of old people. The Director is R. Huws Jones and his Senior Research Officer is Dr. K. C. Rosser. The study aims to take the conclusions arrived at by the Institute of Community Studies as a result of their preliminary work in East London and to test them in a part of the country possessing different traditions, different industries and a different social history. It is planned to make a survey of a random sample of 2,000 households in Swansea with a view to providing a necessary background of information about family structure, family relationships and connections with the wider community. This will be followed by an intensive study of the family life of old people.

B. INSTITUTES

The Institute of Community Studies (information supplied by P. Wilmott). The Institute is now seeking to advance its initial studies in two ways:

(a) By exploring in other districts and even in other countries the influence of social class and other variables upon kinship, leading to a national study of kinship and social class in Britain.

(b) By carrying out specialized enquiries in the Bethnal Green area with the twin objectives of deepening understanding of specific social problems and of deepening understanding of kinship in this district.

Research at present in progress is as follows:

(i) Kinship and class in a London suburb. A study parallel to those in Bethnal Green, investigating the kinship patterns of the area and the influence of social class upon them.

(ii) Kinship and community at Dagenham. Interviews with a sample of residents on the L.C.C. estate at Dagenham, Essex, which was built some 30 years ago, will show whether the disintegrating effect of geographical movement from the East End upon kinship and community life (shown in 'Family and Kinship in East London') is short-term or long-term. Has the estate, largely recruited from the East End, developed into a community something like Bethnal Green? If not, what has happened?

(iii) The families of mental patients. This survey, in Bethnal Green itself, is intended to explore the relationships between the patient, his family, the local community and the hospital. What part does the family, in particular, play? And in which ways does family structure influence mental health?

C. INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITIES

(i) J. G. Jenkins: A study of social changes in a rural Welsh community. Two parishes, studied in 1952, have had their environment altered by the introduction of television and the establishment of a rocket research station. It is these two parishes that are now being re-examined.

(ii) E. W. Martin (Devon): A study of social class in rural areas.

SHORTER NOTES

Canute and the Waves. By Lord Raglan

Henry of Huntingdon ends his account of Canute with the following passage: 'When at the summit of his power, he ordered a seat to be placed for him on the seashore when the tide was coming in; thus seated he shouted to the flowing sea, "Thou too art subject to my command, as the land on which I am seated is mine; and no-one has ever resisted my commands with impunity. I command you, then, not to flow over my land, nor presume to wet the feet and robe of your lord." The tide, however, continuing to rise as usual, dashed over his feet and legs without respect to his royal person. Then the king leaped backwards, saying, "Let all men know, even your majesty, how empty and worthless is the power of kings, for there is none worthy of the name but He whom heaven, earth and sea obey by eternal laws." From thenceforth King Canute never wore his crown of gold, but placed it for a lasting memorial on the image of our Lord affixed to the cross, to the honour of God, the almighty King: through whose mercy may the soul of Canute, the king, enjoy everlasting rest.'

It will be noted that there is no mention of courtiers, or indeed of any person but Canute himself, yet Chambers's Encyclopaedia reproduces the story as follows: 'The famous story, telling how he rebuked the flattery of his courtiers by showing them that the advancing waves on the seashore had no regard for his kingship is
given by Henry of Huntingdon, who adds that never after would the king wear his crown, but hung it on the head of the crucified Lord.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says that the story is derived from 'an old Norman poem,' and that the incident took place on the Thames at Westminster. Its authority is apparently Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, but Freeman merely mentions the story of how Canute rebuked the 'impious flattery of his courtiers.'

Oman says of Canute that 'his subjects loved him well, and many tales survive to show their belief in his sagacity, such as the well-known story of his rebuke to the flattering courtiers who ascribed to him omnipotence by the incoming waves of Southampton Water.' Henry of Huntingdon has dropped out and Southampton Water has come in, but how a king would show sagacity by publicly making a fool of himself in order to humiliate his principal supporters is not explained.

Trelwylan says: 'The more famous legend of his rebuke to preposterous courtiers by the seashore, though very ancient, would more fittingly have attached to some wise King of sages nearer the sun, surrounded by his satraps and eunuchs. The hard-bitten house-ears and Viking and Norse thegns who guarded Canute had very different ideas of speech and service from those of Oriental hyperbole and servitude. Indeed it would be hard to find a local habitation for the story, because, in lands where courtiers flatter so grossly, the tide does not rise so fast and so far.'

It is worth noting here that the praise of kings was never mere flattery, but originated in ritual formula intended to reinforce the king's powers. An ancient king would no more object to such praise than would a modern sovereign to the wording of the National Anthem.

Finally we come to Hume, from whose version some of the later ones may be derived. He says: 'Some of his flatterers, breaking out one day in admiration of his grandeur, exclaimed that everything was possible for him; upon which the monarch, it is said, ordered his chair to be set on the seashore, while the tide was rising; and as the waters approached he ordered them to retire, and obey the voice of him who was lord of the ocean. He feigned to sit some time in expectation of their submission; but when the sea still advanced towards him, and began to wash him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers and remarked to them, that every creature in the universe was feeble and impotent, and that power resided with one Being alone, who could say to the ocean *Thus far and no further*, and who could level with his word the most towering piles of human pride and ambition.'

The story is discussed at some length by Mr. Birley, in his pamphlet *The Undergrowth of History* (1955). He tells us that it is given by Hume in his *History of England*, and that Hume cites in his support Higden, Brompton, Matthew of Westminster and *Anglia Sacra*. Mr. Birley says that these writers, the earliest of whom wrote in the second half of the thirteenth century, are unreliable on the history of England before their own day (p. 5).

He resumes (p. 24): 'On the same grounds, that is, a conflict with the contemporary evidence, and not merely because it is a good story which does not appear until a hundred years later, we must reject the tale of Canute and the Waves. It appears first in the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon, and all the later versions are derived from him. For his own day he is a reliable historian... But for the period before his own lifetime (he was born about 1085) Henry of Huntingdon cannot be trusted... I do not suppose that he invented the story. He had no conscience about embroidering incidents, but he does not seem to have made them up out of nothing. We cannot tell where this story came from; there is nothing to make one suppose that it was a local legend of the fenland, though Henry does not say where it occurred. The claim of Southampton was made much later.'

'It is true that the records of Canute's reign in England are meagre, but the *Ecclesiastical History*, in praise of Canute's second wife, was written by a monk of St. Omer who claimed to have seen Canute, and laid particular stress on his acts of piety. I cannot believe that he would have missed anything so spectacular as this incident. After all, the real point of this story, in its original form, was that, after this demonstration to his flatterers, Canute never wore his crown again, but placed it on a crucifix.

'It seems to me that the story may have some connexion with the famous gold cross, covered with jewels, given by Canute to Hyde Abbey or the New Minster, Winchester... I suspect that these monks had a great deal to do with the origin of the story. For it seems inescapable that nothing is so productive of stories, which depend on nothing but the skill of the inventor, as piety' (pp. 24-6).

We see that even Mr. Birley imports flatterers into Henry's story, and thereby spoils it. For the story as told is obviously a moral tale, of how pride was followed by a fall, and then by repentance. Why should Canute have been supposed to have done penance for his courtiers' folly?

And now to the origin of the story. Mrs. Ettinger, in a note which she contributed to *Folk-Lore* (1932, p. 334), quotes a legend of St. Ilid. His monastery at Llantwit Major was hemmed in by the sea. To enlarge its area he went, after prayer, to the shore at low tide, and drew with his staff a furrow which he forbade the sea to pass. It has never transgressed his command.

She quotes also a Breton legend. Tuirbe's Strand was so called because it was owned by one Tuirbe. He used to cast his axe in front of the flood tide 'so that he forbade the sea and it would not come over the axe.'

Mrs. Ettinger, in the note referred to, also mentions a Welsh story, that of Maelgwn. Professor William Rees has been kind enough to send me a full translation of this story, the relevant part of which is as follows. The men of Wales met on the Sands of Maelgwn at Aberdovey to decide who should be the chief king among them. And there Maela, the eldest son of the chieftain of Penardd in Arfon, placed a white chair of waxen wings under Maelgwn, and when the tide came in no one could withstand the tide, except Maelgwn because of the chair. And for that reason Maelgwn come to be made chief king. The story is taken from the *Welsh Laws*, which were not written down in their present form till about 1200, but Maelgwn is said to have died in A.D. 547, and the story is probably ancient. It seems to be a myth, that is to say a description in narrative form of some ritual, but no corona-
A Note on the ‘Poor Kayak’ of the Western Labrador Eskimo. By Asen Balikci, Human History Branch, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa. With a text figure

Several authors have described the ice-edge sea-mammal-hunting techniques of the Eskimo (Boas in *The Central Eskimo*, p. 498; Birket-Smith in *Ethnography of Egedesminde District*, p. 329, and *The Carlou Eskimos*, p. 130; Porsild in *Studies on the Material Culture of the Eskimo in West Greenland*, p. 138 etc.). After shooting the seal in the open water from the ice edge, the hunter may use a floating ice cake, a kayak or a Peterboro canoe to recover the mammal.

In the Pelly Bay region and some other districts along west Hudson Bay, locally made wooden crafts are employed. In Puvungnuituk (north-eastern Hudson Bay), information concerning a special type of vessel called *kayaklik* for ice-edge hunting was recently secured. The *kayaklik*, or poor kayak, is made in autumn from the old seal skins (kaarnginaq) of an ordinary kayak. The specimen (see fig. 1) obtained for the National Museum collections is 72 inches long, 33 inches wide and about 15 inches high. It has the general shape of a large moccasin; caribou sinews are used in sewing the skins together and, unlike the ordinary kayak, it has no rigid frame. The *kayaklik* is employed in the following manner: the hunter carries the folded *kayaklik* on his back to the ice edge; there, it is filled up with snow and the thongs on the top are tightened. The harpoon, ready for use, is fastened on the right side under the thongs and a small paddle is placed nearby. Immediately after shooting a seal from the ice edge, the hunter pushes the snow-filled vessel into the sea, sits on top, legs stretched, and, paddling to the floating mammal, he harpoons and drags it back to the solid ice.

The main advantages of the *kayaklik* over the rigid-frame kayak are its light weight and transportation facility. Several informants preferred the *kayaklik*, noting that carrying a kayak on the sled frequently damaged the skin cover of the kayak. Notwithstanding the qualities of the *kayaklik*, this craft has been out of use in the Puvungnuituk region for the past 15 years.

CORRESPONDENCE


Sir,—The publication by the William Wyse Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Cambridge of a long and acidulous attack upon myself is an obvious source of embarrassment.

I must reserve my full reply to Professor Fortes for some other occasion but I hope that you will allow me to make certain brief remarks. Professor Fortes's views are really based on an acceptance of Radcliffe-Brown's generalization that (universally) 'the existence of the elementary family creates three special kinds of social relationship, that between parent and child, that between children of the same parents (siblings), and that between husband and wife as parents of the same child or children' and that this is the initial axiom from which any study of kinship must proceed (Radcliffe-Brown, 1943). My own view is that this apparently self-evident generalization is fallacious and that the fallacy is located in the word 'parent.' When, in English, we use the word 'parent' to embrace both father and mother we imply that the relationship between father and child is in some major respect the same as the relationship between mother and child. Professor Fortes's manipulation of the paired terms 'filiation' and 'complementary filiation' also rests on this assumption.

Now there are many languages which do not contain any verbal concept which is equivalent to the English word 'parent' in this sense and there are some societies which seem to go out of their way to deny the appropriateness of such a concept. For example, in the well-known case of the Trobrianders discussed by Professor Malinowski, the ideology of the people asserts very explicitly that the relationship of a child to its mother's husband is in every possible respect quite unlike the relationship between a child and its mother. On the other hand the Trobrianders' use of kinship terms and their statements about what is a proper kind of marriage add up to saying that a man's *tuma* ('father') is much the same as his brother-in-law, *louen*; or, more simply, that a man is related to his father as an affine and not by filiation.

As I understand Professor Fortes he either denies that this distinction exists or else asserts that it is trivial. I cannot agree with him. Readers of *Man* must decide for themselves.

In the course of his paper Professor Fortes makes a number of factual errors regarding the ethnography of the Kachin and Lakher and these cannot be allowed to pass uncorrected.

(1) Kachin patrilineal clans and lineages are not strictly exogamous and there is no ethnographical source which suggests that they might be. The facts of the case are given in considerable detail in Leach (1954, pp. 128ff).

(2) There are no grounds for thinking that the principles of lineage segmentation operating among the Lakher are any different from those operating among the Kachin. Parry (1932) does not discuss principles of lineage segmentation but the extensive genealogical material given in his book (which relates to chiefly lineages only), displays a system of lineage segmentation exactly analogous to that found among the Kachin.
(3) Professor Fortes maintains that my statements concerning class and status among the Kachin and Lakher are confused and confusing. If this be so Professor Fortes's commentary only adds to the confusion, for the situation in both societies is the same and quite straightforward. An individual belongs to a named patrilineage and this patrilineage, as a whole, belongs to a named and ranked class. The ranks may be translated as Chief, Aristocrat, Commoner, Slave. Kachins certainly (and Lakher probably) recognize that lineages can 'go downhill' (i.e. move into a lower class); they do not admit that a lineage can ever move into a higher class. The actual possibilities of such class mobility have been considered by me at some length (Leach, 1954, pp. 159-172).

Marriage manipulation in no way affects the class ranking of a lineage but that does not mean that every aristocrat is on a par with every other aristocrat or every commoner with every other commoner. The game of hypogamous marriage is played with a view to raising the status (not class) of a man and his immediate descendants vis-à-vis other persons of the same class. A localized patrilineage whose members habitually pay 'above-average' bridewealth for wives of 'above-average' status gains permanent kudos thereby and can in turn start to demand 'above-average' bridewealth for its own daughters. But matrilineal inheritance is irrelevant. Where a distinction is drawn between the children of true wives and the children of concubines (Leach, 1954, p. 166; note 1) the point at issue is the marital status of the wife, not her rank. The child of a woman of chiefly class by a husband of aristocratic class is always of aristocratic class, never of chiefly class. The status, within its own class, of any particular child depends upon the status achieved by his father and father's father. If the mother is of higher-class rank than the father this enhances the father's personal status; it does not put the child above the father.

The Lakher attitude to these matters seems to me indistinguishable from that of the Kachin.

Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge E. R. LEACH

References
C. Parry, The Lakher, 1932.
B. Malinowski, The Sexual Life of Savages, 1929.

Note
1 'The father's sister is the prototype of the lawful woman.' The category tama includes both the 'father' (mother's husband) and the father's sister's son. Marriage with the father's sister's daughter, though rare, is regarded as an ideal union.

The Ch'iang. Cf. MAN, 1959, 281

7 Smr.—The review of my book, The Customs and Religion of the Ch'iang, in the September issue of MAN makes advisable a few words of explanation.

I was requested to make a study of the Ch'iang people by some Chinese leaders. In almost every article and the one book published about them in English, they were declared to be monothists, and one writer asserted that they were descendants of the ancient Israelites. These leaders wanted to know whether or not these things were true.

I was then teaching in the West China Union University. The only times available to travel and live among the Ch'iang were the summer vacations of two months each and shorter periods during the remainder of the year. It was during the Second World War, and the Chinese Government finally refused to allow westerners to travel for research purposes among the non-Chinese peoples of West China. A Canadian woman, an anthropologist, went among the Lolo to study their customs. She was arrested under the suspicion that she was a spy and escorted under guard back to Chengtu. When it was no longer possible to go to the Ch'iang region, I hired Ch'iang men who knew the Ch'iang culture to come to Chengtu and for weeks and sometimes months at a time to help me in my study. I also read every book and article which I could find that contained information about the Ch'iang. In view of the fact that great changes are taking place among the peoples of central Asia, it seemed to me that I ought to make available to others by publication what I had learned about the Ch'iang.

The Ch'iang people are not a tribe, and they have no tribal organization. They are an ethnic group bound together by a common language and common beliefs and practices.

This book has been reviewed in two other scientific journals, and in both there are criticisms and words of appreciation. It was reviewed in Science, the Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in the issue of 13 November, 1959, by a teacher of anthropology in Columbia University. The closing sentence is, 'Graham is to be congratulated for making this material available, and the Smithsonian Institution is to be complimented for providing for its publication.'

Englewood, Colorado

DAVID C. GRAHAM


8 Smr.—My study of the evidence relating to the introduction of maize into West Africa is not yet ready for publication. However, my principal reason for choosing A.D. 1500 as a terminus post quem for the occurrence of maize impressions on Yoruba pottery is that the earliest record in West Africa of any crop which could possibly be maize is in 1502 on Sao Tomé (Valentin Fernandez, quoted by Dr. Jeffreys himself in the Bull. de l'Inst. Français d'Afrique Noire, Ser. B, Vol. XIX, pp. 111-16) and 1500 is therefore a reasonable round figure to use.


The Museum, Ife, Western Nigeria

FRANK WILLET
Eocene lemurs were dissociated from the lines leading to the monkeys, apes and man, he remains non-committal about the possible derivatives of the early tarsiers.

The next and more concise section of the monograph reviews the features of living and fossil monkeys, and leads to the view that the Old and New World groups became detached from the predecessors of the apes and man in an early (although unspecified) geological epoch.

Dr. Piveteau’s outline of the ape radiation includes descriptions of a wide range of genera (but not of Ocepetheus or the Australopithecine), and the view is expressed that the evidence, especially as provided by the East African Miocene genera Limnopithecus and Proconsul (both of which are regarded as apes), supports the thesis, first, that the group has had a long evolutionary history independent of the monkeys and man, and second, that the method of locomotion peculiar to the living species did not emerge until a relatively late stage of their history.

The foregoing sections comprise the opening third of the volume and form a basis for a study of the groups that are presumed to represent stages in the line of descent leading to Homo sapiens. The earliest members of this line were not ‘men’ in the sense that they had acquired the critical human faculty of conceptual thought, but they did, in Dr. Piveteau’s view, show anatomical modifications which could have paved the way for the cerebral development associated with the emergence of Homo. The known fossil groups that are regarded as related to, although not necessarily identical with, those by way of these apes are the African Australopithecine, and the analysis of their remains leads to a general conclusion that the human line originated at a point which antedated Limnopithecus and Proconsul.

The final sections of the monograph deal with the phases of human evolution following the development of the power of abstract thought. This critical step is described concisely as ‘l’homisation’ and the stages following its attainment are characterized by the association of stone cultures with the fossil remains. The known fossil men are divided into three groups: the Archanthropiens including all former hominids, the Pithecanthropus, the Palaeanthropiens comprising not only the classical specimens of Neanderthal man but also a number of types from the last interglacial period that are by some scholars assigned to Homo sapiens, and finally the Néanthropiens which include the men of the Upper Palaeolithic and later periods.

Although the text is not specifically committal, Dr. Piveteau appears to think that the Archanthropiens as a general stage in the main evolutionary line. The ‘classic’ Neanderthals are thought to be an offshoot, but the geologically older specimens attributed to this group (e.g., Ehringsdorf) are regarded as a significant stage in the development of Homo sapiens. The skulls from Swanscombe and Fontéchevade form the penultimate phase, and the text closes with a summary account of fossil remains and associated cultural objects from the Upper Palaeolithic.

In the first edition of a work that comprises some 650 pages of text, small factual errors and omissions are unavoidable, and it would seem inappropriate to attract attention to specific points of this type. Again, as Dr. Piveteau’s monograph deals with a field in which the interpretation of factual data is to no small extent subjective, it would be unprofitable to challenge any of the numerous points that are merely expressions of opinion. But even if these matters are disregarded, the present work remains open to a number of general criticisms. First, the often protracted morphological descriptions tend to obscure the fact that, even with the notable finds of the past 35 years, the numbers of available primate fossils are still relatively few, and it is therefore difficult to attempt to reconstruct evolutionary lineages. Second, although Ocepetheus is regarded as generally the basal group in the Linnean classification gives the best possible indication of evolutionary relationships, Dr. Piveteau bases his deductions on the assumption that ‘le point de vue du paléontologiste reconstituant l’histoire des hommes fossiles n’est pas exactement celui du systématicien.’ As a result, in the assessment of evolutionary relationships undue emphasis is given to pre-sumed similarities and differences between relatively few morphological features. This tendency is emphasized by two further characteristics of Dr. Piveteau’s general approach.

First, even when several similar specimens are available, the text frequently fails to give prominence to the analysis of morphological variability. Second, the descriptions are almost entirely non-quantitative, the brief references to published biometric studies indicating that Dr. Piveteau feels that at the most, these methods can make only a limited contribution to the description and study of fossil forms.

Finally, the very persuasiveness of Dr. Piveteau’s writing and his obviously deep conviction that certain ‘prehuman’ groups (e.g., Ocepetheus and the Australopithecine) are already known, detract from the fact that the animal and evolutionary significance of many features of these fossils is by no means universally agreed. Consequently, although the monograph gives a comprehensive and eminently readable account of human evolution, for the non-specialist reader it fails to highlight the numerous unresolved problems, on both the anatomical and systematic levels, that emerge from a study of the available primate fossils.

E. H. ASHTON


Human Groups is a useful introduction to the social psychology of groups. Comprehensive in scope it deals with the family, the village and the neighbourhood as well as with those group researches which have become known as group dynamics. These topics already indicate, Professor Sprott has tried to blend the dominant British approach to the study of groups which is largely concerned with actual groups in society with the dominant American approach which is largely based on laboratory experiments. By and large the book is a happy blend thanks to the prominence given to the theoretical work of George Homans which can deal adequately with both types.

Professor Sprott’s presentation is lucid, has historical depth and a broad view of those world problems to the understanding of which such research might contribute. These topics already indicate, Professor Sprott has tried to blend the dominant British approach to the study of groups which is largely concerned with actual groups in society with the dominant American approach which is largely based on laboratory experiments. By and large the book is a happy blend thanks to the prominence given to the theoretical work of George Homans which can deal adequately with both types.

**MARIE JAHODA**


If social anthropologists are too busy to popularize their own discipline, they must expect others to do it for them. Mr. Hays, who has been chosen by Methuen for this delicate piece of public-relations work, is an American litérateur. His book is thus amusing, if rather self-consciously ‘readable.’ We are introduced to one anthropologist after another, often at the moment when he is fighting up some remote sound or hearing in an exotic port, are given a potted biography of him (or her) and a great deal of anecdote about his activities. This gossip is most entertaining, but the author briefly finishes the book just to see what happens to social anthropology in the end will be disappointed.

Mr. Hays cannot go far wrong when he is telling us that Morgan collected kinship systems or that Malinowski stayed a long time in the field and studied the sexual life of the savages in great detail. The pioneers of anthropology are adequately and freshly presented, but, as the science grows more sophisticated and it is less easy to sum up its achievements, his touch gets progressively less sure until we are left wondering how he can combine so much knowledge with so little understanding.
It is not, for instance, his dismissal of modern British social anthropology but his uninformed reasons for it that sadden us. We are told that the preoccupations of modern British scholars appear to be conditioned by Britain's position as a colonial power. Not only have British anthropologists tended to work in British territories, but they have apparently confined themselves to providing ethnographical analyses for colonial administrators. Therefore '...since this group of anthropologists has not initiated new trends but has rather developed a more detailed and analytical functionalism, their contribution is not treated extensively in the present volume.' This is a magnificent understatement. Though Firth, Richards, Nadel, Schapera, Wilson, Kaberry, Mair, Fortes (sic), Leach, Evans-Pritchard, Gluckman and Forde are mentioned (in a paragraphic appendix to Malinowski) as being, indeed, social anthropologists, Mr. Hays does not feel it necessary, even in his supplementary list, to name more than two of their combined works: Mair's Australia in New Guinea because it deals with colonial trusteeship and an early article by Evans-Pritchard because it is about dancing. Yet he feels, to judge by his bibliography, that the works of Elliot Smith and Gobineau (it would be invidious to mention other names) are memorable contributions. Nor does his belief that British anthropologists have devoted the last 30 years to the solution of governmental problems in the colonies really account for his omission of their work. It is clear that he regards social engineering as the mission of modern social anthropology. This implies anthropology only noteworthy, then, in advanced societies.

Those anthropologists whom Mr. Hays does discuss often emerge in a curious light. Lowie and Rivers (whose work on kinship is ignored) are arbitrarily bracketed as 'diffusionists' together with Gräber, Schmidt, Elliot Smith, Wissler, Radin and Nordenskjöld. Durkheim is called 'fundamentally an evolutionist' and, if Mr. Hays is aware that he wrote anything else save Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse, he gives no inkling of it in his text. In considering the study of marriage he devotes twice as much space to an obvious crank like Robert Briffault as to Lévi-Strauss. Frobenius gets a chapter to himself so that we can be entertained by his ludicrous attempts to study Africans in the bars of Bremen or to pilfer sacred objects in Nigeria. Tyler's romantic excursion to Mexico also gets a whole chapter. Clearly omissions and abridgements are not entirely due to lack of space.

Mr. Hays is a humanist, who is nevertheless able to put himself in the anthropologist's shoes, even when it comes to looking at his own work. The best part of his book is that which deals with the recent studies of American communities. Indeed his vignettes of the societies which anthropologists have studied are often good pieces of impressionist writing. He has made the attempt to tie in anthropological thinking with contemporary intellectual currents, but his understanding of the theory of social anthropology is unfortunately confined to a highly questionable cataloguing of anthropologists.

Here it seems that he too is an evolutionist at heart, for he traces a steady development from evolutionism through diffusionism, sociology and functionalism to the culture-and-personality school. Not so much from ape to angel as from Morgan to Margaret Mead.

D. MAYBURY-LEWIS


Man, it seems, has always been kindly and sensible. Though in some respects untutored and conservative, he has taken advantage of 'the natural tendency for the means of production to develop and improve' (p. 106), and 'has everywhere and at all times improved his condition by his own imagination' (p. 111). The author scarcely mentions war, and never refers to such unpleasant subjects as crime, human sacrifice and religious persecution. In the matter of social origins he manages to be a diffusionist and an anti-diffusionist at the same time. On p. 132 we are told that 'The notion that a society, if left to itself, will evolve along paths similar to those of other societies involves this notion of the evolutionary process, for in the final analysis social development is the result of interaction (its italics) between societies.' Yet on p. 136 we learn that 'clans and clanlike social units are a natural solution to the organization problems at the middle levels of society, so that they tend to appear no matter what the historic background was.' RAGLAN


This book, the 'blurbs' states, was 'just finished' when its author died. My impression is that it had not received his final corrections, for there are not only occasional carelessness in the style but a multitude of small errors of detail, such as a writer of Sarton's calibre would presumably have put right before sending his work to the printer. These errors are mostly in the parts dealing with literature, for Sarton's conception of science included, very properly, historiography, philology, even art, and he makes excursions into activities (such as epic poetry) which can hardly come under the most generous definition of science. But he was himself primarily a scientist with humanistic interests, a laudable type which is all too rare in our day, and so spoke with less authority and knowledge of, for instance, Vergil than of Archimedes or Hipparchos.

The great merit of the book, which continues his earlier work, A History of Science through the Golden Age of Greece (same publisher, 1952), is its vivid and lucid treatment of department after department of intellectual activity within the chronological limits stated in the title. No specialist knowledge on the reader's part is called for, only sympathetic interest in the problems which are not only important but are still far from being advanced in any way, more especially mathematics and the exact sciences. A valuable feature is the account given of the means by which knowledge of these ancient activities reached the modern world; many of the illustrations are good reproductions of title pages of ediciones principales of the relevant texts. No exhaustive analysis or detailed criticism can be attempted here.

H. J. ROSE


The necessary brevity of this review ought not to mislead anyone into thinking that the works in question are negligible. They are the productions of a learned, thoughtful and acute student of the history of religion, and contain much that is of value to anyone interested in the subject.

By dualism the author means any religion, mythology or ideology which supposes the existence of a being or beings malignant by nature, and therefore opposed to the beneficent deity or deities (usually the former, and regularly a Creator) postulated in these systems. The classical land of dualism is of course ancient Persia with its eternal opposition of Ahura Mazda and Ahriman; but Bianchi, after a survey extending from eastern Europe eastwards as far as the Iroquois and Algonkins of North America, makes it clear that dualism exists in places where the influence of Zoroastrianism or the dualism-system belonging to a high culture cannot with any verisimilitude be postulated; in one form or another it is found, independently it would seem, though differences between one such religion and another are frequent enough, throughout the wide region which he has examined. The investigation involves the brief telling of a number of remarkable myths of the beginnings of things, with other material, always fully documented, worthy of further examination and handsomely arranged.

The shorter work is essentially an examination of the various ways in which religions have been and are being classified since the days of E. B. Tyler, together with some consideration of the theories of their origin, from animism on. It is close packed with information and criticism enough to have filled a much bulkier book.

H. J. ROSE


This book is divided into three parts, together with an introduction and an appendix. The author explains in the introduction that his aim is to indicate 'some of the ways which can be pursued in the study of the important social pheno-
menon of feminism,' dealing especially with the 'biological factors.' In fact Mr. Colmeiro-Laforte tackles the problem ab ovo and sets before us in the first chapter, woman's condition in the 'primitive hordes.' Several pages follow to discuss the obsolete problem of the matriarchate—a chapter without any originality; he then goes on to consider the different points of view of the Marxist and psychoanalyst theorists on the social life of primitive people.

After these considerations on an archaeological basis, a historical sketch follows in which there are treated the atmosphere in which feminism germinated, the feminist aspirations, and the personality of the leaders (Wollstonecraft, G. Elliot, G. Sand), taking always as the basis of discussion British society from the times of the industrial revolution.

The third part seems to be the most worthy of attention in the book and in this the author, as a gynaecologist, is in a field which fits better with his specialization. Basing himself on purely biological arguments he sets forth the fragility and vulnerability of the masculine sex, in the face of the many stimuli in the presence of which the feminine sex has a considerably greater resistance (this chapter is entitled 'The Strength of the So-called Weaker Sex'). On the other hand, if we bear in mind that women benefit more from medicine than men, it seems reasonable—the author says—to foretell that the disproportion between the number of men and of women will gradually increase in any civilized society. This brings us on to the suggestion that the progressive feminization to which all the civilized countries seem to be inexorably condemned, may be considered as a consequence of their progress' (p. 199).

The last 30 pages are devoted to an inquiry about the principal motives for the restlessness and anxiety of the woman. Her condition in the patriarchal society is evidently unjust. The patterns which have regulated her behaviour, primarily designed to make evident her condition of woman, are not useful when she is obliged to work. A job requires, in addition to some knowledge to perform it, several qualities such as resolution, a sense of reality and of responsibility, steadiness, lack of sentiment and so forth, and all these in an age in which her interest is chiefly governed by the desire of calling man's attention to herself and by the narcissistic tendency to preoccupy herself with her appearance, her clothes, etc.

The appendix, which has the promising title of 'On the Condition of the Spanish Woman,' does not from a sociological point of view come up to our expectations. In Spain, he says, the question is influenced by three factors. The first circumstance to be taken into account is the slow socio-economic evolution of the country, which means that problems of feminist character is not a real issue till very recent times. The second is the influence of Christianity on the society and the third is the Spanish civil legislation which considers woman inferior to man.

It is worth saying that there is, at the end of every chapter, a large and critical bibliography of the books used by the author. The bibliographical apparatus is really extensive, especially if we bear in mind that many of the books are not accessible to Spanish readers. This provides the Spanish reader not specialized in the primitive, historical or biological aspects of feminism with a good list of bibliographical references and a sound orientation on the content of the books quoted.

From a socio-anthropological point of view it is difficult to gather any clear idea of what would be for Mr. Colmeiro-Laforte the characteristics of feminism, derived from purely social factors. But it is clear that this book (which has several dozen misprints) has not been written from this point of view.

CARMELO LISON-TOLOSANA


Mr. Smart has been trained in the philosophical school of linguistic analysis; and in this book, an addition to 'The International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method,' he carries this particular kind of investigation into the field of religious discourse. This was a useful task to undertake, though on the whole Mr. Smart's essay is disappointing. It is not an easy book to read, not only because of the abstract nature of much of its contents but also because of its ugly literary style and home-made jargon—a defect by no means uncommon among writers of this kind. The description which the author himself gives to his exercise, 'bludgeon-like analysis,' is apt. In a few places it verges on unintelligibility; one suspects that better proof-reading might have removed a few of the difficulties.

Despite a certain amount of apologetic humbug about not offending the reader's faith and despite the inaccuracy of theinvestigation in the end, Mr. Smart has by reference to Upanishadic, Buddhist and other non-Christian, as well as better-known Christian, statements at least suggested subjects for fuller consideration. So much religious language is churned out in the pulpit and the press that it is wise to force preachers and writers to think more critically about what they are saying. Yet ironically enough this book reminds us that religion is not merely a matter of verbal propositions but also a matter of experience and activity. It also emphasizes how important it is that philosophers, many of whom are again taking religion seriously, should consult with theologians: both will have much to learn.

Mr. Smart has made a valiant effort to study religious discourse from a constructive analytical standpoint; but there is something unsatisfactory in his refusal to go further and attempt to establish or refute the truth of the religions which he discusses. Perhaps this is too much to expect of British philosophy in its present mood.

D. W. GUNDROY


Dr. Lessa, who is associate professor of anthropology in the University of California, and Dr. Vogt, who holds a similar chair at Harvard University, present us with an extensive anthology. Yet despite the title, it is not so much a textbook of 'comparative religion,' as that term is generally understood in Europe, as a textbook of 'primitive religion.' There is only a little here on the great living faiths, whether monotheistic or monistic.

The introduction is negligible; but the excerpts, drawn from over 60 authors, are grouped under the following headings: the origin and development of religion; the function of religion in human society; myth and ritual; man and taboo; totemism; magic; witchcraft and divination; the magical treatment of illness; death; ghosts and ancestor-worship; shamans and priests; dynamics (meaning, presumably, factors effecting change) in religion; and portraits (sketches of various kinds) of religion. The index is inadequate.

Most of the great nineteenth- and twentieth-century names are here, as well as some of the less great; and short biographies are appended, together with a varied bibliography. There are obvious omissions, e.g. Max Müller, Spencer, Westermarck, Lévy Brühl, to say nothing of numerous contemporary authorities; and, since Freud is included, why not Jung? As the book is intended for students in the U.S.A., there is a preponderance of quotations from scholars in that country; and these are mainly concentrated on primitive religion. It would be interesting to see how British, French, German or Scandinavian scholars would differ in their choice of material for such an anthology of the comparative study of religion.

Nevertheless, if books condensing books are necessary, this volume will excite many students from reading the originals; and, despite what the individual critic may consider to be the defects of this kind of compilation, the selection is a useful one.

D. W. GUNDROY


This bulletin is the work-in-progress report of the Oxford Research Laboratory for Archeology. As was pointed out in the first volume, this is not intended to by-pass the more normal
media of publication, but is offered rather as a statement of the work being done by the Laboratory.

In this issue a fairly large proportion of the papers deal in general terms with the application of various branches of the natural sciences to archaeological materials. Two papers by Dr. Hall give an admirably clear account for the non-scientist of many methods currently used, with some very useful data relating to the limitations and cost of chemical and physical analyses. A further group of three papers describes the working as a survey instrument of the proton magnetometer so successfully pioneered by Dr. Aitken.

Three groups of papers deal with analytical data. Early Greek silver coins were examined with the aim of showing the source of the silver. While this has largely failed, the analyses do show an attempt to regulate the metallic standard of the coins. Romano-British mortaria were similarly examined to test if the products of different potters varied significantly. Those from Colchester showed a considerably higher calcium content than those from a further ten sites. A group of Romano-British terra-cotta slab moulds proved on analysis to have been used for casting various alloys, chiefly bronze, copper-silver and silver-gold, unquestionably as coin blanks.

H. W. M. HODGES

ASIA


The agricultural collective of Israel, known as 'Kibbutzim,' have stimulated considerable interest amongst social scientists. The distinguishing features of their social structure and organization are: communal ownership of property; circulation of certain roles of authority; a system of separate houses for age groups of children. The latter, instead of residing with their parents, live together in dormitories from infancy to marriage, each age group moving through a series of stages together. The infants' homes are administered by women specialists, while those of the older children are supervised by men also. The children visit their parents daily, and infants are partly tended by their mothers.

This system was initially devised to free the women from the 'shackles of bourgeois family responsibility,' but it was also believed that the ill effects of parental influence, like the Oedipus complex and neurosis, would be thereby eliminated.

Professor Spiro, author of a popular and more general account of kibbutz life (Kibbutz, Venture in Utopia), has now published his more detailed analysis of the system of socialization; his book is based on a year's field work in one community, in which he was assisted by his wife. He rightly sees these institutions as a device for creating and maintaining collectivist sentiments and ideology, for forging communal-wide ties, for linking the community to the kibbutz movement, and for teaching responsiveness to the authority of peer-group opinion. He also analyses the conflicts and compromises — both with regard to structure and to ideology and values — engendered by the system. On the whole, however, he pays more attention to psychological mechanisms, providing 'quantitative data' on the acceptance of norms, expression of aggression, etc. The book abounds in clinical observations of the behaviour of young people; an interesting aspect of the technique is the use of the observer(s) as parent or authority surrogate.

To the sociologist the book is of interest in providing a description of the various stages of education, the institutional form of socialization and the content of what is taught. Of fundamental interest to the 'psychologically oriented anthropologist' are there any left in the United Kingdom? — is Professor Spiro's analysis of two key questions: the degree and forms of affectivity in interpersonal behaviour; the structure of the Oedipus complex. Regarding the first question, he rightly stresses the difference between the kibbutz 'Sabra' and parentless children. The former may exhibit a repression of affect, the latter tend to lack strong affect. To the second question, he proposes an interesting solution: the female parent and parent surrogate combine, for the infant, 'nurturance' with 'punitive ness'; the male parent is solely 'nurturant.' Thus one would expect a 'passive' male identification on the part of boys. The author, unhappily, adds little convincing evidence in favour of his prognosis.

In fact, many of his interpretations on the deeper personality level suffer from the same lack of rigorous testing, though Professor Spiro is most adept at suggesting hypotheses. His next volume, giving the evidence of psychological tests, may fill this gap, though I am doubtful. But considering the brevity of his stay in the community, the author has attained a masterful insight into its workings and into the character of its members. How valid is it?

PERCY S. COHEN


The author is the present President of the State of Israel, noted for his scholarly interest in Jewish culture and society, and the cultures of the Near East. The book, an attempted survey of certain 'exotic' Jewish groups, is inspired throughout by the tone of its title; but unfortunately, this is little reason to recommend it to anthropologists. It contains sections on Jewish ethnic groups in contemporary Muslim societies or areas, on quasi-or crypto-Jewish sects and states (contemporary and historical), and on apostates who retained some element of group identity following on forced conversion to Islam.

The writer tries to encompass so wide a field in little more than 300 pages that it is not surprising that each group is dealt with in cursory and arbitrary fashion. In most cases the reader is treated to little more than a bare historical account of the supposed origin of each group, evidence of its persistence over a period of time, and one or two features—not necessarily the most interesting ones—of its culture. But there is no uniformity in the treatment: e.g., we are told more about the social structure of the Caucasian Jews than of the Jews of Kurdistan, Morocco and Yemen. This is all the more strange in view of the relative paucity of sources in the first case. The author bases his account of the former on that of a Soviet ethnographer whose attention was but fleetingly diverted from his search for bigger game, while ignoring the altogether richer material collected by Jewish and other scholars on the social and cultural life of the Jews of Yemen, Morocco, etc. Now little of this latter material is available to the general or even Hebrew-reading public, yet Mr. ben Zvi misses an opportunity to present some of it. Instead, the chapters devoted to these ethnic groups contain few ethnographical facts of a reliable quality.

The sincerity of purpose of the author is undoubted; but this does little to enrich his material or insight; his analysis of the social and cultural context in which Jewish minorities survived in the Muslim world is vitiated by strong emotional involvement, thus (p. 43): 'Jews in Kurdistan were no better than slaves to the ... [Begs], even though occasionally some of the Begs protected a few of them against the depredations of other Begs.' It was the very rivalry between heads of lineages or clans which may have enabled the Jews to survive, since sovereignty over a clan area implied the 'protection' of non-Muslim subjects—provided that they were pagans—at against other chiefs, yet the author is prevented from grasping such facts by his primary concern for Jewish dignity, and his horror of the 'oppressor.'

The book contains 46 photographs illustrating Jewish 'ethnic types'; almost all of these are to be found in one or other of the many popular accounts of immigration into Israel. In fact this book might well be considered a companion volume to those accounts.

PERCY S. COHEN


Detailed and recent information from the Middle East is always to be welcomed. Mr. Edmonds here gives us plenty on north-east Iraq, together with an account, sometimes highly personal—the book might perhaps better be called...
'Kurds, Kurds and Edmonds'—of the British conquest and administration of these areas from the end of the First World War up to 1926, when the Mosul area was allocated to Iraq by the League of Nations Commission.

Mr. Edmonds begins with Kurdish myth and history, and lists, with useful comments, books by British and some other travellers in this area. He describes the geography and ethnology with a thoroughness at times almost tedious, comments on antiquities, spots a good site for a hill station, relates the names of his pilots, commends Middle East servants and discusses British policy, Iraq politics and international history. It is clear that, confident in the moral rightness of the British and their cause, he greatly enjoyed his years of authority in Kurdistan, and contributed himself no little to good government, law and order. But in spite of considerable sympathy and political insight, he seems to assume that people can properly be expected to be pleased by and grateful for the good government which foreign conquerors have brought them.

The book will be thoroughly useful to students of Kurdistan, of Iraq and of British colonial rule. Like many of his contemporaries, Mr. Edmonds is an excellent all-rounder—geography, ethnography, history, archaeology and, professionally, political administration—and the result is width of range at the cost of profundity.

Paul Stirling


A great deal of information about Baluchistan and Bahawalpur has been gathered into this book. The geographical environment is well described, and considerable data relating to physical anthropology are set out in a series of tables. Archaeological and zoological specimens were collected, together with much information regarding history and ethnography. No fresh conclusions seem to emerge from the anthropological statistics. All general observations regarding Brahui origins, their differences from the Baluchis and their Dravidian-style language are taken with little original comment from earlier writers. One of the objectives of this reconnaissance was to 'fill in some of the known lacunae in prehistory.' It is fair to say that so far this report is concerned this was not done. In this 'bridge-over' area of Baluchistan, microlithic sites of mesolithic date and stone circles are of supreme importance. No mention is made of a stone circle recorded on the map near Turbat, and two circles between Panjgur and Nag were sighted but not examined nor recorded in detail. There is a brief account of a mesolithic cave site at Kapoto, but no illustrations or descriptions of the microliths found there. Figures are found at four sites, are neither described nor illustrated, but are said to provide a link with the Harappa culture but they must be of the Kulli culture and only remotely connected with the Indus valley. H. A. Khan's appendix on the pottery fails to recognize important sherders. Fig. 22.4 and fig. 26.4 and 6 are Togau ware, fig. 22.2, not described, is probably Nundara ware and fig. 26.3 and 9 Quetta ware. Painted pottery from Bahawalpur, all lumped together as Harapan, includes figs. 28.1, 2 and 4, all

probably Jhukar, fig. 30.2, 3 and 4 (the last showing centaurs, not stylized bulls) Ravi (Cemetery H) ware, and fig. 33 painted and stamped pottery of the fourth to fifth centuries A.D. Nevertheless, the book is well produced and has much information for the physical anthropologist, and the maps, especially those of the traverses in Baluchistan and Bahawalpur, are of great value.

D. H. Gordon


Dr. Verrier Elwin, who is now Adviser for Tribal Affairs, North-East Frontier Agency, has collected these folk-tales—nearly 400 of them—with the aid of interpreters in an area in which a quite fantastic number of languages and dialects put it beyond the powers of any one individual to collect them all without such help. He includes ten short stories from Sir George Duft-Sutherland-Dunbar's 'Abors and Galongs' published more than 40 years ago in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and a few from the much earlier reports of Neufville, Macgregor and Needham.

In his introduction Dr. Elwin gives a brief geographical and historical notice of the area and tribes in which the tales were collected. The tales themselves are arranged not according to the tribes from which they were collected, but in sections: Part One, 'Heaven and Earth', deals with natural phenomena; Part Two with 'Man and his History'; Part Three with 'The Daily Life of Man'; and Part Four with 'The World of Animals.' These parts are subdivided into chapters, each of which has a few introductory pages. Finally there are a Glossary of Tribes (to which a map would have been a valuable addition), a Bibliography, a short Word List, and an Index.

The tales in general have very much the complication that one might expect from the area, including as they do various accounts of the origin of the universe, the heavenly bodies, eclipses, etc., of the flood, and the origins of the human race and of tigers, of the discovery of fire, of the ubiquitous trickster, of the Amazons, of animals helpful and otherwise, of a magic flute, of a drum that makes its hearers dance to their destruction, and so forth. Some motifs that one would expect to find are wanting; there is no account of a tower of Babel, though a story of this sort is found in the Naga Hills to the south and in Sikhim to the west; there are no stories of leopard-men, tiger-men, or lion-men, nor of the reptile messenger to teach men to be immortal by changing their skins, though the idea appears in a Wanche story of greedy immortals who lost the power of insect-like immortality as a punishment from the deity for eating too much of the world's produce. There is a slip in the introduction to chapter ii, for it was not the left but the right breast that the Amazons cut off so as not to interfere with the bowstring when shooting.

Readers who enjoy this volume of folktales can look forward to a second volume in which Dr. Elwin promises us a motiff index to both volumes and much more of his valuable introductory material. The North-East Frontier Agency is to be congratulated on its publications, as well as Dr. Elwin.

J. H. Hutton

EUROPE


It is a cause for great rejoicing among all who are occupied with the study of the Lapp language and its dialects that Dr. T. I. Itkonen's magnificent dictionary of the Skolt and Kola Lapp dialects, also called the Russian Lapp dialects, has now appeared in print. As to the title of the work, it may be pointed out in passing that the denomination 'Kolta' used in the German title is a hybrid form that is not to be recommended. The Finnish 'koltta' is a Fennicized form of the Scandinavian 'skolt,' which is the form that is to be preferred as an international term. If however the word is to be Fennicized else when, e.g., the German or English language is used, then why not do so fully and give it the shape it has in Fennish in the nominative singular, viz. 'koltta'?

Hitherto the only dictionary of East Lapp has been the Wörterbuch der Kola-lappischen Dialekte by Arvid Genetz (1891), which is comparatively small and does not include the Skolt dialects. After the appearance of T. I. Itkonen's dictionary, only Inari Lapp among the East Lapp dialects still awaits its dictionary, and it is to be hoped that our industrious colleagues in Finland will presently fill this want too.

By far the major part of the abundant material presented in
the dictionary has been collected in the field by the author himself, but it is to be noted with gratitude that he has also included the material available in earlier works of different kinds, many of them difficult to get nowadays, so that the book has become a thesaurus comprising the entire lexicological material available for the Skolt and Kola Lapp dialects. It is true that in a few instances I have happened to come across an item in some earlier source which has not been recorded here, but these omissions are evidently purely accidental and of no great importance.

The material is rich, comprising inflectional forms of the words as well as a lot of compounds and syntactic examples. It is presented throughout in the transcription used by the recorders (i.e. in most cases the author himself), and this transcription is generally highly complicated with a lot of diacritical marks, which must necessarily make the use of the dictionary rather difficult to those who are not well acquainted with the Lapp language and the Fenno-Ugric system of phonetic notation. It would have been a great help especially to students of etymology, religion, folklore, etc., if the title words had been given in a simplified, preferably a phonemic transcription. To do so is of course no easy task, especially when several different dialects are involved, but one could base the title-word transcription on one dialect (in this case e.g. that of Paatsjoki, which in most cases is the one in which the title words of the dictionary are given).

On the other hand, the use of the dictionary is facilitated by the indices in Vol. II, which give alphabetical lists of the Norwegian (North) Lapp words corresponding to the words of the dictionary, and of the Finnish and German translations, with references to the page and column where the word in question is to be found. The Norwegian Lapp words are inserted in brackets at the end of the word articles. The Lapp words are translated into both Finnish and German. There is also in Vol. II an appendix with additions and improvements as well as a comprehensive list of geographical and another of personal names.

This dictionary constitutes yet another step towards the fulfilment of the splendid and rapidly advancing programme set up in Finland for the publication of materials for the study of the Uralic languages, and it makes all scholars in this field highly indebted to the author and to the Fenno-Ugric Society.

BO WICKMAN


'The Holy Places of the Lapps' is based on a Fenno-Scandinavian inventory of 597 places, including 'not only offer-sites, but all places where actual discoveries, local traditions or place names indicate some religious association.' No less than 149 of these are on mountains or hills and 108 are associated with lakes. Most of the actual objects that were worshipped were unformed by hand. It is probable that the power of the holy places has been associated with the general protection of, and activity within, the surrounding areas, large or small. And of course 'area' was (and is) included in the concept of the social unit, 'iii id'd.

The book is an excellent survey of what is known, mostly from the interpretation of finds. Lexical, historical and court-case data and the comments of the historians of Lappish religion appear in extenso wherever relevant to the documentary task. 'The Terminology of the Cultic Sites,' 'The Occurrence of the Cultic Places,' 'The Worshipped Objects,' 'Sacificial Material' and 'The Sacrificial Cult' are the titles of the chapters reproduced in the English summary, Dr. Whittaker and Major Normam Smith. A special section of nearly 200 pages (in Swedish only) deals with the field investigations carried out on the 597 sites.

There are one serious blemish. The answers to a questionnaire sent out to individual Lapps are included as a separate chapter (in Swedish only). As an extension of the ethnographical documentation of describable 'facts' this is perhaps methodologically permissible. However, when the questions (Nos. 41ff.) are directed to the nature of the holy places and their residual powers the procedure is indefensible. Any surviving Lappish consciousness of the holy places, which is at any rate but marginal and incidental, has been driven 'underground,' not to be dug up with the help of a questionnaire simply. It is surely precisely those individuals in whom the consciousness of the holy places is the greatest who are least likely to 'answer' a questionnaire in any real sense. As it is the patent contradictions and Christian rationalizations of the answers render them practically useless. Not that Dr. Manker attempts to make use of them; yet by including the answers in this book he is presumably classifying them as legitimate matters and others.

Otherwise the volume is strictly empirical and systematic. Indeed, implicit in all of Dr. Manker's scientific work is the insistence that the understanding of a phenomenon is to be reached only through interdependent investigations at different levels, that his treatment is at one level only, and that his material is at the disposition of others. Certainly if the definitive work on the structure of Lappish religious and cosmological ideas and practices is ever to be written, Dr. Manker's contributions will make the task immeasurably easier.

ROBERT PAINE


This is the full account of a site first published by the author in 1940. It is a monument to the punctiliousness of Danish excavation, but prolix and tiresome to read. Its language is the familiar Scandinavian English: boring, occasionally baffling, but never actually misleading.

Nørre Fjand lies on the north-west coast of Jutland and is one of the more than four score settlement sites known in Denmark of the Late Celtic and Roman Iron Ages. The remains of 35 houses were meticulously excavated. Prior occupation is attested by the presence below a number of the houses of fields so-called good—ploughed fields separated by baulks. Two periods are prominent in the surviving material—the first century B.C. and the second century A.D. There is every reason to suppose that this an account of the evidence and to regard the life of the site as continuous throughout the intervening years, interrupted only by accidental fires.

Farming activities are represented by finds of carbonized grains (which Helbaek is publishing separately) and the familiar conjoin of shippon and dwelling in a single longhouse; though in Nørre Fjand this is a rare type and the apparent existence at any time of only one such house suggests an average wealth and cattle-owning, as it is certain that the site comprises more than one single farming unit and was a small village, not a large farmstead.

Nørre Fjand has also produced evidence in the form of sinkers from flounder nets to show that, as in modern times, fishing in the adjacent Nissum Fjord was economically important. Holger Rasmussen subscribes a chapter on the traditional fishing methods of the Fjord, though there is in fact only a single point of contact with known Iron Age practice.

Nørre Fjand does not add materially to the evidence for the construction of the north European Iron Age house, which has recently been fully discussed (Ole Klintz-Jensen, Bornholm i Folkvandringstiden, 1957, pp. 17-43; Marten Stenberg (ed.), Vallhager, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 199-1052), but it contributes some interesting details. The surviving door of house III, 1, demonstrates that carpentry of a sophisticated character can be assumed. Standards of comfort, moreover, are not low; the walls of house IIb were insulated with straw.

Gudmund Hatt has been indefatigable over a quarter of a century in excavating such sites in Denmark. One could wish that the refinement of his excavation technique could be matched in presentation. The descriptions are rather disorderly; none of the excellent photographs has any kind of scale, save accidental inclusions; and the conventions generally held useful in the presentation of pottery are not to be found here. There is no index.

JOHN EAMES
TIKOPIA WOODCARVINGS

(a, b) Dance bat.  (c) Turmeric baking cylinder.  Length c. 11½ inches.  (d) Manu tapu canoe ornament.  (e) Iofa carving.  Firth Collection.
Photographs: D. Judd
TIKOPIA WOODEN BOWLS FOR HOLDING COCONUT CREAM

Australian National University Collection. Photographs: Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney
TIKORIA WOODWORKING ORNAMENT

by

PROFESSOR RAYMOND FIRTH, F.B.A.

London School of Economics and Political Science

27 In the course of sociological work in Tikopia in 1928–29 and 1932, I made some observations on the type of ornamentation used by the Tikopia in their woodwork. In particular, I recorded some of the designs used by the Tikopia for the decoration of their houses and their canoes.

I did not go far into the aesthetic problems involved, partly for lack of time and partly because the Tikopia attitude towards them lacked sophistication. Tikopia ornament in general was characterized by its simplicity. Their attitude towards the interpretation of this ornament, and the conditions in which it was created, was uninquiring and almost casual. This simplicity did not seem to be just a reversion from the complexity of their ceremonial and ritual life, because some other Oceanic communities managed to have such institutional complexity and at the same time engage in highly developed art workmanship. On the other hand, the Tikopia simplicity of ornament did not appear to be due just to poverty of technical skill and invention. A model of the sacred bird symbol (manu tapu) with associated waders of curlew type (see below) was simple in form, but showed competence and taste in balance and arrangement of design. It did seem, however, as if the Tikopia displayed little aesthetic imagination in the plastic arts. Not only were forms simple in themselves, but also there appeared to be little tendency to experiment with them beyond conventional recognized limits. Moreover, the standards of aesthetic judgment were not very high. The Tikopia were content to recognize a piece of ornament as conforming to a traditional pattern and were not much interested in whether this pattern had been finely executed or only roughly so.

It seemed to me that there was not much search for variation in design and not much pressure to imaginative invention in the field of plastic ornament. I do not know what the underlying reasons for this may be. It certainly did seem that strong traditionally accepted modes of expression helped to inhibit aesthetic judgment and elaboration in this sphere, because in another aesthetic field — that of poetry and song — there appeared to be quite extensive opportunity for ranging imagination and invention.

The simplest mode of decoration in woodworking in Tikopia was a series of incised parallel straight lines. Another simple mode was a series of incised triangles in low relief. These occurred (usually in combination with a pair of straight lines) on betel mortars, on dance bats, on wooden bowls. (Examples are given in Plates Ca, Da; fig. 1 also shows such ornamentation on house posts of a traditional Tikopia temple, that of Marinoa, in 1910.) Sometimes again the design was picked out in white by lime (or less frequently in black by charcoal) which was rubbed into the interstices of the carving (see Plates Cb, Db). What may be regarded technologically as a development of the notched triangles are sets of small quadrilateral pyramids in high relief. These occurred on bow and stern covers of canoes, on turmeric-baking cylinders, on sacred adze handles. Very often these triangles or small pyramids were set simply in a straight line, but sometimes they were arranged in double lines or in combination with other motifs to create a more elaborate pattern.

Different types of ornament might be applied to the same type of object. Two contrasted examples of this are seen in the illustrations of large round wooden bowls used for the manufacture of coconut cream. Both these were collected by me in 1929. The older one used for decoration a simple band of triangles in low relief at the top of four panels made by vertical ribs. The second bowl, a new one made from hard Calophyllum wood by Pa Rangifuri while I was on the island and presented to me, had the same basic elements. But in this case the cut-out elements of the triangles were alternately marked in lime and in charcoal, and the ribs were cut out in high relief and worked into lines of pyramids. In addition, fish and other designs similar to those used in tattooing (MAN, 1936, 236) were added on the surface of the bowl in charcoal. This could be done effectively since the fresh surface of the wood, as yet unaffected by oil, provided a good background. A similar method of combining triangles in low relief with lines of pyramids was sometimes used for turmeric-baking cylinders. (A fine old example collected from Pa Motutau in 1952 is illustrated in Plate Cc.) Another combination of patterned triangles was with spaced sets of angled lines. Such designs were used at times on house posts, two examples being given in Figs. 1 and 2.

Designs of a naturalistic order were not very common in Tikopia. Occasionally the outline of a fish might be carved on a house post. One was on a side post of the house Marinoa in 1910, and recorded by Rev. W.J. Durrad (Fig. 1, right). Fig. 2a, from a photograph, illustrates a fish design on the side post of a house Oliki in 1952. The house was old, but this particular post had been newly cut. The form of the fish was very like that of a shark, though I have no note to this effect and I think that the Tikopia present identified it only as a fish. In 1928, I recorded crude fish carved on the house posts and the ridgepole of the major temple of Kafika as well as some notched ornaments on various posts. In some ways the most aesthetically interesting designs in Tikopia woodworking were the more elaborate ones occasionally incised on canoes. I have a record of only one set carved on the outer or starboard washstrake and stern cover of a sacred canoe of the Ariki Kafika, by name

* With Plates C and D and three text figures
Sapinakau. This was repaired in 1929, and I had a good opportunity to note down the ornamentation (fig. 3). These figures were rather lightly cut and each only a few inches long. They had been incised by the younger members of the party who built the canoe some years previously, and some of the people present at the repair identified designs which they themselves had cut. Although the vessel was dedicated to clan gods, no ritual significance attached to the designs. Most of them were without name and were simply termed fazaka (ornament) or pani (decoration) only. The only representational elements were said to be those embodying lozenges. These were said to be ika tapu (literally, 'sacred fish,' but in fact this is regarded as simply a name for this kind of fish, which has no ritual associations at all). There seemed to be no particular reason why this species of fish was chosen as a decorative element. The angled lines emerging from the lozenges, which might seem to represent fins or legs, were said to be 'merely ornament' and not part of the fish design. For example, in b the description was 'something branched out, just ornament; the fish is inside.' I stress this because it is very tempting to imagine, as I did at first, that most of these designs represent conventionalized millipeds or centipedes, whereas to the Tikopia they did not convey this interpretation.4

A special case of woodworking ornament where religious symbolism was involved occurred in some figures traditionally used to adorn the sacred temple of Rarofiroki in Uta. The main two figures were known respectively as manu tapu and iofa. The former was also used as ornament on the major sacred canoe of the Aiki Fangaree under whose aegis the Rarofiroki temple also lay. The iofa figure was however used only on the Rarofiroki temple.5 A manu tapu figure of somewhat different design, formerly attached to a canoe and collected in 1952, is shown in Plate Cd.

In 1929, Pa Fenuatiara sketched crudely for me the design
of both *manu tapu* and *iofa*, and carved for me a representation of the former, flanked by two turnstones (*turi*, *Arenaria interpres*) in naturalistic style, of which the *manu tapu* was said to be a conventionalized. When I returned to Tikopia in 1952, one of the first questions which Pa Fenuatara asked me was whether I still had his carving. (It had been lost in the war.) One of his sons, listening to the conversation, asked what it was which his father had given to me. The reply was, ‘That on the roof of what stands in Marae.’ ‘The turi,’ remarked the son, but to this Pa Fenuatara made no comment. Some months later he announced to me his intention to carve for me a model of the *iofa*, which I had understood earlier to be even more sacred than the *manu tapu*. (Later he also carved a similar model for my colleague Spillius) He carved these models from *Calophyllum* wood, as he did the former one. He first roughed out the lines of the design in charcoal on the slab of wood, and then removed the centre material. At this stage it seemed to me that the work was assuming very much the shape of the *manu tapu* in its rough form, and I made a note to the effect that perhaps Pa Fenuatara had forgotten the design which he had formerly done for me. However, the finished result shown in Plate Ce was in fact different and much simpler. It did accord with the design which he sketched for me 23 years before. It is in effect the same basic design as the *manu tapu*, but the ‘wings’ are not freed at the tips from the base of the plinth. There is a structural, though not superficial, resemblance between them.

Pa Fenuatara did the work slowly, taking many weeks over it, but he worked with care so that he should not split the timber. His main tool was the woodworking adze made of a plane iron mounted on a wooden haft. When he had completed the adze he rubbed the surface of the wood down smooth with coral stone and then finished it off by smearing it over with a vegetable juice.

Even in 1952 the *iofa* was apparently still a sacred symbol. I heard no general discussion of it and I had some difficulty in getting from Pa Fenuatara its precise referent—which I did not get in 1929. He said about the *manu tapu* that it was an indicator (*fakamaileonga*) of two sacred canoes of the Ariki Fangarere, by name Tarifeekau and Te Keo. ‘But that,’ he said, pointing to the *iofa* model, ‘belongs only to Vakamanongi,’ which was pre-eminent among sacred canoes. I pressed him for further explanation, wanting to know whether the *iofa* represented a marine animal or a bird—I had some idea from Durrah’s data that it was a marine animal. When I asked him whether it went in sea or sky he said, ‘It goes above. We can see it in the skies.’ Then he added, apparently inconsequentially, ‘When is our night for going to look at stars?’ Then it struck me what he meant. He was referring to the constellation Manu about which we had talked earlier in the conversation. When I asked him if this was the *iofa* he said, ‘Yes, he who is responsible for storms.’ When I asked what the name *iofa* was he said, ‘It refers to the *afa* (hurricane),’ but he added that the name was *iofa*, not *iofa*.

I did not have an opportunity to pursue this subject further, but this identification of the symbol makes quite good sense. It represents a spiritual being resident in a constellation identified by the Tikopia, represented by three bright stars spaced across the sky, and likened to the arms of a person or the wings of a bird. ‘Manu,’ the name of the personified constellation, is also the generic name for ‘animal,’ ‘bird.’ About this spirit being there was an elaborate myth, and he was regarded as responsible for the devastating hurricanes which from time to time afflict Tikopia. Religious responsibility for death and disaster in pagan terms lay primarily with the Arika Fangarere, whose premier god was regarded as having charge of such things and who was represented by the symbol from the sacred temple of Rarofroki. Hence, it was appropriate that a symbol referring to hurricanes should stand upon the ridgepole of the temple and that, together with its associated symbol, the turnstone in conventionalized form should appear upon the canoes of the Ariki Fangarere. A further reference was involved in the fact that the turnstone, a migrant wader, arrives overhead with curlies and associated birds at the onset of the monsoon season, which is the time when hurricanes may appear. It was only in these cases that Tikopia woodworking ornament appeared to have any significant symbolic value.

To sum up, Tikopia woodworking ornament is ‘geometrical’ in form, angular and consisting for the most part of very few elements. In its proportions the ornament usually bears a pleasing relation to the main body of the object decorated. Its symbolic value is low and it depends for its aesthetic effect primarily on its simple space relations. With a few outstanding exceptions, the ornament is not highly socialized. Wood-carvers by profession are without any particular status. The owners of objects on which most carving has been expended usually include chiefs and other men of rank, but there is not an exclusive association between rank, wealth and fineness of ornament. In general, Tikopia traditional objects, both sacred and secular, are valued for their own general form and their personal associations, not for the character and amount of ornament applied to them.

Notes
2. See my *Work of the Gods in Tikopia*, pp. 356ff. The pyramid and triangle designs were simply called ‘ornament’ (*fakadaeke*). They were not regarded as having any ritual significance nor any naturalistic counterpart.
3. A set of four crude fish designs, very lightly cut—almost scratched—are on an ancestral club, *Fonofiri*, which I obtained in 1929 from the family of Maniua.
4. According to F. R. Barton (*J. R. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. XLVIII, 1918, p. 28*) the common Polynesian word for centipede is said to be *veri*. A Tikopia tattooing design termed *veri*, however, is said by the Tikopia to represent a marine annelid. The Tikopia word for centipede is *morokau*. For fish and other tattooing designs see *Man*, 1936, 236.
5. The figure in position on the temple in 1910 is illustrated in
THE MOSSI POGSIoure

by

ELLIOTT P. SKINNER
Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York

Marcel Mauss and Lévi-Strauss both stressed the importance of gifts and prestations in human affairs. Mauss (1925) believed that entire cultural systems could be analysed in terms of the obligations between individuals and between groups. Lévi-Strauss (1949, p. 78) was more interested in the widespread use of women in reciprocal relations between individuals and groups. He considered them the ‘most precious object’ of all commodities exchanged. Moreover, he believed that the way in which they were used for this purpose in a particular culture could serve as a ‘useful guide, not only for the understanding of systems of kinship and marriage, but also for the understanding of the principles of class stratification and political organization’ (ibid, p. 83).

In this essay I shall describe and analyse the Pogsioure, an institution among the Mossi people of the western Sudan, which uses women (also called pogsioure): (1) to channel goods and services to the chiefs; (2) to establish or strengthen political bonds and benefactor-dependant relationships between the chiefs and their subjects; and (3) to incorporate strangers into the political and social structure of the districts.

The pogsioure (pogo, diminutive of paga, means ‘woman’; and siudo means ‘to give with the expectation of a profitable return’) is one of several institutions supporting the rather complex political organization of the Mossi people. The Moro Naba, their supreme ruler, is assisted by a hierarchy of provincial, district and village chiefs, many of whom are linked to him by kinship and all of whom owe him allegiance and pay him homage and tribute. Mossi society is divided into ranking and stratified noble, commoner and serf patricians (formerly there was also a slave group). Most of the district chiefs are members of the royal clan. The village chiefs may be commoners, but in most villages there are noble as well as commoner and serf lineages of the local clans. The lineages themselves are divided into minimal units known as babissi whose members have been related through the male line for about five generations. The babissi is the corporate unit in Mossi society, but all lineage and clan members have some rights and duties towards each other.

The Mossi live in polygynous extended-family units. Their dominant residence pattern is patrilocal, but young men often live ‘avunculocally’. Marriage is only permitted between individuals without known common ancestry.

These marriages are arranged by elders belonging to unrelated babissi who are linked by bonds of ‘friendship.’ These ‘marriage partners’ exchange goods and services in addition to giving each other women as wives. Each elder is expected to furnish a wife or wives for all the members of his babissi, but very often the elders hoard women instead of distributing them. The result is that some of the younger men are left childless, and must wait until they are given wives or until they inherit the widows of lineage members. In the meanwhile they establish discreet sexual liaisons with unrelated married women. Some enterprising young men seek out the heads of babissi, and by working for them and by giving them gifts finally obtain wives. However, it is difficult for many young men to form such friendships because they have no women to give in return. Faced with the problem of having to avoid the elders’ pleasure to get wives, many young men provide goods and services to the district chief in the hope of being given pogsioure (wives).

The Mossi declare quite explicitly that wives are among their most valuable possessions. Not only are women never divorced, but even if a man has a lazy or adulterous wife, he is advised to ‘close his eyes, stop his ears, close his mouth, and keep her.’ Women are valued for their domestic service and agricultural work, as well as for their fecundity. The Mossi believe that a man must have a helpmate, but more important still, they feel that a man without children has betrayed his ancestors by not leaving descendants who will continue to offer them sacrifices. These beliefs are intimately bound up with a man’s fear that if he has no heir, his compound may be broken down after his death.

It is during the deliberations preceding an elder’s gift of a wife to his marriage partner that the Mossi clearly express their feelings about the importance of women. First of all, the elder recounts the numerous occasions on which his friend has rendered services to the babissi. He tells of those times when his friend helped them cultivate their fields, gave them presents, and brought animals to be sacrificed to the babissi’s ancestors. The elder then discusses in a facetious manner the type of gift which should be given to his friend in return. He suggests that he be given cowries, but later rejects this suggestion with the excuse that money is quickly spent. He then asks his listeners whether a shirt would be a proper gift for a friend, but rejects this also on the grounds that a shirt
does not last long. The proposed gift of a silver bracelet fails to gain approval for the same reason. Finally, in seeming desperation, the elder suggests that the best gift for the babisi's friend would be 'a little thing which will prepare him food to eat, and bring him water to drink.' The elder declares that a wife is really the ideal gift with which to perpetuate friendship, because people will never cease to exist on this earth.' He then voices the hope that through the gift of this wife, the members of his babisi will also obtain wives.

The Mossi district chief has control of a great many women whom he can give out as wives. He receives many young girls as gifts from fellow chiefs in the course of his ceremonial return from the capital following his installation. When he arrives at the borders of his chieftain, he also receives gifts of women from his subordinates, the village chiefs. Furthermore, he inherits the control of his father's pogsiooure, and the right to dispose of the daughters of serfs (and formerly the daughters of slaves). In addition, the new chief inherits official control of all the daughters of his lineage. He may marry some of the women whom he has been given or has inherited, but it cannot be assumed that he will automatically do so. Thus the chief's women are not normally his wives. In some cases he gives some of these women to members of his lineage in fulfillment of his obligation to provide wives for them. Usually, however, he gives most of them to his subjects as pogsiooure.

The district chief is at liberty to give out women as pogsiooure whenever he chooses. However, his usual practice is to hold, at three-year intervals, pogsiooure ceremonies in the course of which wives are distributed to individuals who have helped cultivate his fields, who have offered him gifts, and who have performed for him other valuable services. Before the chief actually sets the date for the ceremony, he ascertains the number of unmarried girls in his own lineage (including his own daughters), the number of daughters born to serf women, and the number of the first-born daughters of former pogsiooure. This census extends to areas beyond his district, and some of his messengers are even sent as far as Ghana (Gold Coast) to find out whether former pogsiooure living there have daughters who may be given out as wives. These girls are not necessarily brought back to the Upper Volta, but may be given to Mossi men residing in Ghana. In this way, the chief establishes both political and economic bonds with the wealthier men of the Ghana Mossi communities. When the census of all girls is completed, the chief announces the date of the pogsiooure ceremony and notifies those families which are due to receive wives. The emphasis on families is significant, for it shows the Mossi's concern for the corporateness of the babisi, and also their belief that a man cannot have a wife for himself as an individual; ultimately, she belongs to his lineage.

The potential husbands and their relatives arrive at the chief's compound very early on the day appointed for the ceremony. Here they are greeted by the senior steward, the Baloum Naba, who welcomes them in the chief's name, and then informs the chief that they have arrived. The chief then tells the Baloum Naba to instruct one of the families to ask for the daughter of such and such a man, in such and such a village, so that she may 'fetch water' for them. As soon as this message is transmitted, the persons to whom it is addressed shriek for joy and praise the chief. This sequence is repeated until all the families have been given pogsiooure, but not necessarily those pogsiooure which the chief had assigned to them. The Baloum Naba often follows his own judgment and assigns the older girls or young women to those men who have done most for their chief. In this way the most deserving men receive females of marriageable age. The men who have done less for the chief receive little girls, and must either rear them in their own households or leave them in their father's compound. In the latter case, the husband must maintain 'friendly' relations with the bride's parents so that no difficulties may develop to hamper their marriages. The relatives of disrespectful and lazy pages or retainers are also invited to the pogsiooure ceremony, but instead of the expected wife, the Baloum Naba offers them a bundle of straw with the words: 'Here is your wife.' When the last wife has been distributed, the people go into the courtyard and offer money, livestock, bundles of millet and jars of millet beer to the chief. Then they file out and go to the Tom-vardogo, a small circle of earth, and place dust on their heads as a sign of respect to their chief. The women of the chief's household then run up to them, and placing their hands over the heads of the new husbands, they shout praises to the chief. This rite marks the end of the pogsiooure ceremony. The new husbands and their relatives then proceed to greet their brides' relatives, taking with them the type of gifts which men owe their in-laws and which signify that the two families are now joined in the total range of relationships normal to groups linked by marriage.

The receipt of a pogsiooure is only the high point in the patron-client or benefactor-dependant relationship between the chief and his followers. If the man who receives the pogsiooure is a newcomer to the district, he immediately starts rendering services to the chief. The chief's old retainers or dependants continue to give him goods and services even after they have received pogsiooure. Furthermore, with few exceptions, these dependants are obliged to return to the chief the first-born daughters of their pogsiooure wives to be used as future pogsiooure. The only persons exempt from this obligation are Moslems. No Moslem—be he nobleman, commoner, or serf—who receives a pogsiooure from the chief is required later to return his daughter. The chief, as well as other Mossi, considers gifts of wives to Moslems as alms to God. Thus for him to take a pogsiooure from a Moslem would appear as though he had given something to God with the expectation of getting it back. The Moslems are, nevertheless, required, like their pagan brothers, to provide goods and services to the chief. Occasionally, the chief even asks his clients to send their first sons to serve as pages or servants in his household. These boys then remain with the chief until they are grown, and are then given pogsiooure as their reward. But like their fathers,
they must also return their daughters as pogioune, and often their sons as pages, to continue the cycle.

The pogioune is clearly a politico-economic device through which the Mossi district chief receives a perpetual flow of goods and services from his dependants. He gives out women, who are difficult to obtain, and receives in return not only goods and services, but also the daughters of these women to be given out in return for more goods and services. The use of women as tribute-producing mechanisms is not without its social aspects; nevertheless, social and kinship relations are of little interest to the political authority. For example, the chief uses women from his own lineage in the pogioune system, but he does not differentiate between his female relatives and other women, and makes no attempt to marry them into any particular status group. When he does give his female relatives to particular men, it is primarily because such men can give him valuable gifts and perform valuable service for the members of his lineage.

The pogioune does serve as a mechanism to incorporate strangers into the socio-political system of the district. There are always strangers seeking asylum in Mossi districts: men who have left their homes because of quarrels over inheritance; men who have been chased away by their relatives for such crimes as incest; and men who have had to leave because of accusations of theft or witchcraft. Fortunately for these exiles, the district chief is always anxious to increase the number of his subjects and to welcome strangers, as long as they promise to behave and not to try to 'spoil the district' by any further misdeeds. Moreover, if a stranger appears to be trustworthy, the chief gives him a pogioune because, by definition, a Mossi man is deficient without a wife. It is through this wife that a stranger interacts with the other lineage groups in the district. He must fulfill those economic, social and ceremonial obligations incumbent upon him as 'sister's husband' or 'daughter's husband.' But one of his most significant obligations is to permit his eldest son (if the boy is not in the chief's household) to be reared by his local mother's patrilineage. In many cases, these boys never return to their fathers' compounds; they often prefer to remain with their maternal relatives, who are usually more numerous and possess good land and many resources. Furthermore, when the stranger dies, these sons never return to their father's compound, but bring their mothers, their mother's co-wives, and all of their younger siblings to live with them. This action often results in the fusing of the stranger's line with his wife's patrilineage over a span of generations.

The chief takes little personal interest in the social relations between the husbands of pogioune and the other persons or groups in his district. His relations with these men are mainly political, unless, of course, one of them happens to have received a pogioune from his own lineage. The chief furnishes political protection to those strangers who are given pogioune, but he remains neutral when social or legal problems concerning these men or their families are involved. For example, when in one district a young man was accused of abducting a pogioune given by the chief to another man, the chief took only judicial interest in the case. The complainants in the trial were the lineage from which the wife had been stolen, and the stolen woman's mother's brother, who was acting as proxy for her dead father. In fact, the stolen wife was the daughter of a pogioune given by the chief to a stranger from another district. Most of the evidence indicated that the accused had connived at the woman's disappearance. The young man pleaded innocent to all charges of complicity in the affair, but the chief threatened to punish him if he did not ensure the woman's return. Three days after the trial, the woman was seized in another district and returned to her husband. The interesting point here is that not once during the trial did the chief allude to the fact that the stolen woman was also his pogioune. Judicial integrity probably prevented him from being 'a friend' of the court, but he seemed unconcerned with the probability that had the woman not returned, he would not have received her first daughter as pogioune. One may speculate that in such an eventuality, the chief would have had some step to protect his interest, but even this is not certain. It appears as though he wished to make a rather clear distinction between the social and political features of the pogioune, even though such a distinction might have been impossible.

The Mossi pogioune seems to serve the same function as the willinofo does for the Azande of East Central Africa, and the vantoni for the Lovedu of South Africa. In all three institutions women are used to establish economic, political and social relationships between the chiefs and their subjects, and to incorporate strangers and captives into these societies. Women are used as exchange and tribute-producing mechanisms in these systems because, as Lévi-Strauss points out, they are often culturally defined as the most precious commodity in the relations between individuals or groups. But most important of all, the women in these systems are self-perpetuating, and ensure the rulers a constant flow of goods, services and other forms of tribute. It is interesting to note that these institutions are found in the more highly stratified and 'feudal' African societies, where the need for tribute-producing mechanisms exists, but where apparently, the political systems have not yet fully evolved or borrowed specific institutions. Further work may lead to a greater understanding of the role of such institutions in the evolution and functioning of complex political systems.

Notes

1 The field work on which this paper is based was conducted among the Mossi from November, 1955, to January, 1957, and was sponsored by the Ford Foundation's African Studies Program.

2 For the concept of ranking and stratification see Fried, 1957.

3 It is against Mossi tradition for any person to take precedence over the man elected to be chief. Thus even a young man takes precedence over his elders when he is elected chief, and thereby controls all the resources of the lineage.

4 Mosses throw coins into the Tom-morlo instead of putting dust on their heads. They then lift their arms in thanksgiving to the chief and sing praises to Allah for having given them wives.
STUDIES ON THE OCCIPITAL BONE IN AFRICA: VI. THE RELATIVE USEFULNESS OF PEARSON'S OCCIPITAL INDEX AND THE OCCIPITAL CHORD-ARC INDEX. By Phillip V. Tobias, Ph.D., M.B., B.Ch., Professor of Anatomy, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. With two tables.

The need for an agreed list of measurements to be employed in studies on human subjects, both living and skeletal, was stressed at the second International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences at Copenhagen in 1938.

Among the criteria which an acceptable standard list of metrical characters should fulfill is the usefulness of a character in helping the investigator to distinguish between populations. Tildesley (1933) and van Berk-Feltkamp (1937) confronted with the problem of assessing the relative usefulness of various cephalic and cranial dimensions, used the technique of comparing intra-racial with inter-racial variabilities for each measurement. Those measurements would be most useful for racial differentiation which gave a far higher inter-racial than intra-racial variability. On this basis, they were able to arrange the standard cephalic and cranial measurements in descending order of usefulness. Unfortunately, they based their assessment only on the usefulness of the measurements as absolute dimensions, not as components of indices. A metrical character of very limited use as an absolute dimension may form a component of a most valuable index. Since indices reflect shape rather than absolute size, it is clear that our standard list of measurements should include some which are useful as size-indicators and others which are valuable guides to shape.

At Miss Tildesley's request, therefore, I began in 1955 an investigation of the inter-racial and intra-racial variability of cranial indices. The first index selected related to the curvature of the occipital bone from lambda to opisthion in the median sagittal plane. A special problem existed here, namely that of correlating the relative usefulness of two different indices, derived from the same two basic measurements. The lambda-opisthion arc (S3) and chord (S3') have been used to derive, first, Pearson's Occipital Index (Oc. I), originally termed the Cerebellar Index (MacDonnell, 1936). Oc. I expresses the percentage ratio of the radius of curvature of the occipital bone to the chord S3'. The radius of curvature was calculated on the assumption that the arc S3 was an even curve, part of the circumference of a single circle. The following formula was devised:

\[ \text{Oc. I.} = \frac{S3}{S3'} \sqrt{\frac{S3}{2(S3' - S3)}} \]

Tildesley (1920-21) simplified the calculations by providing a table of indices from which the Oc. I. may be read off once the ratio S3/S3' is known.

The same chord and arc have provided the components of a simple Chord-Arc Index, 100 S3'/S3, which Wagner (1937) claimed was equally effective, though simpler to calculate, in expressing differences in occipital curvature.

A series of studies of the occipital curvature in various modern African groups, males and females, juveniles and adults, has been undertaken (Tobias, 1938, 1959 a-d) in an attempt to assess the racial and biological significance of variations in occipital curvature. These studies have, at the same time, provided data with which to evaluate the relative usefulness of the two occipital curvature indices.

Wagner (1937) showed that, as would have been expected, there is a close agreement between Oc. I. and 100 S3'/S3.

Correlations between them for three of his cranial series are:

- Australian males: +963 ± 207
- Sandwich Island males: +873 ± 201
- Maori males: +868 ± 207

In other words, the correlation between them is so high that the two give almost identical results. He therefore concluded that the median Chord-Arc Index, which is the simpler, is to be preferred.

My own study, too, has led me to conclude that the Chord-Arc Index is preferable.

1. The first ground for this choice is stated by Wagner, namely that of greater simplicity for obtaining almost identical results. But there are other grounds as well:

2. Tildesley (1920-21) has pointed out, in an appendix to her study on Burmese crania (p. 260), that the error for a 'normal proportion' like S3/S3' = 1.250, is only 3 per cent.; whereas, at S3'/S3 = 1.500, it reaches 5 per cent.; and 'after this point would give a value which increases instead of decreasing, with increased convexity.' Since the Chord-Arc Index rests on no assumption that the curvature is part of the arc of a circle, the Chord-Arc Index is free of this difficulty.

3. Related to this greater error is the fact brought out in our comparative African study (Tobias, 1959b), that, except for the indices of the most curvocipitical crania, the variability of Oc. I. is higher than that of 100 S3'/S3 for the same series of crania. Whether one uses the standard deviation or the coefficient of variation as one's gauge of variability, the Oc. I. consistently yields a misleadingly high statement of the occipital variability of a cranial series. The high values of the standard deviation and the coefficient of variation increase proportionately as one considers flatter and flatter occiputs. No such dependence of variability on the curvature of the vault is found when one uses instead 100 S3'/S3.

4. It may be shown that 100 S3'/S3 is, in general, superior to Oc. I. in discriminating between the occipital curvature of different populations.

The technique used is to compare the t values (Critical Ratios) for cranial series, compared two at a time, for Oc. I. and for 100 S3'/S3. The t value is a measure of distance between any two means, expressed in terms of the standard error of the mean. The value of t, which is taken to be significant, depends on the sum of the two samples; if 2n = 30 or more, 2.500 represents the limit of significance with confidence limits of 5 per cent. That is, there are 5 chances in 100 that the difference of the two means is due to an accident of sampling rather than to a real difference in the populations from which the two samples were drawn. For smaller combined samples than 30, correspondingly larger significance limits than 2.500 must be used.
When several different characters of the same two populations are considered, that feature which gives a higher Critical Ratio will be more significant than that which gives a lower. The former feature will be one in which the two populations are further apart; it will therefore more effectively discriminate between the two populations than will a feature in which they are closer together, i.e. for which they have a lower Critical Ratio. For example, if Oc. I. gives a higher Critical Ratio for any pair of series than does 100 S'/S3, then Oc. I. will more effectively differentiate between the two series, and vice versa.

Twenty African cranial series have been analysed, drawn from modern or sub-recent populations (Abyssinian, Ashanti, Banyaranda, Bugoye, Bushman, Cameroons, Cape Nguni, XXVith to XXXth Dynastic Egyptian, Fernand Vaz, Haya, Hottentot, Jebel Moya, Kohaito, Mulera, Natal Nguni, Somali, Sotho, Teita, Tetela and Tigreen) (Tobias, 1959a and 1959b). The basis of the main statistical analysis has been provided by these populations excepting the Fernand Vaz and Dynastic Egyptian series, for which individual data were not available. We have thus 18 African male cranial series, each population comprising 35 or more skulls, and 13 female series, each numbering 22 or more. Some of the data had appeared before; some were in the literature but required statistical reduction; other data were obtained and statistically reduced by me.

For each pair of our 18 male and of our 13 female populations, we have a Critical Ratio (s) for the difference of the mean Oc. I. and one for the difference of the mean 100 S'/S3. The Critical Rats for 493 such comparisons of pairs of means (324 of male series and 169 of female series) have been tabulated elsewhere (Tobias, 1959b). The two Critical Ratios for any pair of cranial series are seldom the same as each other; sometimes that for Oc. I. is larger, sometimes that for 100 S'/S3, whilst rarely are the two equal or nearly equal. Occasionally, indeed, the two Critical Ratios for a pair of cranial series straddle the limits of significance, the one t value exceeding, the other falling short of, 2.500. Thus, when male Hottentots are compared with male Bugoye, the Critical Ratio for 100 S'/S3 is not significant (1.969), while that for Oc. I. is significant (2.680). Conversely, when female Hottentots are compared with female Teita, the C.R. for 100 S'/S3 is significant (2.592), that for Oc. I. is not (2.363).

We may therefore classify all our pairs of comparisons according to which Critical Ratio is the larger in each pair.

### Table I. Relative sizes of critical ratios

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C.R.</th>
<th>100 S'/S3 &gt; Oc. I.</th>
<th>100 S'/S3 = Oc. I.</th>
<th>100 S'/S3 &lt; Oc. I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>82 (53.6 per cent.)</td>
<td>2 (1.3 per cent.)</td>
<td>60 (45.1 per cent.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>60 (76.9 per cent.)</td>
<td>1 (1.3 per cent.)</td>
<td>17 (24.8 per cent.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>142 (61.5 per cent.)</td>
<td>3 (1.3 per cent.)</td>
<td>77 (37.2 per cent.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Just over half the male comparisons and just over three-quarters of the female comparisons yield larger Critical Ratios for 100 S'/S3 than for Oc. I. The difference between the sexes is not significant. It follows that in a majority of comparisons 100 S'/S3 more effectively differentiates between the occipital curvature of pairs of series than does Oc. I.

(5) An analysis of the relative sizes of the Critical Ratios according to the size of the difference between the means reveals that the greater the difference of the means, the more chance there is that the C.R. for 100 S'/S3 will exceed that for Oc. I. The smaller the difference, the nearer do the C.R.'s approach a random distribution. In Table II, the relative sizes of the Critical Ratios are arranged according to the size of the differences of the means.

### Table II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difference of Means</th>
<th>0-1</th>
<th>1-2</th>
<th>2-3</th>
<th>3-4</th>
<th>4-5</th>
<th>5-6</th>
<th>6-7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.R. 100 S'/S3 &gt; Oc. I.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.R. 100 S'/S3 &lt; Oc. I.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between the distribution of all those comparisons in which C.R. for 100 S'/S3 > C.R. for Oc. I. and all those in which C.R. for 100 S'/S3 < C.R. for Oc. I. is found to be significant on the χ² test at a 5 per cent. level of confidence.

The finding is not altogether surprising: if the difference of the means is large, the chances are higher that one at least of the two series has a high index. Series with high mean Oc. I. are more likely to have a high standard deviation (see (3) above) and therefore a high standard error (S.E.) of the mean. Therefore the S.E. of the difference of the means will be higher since it depends on the size of the two S.E.'s of the mean, on the formula:

\[ \text{S.E. diff.} = \sqrt{\text{S.E.}_1^2 + \text{S.E.}_2^2} \]

If the S.E. of the difference is higher, the value of the Critical Ratio (which is \( \bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2 \) divided by the S.E. of the difference) will be lower. Hence it follows that with a large difference of the means, the C.R. for Oc. I. is liable to be lower. But no such relation applies to the C.R. for 100 S'/S3, since the latter index is not more variable with higher mean values of the index. Therefore, with a large difference of the means, for Oc. I., but not that for 100 S'/S3, will tend to be lower: thus, there is a good chance of the C.R. for 100 S'/S3 exceeding that for Oc. I. The relation revealed in Table II is therefore simply the consequence of the greater variability of Oc. I. in planocipital cranial series.

Only in comparisons involving male Abyssinians, male Hottentots and male Teita is there a distinct likelihood that Oc. I. will yield a higher C.R. than 100 S'/S3. In fact, C.R. for Oc. I. is greater than C.R. for 100 S'/S3 in 14 out of 17, 13 out of 17 and 13 out of 17 comparisons involving these three groups respectively. With the exception of these groups, all other series of comparisons between specific tribal groups and the rest reveal nearly equal numbers of comparisons with predominance of C.R. Oc. I. and of C.R. 100 S'/S3, or a definite preponderance in favour of C.R. 100 S'/S3.

In general, the Chord-Arc Index is superior to Oc. I. in yielding a higher Critical Ratio in the majority of comparisons. In other words, the Chord-Arc Index more clearly demonstrates the difference in occipital curvature between most pairs of cranial series than does the Pearsonian Oc. I.

For all the above reasons, the simple Chord-Arc Index is to be preferred to the Pearsonian Index. In fact, this study has revealed no single advantage and several important disadvantages which the Pearsonian Index possesses over the Chord-Arc Index and there does not seem to be any justification for the further use of Oc. I. It might be averred that the body of comparative data in the literature would be a powerful argument in favour of retaining Oc. I. As against this, the present study has demonstrated that there are lengthy records of 100 S'/S3 in the literature; furthermore, many of the recorded data are in the form of raw, unrecorded measurements of S' and S (e.g. those of Czekanowski, 1913; Sergi, 1912, and Drontschilow, 1913); the investigator must needs reduce these data himself—as was done in the present series of studies—and it is simpler to reduce them to the Chord-Arc Index by a single dividing manœuvre, than to
the Oc. I. by the double manœuvre of dividing S₃ by S₃ and then either calculating the Oc. I., or looking it up in Tildesley's table.

It is recommended that Pearson's Occipital Index be abandoned in future craniological studies and replaced by the simple median sagittal Chord-Arc Index. There are many other metrical characters which should be re-examined and interpreted biologically, in much the same way as has been attempted in the present series of studies, if we are ever to place on a sounder footing the use of metrical methods in physical anthropology. For the science is cluttered up with too many measurements and too many indices, the usefulness of which is not apparent and the biological significance of which is slight or unknown. Perhaps a certain ruthlessness in abandoning such time-honoured but 'dead wood' metrical characters would aid the forward march of physical anthropology.

Acknowledgments

This work was carried out largely in the Dackworth Laboratory of Physical Anthropology, Cambridge University, while I was on a Nuffield Dominions Travelling Fellowship in the Natural Sciences. Most sincere thanks are due to Professor J. D. Boyd, Professor R. A. Dart, Mrs. H. Erikson, Professor A. Galloway, Dr. A. C. Hoffman, Mr. A. R. Hughes, Mr. G. I. Jones, Mr. T. W. Kaufman, Mr. R. Klemfass, Mrs. M. Lawrence, Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, Dr. K. P. Oakley, Professor G. J. Romanes, Mr. C. Rosendoff, Dr. R. Singer, Dr. M. J. Toerien, Dr. J. G. Trevor, and Professor H. V. Vallois.

References


Sergi, S., 'Crania Hassichtina,' Rome, Loscher, 1912, pp. 519.


Surface stone implements were collected during the spring of 1959 by Dr. Z. R. Beydoun, Iraq Petroleum Company geologist, at Hairat al-’Ul (lat. 17°39’ N. and long. 48°38’ E.) near Wadi Ath Thuwairi, which leads from the plateau just east of Kham al-Jabal into the Rub’ al Khali. Dr. Beydoun wrote that the implements were sparsely scattered on a sandy surface between sand-dune ridges, not far from the Kham al-Jabal area which forms the north-western tip of the northern plateau ("The Jol") of the Hadramaut where this meets the dunes of the Rub’ al Khali. This site, located between parallel dune ridges running east-north-east by west-south-west, lies very near the southern margins of the sand-dune area. In the Rub’ al Khali, dune ridges run for considerable distances, parallel to one another and separated by shuq, which are virtually representative of the surface of the area, as it is below the blown dune sand cover. These shuq can also extend for long distances, but are seldom more than about half a mile or so wide. The Hairat al-’Ul site is one such shuq, but of a limited extent, occupying a depression which at times in the past filled up with flood water from the Wadi Ath Thuwairi. The surface shows silty patches often covered with a thin veneer of blown sand. Scattered here and there are limestone fragments, often silicified, and Cretaceous sandstone concretions, as well as unworked flint or chert fragments. Associated with the silty ‘soil’ were patches of apparently recent freshwater shells and ostrich-egg fragments.

The implements include arrowheads, points and scrapers. The material is flint, chert and fine-grained quartz. The specimens showed some effect of aolian action. The flint and chert implements range in colour from greyish-white to mottled grey-brown. The few quartzite specimens range from milky white to light brown. The thinness and delicate retouching of the arrowheads indicate skilled pressure-flaking techniques similar to that observed at other surface sites in the Rub’ al Khali and assigned to a ‘neolithic’ phase.

The location of this small camp site at Hairat al-’Ul lies about 65 miles south-east of Aramco camp G-2554 (lat. 18°18’ N. and long. 49°46’ E.), and about the same distance from Shibain beside the Wadi Hadramaut where Miss Gertrude Caton-Thompson collected palaeoliths as well as obsidian and chert microliths.

Mr. J. A. Wallace sent me on 2 December, 1958, the central part of a honey-coloured flint blade1 which he collected on 13 November, 1958, in the gravel bed of a wadi at Boy (lat. 19°35’ N. and long. 57°30’ E.), 20 kilometres west of Ras Dujum on the south-west coast of the Gulf of Masirah in Oman. This is an excellent example of deliberate pressure-flaking comparable in technique to that of the ancient Egyptian or Danish craftsmen.

As each site is plotted on the map, the spread of Stone Age cultures becomes clearer. Additional data will be welcomed especially from within the huge rectangle (lat. 15°-26° N. and long. 51°-61° E.).

Notes

1 Identified as Zooteus insularis [Ehrenberg] by Dr. Fritz Haas, Chicago Natural History Museum, who commented that this species is widely distributed in south-western Asia extending westward to the Cape Verde Islands.
2 Five pieces ranging from light-brown (j) to dark-brown (k) and black (l). The two last specimens show marked aolian action and appear to be considerably older than the flintier fragments.
3 F. E. Zeuner, "Neolithic Sites from the Rub’ al Khali, Southern Arabia," MAN, 1934, 209, with bibliography; H. Field,

25
The Congress of Czechoslovak Anthropologists. By Dr. F. P. Lisowski, Department of Anatomy, University of Birmingham

The Congress of Czechoslovak Anthropologists was held in Bratislava from 21 to 26 September, 1959, in ideal surroundings. Participants were transported some 40 miles from the city to a castle at Smolence which had been put at the disposal of the congress by the Slovak Academy of Sciences. This castle, which is beautifully situated, is entirely modern inside and is specially designed for scientific meetings and for the accommodation of the participants. On the one hand there were the formal meetings and on the other opportunities for informal discussion and exchanges which went on in various smaller rooms and over meals.

The majority of foreigners who attended the congress came from Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and East Germany. Soviet and Roumanian delegates had sent their papers and these were read in title only. There were two representatives from West Germany and one each from the United Kingdom and Mexico. Professor V. Suk, the donor of Czechoslovak anthropology, was also present. Each paper was followed by discussion, language difficulties being surmounted with the kind help of colleagues who were always ready to translate. With some of the younger members it was often only possible to converse in Russian. A list of the titles of the papers gives an idea of the scope of the congress.


I missed the last two days of the congress and paid a flying visit to Prague by the kind invitation of Prague anatomists and anthropologists. On Friday afternoon Dr. E. Vlcek took me to the Archæological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and demonstrated various finds from Gasovač. He showed some fossil mandibular fragments and teeth of a rhinoceros-like primate found at Zlany Kun and some fossilized fragments of pappo-like extremities. Dr. Vlcek also discussed some of the anthropological and serological results obtained on a recent expedition to Mongolia. He brought back a large number of skulls and coloured slides from there and I understand that the work is continuing.

My Prague colleagues then showed me some of the historic churches and other buildings in the city which are truly magnificent. These have either been redecorated and rebuilt or are in the process of restoration, and every effort is made to restore them to their original state.

Next morning the National Museum was visited where the director showed the actual endocranial cast from Gasovee as well as various artifacts from the same site. (Anybody interested in
exercising the original finds both fossil and archaeological would be welcomed by the Museum and the Archaeological Institute.) Of interest too at the National Museum was a well planned Darwin exhibition—one of the stands illustrated the evolution of man. Some original letters of Darwin's were to be seen and reference was also made to Wallace. In another part of the building several rooms were devoted to the history of the country from prehistoric to recent times.

Then we went to the Anatomical Institute of the University. About 2000 students attend the various courses. I was shown around by Professor L. Borovansky. Much comparative and developmental research is being carried out by the staff as well as the production of new anatomical text books. The building itself is due for restoration. It has suffered badly owing to the occupation and the war. The Germans closed the whole University from 1939 to 1945. They destroyed almost the entire anatomical collection, some of which was several centuries old, and removed practically all the microscopes and other instruments.

Finally, during the afternoon, we visited Straf Kov. This was formerly a Premonstratensian monastery (A.D. 1140) and is now the Museum of Czech Literature. It contains many rare illuminated manuscripts and incunabula. Through the various rooms one can trace the history of writing up to modern times. The whole building had only recently been restored.

I returned to Bratislava where the Congress concluded with a boat trip on the river Danube and a three-day excursion to Eastern Slovakia.

Unfortunately only four people from the West attended the conference. These personal exchanges are valuable and welcomed and every effort ought to be made to support such meetings. There were some delays in the granting of visas and three of us did not receive these until we had reached the border. But this should not deter one since eventually a visa does turn up. Apart from personal contacts the exchange of scientific literature in both directions is desirable.

**Impending Congresses**

32 The XXXIV International Congress of Americanists will be held at Vienna, 18–25 July, 1960.

The VI International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences will be held at Paris, 31 July–7 August, 1960.

The X Pacific Science Congress will be held at Honolulu, 21 August–6 September.

**CORRESPONDENCE**

**Literary Evidence for the Existence of the 'Snow Man.'** Cf. MAN, 1959, 293, 337

33 Str.—In the two figures which Emanuel Vlček reproduces to illustrate his article he gives romanizations for the Chinese characters and meanings as follows: fig. 1, *bitchun,* 'man-animal'; fig. 2, *peiyi,* 'wild man.' I am puzzled as to where he finds two characters in Chinese in either of these captions and also as to his Chinese interpretation. I am not a sinologist and may be treading on alien ground but as far as I can see in both figures there is one Chinese character only. That is the character pronounced *p'i* according to Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary, which Dr. Vlček appears to romanize as *bi* in fig. 1 and *pee* in fig. 2. According to the *Ta'uyian* (dictionary) it means 'An animal of the bear family found in Europe and Northern Asia, bigger than a bear with white or yellow hair and long neck. Long-legged with strength to pull up trees. Stands on hind legs when attacking.' According to the *K'angsi* dictionary it means 'she-bear with strength greater than the male.'

MARJORIE TOPELY

Hong Kong

**Australian Museums**

34 Str.—As a co-editor of the publication *Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde,* edited by L. Adam and H. Trimborn, 3rd edition, Stuttgart (Enke), 1959, I should be much obliged to you for publication of the following notice.

Section XIV of the above volume is a list of ethnographical museums all over the world, including institutions of State Governments, Municipalities, Universities, Missions, and Public Museums open to students or to the general public. In the sub-section 'Australien und Ozeanien' (p. 297) is mentioned 'Sydney Museum of Primitive Art.' This entry is erroneous. LEONHARD ADAM, Ethnographical Collection of the University of Melbourne.

**REVIEWS**

**AFRICA**


The authors of this small monograph have served as administrators in the southern Cameroun. Their knowledge of this region fills a considerable gap in the ethnography of the Pahouin, or Pangwe, people as a group. The greater part of their material seems to be based upon their studies of the northern Pangwe tribes, either at first hand, or in unpublished documents at administrative centres.

Those acquainted with the ethnographical literature on the Pangwe cannot altogether regret the stress upon one part of the total group. Most of the northern Pangwe have never received thorough ethnographical treatment. However, for those less conversant with previous studies there is some risk of assuming that statements based upon the northern tribes will apply to the others as well. Cultural features differ, or differed, considerably between, and perhaps even within, Pangwe tribes.

The crowding of material into a survey format has reduced the authors' opportunity for qualifying or documenting many of their statements. Too much information may have been sacrificed to conciseness: for example, the precise nature of the Mvae, or Mveng, a sizeable and seemingly discrete group in the centre of the Pangwe area, will remain an enigma to the readers of this monograph.

These are all faults of omission and certainly result more from pace limitations than from the authors' reticence or lack of information. Indeed, we are often given insights into aspects of Pangwe culture, of which we might have otherwise despised. The library-limited student of the Pangwe is afforded a view of culture change since the First World War, a rather rapid evolution from a congeries of politically anarchic, nomadic swidden cultivators toward a sedentary population of cacao-planters with a growing middle class, a native literature and a view of prestige seen in terms of bicycles and masonry houses.

The topically arranged bibliography is extensive and all the more valuable for its annotations. A glossary of the Pangwe terms frequently used in the text would have been a helpful inclusion.

The ethnic map shows greater detail and accuracy than any of its predecessors, although its schematic quality results in a few ambiguities. The symbols for two ethnic groups at the mouth of the Ogowe river are not explained in the legend. A line of 'pahouinization' through the Djem-Odzimu and the Bakwele might lead one to conclude wrongly that all of these peoples are significantly influenced by culture contact with the Pangwe.

The title and content of this publication impart some authority to the formidable caveat against Anglo-American extensions of the name of one tribe, the Fang, to encompass a number of other tribes who are avowedly not Fang. Bulu, Beti, Fang and other tribes
are more or less coordinate units of a large linguistic and cultural entity which must be conventionally designated as either the Pahouin or the Pangwe people. To use 'Fang' in this wider sense is to be arbitrary in a matter where certainty prevails. (Spanish authors will today use 'Fang' in writing of the entire people, but they qualify this convention by calling the tribal group 'Fang-Fang'.)

Until the appearance of this work Tessmann's monograph, Die Pangwe (1913), had been the only comprehensive source dealing with this people. It was based largely upon investigations in a relatively small area in the centre of the Pangwe range. This spatial limitation and a certain unevenness of treatment have made it somewhat less than definitive as an ethnographical description of the entire group. The northern focus and the more modern approach of Alexandre and Binet's survey make it an indispensable complement to Tessmann's work. An expanded, illustrated and meticulously documented presentation of their material would probably be the most authoritative source available for Pangwe studies.

LEON SIROTO


This report on the Khami Ruins, 13 miles west of Bulawayo, is an excellent descriptive summary of the excavations carried out by Radcliffe Robinson on the site since 1947. The author, who has lived at Khami during that period, has made the study of these ruins his own and of the knowledge of the various settlements is largely the result of his endeavours.

At Khami Robinson has isolated two very different cultures: an earlier pre-ruin culture, referred to as the Leopard's Kopje Culture, which belongs to Simmer's Rhodesian Iron Age A period and to Schofield's Early Rhodesian proto-Sotho culture; and a later ruin culture which shows little variation throughout its depth. He supports the earlier work of Schofield and myself in ascribing the Khami ruins to the Rozwi and he also regards A.D. 1700 as the earliest probable date for the first wall building on the Hill Ruin, the most imposing of the Khami settlements.

The hut foundations at Khami indicate that the majority of the dwellings were large cone-on-cylinders of a type well known among the earlier Tswana tribes and elsewhere in southern Africa but there are also one or two huts of exceptional interest for which existing parallels have not yet been discovered. Hut C61, which guards the upper end of the covered passage leading to the Hill Ruin, is the most striking example. Robinson concludes that this was roofed by a thick mass of dung carried on a large number of stout posts and he suggests that it was built by a Rozwi tribe which journeyed northwards from Natal, through the Free State and the Transvaal into Rhodesia.

The evidence on which this hypothesis is based cannot be supported by studies in South Africa and depends largely on oral traditions, frequently at third hand, which in southern Africa today are often very unreliable. There is no evidence of a Rozwi settlement in Natal, the Free State or Basutoland, nor are there present-day, thatched-roof huts known from any part of South Africa. The builders of the corbelled stone huts in the Free State were undoubtedly the Lelhosa, who moved southwards from Rhodesia and never returned. The parallel for hut C61, if a flat-roofed building, must be sought, therefore, elsewhere than in South Africa.

This report of excavations carried out at Khami is invaluable to all students of African proto-history. In the interpretation of the excavations a wider knowledge and use of the work by Baumann in Angola and by other workers in South Africa would have been far more valuable than the double cultural traditions utilized and several theses here postulated could have been discarded. The evidence of cultural contact with the Congo is noted but no effort is made to trace the link between the Rozwi and the Congo which Yenda tradition claims and which Baumann's studies in Angola support.

The only datable material recovered was Chinese pottery of late Ming date, Wan Li or later, but before 1644. This date is in accordance with that of A.D. 1693 which Schofield put forward on historical evidence for the establishment of the Mambo-Rozwi regime in Southern Rhodesia and it places the Hill Ruin at Khami as slightly earlier than the similar Dhielo settlement.

Robinson's excavations at Khami have enabled me to form a picture of the various Rozwi settlements, except for one or two details such as hut C61, and they have confirmed the dating of these ruins to the end of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately no evidence was obtained further to establish the identity of the builders or the connexion of the associated culture with the Congo. Nevertheless nothing has been revealed to contradict the findings of Schofield and others ascribing the buildings to the Rozwi.

The study of African proto-history in Southern Rhodesia is largely in the hands of a very small band of workers who are to be heartily congratulated on publishing these detailed monographs on important sites: first Inyangwa and now Khami. It is to be hoped that other countries in Africa will follow this excellent example for it is only through the publication of such full excavation reports that the pattern of African history can finally emerge.

JAMES WALTON


M. Soret of the French 'Office de la recherche scientifique et technique Outre-Mer,' has published a few demographic works on Lower Congo. His latest contribution is a survey of the peoples and cultures of that region including an exhaustive bibliography.

The author begins with a brief outline of the country and the tribes, and he gives very good demographic statistics including a map of density of the population, and also interesting diagrams giving valuable information about the age distribution and sex ratio in rural and urban districts. In short, this chapter is an excellent sociological survey. He continues with the history and traditions of the peoples of Lower Congo (ch. 2). In collaboration with André Jacquot (Orstrom) he presents an all too short chapter on the languages (ch. 3): he omits most of the published literature in the Kongo language and its dialects written by Africans and European missionaries. In chapter 4 the author gives an outline of the geography of Lower Congo including hydrography and meteorology. The material culture ('principaux traits économiques') is treated more extensively: here both the traits of the old culture and the new environmental conditions are exposed (ch. 5). The following chapters (6–7) present the social organization, the political life and cultural aspects. Here the clan and the family life as well as slavery are treated in some length. The author apologizes for omitting the historical evolution: the book was already completed in November, 1958, when the Congo republic was proclaimed (p. 111, note 1).

There are naturally some statements in this work which may be a matter of dispute, e.g. the use of the popular word 'fitchete' and the term 'toter', where it would be wiser to be careful and mention the possibility of nauticism. These things are however less important in a book which is intended as a survey of the Kongo peoples. Of course it is not possible to treat fully every detail of a subject as large as this within the frame of an edition of about 150 pages. However M. Soret has achieved the task very well. The work has an encyclopaedic character, and as such can be considered as a handbook for students.

BERTIL SÖDERBERG


In this interesting and stimulating short monograph M. Léris deals with the zar possession cult at Gondar in Ethiopia at greater length than in his earlier papers published in 1934 shortly after the completion of his field research. The word zar appears to occur in most Cushitic languages denoting the Cushite God (in Galla, Waja; in Somali, Waj). More generally among the Cushites today, however, zar is applied to a general category of spirits
The world of zar spirits, or the zar hierarchy, is similar to that of the jins in popular Islam. In Gondar there are very many professional mediums, usually women, and Leiris argues that participation in the zar cult to some extent compensates women for their subordinate position in other spheres of life. It is particularly the social and dramatic aspects of zar possession which are considered here. And M. Leiris points out that zar are most active in the dry season precisely when social relations—dancing, feasting, etc.—are most intense.

The interesting question of whether mediums achieve complete dissociation or whether they act consciously, playing out an essentially dramatic role, is discussed at some length. It is debatable whether M. Leiris would have been able to examine this problem more satisfactorily had he used psychological techniques. But from the evidence which he presents he considers that mediums act consciously, although of course this does not imply disbelief in zar spirits or in the efficacy of the rites. It is more difficult to provide a satisfactory functional interpretation of the cult: as a whole, it is clear as Leiris argues that the zar rites play an important cathartic role, providing a stage on which many social tensions are dramatized and played out.

In Somaliland where the zar cult is attenuated and much less important in social life than at Gondar, zar possession which is mainly limited to women is regarded primarily as a malady with specific physical symptoms. I. M. LEWIS


This is the third volume by Professor Wilson in which she has discussed some aspect of the religious life of the Nyakysya: the others included accounts of witchcraft and of rites of kinship. It is based upon fieldwork by Professor Wilson and the late Godfrey Wilson between 1934 and 1938, and upon work by Professor Wilson on a return to the field in 1955. The main part of the book consists of an account of rituals observed 20 years ago, most of which are no longer performed; in the second part she discusses the changes that have been brought about by the spread of Christianity and the impact of a money economy. Besides a comparative parison of rituals among the makes shifts away from neighbouring people with different economic and political organizations, especially the Ngonde. The form of presentation is as we have become used to in her previous volumes: every statement is illustrated by detailed ethnographical material, with textual accounts given by informants and excerpts from actual field notes. Much of the material involves the same informants, whom we come to know and to interrelate with the help of genealogical tables. Material of this degree of detail is rare in African anthropology.

The communal rituals are those performed at the ‘coming-out’ and death of chiefs, those performed at the graves of chiefs, those made to cleanse the country and to control rain and fertility. They involve the resolution of conflicts inherent in Nyakysya social structure, especially those between adjacent generations and between the holders of different but complementary types of political authority; the relationship between political authority, ritual and the system of age villages is shown in fine detail. These conflicts, as well as those between kin and between neighbours in everyday matters, are seen by Nyakysya largely in terms of the fight against the expression of anti-social tendencies inherent in ordinary men, tendencies seen in witchcraft and impurity, madness and death. The proper performance of rituals, including confession and the removal of sin and guilt, ensures the orderly resolution of conflicts in society and so the removal of dangers and disorders in nature. Nyakysya cosmology and ideas of the ‘divinity’ of their heroes and rulers, their ways of controlling the evil that lies around and within themselves, and the use of medicines, the means of acquiring power and of realizing long-term benefits for the individual, are described vividly and without falling into the trap of trying to iron out every paradox and ambivalence in Nyakysya belief and action.

In the last 30 years Christianity has spread among the Nyakysya, and the communal rituals and many of those of kinship are rarely performed today, with the growing importance of voluntary associations in place of kinship groups. Only the use of medicines, and to a lesser extent the beliefs in witchcraft, have been relatively unaffected. There is a good account of these changes in morality, belief and ritual practice.

This is an excellent book. It is one of the few adequate studies of African religions.

JOHN MIDDLETON


Present events in Rhodesia and Nyasaland prompt an interest in how Central Africa came to be settled by Europeans and how White settlement and control began to affect the lives of the indigenous Africans. Despite the considerable number of ethnographical accounts from the region, there were until a few years ago scarcely any books dealing with the history of relations between Black and White during the past 70 years or so. In 1956 Hana published his history of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia for the period 1859–1895, and we now have two further contributions to uncovering the complicated path of development that has led to the present impasse. Unlike West Africa, Central Africa has always been thought of, at least from Livingstone onwards, as potentially an area of White settlement. Unlike South Africa, it is an area where the future pattern of White-Black relationships is still not irrevocably decided. Situated uneasily in the marches between the areas of Black and White hegemony, its social development has long been influenced by apparently accidental factors, the religious affiliation of a Cabinet Minister in London or the perspicacity of a chief on the Zambezi. If we are to make sense of Central African history, we need to know the facts in detail.

The two books under review differ strikingly in their attention to detail. Some difference is to be expected, for Gann has a wider topic to cover, the whole of a territory for 20 years, while Shepperson and Price are concerned with establishing the antecedents of a rising that lasted only a fortnight and involved directly only a few hundred people. The difference is accentuated because Gann likes to generalize, and will not be tempted to follow subsidiary lines of inquiry, whereas Independent African abounds in byways and asides, in references to similar situations elsewhere and to questions for further discussion. From one point of view this is remarkable, for Gann is in an exceptionally favoured position. He is on the staff of the Central African Archives and was granted special access to the archival material left to the Colonial Office and the Northern Rhodesia Government. On the other hand, Shepperson and Price were not allowed to consult official archives later than 1902 and have had to rely on published sources and manuscripts in private hands for information after that date. Yet these two authors bring to light a great mass of evidence that has hitherto been overlooked and Shepperson has recently gone further and suggested sources which Gann could have hunted out ("Rhodesia Agric. J., Vol. XXIII (1958), pp. 12–46"). Gann, alas, has very little new to say, although the story which he tells has not previously been brought together in such a volume.

Perhaps his access to official records has determined the quality and scope of Gann’s account. His precis of documents that we cannot look at seems unexceptionable, but these are official documents and Gann tends to present the official view of what happened.
The designation 'plural society' implies that there is a major cultural cleavage to be analysed and although Gann demonstrates that the Black-White cleavage exists, he looks at it from only one side. He brings out well, and more effectively than did Davidson in his Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, the diversity within the White community, with its Afrikaners and Jewish traders as well as its better-documented employees of the British South Africa Company. But once they have been conquered, the Africans in his book become homogenous and anonymous; there are no longer any personalities among them.

Official documents do give this view, but it is belied by present events; and Gann removes himself even further from his subject matter than he need by stating as fact what is only one person's opinion about how Africans were behaving, as his references to sources show. Independent African is full of personalities, mostly African but some European missionaries, and it is the Administration that remains anonymous and inscrutable. Joseph Booth, the European missionary who was thought to have begun the trouble or the revolt eventually at Chibembe's revolt, is followed from Auck- land to Melbourne and the United States and eventually to his death in Weston-super-Mare, and his fellow evangelists are treated in similar detail. Africans have left fewer relics for the historian, but Shepperson and Price do very well with what material there is in identifying the parts played by the many Bible-reading African intellectuals who were contemporaries of Chibembe. Their leader remains, however, a thing of mystery. Neither a millennial movement nor a secular revolt, the Chibembe rising remains unexplained, a histrionic gesture that could never have had a sympathetic audience. Yet in Nyasaland it was the first dramatic break with tribalism and paternalism, the precursor of African nationalism.

The authors provide parallels from other places, Gann with nineteenth-century Transylvania, Shepperson and Price with Carver's Back to Africa movement. Both are concerned with the direction for further social and political changes which was established during the first generation of White administration and settlement. The difference in their analysis and prognosis is shown in their last paragraphs. To Gann, the new plural society of Northern Rhodesia in 1914 contained 'the seeds of great co-operative achievements.' Shepperson and Price end their book by quoting Lugard on movements of protest by native peoples: 'Their very discontent is a measure of their progress.

J. A. BARNES

Foods and Feeding Habits of the Pedi, with Special Reference to the Identification, Classification, Preparation and Nutritive Value of the Respective Foods.

This is a detailed and comprehensive review, undertaken with the avowed intention of trying to provide Pedi labour with better and more acceptable rations than those usually provided by the employers. It is a well established fact that, in many territories, the dislocation of tribal life consequent upon urban demand for residential labour on mines, estates, etc., frequently results in a marked diminution in the variety of foods used and a neglect of old traditional methods of preparing foods—methods which may have been time-consuming and laborious but which often enhanced the nutritional value of the food.

Mr. Quin gives details of some 48 different types of cereal porridge, 38 different relishes made with pothors, 13 varieties of insects used as food, 12 kinds of beverages, and a wide range of other foods and composite dishes traditionally used by the Pedi in their own home area, and he contrasts these with the restricted and semi-sophisticated diet of the employed labourer. There are also chapters on agriculture, on health, and on the historical background of the Pedi.

The qualitative information about the Pedi may very well be correct but one's confidence in this book is somewhat undermined by erroneous use of material from other publications. For example, the fungus (p. 29) is not a variety of Penicillium melleri and the source quoted did not suggest that it was, and the values given on p. 56 for pumpkin leaves are the values given in the source quoted for pumpkin fruits. Many of the values for ascorbic acid in fruits and vegetables were taken from a publication which gave these values in milligrams per gram; Mr. Quin has misread this as milligrams per 100 grams, and has used these erroneous figures in his computations of the values of composite dishes. Apart from factual errors of this nature, some of the general statements relating to foods in other parts of Africa are quite outAT of date and agricultural statistics for the year 1936 are quoted as though the situation had remained unchanged since then.

The value of the book as it stands at present is thus mainly in its descriptive material and it is to be hoped that some means can be found of issuing a corrected version of the nutritive values as these could be of considerable help to those responsible for planning rations and might well result in improved health and happiness for the labourers.

M. W. GRANT


The title is something of a misnomer; for these women are not refugees, but have come to the Rand of their own free will and have no wish to return to their villages. In fact it is not clear why people keep flocking in if, as the author tells us, they live there on the verge of starvation. Nor it is clear how they are able to spend large sums on drink, love potions and other luxuries.

The picture which she paints is a dark one: sexual promiscuity, drunkenness and crime are rife. But she fails to distinguish between the evils due to the policy of apartheid and those which exist among urban proletarians in many cities; at my Boresta and my improved school I meet with many case histories similar to those which she recounts. The real fault of the policy of apartheid, it seems to me, that is it precludes the only possible cure, namely the development of a class of urban Africans with European standards of life and conduct. This would, it seems, no more commend itself to her than it does to the authorities, for she holds that 'there is much in African culture in keeping with the African psyche.' In fact, however, the African psyche is the product of African culture, and this, so far as the Bantu are concerned, is based on life in the village, and cannot, except for some superstitions, exist apart from that life. This, though she does not realize it, emerges clearly from her descriptions.

Apart from some repetition the book is well and interestingly written, and the author displays a thorough knowledge of the matters with which she deals.

RAGLAN

Table for General Shape of the Negroes' Hair (Volume do Homemagem as Professor Doctor Mendes Corrêa).

Dos Santos here begins to open out a rather new subject, the arrangement of the spirals of head hair among the Africans. The spirals may be close-clustered and narrow without any very marked order among themselves or the spirals may be in linear series especially across the frontal region, or again the spirals may be in zigzag lines especially in the occipital region. We are grateful for the author's use of our language.

H. J. FLEURE


The Zirides, a ruling family of sedentary Sanhaja Berbers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. in central modern Algeria, have not previously been studied in the detail of the present work.

The author presents first, the setting, physical, economic and social, of their political activities. There follows a well documented account of the birth and development of the power of the Zirides. Section three is devoted to a study in detail of the Hammames, a branch of the Zirides, who exercised great power during the middle eleventh century from their fortress-capital of Qala beni-Hamad. This was located on the northern fringe of the high steppes occupied by their rivals the nomadic Zenata Berbers. Sub-sections concerned
MAN

Nos. 44-47

February, 1960

with economic conditions prevailing in Central Barbary in the
eleventh and twelfth centuries are particularly useful. The final
section is a presentation of the social conditions, and of art and
architectural detail, as revealed by studies of still-standing relics of
palace and other buildings, and of archaeological finds at the sites of
the former Ziride capitals.

A valuable bibliography of works of more general application is
supplemented by numerous more detailed references in footnotes;
some 50 photographic reproductions add greatly to general interest.

Although not history nor geography nor archaeology, the work,
which is based on scholarly study of authors and texts of the period,
expanded by archaeological investigation in the field, forms a
valuable addition to studies concerned with medieval aspects of
central Barbary.

W. FOGG

AMERICA


pp. 285, plates. Price £1 5s.

This is a well written book, which conveys a vivid
picture of the life of the Urubú Indians of Brazil
and even communicates a sense of its monotony without boring the
reader.

Mr. Huxley tells us, however, that he is not really writing a
travel book and much of Affable Savages is accordingly devoted to
interpretations of Urubú myth and custom, such as would not be
out of place in a more serious work, but presented in 'popular'
form without the scholarly care that a serious treatment would
require. These analyses are often interesting but frequently facile.
For example, when writing of the cowade, Mr. Huxley says that the
father 'is only sometimes trying to make the child his own in the most
obvious way he can think of, namely by imitating the woman who
gives birth to it.' This ethnocentric interpretation assumes that the
father in some way recognizes that the child is not his own.

But this is to make the Indian seem more simple-minded than he is.
In societies where the institution of cowade exists, a father invariably
believes that there is a bond between himself and his child such that
what affects the one affects the other. The restriction of a father's
activities around the time of birth is then a recognition that he and
his child are together passing through a crisis, not an attempt
to deny that a woman bears the child nor to compete with her partu-
rition. The Urubú believe, we are told, that the father is the sole
maker' of his child and the mother merely its receptacle. Why
should he therefore wish to 'make the child his own' any more than
it already is?

Mr. Huxley's treatment of anthropological topics is the book's
most serious defect. It abounds with pseudo-scientific platitudes like
'Social order would be easy to maintain if it were not for sex
and death.' His sweeping generalizations about 'Indians' (as if all
Amerindians exhibited exactly the same traits) are of the sort of
journalism that one does not expect from an anthropologist, even
when he is not writing for specialists. There are old howls: the
(Timbira are not 'river Indians'), which give a cumulative
effect of careless writing, and anthropology reaches no larger
public for being slipshod.

Clearly Mr. Huxley could write a good travel book if he chose
and it seems that he has valuable material on the Urubú, if he would
undertake the arduous task of preparing it for publication in a
scholarly form. As it is, he has written a book whose entertainment
value is spoilt by its pretentiousness and whose scientific value is
negligible.

D. MAYBURY-LEWIS

Navaho Art and Culture. By George Mills, with introduction by
Clyde Kluckhohn. Colorado Springs (Taylor Museum),

Space does not allow us to mention the suggestive
and useful aspects of this work, in which the author studies four
Navaho 'arts'-weaving (practised by the majority of the women),
silversmithing (by a minority of the men), dry painting (sand
mosaics; by a minority of experts), and drawing as represented by
170 pencil-crayon drawings made at the author's request; his
object being to correlate Navaho 'art' with Navaho culture through
group psychology, and traits discernible in all four 'arts' being taken
as 'significant culture-determined elements.' We limit this review to
a few of the points which we think call for qualification.

Can one usefully include under 'art' the technical competence of
the smith and the weaver, the stylized, traditionally symbolic
sand mosaics, along with the unskilful drawings of Dr. Mills's
collection? Fifty years ago, among Pueblo schoolchildren, a
cross-fertilization of traditional interests and similar new
materials (paper and crayons) produced a new and beautiful art, to which
some Navaho individuals contributed; but there is small sign of
that flowering here. One drawing only shows control of the new
medium. After all, the flower of Navaho art is in poetry; next
comes sand painting; then, perhaps, story-telling and the two
useful arts: should not the group psychology rather be judged
through these?

But Dr. Mills's choice has been determined by the psychologists'
interpretations of children's drawings, and he has treated his collection
'by recognized psychological methods.' They, however,
deal with untaught projections of personality: three of Dr. Mills's
arts are taught and individual expression, in varying degrees,
limited conventionally. Again, what he says about the limits imposed
by materials is sound, but does it go far enough? E.g., subject in
weaving (until bastardized by imitating commercial goods) is
almost inevitably abstracted, and the child's crayon demand outlining,
water colours might have had a different influence. How far is a projective interpretation valid?

To interpret drawings which include persons Dr. Mills uses
Machover's Personality through Projection. But Machover used this
technique with circumspection on children, and with one uniform
non-committal directive: 'Draw a person.' Under these conditions
size, space-filling, marginal or central placing, right or left direction,
choice of sex, are significant. Dr. Mills asks (in what words we are
not told) for a picture, which obviously prompts full use of the
paper, balance of parts, anecdotal content, variety of posture, so
that these cease to be entirely projective. And by combining with
this a test of the subject's ideas of 'pretty' and 'ugly,' he complicates
matters still further. Machover begins interpretation with the over-
all impression; Mills does not always resist the temptation to treat
'autonomic' meanings as a code. We need, too, to know the
subject's age, mental maturity and educational background: it
seems that most of them are adults and that the child's role is

Lastly, is it not unsafe to apply techniques devised for studying
the psychology of individuals to the interpretation of a culture?
For a culture is something more than the sum of the individuals
comprised in it—a product of multiplication, not of addition.

BARRABA AITKEN

DAVID WARDLE

Water Witching U.S.A. By E. Z. Vogt and Ray Hyman. Chicago,
plates. Price £1 17s. 6d.

Water witching is the usual American term for
what in this country, and in some parts of the U.S.A., is called
dowsing. Of its history the authors say: 'On the basis of present
evidence we conclude that the divining rod, as we now know it,
is a European pattern stemming from the mining districts of
Germany in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century and spreading
from there to the rest of Europe and thence to other regions as the
Europeans spread their culture and established colonies in various
parts of the world' (p. 20). It is apparently unknown elsewhere
except for scattered cases of recent diffusion by European settlers.

They go on to consider the reliability of dowsing, and show that
no dowser, when tested, has ever achieved better results than might
have been achieved by chance. The dowser claims that his divining
rod moves even when he tries to prevent it, but the authors show
that as in the cases of pendulum-swinging, table-turning and the

The North-East Frontier Agency includes the hill tracts extending to the north and east of the Assam valley, and is divided into five administrative divisions known as Kameng, Subansiri, Siang, Lohit and Tirap. It is an area almost exclusively inhabited by tribal, Tibeto-Burman-speaking populations, whose contacts with the Assamese plains people used to be slight or non-existent. The greater part of the region was virtually unadministered until 1944 when the Government of India began to extend its control over such areas as the Kameng and Subansiri Division, then still known as the Balipara Frontier Tract. As a result of the veil of secrecy spread over these frontier regions, little is known about developments since India's gain of independence, but from the book under review it appears that great progress has been made in establishing an effective administration right up to the MacMahon line, which forms today the de facto frontier between India and Tibet.

Verrier Elwin, who for some years has been associated with the North-East Frontier Agency in the capacity of Adviser for Tribal Affairs, enjoys opportunities, both for research and for applying his experience and knowledge to the benefit of the local population, which many an anthropologist will envy. The present book, intended for the general reader rather than the anthropologist, contains a statement of policy and aims as well as a factual account of conditions in the various regions of the North-East Frontier Agency. Those particularly interested in this part of the Eastern Himalaya would perhaps have welcomed a more systematic description of the exploration undertaken and the administrative measures instituted since 1947, for areas then entirely unknown, such as Agla Mara on the Upper Subansiri, have since been opened up. Information on the reaction of the tribesmen to the rapid extension of Government control is interspersed with numerous recommendations and the exposition of a policy of tolerance and constructive assistance vis-à-vis the local population. As one who knows the area from first-hand experience, I am confident that the policy

which Elwin advocates is not only basically sound but also practicable and of benefit to the tribesmen. There are not many parts of the world where anthropologists have direct influence on matters of administration, and even fewer where an anthropologist's policy statement will be unreservedly endorsed by the head of a Government. Elwin does not hide the fact that the policy outlined in his book is not always understood by all the subordinate officials employed in the administration of the North-East Frontier Agency, but there can be no doubt that Nehru's wholehearted support of a policy of respect for tribal values and attitudes will make it easier to check intolerance and counteract the ethnocentric tendencies of the less broad-minded among politicians and officials.

The very fact that a book such as A Philosophy for NEFA could appear as an official publication is a measure of Elwin's success as an advocate of tribal values and tribal rights. Sympathetic interest for the problems of tribal people is today widespread in India, but less than 20 years ago Elwin's views, then shared by only a handful of enlightened administrators such as J. H. Hutton, J. F. Mills and W. V. Grigg, met with a great deal of scorn and opposition. It might perhaps be argued that much of the 'philosophy' put forward in the present book represents what are basically common-sense solutions to the problems of an underdeveloped tribal area. But there can be no doubt that in the absence of a knowledge of the realities of tribal life, apparent to the anthropologist but not necessarily to administrative officers and technical experts, the premises for such common-sense solutions are often lacking and policies may be formulated on the basis of inadequate factual information.

Anthropologists can take pride in the fact that in planning the development of one of the country's most exposed and vital frontier regions, the Government of India has availed itself of the advice and assistance of an anthropologist well known for his independent views. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that before long Verrier Elwin will give us fuller information on the process of change in one or two specific regions, such as the Apa Tani valley or the Monpa area, where an economic and cultural orientation towards Tibet is gradually being replaced by a closer association with India.
PREHISTORIC IDOLS FROM GRAN CANARIA

1, b) Fragment found recently at Targa; height c. 5\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches. (c-e) Three views of a figure probably from Telde or Targa; height c. 10\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches. (f) Head found at Zanobia de Valeron; height c. 3 inches. (g) Hollow idol head; height c. 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches. (h, i) Two views of a hollow idol head; height c. 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches. Both (g) and (h, i) are probably from Targa.
Clay idols of the native Canaries which had been in use prior to Christianization have been known for a century. They are exclusive to the island of Gran Canaria. Unfortunately they have received hardly any attention outside the Canary Islands although they are sufficiently peculiar to serve as a clue to the cultural relations, if not the origin, of part of the prehistoric native culture. A new find, described in this paper, prompts me to discuss this interesting problem.

The idols of Gran Canaria are associated with a particular culture best characterized by its red-slipped, pebble-burnished pottery, which is entirely confined to this island. It appears to represent the latest phase of prehistory just prior to the Spanish Conquest and is perhaps partly contemporary with the latter. Since the Conquest meant conversion, the date of A.D. 1483 may be used as a terminus ante quem for the idols.

The new specimen comes from Tara, near Telde, where it was found in the fields now covering the site of the ancient southern capital of the island. The town was clearly extensive, situated on a flat spur between two rivers and associated with artificial caves. But there is no doubt that much of the town of Tara consisted of ordinary houses. Some of the finds will be discussed in a separate article.

The most interesting, and the only certain, type of idol is that made of clay. Shaped stones are known, however, and it is conceivable that they were connected with cults; more will be said about them later. The clay figures are of moderate size, of the order of about a foot high. Apart from representations of human bodies which may be taken to represent true idols, there are a number of small animal figurines, the significance or purpose of which is so far unknown. They may have been anything from amulets or votive offerings, to be sacrificed in lieu of the real animal, to toys. Moreover, most of them are of very poor quality and they are not likely to help in establishing cultural connections.

Clay idols previously found have been discussed in papers by Pérez de Barradas (1939, 1944), Jimenez (1945, 1947), Crawford (1957) and others back to the days of Berthelot (1879), but detailed descriptions are lacking.

The painted clay figurine from Tara (Plate E, b) here described for the first time is unique in one respect: it is painted with geometric patterns. It was found on the Tara site on the ground of Don Ignacio Negron. Don Nestor Alamo, Director of the Casa de Colon, Las Palmas, asked me for an opinion on the specimen which is now exhibited in the collection of the museum Casa de Colon.

It is a ‘torso’ retaining the upper part of the body from the right hip and the navel up to the shoulders. The right arm is complete. The preserved height is 158 mm., the preserved width 137 mm. The paste is blackish, made of a coarse, probably local, volcanic sand with angular fragments and a small admixture of clay. It is covered with a yellow slip and painted with red geometric patterns. It is very poorly fired, in the lying-down position, thus being blackened on the back, whilst the front is oxidized and yellow except for one or two slight clouds of grey. That the firing position can be established without a shadow of doubt is a promising fact, for it may render possible a dating by remnant magnetism.

Unlike the slip on the pottery, which is nearly always red, this figurine is covered with a yellow slip of limonite clay. This is of sub-local origin and probably derived from one of the brown rendzina soils which are common in the south-eastern part of the island. The red slip and paint were made either from one of the rotere soils common in the ancient Laurisilva belt of the island or, more frequently, I suspect, from one of the bands of fossil baked soils found beneath lava flows. The material was carefully ground either in one of the several types of stone mortars or rubbing querns, or else (as is done today in Atalaya, the only surviving native potters’ workshop) on a rotary quern. There the slip is made with water (or now probably paraffin oil) and smeared over the piece and allowed to air-dry. It is then burnished with a smooth pebble in the usual way. The resulting burnish is very shiny and looks almost like a glaze. The idol has been treated in exactly the same way as the red-burnished pottery found on the Tara site, and contemporaneity may therefore be assumed.

The breaks in the specimen are new. They suggest that it was ploughed up and it is not entirely impossible that other parts may one day be found.

The shape of the figurine is determined by the hand resting on the hip, with the elbow standing off. The shoulders and upper arms form a straight line, which is due to the presence of a shoulder cape, about which more will have to be said presently. This interpretation is confirmed by the hand which, though clumsily shaped, has four grooves separating the fingers. There is no indication whatever of breasts. This may be due to the idol not being meant to be female, or else to the cape which is intended to cover them. Another figurine, No. 629 of the Museo Canario, lacks them also, though the navel is marked (Plate Ec). The impression that a female is meant to be represented is in both cases due to the very wide hips.

The most interesting feature is the cape covering the shoulders. It runs uninterruptedly across the back but is open on the chest where it ends on each side with a knob at the lower corner which conceivably indicates a means of tying the two sides together when required. Covering the elbows and shoulders well, this garment agrees with the descriptions given by some of the early historians, especially with the capa mentioned by Torriani (1590), whilst it is certainly not the tamarco commonly quoted.

* With Plate E and two text figures. This article forms Contribution No. 5 of the Geochronological Expedition to the Canary Islands.
which reached down to the knees and the name of which implies that it was made of palm leaf (Viera y Clavijo, 1772, p. 138, footnote). It is further pointed out by the same author that the leather jackets were 'dyed with certain coloured earths and with the juices of plants and flowers.' This might well account for the red pattern which appears on the cape of the figurine.

The part of the figurine which represents the chest and part of the abdomen is likewise covered with a design consisting of double lines, zigzags, squares and circular patches. One is tempted to regard the uppermost of the patches as the navel, but there are others lower down. No garment is indicated. These designs recur on the painted pottery, but they are reminiscent also of the patterns of the pintaderas, clay stamps which are frequent in the same cultural context and, like the painted and burnished pottery, entirely confined to Gran Canaria (Perecit, 1955). The possible affinities of these pintaderas with the early Mediterranean cultures or even with Mexico cannot be discussed in this context, but it is evident that the practice of printing the skin with patterns has something to do with the character of the stiff garment in use which inevitably left a gap on the front of the body. It is in this sense that the early and somewhat contradictory reports must be understood that the natives were clad and, at the same time, naked.¹

Since complete and undamaged idols are not known (except possibly one in Paris, illustrated in 1891), an attempt has been made at reconstructing the new specimen. It is easy to complete the missing side, but we are left without the legs and the head.

First, regarding the legs, it is highly probable that the rapidly broadening sides, or hips, suggest sitting posture, and more precisely a cross-legged one. That this was adopted by some of the idols of Gran Canaria is confirmed by the seated figure of unknown provenance² which has been figured repeatedly, No. 659 of the Museo Canario at first sight this idol (Plate Ee) looks very different from the new one. It is in red pebble-burnished ware with a good slip. There is some painting, originally black but now bleached, covering head, neck and the upper part of the shoulders.³ But geometric patterns are absent. The arms of this figurine, which is of about the same size as the new one, are in the same position. Though they are broken off, scars show that the hands were resting on the hips. The extraordinarily bulging upper arms are, in fact, hollow underneath, and this as well as the presence of a small knob on the right side suggests that it is not meant to represent enormous muscles, but the same kind of cape as is present in the new idol. This type of arm is not unique either since the Museo Canario holds another specimen, the fragment of an arm almost identical with that of the idol. The sex is not indicated, breasts and genitalia being completely absent.⁴ Only the navel appears as a small hole. The thighs, however, are bulging out even more than the upper arms. Whether this is to indicate steatopygy I am inclined to doubt, especially as the figurine is so completely sexless. But the right leg continues as a stump across the middle, clearly indicating cross-legged posture. The legs are hollow from underneath, presumably to save clay. The figurine is cut level to have a base to stand on, and the back portion of the legs has similarly been cut off vertically. It would thus be more easily accommodated in a shrine or recess. As it stands, the body leans back slightly (Plate Ee), but the weight of the legs prevents its tipping over.

The neck of this idol is remarkably long, and the head very small in proportion. This was the general rule in Gran Canaria, for about ten specimens are known. There are, however, two different types of heads. Type I is very crudely executed, with a mere indication of the face, cut off immediately above the eyes, and it is hollow from above (Plate Eg–f). Type II has a similarly simple, circular face but instead of being hollow is equipped with an elaborate pointed coiffure in clay (Plate Ef). In view of this, the hole in the head of Type I suggests to me that it was filled with some substance holding a bunch of natural or artificial hair to complete the appearance. This is an interpretation more probable than that the hole was used to receive sacrifices. At one time I was inclined to think that grease or oil was burnt in the cavity, in which case idols of this type might have represented volcanic deities, an obvious type on volcanic islands. But the traces of fire on the heads preserved are not in the proper place, in the hole itself, so that this alternative must be regarded as less probable.

It is impossible to answer the question which type of head belonged to the new Tara idol. Since the hollow heads of Type I are known from Tara itself, they score in this respect. The coiffure type is known only from Cenobio de Valerón (No. 620), Hoya de San Juan (Arucas; no number), and Agujero near Galdar (a flat coiffure, the others being high; No. 628). But since finds are altogether few, this different distribution may merely be due to chance.

Either type of head would fit the idol, and one of the possible reconstructions is given here in an attempt to obtain some idea of how these idols looked when they were in use (fig. 1). It is evident that a composition of three specimens cannot be correct; on the other hand, one gains a general impression of the type of idol that was in use, and the question naturally arises of possible cultural relations.

It should be remembered that of all the Canary Islands, only Gran Canaria has produced idols and that Espinosa (1885) reports expressly that there were none in Tenerife. This supports the impression that Gran Canaria was at a comparatively late stage occupied by a different population that had arrived from elsewhere.

The posture of the idols of this group is reminiscent of the Mediterranean Neolithic. A cross-legged figurine with hands on hips (though with the elbows close to the body) was found at Kato Ierapetra in Crete and described by Weinberg (1951). It has a similar long neck, and a small, flat-topped head. Its features, however, are unmistakably Cretan, with large straight nose and almond-shaped lateral eyes, quite unlike the small knob-like eyes and noses of the Canarian figurines. Yet one cannot help feeling that a
connexión with the Mediterranean Neolithic is, on stylistic grounds, conceivable. Such connexion has been suggested repeatedly before, for instance by Pérez de Barradas (1936) on the evidence of another type of idol, the violin-shaped plaque.

**Fig. 1. Reconstruction sketch of the clay idol from Tara**

With legs taken from the red burnished clay idol, and with the head from the Cenobio de Valero. Other possibilities exist, especially that the head was one of the type illustrated on Plate EII or h, i.

This very peculiar type has indeed been found in Gran Canaria, and the collection of the Museo Canario contains no fewer than five, from the following localities:

- No. 617 Aguimes (blackish-brown ‘polished’ ware)
- No. 618 Gran Canaria (red burnished ware)
- No. 619 Gran Canaria (red burnished ware)
- No. number Moyaneta (brown unsliponed ware)
- No. 616 No locality (black hard sandy clay)

All are in a fragmentary condition, and measurements are of little value. Their sizes are evident from the illustrations here given (fig. 2). No doubt can be entertained as to the nature of these specimens. They are exactly similar to the fiddle idols of the Neolithic—Early Bronze Age though they resemble those of the eastern Mediterranean rather than those of the Iberian peninsula. That these should have come from the Mediterranean is indeed probable, but it is strange that they should have survived into the fifteenth century A.D. in the Canaries. There is a chronological implication in this. The fiddle idol had disappeared from the whole of its distribution area in Europe and the Mediterranean (where it had reached eastern Spain) by the time of the Middle Bronze Age. As it survived, there must have been a continuity of tradition somewhere in an isolated area, and one is tempted to suggest that this happened in Gran Canaria itself. If this is so, then the wave of immigration which brought these idols to the island might have reached it about 1500 B.C.

There are other types of idols in Gran Canaria. Pérez de Barradas stresses the importance of the clay figurines of animals and types that appear half-human, half-animal, the *tibisenas*, believed to be spirits that appear at night. This group deserves special consideration on another occasion. There are also some stone idols, in particular the *pintaderas*, stone pillars (Hernandez, 1947; Jimenez, 1947; Crawford, 1957). But this type is so universal that it helps little in the tracing of the culture of Gran Canaria.

**Fig. 2. Violin-shaped idols from Gran Canaria**

- No. 618, locality unknown; No. 619, locality unknown; No. 617, Aguimes; No. 616, locality unknown, with stand at back, shown in side view; no number, Moyaneta, lower part with horizontal eminence

The *pintaderas* were granary seals is necessarily the only valid one. Probably some were used for this purpose, others for personal adornment.

- Don Simon Benitez Padilla considers it possible that it, too, came from Tara.
- The black paint of the pottery bleaches easily when exposed to sunlight. It is evidently of organic origin. Precautions should be taken to preserve it in museum collections.
- It is impossible to agree with Crawford (1957) that this is a female fertility deity.

**Notes**

1. I am not convinced that Marcy’s opinion that the *pintaderas* were granary seals is necessarily the only valid one. Probably some were used for this purpose, others for personal adornment.
2. Don Simon Benitez Padilla considers it possible that it, too, came from Tara.
3. The black paint of the pottery bleaches easily when exposed to sunlight. It is evidently of organic origin. Precautions should be taken to preserve it in museum collections.
4. It is impossible to agree with Crawford (1957) that this is a female fertility deity.

**References**


—, 'Yacimientos Arqueológicos Gran Canarias descubiertos y estudiados en 1951,' Faycan, Las Palmas, Vol. II (1952) (pp. 96, 10 plates).
FIELD WORK AMONG THE BAMBUTI PYGMIES, BELGIAN CONGO: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

by

COLIN M. TURNBULL

The American Museum of Natural History, New York

51 This research was undertaken with a grant from the Emslie Horniman Anthropological Scholarship Fund, which covered the compilation of an ethnographical survey of the area (B.Litt. thesis, Oxford, 1957) and a year and a half of field work. As it was my third visit to the area, I already knew the people whom I was going to work with, the lingua franca of the region (Kingwana), and something of the forest itself. This meant that I was able to begin serious study as soon as I arrived, without the usual preliminaries of acclimatization.

The object of the present report is not to set out my findings in detail, but rather to give an account of the present situation and to point to the need for immediate further work in the field. In the light of my own field work, and its limitations and omissions, I propose to outline why further research should be undertaken quickly, and to suggest the most profitable line of research to avoid duplication of work already done. At the moment I would say that there are only ten years left during which we may have an opportunity for studying the hunting and gathering life of these forest nomads, lived much as it must have been when we first hear about them in the same area some 4000 years ago (Schaefer, 1952, p. 10; also 1933). In the course of writing up my material I shall publish the most important aspects in article form to make it available for study and criticism as soon as possible.

We know little about the life of the Bambuti before their forest was invaded by warring Bantu and Sudanic tribes. To the ancient Egyptians the Pygmies were real people, living in a forested land, a people notable for their music and their dance. But in the western world right up to the turn of this century, the Pygmies were regarded as legendary creatures, despite factual reports by one or two explorers, including H. M. Stanley and Schweinfurth.

For most of this time it is reasonable to assume that the Bambuti continued to live as they did at the time of the Nefrikare reports in the Sixth Dynasty; in their forest environment there are few forces to stimulate change. Three or four hundred years ago the great migrations of tribes in the North-East Congo brought the Bambuti sharply into contact with people of other cultures, primarily the Mangbetu, Mabudo, Babira, and Balese. The exact extent of this impact cannot be determined, but what is certain and vital is that it has brought little essential change to the forest life of the Bambuti—we are still able to study them primarily as the nomadic hunters and gatherers that they have always been. This is due, I believe, largely to the fact that the invading tribes were for the most part from the plains or savannah—they were not people of the forest. To them the forest was a hostile world to be fought against. They had to cut it down to plant their plantations, they had to work in the hot sun to prevent the forest from choking off their main source of food. To the Pygmy, to whom the forest is a kind and generous world, this hostility was and still is of the greatest significance.

The whole of the life and thought of the Bambuti revolves around the central theme of the normal benevolence of the forest. They sing and dance its praises every day, and it never fails to respond by providing them with all the necessities of life. Any enemy of the forest is an enemy of the Bambuti, and their entire relationship with their Negro neighbours is governed by the opposition between the two worlds. This fact has preserved almost intact, as far as one can judge, the indigenous system of values of the forest people. It is coloured by the new situation, it is perhaps given a different direction, but in essence it cannot be far different from what it has always been. The powerful and compelling rejection of the Negro system of values by the Bambuti has also helped in great measure to preserve the indigenous social structure with certain obvious modifications. The situation at the moment then is favourable to a study of the Bambuti as hunting and gathering forest nomads relatively uninfluenced by other cultures.

But there are certain factors working towards the inevitable change, notably two. The first is the growing dependence of the Bambuti on their Negro neighbours for certain village and plantation products, mainly metal artifacts and plantains. These are products without which the Bambuti are perfectly able to survive, and which they still do without to a very large extent when on prolonged hunting trips far away from any Negro village. But in so far as luxuries tend to become necessities there is an increasing dependence, and this is beginning to alter the relationship between the Bambuti and their neighbours. It
will eventually affect both their system of values and their social structure, and obliterate what remains of their folk system.

The other factor working towards the same end is the programme of the Belgian Administration for utilizing the Bambuti as a hitherto unexploited labour force. Up to the present the administration has left the Bambuti alone. When the Negro tribes were all forced to move their villages to somewhere along the Belgian lines of communication, the Bambuti were left to roam the forests at will, and the same laws were not applied to them provided that no flesh of restricted game was offered for sale in the villages. Now, however, with increasing road-construction and larger immigrant labour forces to feed, there is a greater need than ever for plantations, and the administration is attempting to encourage the Bambuti to plant. The crops first envisaged are those that will not require a great deal of attention, and will leave the Bambuti free to carry on hunting and gathering, but none the less it is a conscious beginning of a new policy that will have far-reaching effects on all peoples of the area and on their relationships with each other. It is also certain that any such attempts to settle the Bambuti, if successful, will not only alter their system of values, which at the moment is entirely related to the forest, but of necessity also their social structure.

Further factors are of course the development of the area for economic exploitation including the attraction of tourists. New roads are being put through the forest, cutting it into smaller and smaller sections, affecting the migration of game and at the same time the movement of small Pygmy groups following the game. The Bambuti are an extremely intelligent and adaptable people, and will no doubt take to the new situation with ease if not with enthusiasm, and the process will be an interesting one to observe. But they have also a great capacity for forgetfulness—they seem to have lost any but the slightest trace of their own language—and we cannot expect to find much of their present way of life, even in folklore, a few years hence. They will be a very different people.

The course of my own field work of 1957–58 was determined partly by my previous experience in the Epulu region of the Ituri forest, and by the fact that I found myself very considerably in opposition to the findings of Father Schebesta, particularly with regard to the relationship between the Bambuti and their Negro neighbours. (I use the term ‘Negro’ to distinguish between the Bambuti Pygmies and the immigrant tribes of normal stature, some of whom are Bantu, some Sudanic, some semi-Sudanic.) We were in such conflict, not only over interpretation, but over fact, that I could only assume that the net hunting Bambuti whom I knew best must differ fundamentally from the Efe archers among whom Schebesta did his most detailed studies. For this reason, and because of the obvious impossibility of getting an over-all coverage in an area which stretches for up to a quarter of a million square miles, I decided to make a detailed study of a single net hunting community for 12 months, then to make a survey of other net hunting and archer communities at random. This proved a fortunate choice. (For the relevant fieldwork areas see the map, fig. 1.)

![Fig. 1. Sketch Map of the Ituri Forest](image)

The point that emerged most clearly, and the one which I wish to make here, is that I was wrong in assuming that the differences of opinion between Father Schebesta and myself were founded in the different natures of the economy of the groups we had studied. There is a certain corresponding difference in social structure, including the relationship with the Negro tribes, but it is not as great as I had expected. On the contrary, there is remarkable uniformity.

In a subsequent visit to Vienna I had the opportunity of meeting Father Schebesta and discussing our difficulties at some length and what emerged was that although we both gave very different accounts of the Pygmy–Negro relationship we were each in our own way correct. That is to say, each of us had seen a different side of a divided world and each had given a correct picture. That they were in opposition is the key to the actual over-all situation, a fact which I guessed at in my article on the initiation ceremonies in the area (Turnbull, 1957). When Father Schebesta did his field work (his first trip was some 30 years ago), the political situation was different, and access to the Pygmies much more difficult than it is today. The Pygmies were, and still are, a shy people, and will not lead strangers to their forest camps. To gain access to them, Schebesta had to work through the various Negro chiefs who called ‘their’ Pygmies in to the Negro villages. When Schebesta attempted to visit Pygmy camps in the forest, he was in the same difficulty of always having to work through a Negro, and he was always accompanied by Negroes. The chief would even arrange for a special camp to be built.

I came across the same difficulties myself. No Negro will willingly allow any European to visit a Pygmy hunting camp, for a number of good reasons. Negroes use Pygmy hunters to tend to illicit crops, particularly of hemp, and also for the illegal hunting and preservation of meat for sale at the market. They also possess illegal plantations in the forest, not subject to government control. But today the Negroes themselves are very much more strictly
controlled by the administration than they were 30 years ago, and they are unable to prevent Pygmies from coming down to the roadside markets where they come in contact with Europeans. My first introduction, in 1951, was to the Pygmies, and not to the Negroes, at such a market centre at Epulu. Owing largely to my friendship with Patrick Putnam, an American anthropologist who had lived in that area for some 25 years and was well known and trusted by Negro and Bambuti alike, and owing still more, as it turned out, to my interest in the music of the Bambuti, I was able to gain their confidence sufficiently so that when I returned in 1954–55 I was able to do some useful work amongst them, entirely by-passing the Negro middleman both in the village and in the forest. When I came back in 1957 I was in the forest nearly all the time, coming down to the village only when the Bambuti group did so, for one reason or another. I never had a Negro with me; at any time when I needed help in carrying my few belongings, a Pygmy would do it for me. I was able, fortunately, to survive on the diet of the hunting group, and so was able to work under conditions as nearly ideal as could be wished for, with none of the often necessary intrusion of a foreign element in the form of photographic equipment, special diet requirements, labour assistance for cooking and portage, etc. As nearly as possible I moved and lived as did everyone else in the group, my presence itself being the only foreign element, and one to which the Pygmies quickly adapted themselves.

I am stressing this because it was on account of this difference in the nature of field conditions that the findings of Schebesta and myself were at such variance. During my year in the forest with this one hunting group, I found that there is a rigid barrier between the forest and the village worlds, as far as the Bambuti are concerned. This is based on the hostility of the Bambuti, as I have already mentioned, for any enemy of the forest. It is as clear-cut an example of the sacred and the profane as we could expect to find. The Bambuti are extremely conscious of the fact that the forest is kind to them, and that harm only befalls them when they leave its shelter. It is then that they become ill—they assume through Negro sorcery. Sometimes this may be the case, though more often it is due to their being unaccustomed to the heat of open sunlight, and even more to the insanitary conditions of Negro villages, the contaminated water, etc. It is also in the village that they come in contact with that peculiarly non-Pygmy characteristic, malevolence, or evil. This is entirely foreign to them, as is any form of sorcery, and it is something which they regard with the utmost horror. The Negro attempts to make use of them to work in return for food, and this is another foreign notion to the freedom-loving Bambuti.

They come to the village when they want to, not because they have obligations to bring meat to their Negro patrons, nor simply because they have been summoned by the Negro chief. Nothing will make the Bambuti leave the forest unless they wish it. When they do, it is often because the hunting is not good, and they feel they would like a change of diet, or because they want to relax with palm wine to drink, cigarettes to smoke, and drums to dance to. But when they do come they come fully aware that it is a different world which they are entering—the profane world of the Negro. They will not commit the sacrilege of singing their forest songs while in the village—which explains why Schebesta, before he had made his later field trips, wrote that the Pygmies have no song, only drum and dance (Schebesta, 1933, p. 201). In my discussion with Schebesta, he agreed that in fact he had later heard the most magnificent singing by Bambuti, but only in the forest. But neither he nor I had attributed any importance to this fact before. The importance is that when the Bambuti leave the forest, they leave behind them their entire system of values, even their social customs. For however long or short a time they are in the village, they adopt the values and customs of that particular Negro tribe. If later on, as often happens, they visit another tribe, they change again. They will even submit to the Negro ritual of circumcision initiation, the nkumbi (Turnbull, 1957).

Schebesta, seeing this submission through Negro eyes, and through the eyes of Pygmies in a Negro situation (which comes to the same thing), saw this as a conscious and successful attempt on the part of the Negro to assert domination over the Bambuti. Indeed it is an attempt, but as I tried to show in my article, it does not succeed. The Negro, unable to maintain political control over the forest nomads, is through the nkumbi trying to assert supernatural control, submitting the Bambuti to the supernatural sanctions of the tribal gods. But the Bambuti only undergo the ceremony for what they get out of it—recognition and treatment as adults in Negro eyes, with the corresponding privileges. It also suits them to have the Negroes think that they are the masters, and this is a not uncommon topic of conversation and laughter in a Pygmy hunting camp. (This laughter is itself perhaps an admission of the process of acculturation, an indication of a realization that they are sacrificing their integrity, desecrating their tradition at least to some extent.)

For the same reason, and others, when in a Negro village the Pygmies will adopt the marriage and even burial customs of the local tribe. The reason which they most commonly give for this is, 'They will give us much food.'

Also, when in the village, the Pygmies instead of gathering around a central fire and singing, as they do in the forest, will borrow or steal some drums and dance in the chief's baraza, or wherever else they think they have a chance of a free meal and some palm wine. The dance is wild and erotic, and completely unlike any forest dance, where no drums are used.

Back in their hunting camp all these customs are shed, as are the corresponding values. The young boys who after undergoing the nkumbi were allowed into the adults' baraza in the Negro village, on returning to their forest home are once again regarded as children, they go back to their mothers, and are certainly not allowed to take part in the adult activities of the Bambuti men. The ceremonial marriage so carefully arranged by the Negroes, and at no small expense, is no more stable than a normal Pygmy flirtation. It may work out or it may not, and if not then
Some Negro tribes, notably the arabisé Bangwana and the Babira, attempt a complete domination of the Bambuti, and frequently use sorcery against those who do not bring in sufficient meat or ivory, or who refuse to work on their plantations. The Bambuti are not at all sure of the effectiveness of sorcery, but they dislike it, and many fear it. Frequently poison is used and the victim dies, without any obvious cause other than the curse. But never have I met any Pygmy individual or group who did not feel entirely free to come and go as he pleased, regardless of the wishes of his particular ‘patron.’

The over-all system seemed to be similar—Negro chiefs and headmen claiming ‘ownership’ of Bambuti and their descendants in a male line. This ownership entitled them, they considered, to the services of their Pygmies, to a share of the spoils of the hunt, and to public dances. It also obliged them to bear the expense of the various rituals connected with initiation, marriage and death. The present clan system amongst the Bambuti seems to me to be derived from the affiliation of hunting groups, which normally are small patrilineal bands, to certain Negro villages. It appears to serve no other function.

If an individual or a group are dissatisfied with their patron, they will either simply steal what they want from his plantations, or they will attach themselves to another patron, like so many parasites moving from host to host at will. There are instances where a powerful and clever Negro has been able to assert complete mastery, but this is relatively rare, and in my experience is usually due to exceptional circumstances which make that particular Pygmy unacceptable to his forest kinsfolk, or which render him or a small group unable to hunt and gather adequate food supplies without regular supplementation from their patron’s plantation.

One might expect the net hunters to be capable of greater independence than the archers, as their technique brings in a much higher yield of game, though perhaps allowing less time for gathering. But it seems that the archers are equally able to satisfy their needs in the forest and are no more if no less dependent on supplementary foods from the plantations. But for purposes of valid comparison a great deal more work needs to be done—the above are generalizations which I believe may well prove to be largely correct, but which may equally well be disproved by further studies among different Bambuti groups. My own field work is valid as a single group study; this was its purpose. Some of the characteristics of that group are obviously limited to its particular circumstances, and this will hold good for any single group study. But everything in my experience, and following long discussion with Father Schebest, leads me to expect that we shall find a wide homogeneity based on the Pygmy/Negro opposition. What existed before we can only guess at.

The immediate need seems to be for further single-group studies, observing different groups of Bambuti throughout the year, their varying relationships (sometimes according to season) with the Negroes, and the constant opposition between forest and village values.
Such a series of studies, amongst both net hunters and archers, would give us an invaluable body of information from which we might be able to make useful generalizations on Bambuti society; and we would then be in a position to compare these forest hunters and gatherers with others in different parts of the world. But the time left to us is very short.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
PROCEEDINGS


Dr. Arkell's lecture (with numerous slides) was an amplification of his preliminary report on the archaeological results of this expedition which appeared recently in Kush, Vol. VII, pp. 15-26. The first part of the lecture was an outline of the aims of the expedition and the actual journey, for which Kufra was the advance base. Thence the desert was crossed southwards to Great Wanyanga, where a month was spent. Reconnaissances were made of Little Wanyanga, Katam and Guro; then the Wadi Basso at the top of the Ennedi plateau was visited by camel. After the return to Kufra, a special journey was made westwards through the Reibana Sand Sea to the amazon-stone quarries of Egbeli Zumba in north-east Tibesti, where evidence of very ancient working was found, and some neolithic arrowheads. Near by were found important petroglyphs, which include cattle with split horns, similar to some published by Winkler from Owemat, and many wild animals now extinct in Tibesti, among them an elk, now first reported from Africa and presumably dating from the Warm Ice Age. Developed Acheulian handaxes were found at Sarra Well and along a watercourse leading from Tekro to Wanyanga. The Wanyanga lakes appear to be late Acheulian or post-Acheulian. The Aterian was found at Wanyanga suggesting a common origin for that culture, Developed Sangoan and Stillbay; while the discovery of an apparent proto-Aterian culture in the Reibana Sand Sea (not neolithic as published in Kush, Vol. VII, p. 123) appears to point to that as being the route by which Aterian influence reached central from north-west Africa, presumably during the Warm Ice Age. Wind-eroded sherds found at the base of neolithic sites round a much higher lake at Wanyanga belong to the later form of the Khartoum Mesolithic pottery, and led the lecturer to suggest that as far as can be seen present, pottery may have been first invented on the Nile near Khartoum.

Concluding, Dr. Arkell suggested that future expeditions to the same area might usefully study the prehistory of the Kufra oasis and the stone age cultures of the Reibana Sand Sea, and survey the eastern fringe of Tibesti between Guro and Egbeli. He also pleaded for help in elucidating the problem of the distribution of the neolithic gauze-adze, which appears to have arisen from the Upper Lupemban of the Belgian Congo, is spread over a considerable area north-east of Lake Chad from Ténéré via Bilma to Tummo (west of northern Tibesti) and then occurs in two areas (Fayum and Khartoum) 1,000 miles apart in the Nile Valley, being in both places associated with rare beads of amazon stone.

SHORTER NOTES

The Decipherment of Cypro-Mycenaean. By Stuart E. Mann, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London. With a text figure.

Contemporary with the Knossos and Pylos documents in Linear B script described by Ventris and Chadwick in Documents in Mycenaean Greek, 1956, are two baked tablets found by C. F. A. Schaeffer and his team at Enkomi, the site of ancient Salamis in Cyprus. These tablets have been described by Porphyrios Dikaios in Antiquity. The first tablet (Antiquity, June, 1953, p. 105) is illegible: the second, clearly incised on one side, but damaged on the other, is a quarter tablet found by Dikaios after the season's digging had closed. It was announced by him in the Illustrated London News, 5 September, 1953, p. 342, and again in greater detail, this time with a re-drawn transcription and analysis (done by Ventris) in Antiquity, Vol. XXVII, December, 1953, pp. 233-7. Dikaios dates it at about the middle of the thirteenth century B.C., the date of the earliest Greek colonies in Cyprus. The unknown script of these tablets is somewhat similar to, but not identical with, that of four clay tablets at the British Museum, and to certain graffiti found in the area. It is essentially different from either Mycenaean or late (Edalium) Cyprian writing, though a few characters show certain similarities.

Evans pointed out some of these on p. 71 of Scripta Minus, Vol. I (1909), basing his equations solely on the evidence of the clay balls.

The second tablet, with which I now attempt to deal, is an imperfect quarter fragment inscribed originally in double columns on both sides. The obverse text, though damaged, is in the lower part consecutive; the reverse text is badly damaged and is not linked immediately with the obverse text. The tablet is roughly trapezoid, measuring about ten centimetres by nine at its widest point. The obverse has 22 lines of which 11 are imperfect, another 11 consecutive, and the bottom line broken. Of the reverse, 16 lines are partly legible, the rest has become obliterated, apparently by fire damage.

Reading from left to right, this text is important in that it may well be the earliest piece of consecutive Greek extant. The late Sir John Myres wrote to me in a letter dated 7 January, 1951, that most of the Cypriote syllabic inscriptions, including the bronze plate from Dali (Edalium), are in Greek, and have been published by Collitz (Handbuch der gr. Dialekt-inschriften, I) and by Richard Meister. But there are a few in Cypriote syllabary, but not in Greek—two big ones from Amauthus in the Ashmolean, and a few others in the Louvre. They were published by Vendryes.
in Rev. Ét. Linguistique about 1920, and there is an earlier note by Meister on the Ashmolean inscriptions in the Sitzungsberichte, Berlin Academy, about 1912. These have not yet been read, though Bork had a good try at another one from Amathus in the Mitth. al-orient. Ges., V, 1930. The trouble is that the few bilinguals are not literal translations; even the proper names are very inaccurately rendered.

Two years later, on 2 January, 1953, after the discovery of the first tablet at Enkomi, Sir John wrote to me as follows: 'I have photographs of the inscribed tablet from Enkomi in Cyprus. It is tantalizing, as occasionally I can make out bits of it into Cypro-Minoan. I hear that this tablet is to be photographed again.'

It was worked out on internal statistical evidence (such as frequency and position), and not on the casual likeness of some of the characters to those of Mycenaean or late Cyprian.

In the present syllabary the consonantal characters express three phonemes each, with an accompanying vowel. Thus the five symbols representing TA, TE, TI, TO, TU also represent DA, DE, DI, DO, DU and THA, THE, THI, THO, THU. There is no separate sign, as in Mycenaean, for the d series. R is unexpressed before other consonants, nasals frequently so; s is represented everywhere as SE, but with a separate character S when final. Final s and n are dropped in noun inflexions; i is differentiated from r; diphthongs are inconsistently represented. Final or preconsonantal n is represented as NE. Q also represents q (cf. a similar practice with Mycenaean KI, which also represents k). The five cardinal vowels, when initial, each have separate signs.

Phonologically, there is a distinct labiovelar or q series as in Mycenaean. Internal, but not always initial w is represented; when initial the w sometimes appears as U before a following r. Historic e and a are of course distinct as in Doric. The medio-passive aorist 3rd plural ends in -omai as in Arcadian. Archaisms include a few primary words found only as compounds in classical Greek; there is a distinct dative singular, and an instrumental plural in -phi. The particle QE, 'and', is prefixed to the following word.

There is some doubt about the values MÊ, KI and LE, the last character in particular seeming to alternate with WE. MÊ should sometimes be read MA.

The Edaliun Tablet

Obverse

1. E-MI-RO PO-MÊ PE-QE-TE RA-NO?  
2. E-I-S E-XE-JE-JE WO-TI-SA-[NE?]-TU?  
3. O-SA-NE-TU SI-NO-QO-WE-TO MÊ-LU-MÊ  
4. E-I PA-PE-RO-SE-S QE-TE-LA-I-LÊ  
6. JA-WO U-PO O-PE-LE-I TE-SE QE-TE-TO- 
7. RA?-NO-KA-RE E-TA-I SA-KA? ME-NA A-TU-TO  
8. PE-QE-SA NA A-RO-ME TA-SI SA-RE-TO  
10. E-I SI-NO-QO-WE-TO E-MI WE-TI-JE SA-LA-MI-S  
11. JO-S A-RO-ME E-PI-NA E-I-TA PU-TO-KA-RE  
18. RA-TO-KO E-I SE-LA-JE QI-I E-NE-SA-LA  

Here follows a corrupt half-line of which the following is legible:

RA-NÊ TE-JO-To NE-PA-QI-JE- 

Reverse

Of the corrupt lines the following fragments are discernible:

1. O-TO NE-WO  
2. QI-RA-RE NE-WO  
3. U-SA-WE-NO E-PI WO-PO O-S  
4. E?-NU -JE?-NU [or numeral 'one'] E-TO-SA SI-TA-I  
5. PO-TI-R0-  
6. E-NÊ-RO-KA NU-TE TA-I-PI E-NÊ-NA PU-KA-RE-  
7. A-NE PE-QE-TE-NA QI-MÎ QI-NÊ-WO E-LU-
A detailed analysis of the text at this stage would be premature. A tentative translation of part of the text follows herewith. It is based on such parallels as can be found in Homer, Hesychius and the recently available vocabulary of Mycenae.

Obverse
any (?) shepherd (if ζυγοφρόνιον) graze (παρακατά) sheep...  
2 have been driven (cf. ὀδὴδε) into enclosures (cf. ἔσσεσ) ...  
3 driven, there may be damaged small-animal ...  
4 whether undeveloped (?) or full-grown (?) ...  
5 sheep (if επίσω, 'woll') into corndland (or) field divisions ...  
6 ... under an obligation that he shall tie up, and tied ...  
7 sheep-keeper (?) remains (if ζυγοφρόνιον) responsible, prepared (cf. ἔσσεσ) ...  
8 ... hay in the cornland, the watchman (if σφουντος) ...  
9 immediately at the time that the tetherers (?) have been brought up (παρακατάδεμνον) ...  
10 If in any way (if ζυγοφρόνιον) salamis is damaged  
11 or the cornland surrounding (?), then the grower (?)  
12 shall allow (?) the sheep to be chased into pens (cf. γραμμονδασια and επάραμα)  
13 (and) boundaries (cf. ἐρος, ὅρος), driving (them) in for such time as the planter (?) is cultivating,  
14 (or) a new (area) shall have been partitioned off. If (cf. επισω, δε) the wheat  
15 and the barley (cf. πελανος, 'barley cake, barley meal') are enclosed (?) it (a sheep) shall be freed (λύσεται for λύσεται(?)) and declared  
16 freed from custody (cf. διακοπτὴς, pl. 'secure')  
17 let them be made inaccessible (?) doubtful final character, form of ἄπορος(?). It is desirable not to have (a sheep) released  
18 (and) at large (cf. ἔσσες). If (anyone) shall drive anything in deliberately (?) (cf. ἑσάσα, 'thought, care')  
19 let the cost of ploughing the said (?) land be paid  
20 defraying (cf. τίπων) (the cost of) chasing (cf. παρακατά) the sheep (scribal error for ὀ-ΡΑ-ΝΑ)7 (back) to its own flock (cf. Gaulish corio-, Old Irish cunt, Old Prussian karjis, Gothic karjus, a radical implied in Greek κραινος, 'ruler').  
In line 17 a sensible reading would be στόχος ἄπορος ἑτοι, 'let the fence be blocked,' but this would clash with the rest of the decipherment.

Reverse
On the reverse inscription the following words can be made out: 
ginn Afro (cf. τίμωμι, 'repay'), energy (cf. ἐνεργα, 'in tilth'), enns (Hes. ἐννα in compounds, 'nine'), themities (cf. ἡμιστης, 'decrees', beside θυμιτες, 'legal') and apa (ἀπα, 'very'). Lat. ingens: Middle High German unkönder, 'monster': Burns Scots 'muck', which means 'very' besides 'uncouth.' This etymology is preferable to Boisacq's.

The interpretation of the text is, of course, far from final, and the grammatical concatenation is at times uncertain. Not only is the text corrupt, no other readable texts are known in this script to serve as controls; moreover the language is archaic, and its meaning can now and again only be gathered from reconstructed Indo-European. Schaeffer assures us that more tablets will be forthcoming from Enkomi. We look forward keenly to reading them.

Brother-Sister Respect in Manihiki and Rakahanga. By Dr. A. P. Vayda, University of British Columbia

From the occurrence and non-occurrence of a relationship of marked respect between brothers and sisters in various Polynesian societies, a number of inferences about Polynesian cultural history have been drawn. In this note, no new inferences will be presented; my purpose is simply to place on record the existence of a brother-sister respect relationship in two Polynesian atolls, Manihiki and Rakahanga, from which the trait has not been previously reported.

While I was doing field work in the two atolls in 1955 and 1957, all informants agreed that certain avoidance between brothers and sisters had formerly been practiced and prevalent. A sister could not walk in front of her brother. The sister's garments could not be touched by the brother. The brother and sister could not touch each other. They could not joke with each other, nor were they supposed to have any talk about sexual matters in each other's presence. They could not sit, lie or walk on each other's mats, and they could never be together on the same mat. The avoidance applied also in the case of persons who were siblings only through adoption and in the case of first and possibly second cousins, all of whom were equated with actual siblings in the kinship terminology. Informants said that the avoidance were in force from the age of puberty, or shortly before then, until death.

At the time of my field work, these usages were still more or less in evidence. While in many families the brothers and sisters no longer avoided going on each other's mats, there were a few families within which even this custom was still respected. No cases of joking between siblings or first cousins of the opposite sex or of listening willingly to salacious conversations in each other's presence could be observed. Some informants told of being shocked by the fact that in Rarotonga in the Lower Cook Islands, which is visited by many people from the northern atolls, brothers and sisters are so shameless as to dance together!

Notes


CORRESPONDENCE


Sir,—I am grateful to Professor Forde for pointing to possible difficulties in my article on funeral ceremonies and eschatological beliefs and giving me the opportunity to correct the impression that I was rejecting in principle

"diffusionist" or "ethnological" explanations of cultural similarities. Indeed I too would regard this as a fallacy. The problem with which I was concerned was more specific than this. The statement of mine which he quotes concerning assumptions of a diffusionist nature being less economical refers not to ethnological, diffusionist or historical interpretations in general, but simply to
the question of whether, in a particular instance, acknowledged similarities between two cultures should or should not be used to support a conjecture of diffusion from one to the other.

The case with which I was concerned was indeed even more restricted for it had to do with what I assumed was a feature of all human societies, namely the dichotomy between the body and the soul. Given that this is a universal belief, there can clearly be no truly historical explanation of its presence either among the Lodagaa or elsewhere, for we have no knowledge of a time or place when it did not exist. But, documented historical evidence, of course, provided a diffusionist explanation of a speculative kind warranted? If the speculation posits the spread of this belief from another society (i.e., the Ancient Near East), I would regard it as unacceptable, first because there can be no evidence to show that diffusion in the opposite direction is not equally possible, and secondly because if it is universal the institution may be a necessary accompaniment (or structural requisite) of the social life of non-literate man as Tylor suggested was the case in this instance. I developed the thesis that beliefs in an after-life were universal institutions of the same kind and offered a structural explanation. Hence I suggested that a diffusionist interpretation of these similarities was out of place.

Here it seems to me is an instance where the analysis of the existing situation in which a particular belief is found has a direct bearing upon the question of the validity of a diffusionist account. And therefore I believe it possible to agree with Professor Forde concerning the dichotomy without crossing these two types of explanation, and yet not concur that they are entirely irrelevant one to another. A conclusion from one frame of reference may influence a discussion in the other field. This seems to me true not only of universal features of culture but also of institutions less widely distributed in human societies. Professor Forde will, I am sure, agree with me that sociological explanations are relevant to what remains an important aspect of ethnological reconstructions, the determining of what is and what is not a 'survival,' a hang-over from an earlier state of society. This is quite dear from Murdock's recent rejection of Radcliffe-Brown's analysis of the customary behaviour obtaining between the mother's brother and the sister's son among the Bathonga. He claims that Junod was right in maintaining that this behaviour constitutes evidence of a change from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions, an explanation which, he declares, represents 'sound historical scholarship' in opposition to 'untramelled sociological speculation' (Africa, 1959, p. 378). Leaving aside Murdock's assessment of the situation, he does recognize that in this instance historical conjecture is only acceptable if you reject the 'sociological' account. Radcliffe-Brown took up a similar position in the opposite camp, namely that his demonstration of the inter-connectedness of such usages with other features of the social system made the survival assumption, and hence the associated diffusionist speculation, inappropriate.

If a 'functional' analysis can throw light on whether or not a particular item of customary behaviour can be considered a survival, so can it suggest whether or not a particular institution can properly be considered as an independent trait for the purposes of diffusionist interpretations. This is clear I think when we consider an institution like the levirate, the distribution of which served many a nineteenth-century author to demonstrate how the descendants of the Biblical Adam were to be found scattered round the globe.

When therefore Professor Forde says that there is a 'fundamental distinction between ethnological or "historical"' and sociological interpretations of custom' and that 'they can complement but cannot exclude one another, his statements, while in general correct, would appear to require some modification. Certainly explanations in terms of known antecedent events differ from, for example, explanations in terms of interdependent variables, although I do not believe that they are altogether distinct. But I was not concerned with known antecedents but with unknown ones, not with history but with 'conjunctural history' in the shape of speculations about the spread of particular beliefs and customs. I do not number myself among those who regard such activities as profitless. But before speculating about the diffusion of customary behaviour on the basis of cultural likenesses, one must first make sure that the similarities to be explained are not both to be related to similarities in what I broadly referred to as the structure of the situation.' Thus if it can be demonstrated that A and B are interrelated in such a manner that one entails the other, then a diffusionist explanation which does not account for both cannot be satisfactory.

Professor Forde agrees that explanations in terms of the structure of the situation are sufficient to account for a set of beliefs in the after-life but not for the more specific features which I mentioned, namely the ferryman and the River of Death. He puts this on a theoretical basis by saying that the question of why the Lodagaa have a myth concerning the immediate fate of the dead is quite distinct from the question of why their myth has a particular content, the former falling within the sociological realm, the second within the ethnological. Here, in my opinion, Professor Forde is attempting too radical a dichotomy; it is a question of levels of abstraction, rather than social relations as distinct from cultural content. Hence I see no reason why similarities in cultural content cannot also be explained in terms of the structure of the situation, a hypothesis which would, if accepted in any particular instance, render unnecessary a diffusionist speculation of the sort discussed. Let me give as an example of what I mean the instance of mine which Professor Forde challenges, namely the ubiquitous ferryman, and the River of Death. Rivers are the biggest barrier to communication in West Africa and frequently provide the boundaries of territorial divisions. Often they can be crossed only by hiring a ferryman who, as those who have used the local dug-out canoes in flooded waters well know, literally has one's life in his hands. Moreover water is an element distinct from land and it is these peasants live and it seems appropriate that in so many topographies of the Land of the Dead it should mark the boundaries with the Land of the Living. The journey to the other world, the journey from which travellers so seldom return, is very frequently a journey by water.

All this I did not say in the article, which was perhaps too sparing of elaborative comment. But this was all that I meant by referring to an explanation of these similarities with Greek mythology in terms of the structure of the situation (by which I mean to include the non-social environment as well as the social) as being 'better,' in this situation, than a speculation about trans-Saharan diffusion. I meant, to put it more concretely, that one explanation eliminated the necessity for an alternative conjecture in the same way that an explanation of the leviratic rules in terms of the structure of unilineal descent groups makes a hypothesis based upon the diffusion of this custom from Ancient Israel to Brazil somewhat redundant.

I am not suggesting that, in the absence of detailed evidence, we need reject 'historical' or 'ethnological' conjectures. But the credibility of such speculations must be related to a number of factors such as specificity, degree of entailment, number of possible alternatives and geographical position. By using these criteria I believe that it is possible to say that any diffusionist hypothesis about the association of the left hand with women, odd numbers with males, and the use of white for mourning in China, early Christianity and in West Africa should be treated with the utmost caution. On the other hand, I did not intend to reject such explanations 'in principle,' nor claim a 'superiority' or 'exclusiveness' for sociological analysis.

In my paper I touched upon a further point which might affect archaeological interpretations, namely the existence of different forms of burial within one culture. I gave some reasons for expecting such differences to exist side by side, a matter which is relevant, I believe, in dealing with assumptions of migration. Here again 'ethnology' and 'sociology' intertwine. My remarks on this matter did not, of course, bear upon the question of the way in which a society originally adopted a particular mode of burial. However, here too I would suggest that it may often be rash to assume diffusion when there are only a limited number of functional alternatives available. If structural reasons for differentiating certain social roles at death can be demonstrated, then it would perhaps be unwise to overlook the possibility of internal reinvention. In dealing with corporal mutilations in Les Rites de Passage, Van Gennep shows himself to be aware of this problem and although he sets it on one side, he does so with a comment which indicates the sort of way in which a sociological analysis may shed light on reconstructions of the unrecorded past.
Sir.—The false antithesis between diffusionist and sociological interpretation exposed by Professor Daryll Forde in his letter was long ago recognized to be such by one of the protagonists in the Diffusionist controversy of the nineteen-twenties. The late Dr. W. J. Perry, in the preface to his last book in 1934, The Primordial Ocean, wrote: 'I feel confident that the candid reader will agree with me that the gap between the two Schools is not nearly so wide as might appear' (p. vi). And I think that this was admitted by Malinowski himself in his less guarded moments, as I recorded in a note a few years ago in MAN (1952, 71). In his review of The Children of the Sun in Nature (1924, pp. 299–301), Malinowski paid quite explicit tribute to the synthesis of historical and functional approaches in that book.

The plainest testimony, however, was the fact that Diffusionists and cultural anthropologists were able to use the results of functional analysis in support and clarify their case without finding it necessary to deny their significance or value. The idea of antithesis was undoubtedly fostered by the energy with which the founders of Social Anthropology were wont, in public disputation, to deny and ridicule the relevance of cultural and historical reconstructions to their sociological analyses and theories, to the extent sometimes of almost saying, to adapt Henry Ford's famous aphorism, that 'Diffusion is bunk.' The founders of British Social Anthropology, however, were inclined, as is the way with pioneers, to be greedy; they tried to have it both ways, sociological and historical-cultural, by seeking to demonstrate that the meaningfulness and functional significance of customary behaviour were the immediate and sufficient determinants of its specific content, its shape or form. They thereby came to be guilty of the weakness, the search for origins, which they castigated the Diffusionists for indulging. And it was on this issue mainly that the Diffusionists were concerned to contend with Functionalism, not on the proposition that there was any incompatibility between diffusionist-historical interpretations on the one hand and sociological-functional analysis of social and cultural phenomena on the other.

Goody's article can then only be regarded as a regrettable lapse the less excusable because he has recently, in a letter to the Press (Observer, 22 November, 1959), courageously defended Basil Davidson's book, Old Africa Rediscovered, against the critical archaeological attentions of Sir Mortimer Wheeler. If it does nothing else, this book should certainly give all, not least social anthropologists, cause to reflect before denying, in principle, diffusionist or ethnological explanations of the content of customs in Africa. And Dr. Goody has chosen, in the ferryman and the river of death concept of the Lodiga a particularly vulnerable example to use as a 'trailing coat' to the archaeologists, who are perfec diffusionists (if only with a small 'd'), having regard to the long recognized links between the Western Sudan and the Mediterranean and Near East via the Nile Valley.

C. E. JOEL

---

**REVIEWS**

**GENERAL**


Inherited deviations from the normal genetic substance and new mutations in man are, at the present stage of human evolution, almost invariably disadvantageous. Hence, much of human genetics is of interest to medicine, and an introduction to human genetics can equally be called an introduction to medical genetics. This has to be pointed out in order to emphasize that the present book is of as much interest to the anthropologist as it is to the doctor. It is decidedly not a textbook of genetics itself and, as Dr. Fraser Roberts points out, such a textbook of genetics could no more substitute for one on medical genetics than a textbook of physiology could substitute for one on medicine. This is a very English book: severely deductive. Genetical concepts are nearly always explained on the basis of examples. The meaning of the word 'phenotype' is deduced from the description of people with blood group A, who may be genotypically homogamous for the blood-group A gene, or heterozygous for one group-A and one group-O gene. The list of references is short, and the subject index barely two pages. There is a most useful index of 39 definitions, where the reader will find such words as Mimic Genes, Modifying Genes, Phenocopies, Penetration, Crossing over, Translocation, Balanced Polymorphism. The key to the book is, however, its exhaustive Contents Table: the first chapter of four pages, for example, is described as follows:

1. THE BASIS OF ORGANIC INHERITANCE
   § 1. Chromosomes and Genes
   § 2. The Chromosomes in Somatic Division, the Reduction Division and Fertilization
§ 3. Differences between Human Beings: the Genes as Determining Factors

There are 11 such chapters comprising 123 paragraphs with an addendum describing the recent discoveries of anomalies of chromosomes and their relation to inter-sexuality. This edition is rather different from the first which appeared in 1940. No wonder when one considers the developments in human genetics which have taken place in the last 19 years. Yet the book has not lost its extraordinary value as a teaching textbook, which had been the unique achievement of the first edition. One could imagine someone who had to 'swot up' human genetics in a hurry turning to the index of definitions and looking them up one by one. By the end of this, he should be quite au fait with human genetics and, incidentally, although he might have wanted to take a short cut, he will probably have ended by reading the book in extenso.

Of particular importance to the doctor is the chapter (pp. 228-48) on genetic prognosis. Perhaps it would be most instructive again to repeat the paragraph headings:

XI. GENETIC PROGNOSIS

§ 107. Introduction
§ 108. A Proportion of the Population needs Genetic Advice
§ 109. Useful Advice can be Given
§ 110. Patients Accept Advice in Terms of Odds
§ 111. Answers in Terms of Odds demand Yardsticks
§ 112. Complete Reassurance is Unwise
§ 113. Diagnosis
§ 114. The Family History
§ 115. The Background of the Literature
§ 116. The Dominant Gene
§ 117. The Sex-Linked Gene
§ 118. The Recessive Gene
§ 119. Alternative Modes of Transmission
§ 120. Empirical Chances
§ 121. Reassurance about Normal Children and Other Normal Relatives
§ 122. Cousin Marriage
§ 123. Psychological Factors

The author has decided against the inclusion of a list of human inherited abnormalities. One feels that, although such a list could not be complete and would have to be, in some way, superficial, it would have been of great help to the reader. Dr. Fraser Roberts is himself not too happy about this omission and promises that he will try his hand at a Companion Handbook of a special and limited kind. This present book, he says, is a prologue and not the whole play.

The Oxford University Press have done the author and themselves proud. The illustrations are numerous and some of them, notably the first figure, outstanding. This shows 46 human chromosomes at metaphase, ready for separation as daughter chromosomes. There is comparatively little mathematics in this book. Whatever there is should be understood by everybody. There are virtually no inscriptions (on p. 196 the name of Silvestroni is given as Silvestro) and, considering the quality of the binding and the paper, and the more than 100 figures and illustrations, the price of 35 shillings is very modest.

One can honestly advise every reader of MAN to obtain a copy.

H. LEHMANN

---


This volume summarizes much recently accumulated information on blood groups. In their clear account of the inheritance of human blood groups, Race and Sanger list 59 antigens falling into 11 separate genetic systems. Notable advances in understanding of the chemistry of the blood groups are reviewed by Morgan and Watkins. A number of authors discuss the medical implications of work in this field.

What will interest anthropologists, however, is an article by Mourant on Blood Groups and Anthropology, another by Fraser Roberts on Blood Groups and Disease and a third by Sheppard on Blood Groups and Natural Selection. These pose a problem which will be difficult to resolve. There is good evidence that the possession of particular blood-group antigens affects susceptibility to certain diseases. Though most of the diseases so far studied usually affect people beyond reproductive age some lie within that age group. It follows that morbidity and mortality from these diseases will fall unequally upon possessors of different blood-group antigens, in other words the blood-group genes are subject to natural selection. Such selection will, of course, be much less intense than that affecting the human hemoglobin genes and we cannot say how it would affect populations. Nevertheless, the possibility must be entertained that differing blood-group frequencies in human populations might be due largely to particular selective agencies. Hence caution must be exercised in using them as guides to the remote ancestry of individual populations. Some of the blood groups sharply define certain racial groups (e.g. V, S, Fy, Henshaw and Hunter among Africans) and are valuable in shorter-term studies of migrations and miscegenations.

A. C. ALLISON

---


This is the first of a series of Harvard Books in Biology. Its author, Professor L. C. Dunn of Columbia University, is a well-known animal geneticist who eventually recognized the proper study of mankind and turned his attention to human inheritance. His ability to present complex problems clearly and concisely has long been apparent from his co-authorship of Principles of Genetics and Heredity, Race and Society as well as from his previous monograph Biology and Race. In the book under review Professor Dunn explains the genetic principles underlying variation in mankind, and shows how this variation is acted upon by natural selection —for which there is now substantial evidence. There are good chapters on isolated populations and race formation, although it seems a pity that the author has omitted altogether reference to the valuable and informative work which has been carried out on these problems in plants and animals. The observations on human races taken by themselves are rather thin.

Professor Dunn emphasizes that evolutionary change continues in human populations, and has a progeny drive final entail entitled 'A Look Ahead.' He is pessimistic about improvement of the human populations through eugenicselection and reiterates the generally held view that any increase in radiation is hazardous genetically. The effects of breaking up isolates and of increased medical care on the incidence of inherited abnormalities are considered.

In general, this is a modestly priced and excellent introductory account of heredity and evolution in human populations, suitable for students in anthropology and general readers anxious to obtain some background. The algebraic expression of gene-frequency calculations is sufficiently simplified to be very widely understood.

A. C. ALLISON

---


The advance in knowledge of the abnormal hemoglobin after 1949, when Pauling and his colleagues demonstrated that sickle-cell anemia was a molecular disease, has been phenomenal. Testifying to the progress of eight years is the wealth of material to be found in this volume, containing the papers presented at the symposium organized by the Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences at Istanbul in 1957. Yet one cannot help remarking the extent of the information that has come to hand since the symposium was held.

The first part, entitled 'Biological Considerations' covers the chemical and physical basis of differences in the hemoglobin, their technical identification and the interpretation of laboratory findings, and the associated pathological states. For anthropologists the
most useful paper in this section probably is that by Need on the genetics of abnormal hemoglobins, followed closely by Zuelzer’s survey of the various hemoglobin syndromes—broad, informative and non-controversial contributions. In the second half, with the rather misleading general heading of ‘The Geography of Hemoglobins,’ a useful introduction by Lehmann, summarizing in characteristic style the world distribution of hemoglobins and thalassemia, is followed by 12 papers on particular regions ranging from Cucuao to Thailand, and the book ends with recommendations on nomenclature of the more recently described hemoglobin. This section contains rather more of anthropological interest, apart from the frequency data from the different surveys. For example the peculiar hemoglobin distribution of the Eti-Turks by comparison with other Turks, indicating their distinctness as a separate community; the foci of thalassemia in those areas of Italy which were under Greek domination; the contrasting distribution patterns of hemoglobin S and thalassemia in Greece; the dines of hemoglobins S and E in India. The paper on Algerian data points to the recentness of C in the area but is disappointing in the lack of attention given to the regional distribution of the subjects, the pointless discussion of ‘ethnic types’ and the unconvincing attempt to identify areas of origin and dispersion routes of the hemoglobin genes, though the demonstration that, as expected, in West Africa some of the peoples of Haute Volta are included in the zone of high H frequency is of interest. Among the more stimulating contributions is the description by Joxo of the extremely different rates of change of gene frequencies in Negro immigrants in Surinam and Cucuao, a human situation which approaches almost experimental conditions and which it is to be hoped will be thoroughly followed up.

Since there is as yet no adequate textbook on the abnormal hemoglobins and their associated diseases, the book is undoubtedly a useful source of information, particularly for specialists in the hemoglobin field. The contents are not primarily intended for anthropological readers for whom the interest will probably lie between rather than in the lines.

D. F. ROBERTS


Professor Cannon is an angry man; his anger is directed chiefly against those whom he regards as the traducers of Lamarck, who include Darwin, Huxley, Mr. Gavin de Beek and Mr. Cuvier. The argument turns largely on how the wading birds got their long legs and what Lamarck meant by ‘cet oiseau, voulant faire en sorte que son corps ne plonge pas dans le liquide, pour ses efforts pour etendre et allonger ses pieds.’ Professor Cannon describes Cuvier’s paraphrasing of this as ‘shrewder distortion,’ but does not give us Cuvier’s words. Incidentally he misquotes Dr. Swinton, who has described as a scandal not Cuvier’s ‘mistranslation’ but his onslaught on the aged and blind Lamarck.

The book contains some trenchant criticisms of modern evolutionary theories, but these would be more effective if expressed more moderately. As it is, one has to put the book down at time to time just to cool off.

RAGLAN


In surveying some 250 works on this subject, some dating from early in the eighteenth century, the author shows how slight is the extent to which the discussion has been based upon facts; their place has been taken by preconceived theories and prejudices, with the result that much nonsense has been written.

There are four possible causes of a falling birthrate. The first of course is contraception, but this hardly comes into the picture before the present century. The second is celibacy or late marriage, the latter being advocated by Malthus. It is not certain that the other possible causes really operate. It has been supposed that intellectual activity, anxiety and mental strain cause infertility, and the last was often put especially to explain the lower birthrate in towns. It has also often been stated that on the one hand overfeeding and idleness, and on the other underfeeding and overwork, have the same result.

Some have alleged that a higher standard of living leads to a higher birthrate; others that the wish to preserve an attained standard leads to restriction. Many have sought to establish laws where no laws can exist.

The author’s style is occasionally somewhat slipshod, e.g. ‘alibi’ when he means ‘excuse,’ but considering his subject matter he has produced a surprisingly readable book.

His two indexes consist largely of long lists of numbers; one wonders for whom is intended such an entry as ‘Spengler, J. J., on French writers,’ followed by 47 references.

RAGLAN


63

This is a book addressed to sociologists and not to social anthropologists. In Britain the distinction between the two in theoretical matters is not very great and happily is growing less; in America it is considerable and can only be increased by works of this kind. Professor Mills is an eloquent—indeed, sometimes, apocalyptic—writer, and to establish the pre-eminent position of his understanding of social problems and his approach to them he lays flat all who seem to stand in the way. He is the author of a series of controversial and genuinely important monographs; in this book he is concerned to explain and defend the bases on which he has been constructed.

This basis is political. Sociology should be animated by a concern with the political bases and its values should be socialist, pacific and, if I understand Professor Mills correctly, opposed to all major concentrations of power. Such a view represents a surely legitimate choice. It could, I believe, be better and more directly argued. I am not clear that it needs defence by attack. Yet it is by attack that the book begins. The promise of classical sociology has it, is claimed, been perverted—on the whole Professor Mills’s classics are not Comte or Spencer—and the two major modern perversions are ‘Grand Theory’ and ‘Abstracted Empiricism.’

‘Grand Theory’ means largely Professor Parsons. Professor Mills is clear, funny and not always unfair. I found to my surprise that, have I to choose, I am on Professor Parsons’s side and that though I criticize his productions I share his aim.

‘Abstracted empiricism’ we have here in Britain mainly in social psychology: at its worst it amounts to the ‘proof’ of analytical propositions by statistics. The case against it has recently been made even more strongly by Professor Sorokin, but this attack is one of the best parts of The Sociological Imagination and very enjoyable.


64

The purpose of this book is to deduce, from observations of living languages and of attested dead languages the world over, the conditions and history of the genesis of language in mankind’s remote past. The evidence appealed to is the comparison of vocabularies and structures of languages of civilization with those of the languages of ‘primitive’ peoples at various stages of economic development, the known history of certain language families, especially Indo-European and Semitic, the process of speech-acquisition by children, and certain forms of animal behaviour. The author sees language as beginning with appeals for help in strenuous bodily activities by means of cries of phonological structure CV, verbs being the first of the parts of speech, from which nouns developed subsequently, the other word classes following later.

Unfortunately modern linguists, with whose work the author, despite his wide reading, shows a very little acquaintance (few of his references to general books are later than Jespersen), have no confidence in the legitimacy of inference on the origin of language
from the sort of evidence which the author employs. The prevalence of CV syllable structures in languages is explained purely synchronically by considerations of the mechanism of articulation and need have no historical implications; and distinctive feature analysis in large part accounts for the vocalic and consonantal contrasts most frequently exploited. The increasing proportion of nouns to verbs that the author finds in contemporary languages cannot be used to infer the quondam existence of a stage in language wherein verbs alone existed; 'verb' as a grammatical class of words can only be predicated in a language if there is at least one other class in contradistinction to it. Strict structural analysis of the languages of 'primitive' peoples does not reveal a corresponding linguistic type, phonological or grammatical, and in any case the extreme modernity of every language, living or attested from even 4000 years ago, in relation to the vast antiquity of Homosapiens, renders any deductions from this source quite unconvincing. And the differences of environment between that of children learning to speak in developed speech communities and that of earliest man are so great that inference from one to the other must be ruled out.

The author's opinions on the origin and early history of language, like other theories on this topic, cannot be disproved; but neither can they be proved or even rendered probable, as he considers that they can, by the evidence available. He notes with regret (p. 71) that little progress has been made since 1850 'in the search for the origins of language.' This is because linguists have come increasingly to regard the subject as an unprofitable one for scientific investigation, since there is not, and probably never can be, an adequate foundation on which to erect valid and cogent hypotheses.

R. H. ROBINS

AFRICA

Recherches Anthropologiques sur l'Origine des Malagaches.


Pp. 205, 34 text figs., 4 plates.

It is not often that we see a monograph in physical anthropology which, although concerned with one specific area, considers such widely diverse topics as anthropometry, serology and dermatoglyphics. Moreover, there is a synthesis of this data with a view to determining the affinities and possible origins of the various groups of Madagascar. The degree of detail makes it a book for the specialist rather than for the general reader.

At the beginning of the work, Dr. Chamala considers in reasonable detail the earlier theories on the origin of the Malagasy, and the present geographical positions of the various groups. Following this is a somewhat lengthy analysis of various cranial indices, the means being sometimes based on rather small samples. The comparison of various groups from Africa, Melanesia and Madagascar for these indices is thorough as far as it goes, but one cannot help thinking that variations in skull form would have been displayed more clearly by applying an efficient distance statistic to a select series of skull measurements for each group. The next three chapters are concerned with eye colour, hair structure, epicranthus, nose and lip form, degree of prognathism, the mongol spot, dermatoglyphics, and serology. The treatment of this topic is more concise than that on craniology. As the colour of the skin in these peoples varies from very dark to highly pigmented, it would have been interesting to see more discussion on pigmentation, preferably with spectrophotometric details. The résumé and conclusions are long, and certainly need to be in view of the diverse nature of the information.

The figures, mainly distributions, and maps are well drawn. On the other hand, the plates are disappointing, although the photographic standard is good. All are of the heads of male subjects from various regions of Madagascar, and it is very difficult to appreciate the different physical types from one or two photographs of this kind. As there are other anthropometric differences between these regional groups as well as those of the head, type photographs of the whole body would have been a useful addition. The bibliography is up to date and fairly extensive. It also has the advantage of being divided into sections according to the nature of the publication.

Whatever its shortcomings, this work is a valuable contribution to the study of the Malagasy.

DON BROTHERWELL


In this careful study of 'social change' among the Pastoral Fulani, the result of field work carried out in 1951-53 in the Bornu Emirate of north-eastern Nigeria, Dr. Stenning skilfully weaves together a series of historical and sociological threads to produce a work of wide interest to historians and administrators of the Western Sudan as well as to social anthropologists.

Wodaabe—like pastoral nomads elsewhere—have strongly resisted the idea of wider political unity among the two great 'State' systems in which they have been persistently involved. Bornu on the one side, secondary Fulani Emirates on the other, their success derives from the relative independence and pastoral mobility of their families and herds, and the supreme values that they attach to the proper maintenance of both. At the core of this process (and the subject of this book) is a system of endogamous marriage whereby social and economic solidarity is secured by finding spouses and controlling cattle within lineages of limited depth, or other related agnatically. The result is a tight-knit symbiosis ('syntrophy') between 'family and herd,' and incorporation in a narrow range of social and political involvement. Dr. Stenning's concern here is to record the pattern of this involvement and analyse the effects of changing historical circumstances upon Wodaabe social organisation (p. 234).

The book is carefully divided into two parts. Following a concise but comprehensive first chapter summarizing present knowledge about Fulani-speaking peoples in general, Part I (pp. 26-99) deals with 'Wodaabe in the Past' and chronicles the impact of major historical events upon them. First we see the emergence of small lineage groups, bound together by a system of parallel and cross-cousin 'betrothal-marriage,' pursuing a co-operative, co-residential pastoral life relatively undisturbed by the State. Lineage leaders are evident and a cluster of lineages constitute a clan, with a quasi-priestly 'guardian' responsible for ceremonials and upholding moral sanctions (i.e. haowul pulaku, 'the Fulani way'). Clan chieftains arise after the Holy War (1805-36) through the political importance of fire immigrants into Bornu, and military activities take on greater prominence. Slowly, as a result of Mahdist incursions, famine and rinderpest (in the eighteen-nineties), lineage group co-residence begins to break up under changing political allegiances; clan solidarity fragments under the formation of British 'village-headships' (1914-31). The net effect is that social controls, which formerly rested on moral sanctions, decline in proportion to Wodaabe involvement in Muslim belief and statutory law. Traditional Wodaabe society begins to arrange itself differently as corporate groups; but, in this process, the organization of the family and their pastoral occupation with herds emerges relatively untouched.

Part II (pp. 100-248) focuses on 'Wodaabe Today' and the nature of family structure and herd-management; how the exigencies of pastoral life make fluid the status of a family within a lineage, and a lineage within a clan. Here we are given a good account of the formation of a Wodaabe household, and vital statistics on marriage forms, divorce rates, and human and bovine fertility. Of particular interest to current social theory is the discussion of marriage stability, which in pre-Proectorate days was fostered by the endogamous corporateness of clan and lineage structure, but which today shows signs of stress (high divorce rates) due to clan fragmentation, dispersed lineage residence, and dilution of traditional values and authority by their involvement in State systems.
Notable is the discussion of and evidence for negative correlation
between amounts of bridewealth and marriage stability. The last
chapter considers the problems of Wodabe future incorporation
through ranching settlements into the sedentary development
around them and will be of great practical interest to persons
involved with administration of pastoral nomads.

This is a good book—of special interest to students of social change
—and fills important gaps in our knowledge of Pastoral Fulani.
But in concentrating as it does on the historical involvement of a
people about which so little has been known, it limits itself ethnog-
raphically and raises as many new and interesting questions as it
provides good answers to old ones.

ALAN H. JACOBS

The Context of Belief: A Consideration of Fetishism among
the Yakó. By Darryl Forde. London (Liverpool U.P.),

In his Frazer Lecture, Professor Forde illustrates the
useful point that the apparent differences in approach to
'primitive' religious life, among exponents of the various classical
points of view, are a result of a failure to consider together the
different contexts in which the supernatural concepts and beliefs
of a society occur. None of the main simplifying theories by them-
selves fit Yakó fetishism, and yet, in a different sense, they all fit.
Thus beliefs concerning the different series of fetishes can, in various
contexts, be said to exemplify tendencies to objectify the hidden
causes of prosperity and misfortune (Tylor and Frazer), uncertainty
and concern in relation to human needs (Milinowski), and expression
of emotions of awe and wonder (Marett); these last are however
evoked less by the intrinsically insignificant cult artifacts than by the
contexts in which they are used, which involve explicit Yakó
sentiments on the subject of social harmony and discord (part of
the way with Raddcliffe-Brown), Professor Forde stresses, however,
the extent to which individual or personal interests are the main-
spring of Yakó religious activity, even when operating in such an
apparently Durkheimian context as a collective rite. Ethnographi-
cally, Yakó beliefs have certain similarities with those of peoples as
far afield as the Cameroon; although the number and functions of
the ndet fetishes have sometimes much in common with those of
the rank-and-file godlings of a true pantheon, such as that of the
Ibo. It is of interest to note once more the peculiar reputation of the
Ekoi association fetishes such as Ngpe (Nyanke) among their
near or distant neighbours, whether Yakó or (for example) Bakossi.
Wave after wave of masked cults have come out of this area, to be
eagerly accepted and passed on. The social and political correlates
of the Ekoi cult ascendency are still to be delineated.

EDWIN ARDENER

Les Instruments de Musique au Bas-Congo, et dans les
Mus.), 1956. Pp. 284, text figs., 26 plates, map

The scene of this study extends from the northern
region of Angola to the southern limits of the Fang in French
territory. It may well coincide with the sphere of influence of
the kingdom of the Congo before the arrival of the Portuguese.
To ethnomusicologists a survey of musical instruments from such an
area is especially attractive. They will recall that in another part of
the world Portuguese music has had a lasting effect on indigenous
tradition; Portuguese influence after all survived in the musical
style of Konjung. What was possible in Java might well have been
possible, at least in some small measure, at the mouth of the
Congo River.

Söderberg makes skilful use of the writings of early travellers and
includes several references to the fate of instruments which once
belonged to the court. One reference describes the importance of
the side-blown trumpets for this region, carved from ivory and
played in ensembles, and another mentions the arched harp (?)
played at the court and accompanied by bells. The harp is now almost
extinct in this area, the bells survived. In 1489 bands of trumpeters
greeted the first missionaries as they approached the royal residence
—but this kind of reception was not peculiar to the Congo: Barban
published a modern Abyssinian painting in which the Queen of
Shaba is seen to be received in this way, though not by carved ivory
instruments, and regalia trumpets still function in the inter-lacustrine
kingdoms. The author is forced to the conclusion that there are
hardly any ivory trumpets left today: collectors and tourists have
seen to that. Craftsmanship of a high order was involved. It is
perhaps relevant to refer to the Afro-Portuguese ivories on display
at the British Museum which include two end-blown ophelants of
the sixteenth century, 'of Negro workmanship under Portuguese
tutelage.'

It is of course difficult to summarize and describe the features
which give this region its character. To pick out a few kettle drums,
which in the eighteenth century at the reception of the Capuchin
Zucchielli were still used in a set of 12 together with the trumpet sets
mentioned above hardly exist today even singly, nor do xylophones
flourish in this area. The bow-lute—the pluriare of French ethnol-
ogists—and the sansa, both uniquely African, rule supreme. The
author inclines to Schaeffer's view that the sansa is of considerable
age and that it was derived from the guinbarde. Processes of deriva-
tion or invention are as interesting as those of decline. Söderberg
seems to think that the plucked lute owes its design to a process in
which the lute of Western importation and the indigenous bow-
lute combined. The plucked lute is a comparatively recent instru-
ment to which the vernacular names and the tuning pattern of the
bow-lute have been applied but which is handled like a sansa.

The author imposes several limitations upon himself. He is
concerned with musical instruments, and not with music. His
purpose is to deal with his chosen area as a whole, and not tribe by
tribe. As to more recent developments the author mentions that for
instance at Poto-Poto there live representatives of more than 60
different tribes from French Equatorial Africa and he decides that
this new situation would be beyond the scope of his enquiry.

The drawing-up of inventories of musical instruments on a tribal
basis has been impossible at this stage. One may hope that ethnog-
nomographers will eventually find ways and means of including such
tribal inventories in their reports, perhaps in table form, a method
which the late Curt Sachs has used to great advantage for similar
purposes, even though the information may not be complete.

The description of the instruments is detailed; the instruments are
also shown in their social context, and comparison is made with
occurrences elsewhere in Africa. The technical terms and the
classification on which these terms are based, are argued in the light
of an ample literature. The bibliography of almost 1000 entries is
formidable; it is all the more surprising that an informative mono-
graph like the Muzik-Instrumenten van Watsa-Gombi en Omstreken
by the late Father Costerma has been omitted. Söderberg's survey
is itself an important addition to the literature on musical instruments
in Africa.

K. P. WACHSMANN

ASIA

Critical Survey of Studies on the Anthropology of Nias,
Mentawei and Enggano. By P. Suzuki. The Hague
(Nijhoff), 1958. Pp. 87. Price 5 guilders

This critical bibliography supplements the relevant
sections of Kenneth's Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures,
a revised edition of which was issued in 1955 by Human Relations
Area Files, the additional references being mostly culled from
missionary journals. The compiler has examined nearly all the
references cited and provides brief notes on their content and value.
Since the cultures concerned, and in some cases the peoples too,
are approaching extinction and access to the islands is difficult, this
valuable work is not likely to be superseded quickly. It is particularly
useful to English-speaking readers to whom many of the sources
will be unfamiliar.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE
PAINTINGS ON THE LEFT SIDE OF THE ROCK SHELTER AT GEJI

A general view of the paintings on the left side of the rock shelter. All the animals except the oryx at the bottom left-hand corner face to the right. The long recurved horns of the antelope suggest the genus Hippotragus, the roan antelope. In several of the animals, masts are clearly shown. The painting on the right appears to be spotted, but it is impossible to be certain whether this is as it was first painted, or the result of chipping away the pigment. The animal at the left centre of the group is thought to be a cow that was not painted at the same time as the antelope series.

Photograph: Bernard Fagg
TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

May it please Your Majesty,

We, the President and Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, on behalf of the general body of Fellows, present our humble duty to Your Majesty and, from the loyal attachment which we bear to Your Majesty's Throne and Person, beg leave to offer to You our heartfelt felicitations upon the joyful event which has given such profound pleasure to us as to all the peoples of Your Commonwealth and Empire.

Under the gracious Patronage of Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, our Institute continues to promote by all means in its power the study of the anthropological sciences which have so large a contribution to make to truer understanding between peoples; and, while the interests of its Fellows are world-wide, the great developments which are taking place in the Commonwealth are of especially deep and constant concern to them.

We pray that Your Majesty may be granted a long and happy reign, and that the newly born Prince, attended by all good fortune, may in due time take a signal part in the further advancement of Your Peoples.

(Signed) Audrey I. Richards
PRESIDENT

(Signed) Marian W. Smith
HONORARY SECRETARY

DATED THIS 3RD DAY OF MARCH 1960

The above address having been duly presented, the following reply has been received from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Home Affairs, the Right Honourable R. A. Butler, P.C., C.H., M.P.

Home Office,
Whitehall, S.W.1.
21st March, 1960

Madam,

I have had the honour to lay before The Queen the Loyal and Dutiful Address of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland on the birth of a son to Her Majesty and I have it in Command from The Queen to convey to you and the members of the Institute Her Majesty's sincere thanks for your congratulations and good wishes on this happy occasion.

I am, Madam,
Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) R. A. BUTLER

The President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
CAVE PAINTINGS RECENTLY DISCOVERED NEAR BAUCHI, NORTHERN NIGERIA*

by

HAMO SASSOON

Deputy Director, Department of Antiquities, Nigeria

When one considers the vast numbers of rock paintings in the Sahara it is surprising that they are not more widely known in Northern Nigeria, where the climate must for some thousands of years have been more tolerable and attractive to herdsmen than the desert to the north. However, in the past four years it has become clear that the scarcity of cave paintings is only apparent; four sites are now known and it is likely that it is only the reticence of the country people which has prevented more sites from being disclosed.1

The first cave paintings reported in Nigeria were recorded by Bernard Fagg in 1955 at Birnin Kudu, near Kano.2 The subjects of the Birnin Kudu paintings were long-horned and short-horned humpless cattle, together with one enigmatical drawing which may be a sketch of a cattle kraal.

In November, 1957, I set out to visit a village near Bauchi called Gudun where a cave painting had been reported.3 On the way to Gudum I spent a night in the village of Geji where I heard of the existence of paintings nearby. These were examined and found to be of great interest. At Gudun, however, the only painting seen was the remains of one small cow, less than one foot in length, and this had been almost entirely chipped away. In the course of the next year I found another site near Gumelel which is about four miles from Geji. Of these three new sites Geji, which is here described, is the most important from the point of view of the paintings (see map, fig. 1).

The village of Geji is about 80 miles south of Birnin Kudu and the paintings are in a rock shelter on the hill called Dutjen Zane (meaning in Hausa ‘painted rock’). Dutjen Zane is about a mile from the village of Geji and 15 miles west of Bauchi. The rock shelter looks towards the south, from which direction it is unusual to get driving rain and the paintings have been fairly well protected from the weather by an overhang of rock. The hill itself is granite, thickly wooded and about 200 feet high, while the rock shelter is about 60 feet above the open savannah woodland of the surrounding countryside.

The paintings are small, hardly any of them being as long as 12 inches, and they are all in a red pigment. There are between 40 and 50 separate representations which fall into the following groups:

(1) Painted in solid red pigment: (a) antelopes, 11; (b) cows, 5; (c) monkeys, 2; (d) men, 2; (e) unidentified, 6.

(2) Painted in red outline: (a) cows, 8; (b) horses, 1; (c) unidentified, 1.

(3) Painted in outline and striped: (a) cows, 2; (b) antelope, 1.

There are also the horns of one cow and five other unidentified subjects which could not be allocated to their proper places in these groups. This makes a total of 45 subjects, but there are also a number of small blotches of colour which have not been included in this analysis.

The paintings are in two main groups, reaching a height of about nine feet above floor level. On the left there is a series of eight antelopes and one cow in solid paint and one cow in outline, all facing to the right and one above the other, and at the bottom, facing left and to the left of the descending row, is an antelope in striped-outline style (Plate F).

In the right-hand group, which is less regularly arranged, the following paintings occur: two monkeys, two human figures, four cows and one antelope in solid paint; seven cows, and one horse in outline; two striped cows; and a number of other unidentified representations (fig. 2). Between these two groups there is a solid antelope and an unidentified solid painting, and one foot above floor level an outline cow. All of these paintings face left except three animals and the two human figures. The fact that nearly all the paintings face the centre of the rock shelter suggests that their arrangement is not fortuitous.

All the antelope have markedly curved horns and six of them have manes. These features, together with the set of the horns, suggest that all except one are of the genus *Hippotragus*; but the remarkable length of horn shown in two of the paintings suggests the possibility that two species are represented, *H. equinus* (Desmarest) and *H. niger* Harris. *H. equinus*, the Roan Antelope, is still found in Nigeria but *H. niger* is restricted to East and South-East Africa. The one exception appears from the straightness, length and set of the horns to be *Oryx algazel* (Oken), the Scimitar Oryx.

* With Plate F and two text figures

Fig. 1. Part of Northern Nigeria.

Sites of cave paintings are represented by triangles.

In the right-hand group, which is less regularly arranged, the following paintings occur: two monkeys, two human figures, four cows and one antelope in solid paint; seven cows, and one horse in outline; two striped cows; and a number of other unidentified representations (fig. 2). Between these two groups there is a solid antelope and an unidentified solid painting, and one foot above floor level an outline cow. All of these paintings face left except three animals and the two human figures. The fact that nearly all the paintings face the centre of the rock shelter suggests that their arrangement is not fortuitous.

All the antelope have markedly curved horns and six of them have manes. These features, together with the set of the horns, suggest that all except one are of the genus *Hippotragus*; but the remarkable length of horn shown in two of the paintings suggests the possibility that two species are represented, *H. equinus* (Desmarest) and *H. niger* Harris. *H. equinus*, the Roan Antelope, is still found in Nigeria but *H. niger* is restricted to East and South-East Africa. The one exception appears from the straightness, length and set of the horns to be *Oryx algazel* (Oken), the Scimitar Oryx.
Fig. 2. Paintings on the right side of the shelter

Almost all of these animals face the left. At the top right is a highly stylized cow. Below it to the right is the only horse. Below the horse is a striped cow between the legs of which a calf can just be seen suckling. Below this group there is another calf, also striped. To the left is a cow with a curious vertical line between its horns. To the left again are a pair of monkeys. Photograph: H. Sassoon

The cattle appear to be humpless and to have fairly long horns. The length of the horns suggests that they are not Bos brachyceros (the West African Dwarf Shorthorn, or muturu) which Bernard Fagg identified at Birnin Kudu, but a type resembling the Borgu cattle, which are the product of crossing between the Dwarf Shorthorn and the White Fulani cattle, the local representative of the Hamitic Longhorn.

The monkeys have long tails and one of them has hands and feet with distinct toes and fingers. The two human figures, one of which is taller than the other, stand upright with their arms stretched forward. They have thin legs and distinct feet, and the toes of the taller figure are clearly visible. Both figures appear to be clothed. One of the subjects treated as unidentified has a very long neck and a suggestion of two blunt protuberances on the top of the head. It is not, however, certain that this is a giraffe.

At the outer edges of the two groups, halves of figures survive, which suggests that the painted area may have been wider, and that rain running down the rock face has perhaps removed more than the missing halves of the paintings. A number of the paintings are, however, no more than faint red blurs on the rock. Many of these have been partly obliterated by being pecked by the nomadic cattle-owning Fulani who occupy the district during the rainy season. The pigment which is thus obtained is ground and mixed with both human and cattle food in order to promote fertility. It is said that Moslem religious teachers or mallams mix it with their ink when writing charms.

The people of Geji do not admit to any use of the magical properties of the paintings, but they are very insistent that they are not the work of man. They think of them as coming from within the rock, and say that if the pigment is chipped away, it will reappear next day. This is all too clearly not the case, and some of the paintings have been damaged almost beyond recognition. Further damage from this practice has been prevented by the erection of a protective screen. In order to see the remaining vestiges of paint it was necessary to spray some of the paintings with clean water. Even in the wet condition it has not so far been possible to record photographically all the detail which can be seen with the naked eye.

The paintings may be divided into a number of artistic styles. First there is a naturalistic style, with the animals painted in solid red pigment. Ten of these are roan antelopes, and one is a cow. These animals are all lively and competently executed. This will be referred to as style 1. In strong contrast to it is style 2 in which there are six cows and the horse. These are indicated diagrammatically, with a few straight lines to form the main features, and a few
details such as horns, ears and brush of the tail added. The fundamental design consists of two vertical strokes joined at the top by a horizontal one; this represents the belly and two legs. Two more vertical lines in front and behind form respectively the other foreleg and throat, and the rear leg and rump. The back is another horizontal line, and the tail a straight diagonal line, sometimes with a tufted end. The head and horns receive more careful attention. The horns form two sweeping arcs of a circle, and in two cases there is an extra stroke passing downwards from the tip of the right horn on the inside of the curve, and touching the top of the head. The end point in this style is represented by a cow at the top of the series in which the left foreleg is continued up with a curve to form the left horn, while the line of the back is deflected upwards to form the right horn (fig. 2). There is a bare possibility that these lines are intended to be the outline of the head, not the horns, the paint of the horns having worn away; but this does not seem very likely as the present form resembles very closely the shape of the surviving horns, but is not at all like the surviving heads.

The third style is related to the diagrammatic outline style and is represented by three animals with the outlines of their bodies filled with vertical stripes. These are one cow, one calf and the oryx.

The fourth style includes a number of paintings in solid red colour. These have the rectangular body which characterizes the second (diagrammatic outline) style. Of these, four are cows, two are antelopes and one is the possible giraffe.

There remain four paintings in solid pigment—those of the monkeys and the men—which are hard to classify. There is a certain woodiness about their stance which suggests that they should be classified with style 4 just described, rather than with the naturalistic antelopes of style 1.

The broad impression one receives is that the antelopes on the left of the wall have the monopoly of naturalism, though there are intruders, one each of styles 2 and 3. The liveliest drawing of all is a heavily chipped antelope leaping upwards between the two main groups. This is the farthest to the right that the naturalistic style is found.

It is difficult to establish the sequence of styles. Two superimpositions, however, do occur. One is of a distinct cow in outline (style 2) which overlies a very faint cow in the same style. One of the monkeys (style 4) overlies the scattered remains of an older painting the style of which unfortunately cannot be made out. As for the physical condition of the paintings, those which look oldest and faintest are found to be in both style 2 (outline) and styles 1 or 4 (solid pigment).

The paintings of style 1 which are clearly visible do not appear to be among the most recent, and are all in about the same condition. The style 2 cow in the group of style 1 antelopes appears to be a later insertion. The cow in style 3 is suckling a calf painted in solid pigment but not clearly belonging to either of styles 1 or 4. The calf might have been inserted later than the drawing of the cow, but could hardly have been painted earlier. This evidence is not clear enough to establish a simple sequence of styles, and suggests either that all four styles were in contemporaneous use, or—which seems highly unlikely—that the cave was repeatedly visited by different groups each with its own style.

It is difficult to find any evidence for absolute dating. The rock shelter may have been used as a temporary refuge but no excavation has yet been undertaken. However, a smooth stone covered in red pigment has been found at the site and this is almost certainly a palette.

From the animals depicted, a little dating evidence can be gleaned. Roan are not present known in the vicinity of Geji, although they occur sporadically throughout the savannah country of Nigeria. Oryx exist in the Sahara, and may occasionally wander across the northern borders of Nigeria. They are certainly not known as far south as Bauchi although they could probably be found 200 miles to the north.

The horse offers the possibility of establishing a terminus post quem for dating the paintings. Bovill7 writes that the time of the Zaghawa Tuareg invasion of the Sudan was probably the tenth century A.D., and that the introduction of the horse into the Sudan has been attributed to the Zaghawa. Although the Sudan is a very wide geographical term, it is doubtful if it could be stretched to include the Jos (Bauchi) Plateau and its foothills. Perhaps more useful evidence comes from the Kano Chronicle which gives a mid-fourteenth century date for the arrival of Islam in Kano 150 miles north-west of Bauchi. The Chronicle goes on to say that certain chiefs brought horses to Kano at this time, but that the story 'is not worthy of credence.'8 However, it is very likely that Islam and horses were introduced at about the same period. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to choose between these two dates, but it is probable that by A.D. 1500 a man living at Geji would have known what a horse looked like.

The village of Geji is inhabited by a pagan tribe who are agriculturalists and do not keep cattle. There are also in the area several villages of Hausa tribe, some of whom have interbred with settled Fulani, and supplement their agriculture with cattle-raising. None of these groups has any tradition associating them with the origin of the paintings.

The local belief in their magic qualities has led to a considerable reticence in giving information about other cave paintings in the area. There is said to be a strong feeling that such knowledge is a part of the local people's inheritance and should be withheld from outsiders; the population of a village 12 miles away from Geji was unaware of the existence of these paintings. Neverthe less the discovery of the Geji site has already led to information about paintings at Gumelel, which has been visited, but has not yet been studied sufficiently for publication.

Notes

1 I am gratefully indebted to Mr. Frank Willett, the Curator of the Ife Museum, Western Nigeria, for much help with the writing of this paper, particularly in the analysis of the styles of the paintings.
THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES IN A NEW SETTING*

by

R. RUGGLES GATES, F.R.S.

71 A visit to Australia in 1958 to study the aborigines produced unexpectedly fruitful results. First contacts were made with them in Perth and its vicinity, then in Adelaide. More were seen when travelling north by train to Alice Springs in the heart of the Australian continent. This desert area ringed round by hills was the home of the Arunta tribe, now called Aranda, made famous by the works of Spencer and Gillen.

In this town of over 10,000 inhabitants many pure aborigines and half-castes throng the streets, being occupied as street-cleaners, truckers, gardeners and servants by day and retiring to nearby Reserves at night. In the elementary school over half the children are of mixed racial descent, mostly aborigines × White. A genetic study was made (Gates, 1960a) of many of these families. Contact with Europeans only began about 1870, so most of the families studied could be traced back three generations to a first cross. This was fortunate, because a generation hence there would be uncertainty as to when the F₁, or beginning of race mixture, took place. When the grandparents of a family represent the F₁ there is no such uncertainty. The families investigated thus represented not only F₁ (where both parents were F₁) but also back-crosses of the F₁ to both parent races, as well as various other mixed crosses. It was thus possible to make a fuller genetic analysis than in any other racial cross.

At Darwin and vicinity in north-western Australia various other racial crosses were studied (1960d), including crosses of aborigines with Chinese, Malays and other racial types. Afterwards, in New Guinea, crosses between Papuan women and Australian, English and Chinese men were studied. These form a valuable series, mostly in F₁, for comparison with the crosses of Australian aborigines. In a later visit to northern Queensland, other mixed families were studied, and particularly in the vicinity of Cairns a dwarf group with relatively curly hair (Gates, 1960b). These have been regarded as a remnant of a Negrito population surviving in this area. Similarities to the extinct Tasmanians, who are generally classed as having Negrito affinity, have been pointed out by Birdsell

* The substance of a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 8 October, 1959

(1949) and others. If, as appears probable, these people of the Cairns area (Atherton plateau rain forest), with their short stature and very curly hair, are a somewhat mixed Negrito remnant, then it is only a short step to regard them as representing the first inhabitants of eastern Australia and ancestors of the Tasmanians, whom they certainly resemble. It is natural to assume that they would have been driven south into Tasmania when the real Australians arrived via Torres Straits and York peninsula. This matter has already been discussed in the papers cited.

There is still a traditional view that the Australian aborigines are not only the most primitive living race, which is in some respects substantially true, but that they are physically a surviving isolated remnant of Neandertal man. Recent discoveries and views regarding Neandertaloids (e.g. Koenigswald, 1938) complicate rather than simplify their relation to Homo sapiens, and it will probably be some time before this relationship fully clears up. The question thus arises, was Neandertal man derived from the earlier Mid-Pleistocene Pithecanthropus type? This appears to be not unlikely on present evidence. First-hand contact with the aborigines, however, leaves no doubt that the bulk are essentially neandertopic, although some individuals have been described with marked Neandertaloid characters.

The conception that the aborigines are a remnant of Neandertal man has been generally credited to T. H. Huxley, but Abbie (1938) shows that this attribution is inaccurate. When Huxley, as a young man, visited New Guinea and Australia in 1846–50, as Assistant Surgeon and naturalist of H.M.S. Rattlesnake, his interests were mainly in zoology. His brilliant work in zoology on this cruise in Australian and New Guinea waters, in which the islands east of New Guinea and on its south coast were charted, earned him the F.R.S. at the early age of 25 years, yet he had to wait five years for appointment to a professorship, after being passed by in four appointments. His diary (J. Huxley, 1936) shows that at this time he had little more interest in the natives than the other officers of the ship. They were simply 'savages.' There were sometimes affrays when landing parties went ashore for water or wood. No exploration was attempted among them. The commander was cautious, but he knew that he was...
dealing with cannibals, who already had a bad reputation. Macgillivray (1852), in his narrative of the ship’s voyage, does, however, give a useful account of the five aboriginal tribes at Cape York in Australia and of the Papuans on the islands in Torres Strait, showing fusion of races here.

Huxley’s interest in anthropology as a scientific study of mankind developed many years later, and at this later time his early contacts with the Australian aborigines doubtless came to his mind. He says (1893), in an exposition of the Neandertal skull: ‘Many Australian skulls have a considerable height, quite equal to that of the average of any other race, but there are others in which the cranial roof becomes remarkably depressed, the skull, at the same time, elongating so much that, probably, its capacity is not diminished.’ The majority of low skulls were seen at Adelaide. In a drawing of the Neandertal cranium superposed on an Australian skull from a western port he points out that ‘A small additional amount of flattening and lengthening, with a corresponding increase of the supra- ciliary ridge, would convert the Australian brain case’ into that of Neandertal. He concludes that the Neandertal cranium ‘is closely approached by the flattened Australian skulls,’ while other aboriginal skulls lead up to the modern type. Other described cases of very Neandertaloid aboriginal skulls have been cited elsewhere (Gates, 1960a).

Huxley also compared the Neandertal skull with Borreby skulls from Mesolithic kitchen middens of Denmark. They are brachycephalic but equally low, with a retreatting occiput and supra-ciliary ridges nearly as prominent as in the Neandertal cranium, of which he had a cast.

Abbie (1952) regards Neandertal man as the only outstanding event in the Pleistocene period of Europe—an intrusion, with a low brow, heavy brow ridges and occipital ridge, backwardly displaced foramen magnum, prominent jaws and small mastoids, not to mention the femur and calcaneum which were believed to produce a shuffling gait. Every race trails behind it a small and scattered array of primitive characters which are being slowly eliminated by natural selection. Abbie says that the Grimaldi and Chancelade skull type can both be matched in the modern aborigines. He goes so far as to say (Abbie, 1951) that, except in pigmentation, the aborigines fall ‘within the normal range of Caucasian variation.’

In a study of 100 Australian crania, unsexed because of the difficulty of separating the sexes, Robertson (1910) found the skulls less homogeneous than in some races. He examined particularly the length, breadth and height of the skull, finding the correlation of measurements lower than in other primitive races but higher than in most modern races. Increased modern transportation is sufficient to account for this. Berry and Robertson (1910) compared the relative purity of the Tasmanian, Australian and Papuan races, finding the Tasmanians most homogeneous, the Papuans least so. The Australians were clearly more heterogeneous than the Tasmanians, but the authors were not prepared to state definitely that the Australian is a dual type.

In another examination of the variability of Australian skulls, Wood Jones (1934) found an enormous difference between a very big male skull and a small female skull. Some female crania in the normal population were very small, while some male skulls are massive, rugged and Neandertaloid, with thick skull bones, enormous brow ridges, very masculine characters and great jaws and teeth. The great range of size in certain measurements is shown in Table I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>10 large ♂ skulls</th>
<th>10 small ♀ skulls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Max.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>196.5 cm.</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>132.2</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basi-breg. ht.</td>
<td>137.0</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.c.</td>
<td>1,334.5</td>
<td>1,470</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In an examination of 1,236 (672 ♂, 564 ♀) adult aboriginal skulls, Fenner (1939) found that the median frontal ridge could be absent, slight, small, moderate or great. The nasal bones ranged from wide to narrow, constricted in the middle or not. The mastoids were often very small, even in large and heavy male skulls. In vertical view the ♂ skulls were 61 per cent. long ovoid, 24 per cent. long brisoïd, 10 per cent. long ellipsoidal, 3 per cent. rather short and wide ovoid, 2 per cent. pentagonal ovoid, the ♀ skull shapes being in nearly the same proportions. Three types of skull were distinguished, A mainly in South Australia, B in Northern Australia, C in Queensland. Hrdlička (1928) also recognize three types of Australian skull.

From this and other evidence (Gates, 1960a), I think it may be concluded that while the aborigines are neanthropic in the bulk of the population, yet a scattering of more primitive Neandertal characters is found in the present population. This Neandertaloid element, however, is only a remnant of persisting genes and is probably being slowly eliminated by natural selection.

Evidence of the aboriginal skin-colour genetics, presented elsewhere (Gates, 1960a), shows how extraordinarily different it is from that of the African races. The same applies to the Papuans (Gates, 1960d). It has been shown (Gates, 1958, and in earlier papers) that in the African races four genes, Q, R, S, T, will account for the full black of the Negro, R, S and T for the ‘mahogany’ colour of the Pygmies, S and T for the yellow of the Bushmen and Hottentots, T by itself producing only the Caucasian or white-brunet skin colour. A skin-colour chart based only on the various colour segregates in Negro × White thus fits all the African races.

It was soon found that this colour series does not at all fit the Australian skin colour, which may be described as generally brownish mahogany, though it may be darker, especially in Northern Australia. Studies of many families of aborigines × Whites reveals a single main gene for melanin in the skin, with a minor gene producing only brunet skin coloration. When the natives wear clothes, as they do near the towns, the covered part of their skin is nearly white. They are thus much more susceptible
than Caucasians to tanning. Their skin colour is like a veneer which largely or entirely disappears either in shade or in crosses with Europeans.

Thus in skin colour as well as in hair form, which is wavy or somewhat curly, the aborigines are relatively close to the Caucasian race. Although geographically so remote from Europeans, they are physically and genetically much nearer than are the races of Africa. Indeed, they are best classified as archaic Caucasians, as the further evidence will show. The tawny hair in many aboriginal children is apparently a gene mutation, corresponding roughly to the gene for fair hair in European children, but differing in some respects. It is therefore a parallel mutation, and it probably arose in Australia within recent centuries or millennia.

A number of significant features in the aboriginal skull have a very definite bearing on racial relationships. The marked brow ridges which, as we have seen, vary much in their degree of development, are especially characteristic of the male. Combined with a receding glabella, depressed root of the nose and sunken orbits, they give a look of ferocity to the native which really belies his mild friendly nature. These four features of the skull appear to be inherited more or less independently of each other. Each is probably based on a very small number of genes (of the order of five or less) without dominance, which means that they also vary more or less independently. In combination they produce what may be called the 'nasal notch,' which will vary in appearance according to the degree of development of its four constituent elements. It is this series of features which has usually been regarded as Neandertaloid; but curiously enough, the Neandertal skulls of southern Europe, such as Gibraltar, Céreco I and Saccopastore, while they may have even heavier brow ridges than is usual in the aborigines, do not have the receding glabella and sunken orbits. On the other hand, some of the Mount Carmel skulls have all these features, and Abbie has pointed out their close similarity to the Australian aboriginal type. In crosses with Europeans the depressed nasal root and the broad nostrils quickly disappear. Even the F₁ has a relatively high and narrow nasal bridge.

Skulls with low, sloping forehead (chamaeccephalic) and heavy brow ridges occur sporadically in other races, although chamaeccephaly and sloping forehead are not necessarily the same thing. Hrdlička (1907) described 14 Amerindian skulls, excavated but not of great age, chamaeccephalic but with supraorbital ridges more pronounced than usual in Indians. He also cites earlier observations of Virchow on skulls from North Holland which were chamaeccephalic but not Neandertaloid. Among African races chamaeccephaly in some Bantu is regarded as the result of crosses with the Bushman race.

Another Indian skull excavated from a mound in Nebraska (Bell and Hrdlička, 1933) with pottery, is classed as Neandertaloid, having a low forehead, heavy supraorbital ridges forming a continuous arch, with a depression at the glabella. Thus in many Indian crania the development of the subfrontal region resembles that of Neandertal man. These were regarded as 'Reminiscences...of earlier stages of the evolution of the human skull.'

Afterwards, Hrdlička (1928) measured nearly 1,000 skulls in Australian Museums. He found that the aboriginal skulls differ moderately in relative narrowness of the head (hence in dolichocephaly, which may be extreme) in different Provinces. But he is mainly concerned to show that the Tasmanian skull is 'merely a subtype of the Australian.' However, the Tasmanian head is definitely broader (C.I. 74-1 in 22 ♂ Tasmanian skulls, 69-9 in 521 ♂ Australian). From a few New Caledonian skulls he concludes that these people 'are plainly a type apart from both Australian and Tasmanian.'

In a general discussion of Neandertal [Mousterian] man, Hrdlička (1927) refers to 360 known sites in Europe. Beginning as open sites during the last interglaciation, the Neandertals took to caves as the Würm glaciation came on. Here they were followed by Aurignacian man of modern type, who seems to have taken up life in the same caves and with the same habits, but differing in the types of stone implements that he manufactured, as well as in physique. Many features of this transition are difficult to understand. Why should Aurignacian man have come into this region in which the climate was increasing in severity when he must apparently have come from a southern or eastern region with a milder climate? Hrdlička's conclusion that Neandertal man was transformed into modern man during this relatively short period seems definitely excluded. This appears to have been racial replacement, not evolution.

Le Gros Clark's (1940) view of Neandertal man as a case of an 'aberrant and abortive sideline' in evolution (perhaps retrograde evolution, like the South African Bushmen) seems fully applicable to European conditions, but it leaves unexplained Solo man in Java and the Carmel Neandertaloids. One might also think that adaptation to a more severe climate would lead to progressive evolution, if time allowed. If Solo man was derived from Pithecanthropus in tropical Java, any possible effect of cold climate in producing Neandertal man in the European Upper Pleistocene appears to be excluded.

There is another aspect of the aboriginal facial features. Many anthropologists accept a relationship between the Australian aborigines and the Ainu of Japan. The Murrays, and the Ainu both have relatively hairy bodies, formerly very marked in the Ainu. Both agree in the unusual character of having a high percentage of the N blood group. The Ainu contrast in every respect (except the B blood group) with the Japanese. They are dolichocephalic, with a high and relatively narrow nasal bridge, greyish white skin and wavy hair. Formerly their bodies were more hairy than any other race, the Murrays and Caucasians coming next. The Ainu men have heavy brow ridges, which are generally absent in the females. They resemble the aborigines in many respects, and the skin colour of the latter, which could have arisen through a single mutation, is no longer a bar to close relationship. Both could have descended in part from the so-called Australoid tribes of India. This view has been argued particularly by Birdsell (1951).
If the Ainu are partly of Indian Australoid origin it is also clear that they are even more nearly derived from archaic Caucasian ancestry. It is frequently overlooked that, as Abbie (1952) remarks, many Europeans have beetleing brows and sunken orbits. These features still survive in many Europeans, as they have in the Ainu and to a greater extent in the Australian aborigines. The aborigines may therefore be regarded as archaic Caucasians who have acquired one gene for skin pigmentation (melanin) and have retained the ancient skull characters already discussed.

In this way we may regard the Caucasoids with the Ainu and Australians as one network of descent, while the Mongoloids, derived partly from Sinanthropus, form another nexus of descent, involving also the American Indians with various ingredients of Mongoloid and Ainoid elements. In Africa south of the Sahara the woolly-haired races have evolved more independently. The relation of these Africans to the Melanesians and Negroes is still obscure.

One further fact of relationship may be mentioned. The Papuans of New Guinea quite frequently show the nasal notch, so characteristic of Australian aborigines. This may be regarded as evidence that the Murrayans came through New Guinea and mixed with the Papuans on their way to Australia. The overhanging nasal tip which is so characteristic of the Papuans is probably an independent parallel development unrelated to the so-called Semitic nose in the Middle East. Rarely this overhanging nasal tip can be seen in Europeans without Semitic descent.

It will be seen that genetic analysis of the aboriginal skin colour, and of the facial features connected with the nasal notch, shows their much nearer affinity to the Caucasian races than was formerly supposed. They take their place as closely allied to the archaic Caucasians and further to have many points in common with the Ainu remnant in Hokkaido, who are now being rapidly absorbed by the Japanese. Many lines of evidence indicate that Ainoid people were among the aborigines of Japan (Gates, 1956) and that the Ainu are to be classed as archaic Caucasoids. It is probable that excavations in the Amur valley would throw further light on their origin and later history.

A study of the Australoid tribes of India is now in order, to determine how suitably they can serve as allied to the ancestors of Australian aborigines and Ainu; also how they fit in with the Australoid skull types found at Mohenjodaro.

References
—, (1960c), 'Racial Genetics, forthcoming.'
—, (1960d), 'Studies in Race Crossing. IX: Crosses of Australians and Papuans, with Caucasians, Chinese and Other Races,' forthcoming.

Obituary
Guy Atwater Gardner: 1881-1959
It is always tragic when death deprives the ardent researcher of the ultimate achievement of his labours — publication. The death of Capt. Guy Gardner on Christmas Eve in Johannesburg, before his volume on the great proto-historic Transvaal site of Mapungubwe had reached print, is such a case. Yet, in spite of the pain of his terrible illness, he gathered a final strength to retypew 16 pages of his completed report, in order to incorporate belated news of C14 tests. That joyful, confirmatory, task completed, he died a few hours later. South Africa has lost an enthusiastic non-professional archaeologist.
Guy Gardner, born in U.S.A., but bred in England, had made Natal his adopted home since early manhood. Among many natural gifts of character and mind, his love of history and archaeology, especially classical, was always paramount. But circumstances decreed that farming should be his livelihood, and it was not until after the First World War, in which he served with the Durban Light Infantry in South-West Africa, that a chance to participate in field archaeology at last presented itself.

In 1927-8 I was in the third season of excavations in the Faiyum under the concession granted to the Royal Anthropological Institute; a vacancy on the staff occurred, and my colleague Elinor Gardner suggested her brother as a useful all-round assistant. He leapt at the chance, and my regretful intuition that he would have, perforce, to travel steerage from Durban to Port Said did not in the least dismay him. From the first I was struck by his immense thoroughness in the varied activities of a desert camp; and he early displayed a natural aptitude for field work owing to his powers of constant observation and mastery of topographical detail. By degrees he graduated to a dig of his own. I had, that season, discovered a buried irrigation system of considerable extent. Its Greco-Roman age was evident from sherds, but something closer was required, and I assigned the clearance of an associated group of house foundations to Gardner. His careful publication of these appears in The Desert Faiyum, chap. XXXI, Plates XCVIII-XCIX, and includes his drawings of the first regularly dated group of Ptolemaic pottery then published, Ptolemy II.

His subsequent work on a large 'reservoir' of uncertain age, capable of holding about 80,000 gallons, owed its eventual dating to Gardner's observation that an insignificant outcrop of windblasted rock, one of endless such, had been cut to provide the facing stone of the reservoir. The sand beside it yielded a coin dropped by the quarrymen of Ptolemy II, year 255 B.C.

This Egyptian prelude was, of course, trifling compared with the magnitude of the task which Guy Gardner undertook in the Transvaal in 1936. The now famous kopje site of Mapungubwe Hill, discovered in 1932, had been excavated by the late Neville Jones and J. F. Schofield in 1934. Their subsequent publication Mapungubwe: Ancient Bantu Civilization on the Limpopo, Vol. I, appeared in 1937, and posed the problem of occupants of Boskopoid—Bush physical stock, allied with a 'Bantu' Negro material culture of golden splendour and speculative date. The site was vast and remote; the expenses great; reasonably qualified South African archaeologists few and otherwise committed.

Thus it came about that Gardner was invited, and undertook the recommencement of excavations. For six successive seasons, 1935-1940, he laboured there with only occasional European help. The archaeological world impatiently awaits the long overdue publication (a delay which he incessantly deplored) of his ventures and his views in Mapungubwe, Vol. II.

Meanwhile it is well known, from his Presidential Address in 1938 to the South African Archaeological Society, and from his informative letters, that much of fundamental import to the proto-history of the sub-continent awaits assimilation into the pool of general knowledge.

The Proto-Hottentot (Boskopoid-Bush) culture, which Gardner unravelled in cemeteries and middens at the base of Mapungubwe Hill, introduces a totally new strand, probably at least a thousand years old, into the complex texture of Africa's autochthonous past which was unknown when Mapungubwe, Vol. I, appeared. Gardner's Proto-Hottentot culture differs fundamentally from the gold-and-iron-using 'Bantu' civilization perched on the hilltop. The relation of one to the other is a puzzle not yet resolved by Gardner's outstanding success in discovering a 3.5-metre depth of fourfold stratified deposit upon the Hill's summit, supposedly unstratified, which has provided C14 dates within the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. for the two uppermost levels.

However critically Gardner's interpretation of his carefully assembled facts may be received, his archaeological achievement of meticulously sustained, and sometimes inspired, investigation will rank high in the estimation of Africanists.

G. CATON-THOMPSON

SHORTER NOTES

Ibibio Topical Ballads. By D. C. Simmons, University of Connecticut, Hartford, Conn.

73

The Ibibio of Etobodom, Uyo Division, Calabar Province, Nigeria, in common with most West African groups, compose topical ballads to commemorate interesting and important events, especially when the event pertains to contest, harlotry, adultery or inopportune pregnancy. These songs, however, are by no means confined solely to sexual allusions, but embrace the gamut of daily activities. Their chief function is amusement; their secondary functions comprise upholding behavioural norms by ridiculing amoral conduct, spreading unsavoury, but spicy, news to all and sundry (a function homologous to that of a newspaper gossip column), and the achievement of an erotic thrill through sadistic embarrassment of female hearers. It may be noted that as long as a ballad confines itself to truth, singers need fear neither charges of slander nor moral disapprobation from such women's societies as the Iban isong, since truth in itself constitutes an adequate legal defence.

The following examples, in vogue during the Christmas—New Year holidays of 1931-2, illustrate the typical topical ballad, which is sung only as long as its interest lasts and then, like the modern 'hit,' disappears into the limbo of lost songs unless recorded when current by an ethnographer; they were obtained in 1953 from an Ibibio informant, whose speech has evidently become slightly acculturated to Efik (cf. his future tense), presumably from study in school and residence in Calabar.

(1) This and the following example are sung simply to embarrass women.

\begin{verbatim}
idem enyenyek mma o!
scif shakes woman o!

idem enyenyek mma o!
scif shakes woman o!

okpon ibiot ekpor o akada utuenikang
big head of penis holds lantern

akada utuenikang aitak akada ekuri
holds lantern also holds axe

idem enyenyek mma o!
self shakes woman o!

ekpor o idikenke etak
penis will not fit vagina

idem enyenyek mma o!
self shakes woman o!
\end{verbatim}

(2)

\begin{verbatim}
nma mma atatua nso
woman woman you are crying (for) what?

mbo o mbo o atatua oyom okuk o!
please please you are crying you want money o!

owo oyom ukpor okut
person wants thing he sees
\end{verbatim}
(3) This song alludes to a mother who wants to go to her crying baby when her spouse is on the verge of an orgasm.

nma eyen ketua
woman child is crying
nma nma eyen ketua
woman woman child is crying
nma eyen ketua
woman child is crying
edi meme ese iya iya o!
but do wait a little iya iya o!

(4) This song deals with the cuckolding activities of a man living in a neighbouring town.

Etim Okon Edet ooyom nso kufok angwan
Etim Okon Edet you want what in house of wife
owo iya iya
of person iya iya
ooyom nso kufok angwan owo
you do want what in house of wife of person
Etim Okon ooyom nso kufok angwan
Etim Okon you want what in house of wife
owo o!
of person o!
aka ufo akama udi o!
goco to house of person holds trouble o!
idihe enyene ufo o!
it isn’t owner of house o!

(5) This girl, from the same town as Etim Okon Edet, was indiscreet.

Atim Asukwo akaka do eyifak edo o!
Atim Asukwo as you go there you will return come o!
Atim akaka do eyifak edo o!
Atim as you go there you will return come o!
no o!
idihe ami mman fil o!
it isn’t I do you o! (i.e. I won’t harm you)
ekporo odogi itong
penis sends neck (i.e. is thirsty)

(6) Afieng Edet’s father warned his daughter and her boy friend that she might become pregnant if they had intercourse. One day when Afieng went to her boy friend’s house, he immediately asked her if she had informed her parents of her visit, for if she became pregnant he did not desire to be bothered with her father trying to force him to marry her.

Afieng Edet edide do udo eting idie o!
Afieng Edet coming there your father says what o!
Afieng Edet edide do udo eting idie o!
Afieng Edet coming there your mother says what o!
Afieng Edet edide do udo eting idie o!
Afieng Edet coming there your father says what o!
Afieng Edet edide do udo eting idie o!
Afieng Edet coming there your father says what o!
afoma oyomo nwe neke ike
you when have conceived I will not have (a) case
(i.e. if your father takes me to court, I won’t be able to answer the charge).

(7) Sung by rascals simply to embarrass women.

akpara top isin nô mi o!
harlot throws waist gives me o!
nôkô akpara top isin nô mi o!
please please harlot throw waist give me o!
ol ol akpara top isin nô mi o!
o! o! harlot shake wait for me o!
afoma ofôk ndi top nwenô nai
you when know to shake I will give ninepence

(8) In 1952 a woman obtained money from a boy by falsely pretending she would bestow her favours upon him.

Abasì dì ìmi o!
God come see here o!
okug cyin uwene
money of child poor
Abasì dì ìmi o!
God come see here o!
okug cyin uwene o!
money of child poor
Onyöng ifiike iki aha
she goes home does not return again

(9) In 1948 a father told his harlot daughter that he would flog her if she did not cease her prostitution and marry.

eyin mi uyomke ndiló ebe o! iya!
child my you do not want to marry husband o! iya!
ño uyomke ndiló ebe o! iya!
you do not want to marry husband o! iya!
ami mma mum fi ngkama kubôk
I when catch you hold in hands
Abasì eeyeke Abasì ikpíng eyeke ike
God will judge, God alone judges case

(10) Nkoyo is a harlot whom a man requested to marry.

ngkoyo ikpíng akpara di kufok mi o!
Nkoyo leave harlotting come in house my o!
Mma ngkoyo ikpíng akpara ol di kufok
woman Nkoyo leave harlotting o! come in house
mi o!
my o!
ami ndóhí nte akpara ökpökókó ngkoy enyöng
I say that harlot if builds second-storey house
akpara inyeneke ukpono kensinsi o!
harlot does not have respect for ever o!
(i.e. no matter how much wealth accrues to a harlot, she will never be respected—not even if she builds a fine house).

(11) Afieng was a school girl in a neighbouring town whom a school teacher, in an extracurricular moment, impregnated in 1949.

Afieng ekeka ufo ngwed o!
Afieng went to school o!
edika ökpökó ngwed ekpep ima o!
as she goes she leaves books studies love o!
enye ekeka ufo ngwed
she went to school
edika ökpökó ngwed ekpep ima o!
as she goes she leaves books studies love o!

(12) This ditty celebrates Udo Nwa, a petty thief.

inyime Udù Nwe o!
sing Udo Nwa o!
Udù Nwe cyip iwa owo ol ol o!
Udo Nwa steals cassava of person o! o! o!
inyime Udù Nwe o!
sing Udo Nwa o!
cyip iwa owo òyôk ekpat iha
steals cassava of person fills bags two
(13) This song celebrates the town's biggest thief, a burly recidivist who has been caught many times.

Udó Ekwere Eiyó ol!
Udo Ekwere Eyo o!
eyin owo ekim ebot ke nntak ol o!
child of person sticks goat with spear o! o!
Udó Ekwere ekin ebot owo ke nntak
does thief have goat in hand o!
Udo Ekwere pins goat of person with spear
egen ontop okefiik kikó o!
takes home goes roast in bush o!
nstu o ngkara inó
what kind of tricks of stealing.

(14) When a chief dies, his eldest son receives the loin of the goat sacrificed to him; however, in 1950 one eldest son tried to take the loin and the knuckles (which belong to other relatives) and thus this song was sung in the Christmas plays of 1950-51.

aképan obo owo ol!
eldest son of chief of person o!
aképan obo ontop isin ebot anyangó mnu o
eldest son of chief leaves loin of goat chases knuckles
aképan obo owo ol!
eldest son of chief of person o!
ókepó isin ebot anyangó mnu o!
leaves loin of goat chases knuckles o!

A Protractor with a Rotating Cursor. By Dr. F. P. Liowski,
Department of Anatomy, University of Birmingham.
With a text figure

74

During an anthropometric investigation of primates in 1956 it became apparent that the current methods of measuring the various angles were too cumbersome. The usual methods were those in which nylon threads were stretched between pins in line with the various axes. The axes were then either traced by pencil and measured or the angle between them was measured directly by protractor. Another way was to use the movable round frame of Ried's board and move the sliding springs that held weighted nylon threads until the required angle was found. The protractor was then applied directly.

In order to reduce the time factor and the operational difficulties a protractor with a rotating cursor was designed (fig. 1). This consists of a 360° protractor six inches in diameter and a slightly larger transparent perspex cursor both pivoting on a small centrally placed pin. The cursor has two diameters marked on it that intersect at right angles. It is slightly larger so as to facilitate rotation on fingering. The instrument is used in such a way that the 0°-180° diameter on the protractor is moved backwards and forwards along one of the axes of the object whose angle is to be measured, whilst one of the diameters on the cursor is so rotated as to come to lie along the other axis. The angle then is read off directly from the protractor. Although the instrument can be made in various sizes, practical experience seems to indicate that a six-inch type is the most versatile. With it one can measure various angles including those of torsion and inclination. Another advantage is that this instrument can be carried about easily.

My thanks are due to Mr. S. Bovis for making the instrument and Mr. W. J. Pardoe for the drawing.

CORRESPONDENCE

Hominid Nomenclature. Cf. MAN, 1959, 30, 181, 337

Sir,—In his recent letter (MAN, 1959, 337) Mr. R. V. S. Wright criticizes severely my use of culture as a taxonomic character on the grounds that 'sets aside accepted biological principles,' that it results in an arbitrary division in a natural evolutionary sequence and that there are practical difficulties in applying such a criterion. Mr. Wright seems to be confused on several points—one of them being that I did not suggest culture as the sole criterion for subfamily division in the hominids, but simply as additional to the morphological ones.

Among working zoological taxonomists it is regular procedure to take into consideration features other than purely morphological ones. The use of the latter only was a characteristic of the taxonomy of previous centuries and the earlier part of this. In what has generally come to be known as the 'new systematics' taxonomy is based on the study of living populations, not supposedly typical or archetypal single dead specimens. The sorts of characters now used may come from the following categories: morphological, physiological, ecological, ethological (behavioural) or geographical characters. This can readily be verified by consulting a standard text such as Methods and Principles of Systematic Zoology by Mayr, Linsley and Usinger (McGraw-Hill, 1953). Behaviour patterns are commonly highly specific and in the final analysis depend on the genetic mechanism of the animal concerned since clearly the behaviour cannot exist apart from the morphology of the creature. An animal's behaviour is an integral part of the organism, as much as is the morphology. Culture, an aspect of human behaviour, is an outstanding characteristic of hominines which has opened up a whole new dimension in animal evolution. Furthermore, through making possible artificial adaptation on a large scale, it has modified
the effect of natural selection on hominines and therefore has some direct effect on their mechanism of speciation. In other words, it has affected the basis of taxonomy and the evolutionary process. It must surely therefore be regarded as a character of great importance. The persistence of stone artifacts in prehistoric deposits is one of the few ways in which evidence of culture is preserved from ancient times.

In objecting to the use of non-morphological characters, Mr. Wright is therefore not being vigilant to prevent the introduction of new and erroneous concepts into taxonomy; he is belatedly objecting to a fundamentally and fully accepted feature of the 'new systematics'—one which a few decades ago helped to free taxonomy from the strait-jacket in which it had been imprisoned for centuries.

The use of cultural criteria, Mr. Wright feels, leads only to arbitrary divisions. This is equally true of morphological or any other criteria. As is well recognized, the normal Linnean taxonomy is reasonably logical only at a single time horizon and breaks down as soon as evolutionary series are taken into consideration. This is a point frequently discussed in the literature of paleontology and systematics. If higher taxonomic categories arose by macromutations or special creation there could be natural divisions in an evolutionary sequence. Few modern biologists are prepared to accept either of these mechanisms, believing instead that evolution occurs by slow, small-scale changes; that is to say, by gradual shifts in the average characteristics of populations. This being so, any division of a phyletic line, based on whatever sort of criteria, must be arbitrary. This is especially obvious to paleontologists and is a particularly striking aspect of evolutionary systematics, but as yet no workable alternative system has been devised. Therefore one either makes arbitrary divisions or else each phyletic line, from the terminal form clear back to the beginning of time, must go into a single species.

The practical difficulties of the culture criterion are no different from those in the case of almost any criterion applied in studies dealing with the past and where the evidence consequently is fragmentary. Even so, the objections mentioned are hardly valid since, for example, members of the genus *Pithecanthropus* are known to have been toolmakers, e.g. Peking man. The point surely is that enough evidence is now available to show that the making of stone tools was characteristic of hominines generally. It is not necessary to prove that every single individual hominine that ever lived was in fact a stone-tool-maker. To reverse Mr. Wright's argument, does he accept as legitimate material for archaeological study only such artifacts as are discovered in direct association with skeletal remains of their makers?

Transvaal Museum, Pretoria

J. T. ROBINSON

**Edipus and Job in West African Religion. Cf. MAN, 1959, 265**

*66*—One might suppose that reviewers might try to understand or at least describe the books they set out to discuss. In his review of Professor Forster's most welcome book on *Edipus and Job in West African Religion*, Dr. R. E. Bradbury tells us most informatively that, according to the author, among the Tallensi 'Destiny... has two aspects: Nuor Yin, "evil Prental Destiny," is what a child wishes for itself in the process of being created. It is recognized only in its evil manifestations... Yet he goes on to say that 'Yin or "Good Destiny" also springs from the individual's prenatal wishes... This is a minor instance of careless reviewing. For he either does not understand the paradox or thinks it not worth while calling attention to. He might mention, however, that the author does, and lucidly explains.

This is, however, only one of the points which I wish to make. Throughout the whole review, *Edipus and Job* are not mentioned. We are instead treated to such phrases as 'it is a methodological exercise in the author's own variety of socio-psychological determinism in which the filio-parental relationship continues to play a major role.' Forstes does not use any such grand words. Nor does 'the author's own variety' happen to be peculiar to him, it is a fact of universal significance which it is gratifying to have put into print in an anthropological journal on account of the phenomenal ignorance of modern 'clever' anthropologists who so consistently turn a blind eye to what might be termed 'the facts of life.'

The facts of life which Forstes writes of in this excellently concise book are those dynamic factors which underlie not only social organization in its various manifestations all over the world but also religion, as the two expressions of life which creates 'man' out of the differentiatated *prima materia* of mere instinctive existence, in the particular context of the Tallensi. But your reviewer does not mention or seem to perceive this. He complains, for instance, quite unjustifiably that Forstes ignores differentiation in not calling attention to other West African societies with other slants on Destiny. But Forstes does so, on pages 19 to 25.

Differentiation is as important as common origins, meaning by this not merely cultural origins but psychic origins inherent in the genus Man. Both go together to form the infinite variety of man's life-long and racial and culturally long struggle to find out what existence is about, so as to fulfill his destiny, which, as Forstes cogently points out, comprises not only the destiny of societies but also of individuals. Few could have made this point so well in such short compass of accurately expressed and highly differentiated anthropological data, not in the isolated way in which most anthropology is now written, but in the framework of general human advance, in which the fittest are those most understanding of basic human needs and able to implement this understanding.

If anthropologists are so occupied with isolated studies of separate culture complexes that they cannot include some understanding of the general trend of mankind's development, tant pis for them. Being facetious about those who do no substitute. Thus on the one hand the book is said to mark 'an important advance in West African religious studies.' But nowhere does the reviewer show any glimpse of understanding as to what religion is about. Factors such as what symbolic figures like Job and Edipus stand for and what they signify in relation to the way in which the Tallensi and other West Africans tackle their life problems, which is what the book is mainly concerned with, do not appear to be considered decent subjects for discussion in those academic circles where knowledge and insight such as Forstes here displays are as taboo as sex and God were in Victorian drawingrooms. They must therefore be passed over in silence based on a hidden fear which then finds release in what does seem to be permitted, in the form of futile carking.

For what your reviewer terms the author's 'more challenging generalizations' (poor Forstes, is he really to be blamed for having some understanding of Sophocles and the Book of Job?) are here attributed to the sinister fact that he most reprehensibly 'sometimes seems to achieve an almost mystical identification with the Tallensi world view and leaves the unacquainted reader in some doubt as to where to draw the line between Tallensi notions and Cambridge concepts.'

Cambridge may feel flattered if this is so. It is too flattering, for Cambridge is not all that wise. But what, pray, can understand any religion without deliberately so absorbing its contents as to gain some insight into them? Have we not had enough 'objective' studying of the mere externals of religion without subjectively experiencing the flesh and blood of it, meaning what makes that religion 'alive'? Forstes has at least made an attempt to comprehend the interaction of social organization and religion as being not only another form of organization regulated by society, but as something which creates the individual. The 'unassimilated' may be those who can't.

Your reviewer continues (and ends) by saying 'in this respect it is worthwhile to look up the references to Yin in The Web of Kinship.' In what respect? To see how misguided Forstes is, how mistaken and how self-identified? Most of the Tallensi data set out in *Edipus and Job* have been set out already in that earlier book which is a mine not only of exact recording but of the insight necessary to understand. Speaking on page 227 of the Tale notion of Yin meaning 'personal destiny' he does indeed refer to its 'profundity.' Why not? In starting to describe it he warns the reader that it is one of the most difficult of their religio-psychological ideas to translate into our categories of thought... It is the symbol of his individuality. Just how this works takes many pages to describe. The concept is not difficult to anyone who can perceive that it implies the bringing together of both good and apparent evil as equally grist to the mill.
of creating personality, provided that we understand the workings of Fate not only in West Africa but everywhere.

It is Fortes's successful handling of this universal problem and the particular light thrown upon it by the Tallensi in their own differentiated way that is the outstanding merit of this book, which through its smallness and economy of words is so eminently readable and shows how thoroughly he has assimilated the latent complexities which life presents and which he in this instance sets out so fairly to describe.

It may also be pointed out that Fortes is not quite alone. There are others who are willing to risk drawing conclusions about what goes on inside the human psyche, even from anthropology. Why should most of our anthropologists lag behind?

Nor has Cambridge got the monopoly. Maurice Carstairs ends a review in Man last year (1959, 140) with the words 'Can it be that British monographs will shortly follow the example of a current work from Harvard, whose penultimate chapter is entitled: "Towards a Clinical Anthropology"?' So we need not yet quite abandon hope that a few more anthropologists may one day wake up to discover the treasures hidden behind the cloak of a mistaken nineteenth-century mask of 'objectivity' that ignores the 'subject' which is 'man,' consisting not only of man the observed but also of man the observer.

Mevagissey, Cornwall

JOHN LAYARD

Maize Impressions on Ancient Nigerian Pottery. Cf. MAN, 1959, 135, 313; 1960, 8

Sir,—Maize, a cereal indigenous to America, was introduced into Africa long before Columbus was born.

So long as Mr. Willett is dating his pottery by maize and not by the potteries, as I have been accused of doing by Professor Mangesdorff, all is well.

If Mr. Willett will look again at the reference which he relies on, he will note that though maize, *alisa zaburro*, was first grown in Sao Tomé in 1502, it had previously been imported from the Costa d'Amina. The assumption is, therefore, that maize was being grown on the Costa d'Amina long before 1500, hence my question why 1500 was selected by Mr. Willett. If he will glance at my article 'Zaburro: The Origin of the Portuguese Word Zaburro as The Name for Maize,' *Bull. de l'IFAN*, Vol. XIX, Nos. 51-52 (1957), pp. 111-36, he will see that I show that the Portuguese, having no name of their own for a grain, maize, which they had never met until they reached Guinea, adopted the local Costa d'Amina name, *aburro*, for maize. Amina was the name of the tribe on whose territory fort Sao George d'Amina was built.

This first meeting with maize on the Guinea Coasts by the Portuguese took place circa 1450. Would Mr. Willett consider the mean of his date, 1500, and of mine, 1450, as a *terminus post quem* then? The meeting of maize in Guinea by the early Portuguese navigators explains why when, later, they met maize on reaching Brazil they called it either milho da Guina or else zaburro. Both these names derive from Africa and were used by the Portuguese for a long established local crop in Brazil.

I certainly have not abandoned my earlier views, which will be substantiated shortly by my book *Pre-Columbian Maize in the Old World*, now in the process of being typed before being sent to a publisher.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Grooved Rocks in Nigeria. Cf. MAN, 1959, 330

Sir,—In publishing the grooved rocks at Apoje, Western Nigeria, Mr. William Fagg suggests that they may be the result of a bead-making industry, adding that they may alternatively have been associated with the production of net-sinkers.

I am inclined to think that the latter suggestion is nearer the mark and would prefer to see them as evidence of a possible stone-tool and (probably perforated) stone-ball industry which could have existed in the area in the second millennium B.C. or thereafter. The shape of the grooves appears to be consistent with the manufacture of ground stone implements, and the circular grooves would be satisfactory for grinding round objects destined to be digging-stick weights, sinkers, etc.

My own work on the 'outils à gorge' and related types of ground stone tools has already shown that further east, in two places in the Cross River area, there was a considerable production of several varieties somewhere about the middle of the second millennium B.C., and though here again we are relying on surface finds, it is probable that the rounded stones also found there can be associated with the other tools. The fact that two tools related to those from the Cross River area have been found in Ghana increases my interest in the grooved rocks of Apoje as a possible link in the westward movement of these tools and the influences that may have accompanied them, which ultimately stems from Nubia or the southern Libyan desert. Though it has not yet been possible to pin down one of the Cross River tool-'factory' sites, when we do it will not be surprising to find similar grooved rocks in the vicinity. It is to be hoped that the evidence to support this or other suggestions will be sought and found quite soon, in view of the agricultural development of the Apoje area.

ROBERT A. KENNEDY
The Museum and Art Gallery, Brighton
Assistant Curator

REVIEWS

GENERAL


Dr. Schachter is an Associate Professor in the Laboratory for Research in Social Relations and the Department of Psychology at the University of Minnesota. His book is extremely attractively produced, and although many English readers who have not been indoctrinated into the language habits of certain current schools of social psychologists may consider that a lot of the argument could have been more precisely expressed, in general it is clear enough, and there are plenty of brief summaries, good bibliographical references, and an adequate index.

The sub-title of the book suggests that it deals with the sources of gregariousness. What it actually does set out to demonstrate is that people in a state of anxiety in general like to be with other people who also are 'anxious'; that is true whether they communicate orally with one another or not; and that the earlier born person is in his or her family, the more prone he or she will be to suffer anxiety in given circumstances and then to like to be with other people. Most of the experiments made, or quoted by the author, involve either the threat or the actual application of electric shock and so, as is admitted on p. 90, 'it is quite clear that the experimental studies have involved only the manipulation of physical fear.' Dr. Schachter asks whether the same social effects hold for 'such brands of anxiety as stage fright, test anxiety, jib security, and so on.' But he does not answer these questions.

Instead he set out to find whether anxiety of his particular sort is an 'emotion' or a 'drive.' He assumed that everybody considers hunger to be a 'drive,' and on the basis of this assumption he designed experiments, with observers in conditions of 'high,' 'moderate' or 'low' hunger. He found an increasing desire to be 'together' from 'low' to 'high' hunger conditions, but in this case no direct relationship whatever to ordinal position in the family. It rather looks as if he now ought to have regarded physical fear as an 'emotion' and not a 'drive.' But all he says is that 'considerably more work will be necessary before one can feel really confident about any conclusion more general than that affiliative tendencies increase with increasing anxiety and increasing hunger' (p. 102).

Dr. Schachter now tries to show that people in a state of anxiety
seek the company of others like themselves, at least partly because this gives them the chance to set themselves in a kind of social scale of this anxiety. So there are two main influences at work pushing anxious people into society, and they are a need for anxiety reduction and an opportunity for self-evaluation.

Finally the author rather tentatively suggests that in all emotion-provoking situations which are somewhat ambiguous, it is society which, by offering a chance of self-evaluation, determines 'the appropriateness of an emotion' (p. 127).

Whether the experimental results, original or quoted, described in this book can carry the weight put upon them is disputable. They may be too specific for the highly generalized contentions put forward. Those which depend almost entirely upon subjective estimates of position on some scale of emotionality or reduction of emotionality are of dubious validity. But Dr. Schachter puts his case very fairly and frankly. He is himself well aware of many of the difficulties and points them out, treating his work and arguments, on the whole, as a pioneer effort. As such this is certainly a most interesting and worthwhile book.

F. C. BARTLETT


The authors of this monograph are concerned to indicate ways in which moral philosophers and anthropologists can contribute to each other's interests. The discussion proceeds on the assumption that ethics should not only be a study of terms of moral discourse (such as 'obligation') but that, since these terms get their significance in the context of ways of living, they should be studied in these contexts. Thus we need to understand better what the complexes of beliefs, attitudes and regulations which make up a way of living are like. Here the descriptive and comparative studies of anthropologists might provide material for a phenomenology of moral experience, i.e. an elucidation of its structure by uncovering recurrent groups of ethical concepts which hang together, though not always in the same way. Those so considered are not only the highly abstract 'right' and 'ought' generally discussed by moral philosophers, but more specific concepts, which may be elements appearing in various forms and related in various forms in actual communal moralities. Such are notions of some kind of sanction, of the need for justifying reasons, of means of controlling aggression, and of distributive justice. These can take different forms and be differently related; in fact part of the interest of such studies would be to ask what forms of such notions can combine in viable ways of life, and what kinds of ethical practice only seem possible in some contexts.

The book contains an interesting number of questions of mutual interest to anthropologists and moral philosophers. It leaves us with the feeling that there is a strong need for more detailed studies of 'ways of life.' As it is, the Zuñi, the Manus, the Dobu, and occasionally the Nuer are being made to work overtime.

In the slogan quoted on p. 70, 'work should be needs.' On p. 100, four lines from the foot, 'inference should be interference.'

DOROTHY EMMET


This is a challenging, even a revolutionary work which no philosopher, and certainly no philosopher of science, can afford to ignore; but it is very difficult to explain its main thesis, much less to examine it critically, in a brief review. For no abstract statement can convey an adequate idea of it. It can only be grasped within the framework of ideas developed by the author and in the light of the massive array of facts from all aspects of human experience and especially from the nature and history of scientific discoveries by which it is illustrated and supported.

The negative aspect of the thesis is a complete rejection of the moral neutrality of science, objectivism and extreme empiricism. The demand for impersonal knowledge and complete objectivity which these imply seems to the author a delusion based on the false ideal of 'critical philosophy'—the ideal that nothing should be accepted as true which cannot be proved or which can conceivably be doubted. Against this he contends, and he illustrates his contention in great detail, that all knowledge and every scientific theory presupposes assumptions and beliefs which cannot be proved, and this 'cannot' is not just the result of ignorance but a logical impossibility. They have therefore to be accepted on the 'personal commitment' of the scientist. Such an act of belief or faith is necessary to cross the logical gap between what can be proved because it can be articulated or formalized, and what the scientist concludes. This personal commitment constitutes an essential component of all knowledge and every theory. If this is so, he contends, 'science can no longer hope to survive on an island of positive facts, around which the rest of man's intellectual heritage sinks to the status of subjective emotionalism. It must claim that certain emotions are right; and if it can make such a claim, it will not only save itself but sustain by its example the whole system of cultural life of which it forms part' (p. 134).

The positive aspect of the thesis is an attempt to provide 'a stable alternative to the objectivist position'—an alternative which will reconcile the personal character of knowledge with the universal validity which it claims. This alternative involves 'far-reaching changes in outlook,' and his account of the framework of ideas which it requires he submits 'only as a possibility which like-minded people might wish to explore' (p. 315).

I find the negative aspect more convincing than the positive, but both deserve the most serious consideration; and whether or not we in the end accept them, we cannot help admiring the great clarity and thoroughness with which the argument is developed and the wealth of knowledge by which it is supported.

A. MACBEATH


The author begins by telling us that the domain of the sacred is one in which the believer is 'paralysed in turn by fear and hope,' and this strain of hyperbole is kept up throughout. His method is to take extreme examples of some aspect of the sacred from various parts of the world, add them together, and present the result as typical. Thus all power is sacred and the possessor of power, the typical divine king, combines the attributes of a Polynesian chief, an Emperor of China, and Augustus (p. 90).

Similarly the typical annual festival combines all the features of the Saca, the Saturnalia, the sehra of the Eskimo, and the corroboree (pp. 117–22). An appendix, on War and the Sacred, offers to prove that in modern society war has replaced the annual festival; each is 'a time of excess, violence and outrage' (p. 166).

The rigid separation of the pure and impure principles involves their distinct localization, so that the centre would seem to be the clear and comforting abode of the pure, and the periphery the dark and disgusting abode of the impure.' As an illustration the author tells us, at much greater length, that in modern cities the centre consists of fine buildings and gardens and the periphery of slums occupied by prostitutes and criminals. And this comes about 'through a fixed plan' (p. 53).

Another appendix, on Sex and the Sacred, consists of 13 pages on the sex rites of the Thonga as described by J. MacCormack. It seems, 'to shed light on the principal characteristics of the sacred.'

References are very rare, and the translator is uncertain whether the 'Nouba,' who 'cannot enter the royal hut without dying,' are Nubians or Nuba; in fact it is a quotation in the Golden Bough from an early missionary account of the Nuba.

RAGLAN


Three kinds of readers are in fact envisaged: the general reader, the librarian (who is presumed to have passed from the bibliographical details to the contents of his books), and the specialist in one of the social sciences who seeks surveys of the others. One guide for all three is a tall order, but Professor Hoselitz has in part succeeded in producing it—mainly by writing the

The author, a Canadian who until recently was Director-General of the World Health Organization, advocates education for world citizenship, chiefly through the abandonment of dogmatic and nationalistic teaching. His ideals are high but his tone is regrettably polemical, and his description of his colleagues at the United Nations (p. 139) is unlikely to convert anyone to the idea of world government by that body.


This is a simply written account of Sven Hedin, Flinders Petrie, Thor Heyerdahl and others.


This handsomely illustrated book treats of the early colonial manuscripts of the Valley of Mexico and adjacent parts from the point of view of the impact of Spanish art on the native schools of illustration. This is a fascinating study and the author, associate professor of art history at Tulane University, treats it with thoroughness and considerable ability. The principal schools here covered are those of Tlaxcoyan, Tlatelolco, Tezcoco, Sahagun, the Teotihuacan codices and that of cartography. The substitution of European concepts for native traditions started almost with the conquest, but, if Robertson is right in thinking that all Codex Borbonicus is post-conquest, the student is at the very serious disadvantage of having no purely native example of the metropolitan schools with which to make comparison, and that is a difficulty which the author perhaps fails to tackle. For example, he believes that birds in the Codex Borbonicus are so advanced in treatment over birds in Mixtec codices that one is justified in supposing European influences. Nevertheless, Aztec representations in sculpture of insects and animals were extremely realistic and may well serve as arguments against Robertson's thesis.

The author thinks that the L-shaped arrangement of glyphs down one side and along the bottom of a page is a response to the European idea of making subject matter conform to the page. Nevertheless, one finds exactly the same arrangement in the purely aboriginal Codex Borgia and the edges of the screen folds of aboriginal books framed the pictures in ritualistic contexts before the European page made its appearance.

In Codex Kingsborough, in the British Museum, there are two maps of the same district: one is in fairly pure Indian style, the other has a European landscape treatment of woods. Robertson thinks that the first was a preliminary native draft and the second 'an elegant enriching of the original' made to cater to European taste and custom. This, if true, would indicate a deliberate step and, as Robertson says, supply evidence that the old native style and the hybrid Spanish existed side by side, 'one of the most exciting phases of the early Colonial style.' Nevertheless, the thesis is rather weak. In Map 2 almost all the towns have changed their positions. For instance, in the preliminary native draft two towns appear well to the right of a road; in the elegant enriched copy of this they are placed to the left of the road, and there are other equally marked changes. Surely if Map 2 was copied from Map 1 with embellishments to suit the Spanish taste, the artist would have retained the original locations of the towns, the chief reason for making a map. It is more logical to suppose that Map 2 originated quite independently of Map 1, particularly as it has important data not in Map 1 and Map 1 has information not in Map 2.

These, however, are minor points which do not seriously detract from a fine study of a complex subject.


The author, a Canadian who until recently was Director-General of the World Health Organization, advocates education for world citizenship, chiefly through the abandonment of dogmatic and nationalistic teaching. His ideals are high but his tone is regrettably polemical, and his description of his colleagues at the United Nations (p. 139) is unlikely to convert anyone to the idea of world government by that body.


This is a simply written account of Sven Hedin, Flinders Petrie, Thor Heyerdahl and others.


With the passing of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934 United States Indian policy seemed, at last and for the first time, to be directed squarely in the best interests of the Indians themselves. Much good was indeed achieved under Commissioner John Collier and his team in the fields of health, education, land-holdings, and social integration. But by 1930 the forces of attrition were again at work, and in 1956 Congress approved the first of a series of measures designed to terminate Federal responsibility for the native population. By some this process is termed 'setting the Indian free'; in other and, as many think, better informed quarters it is regarded as setting the white man free to override a moral obligation.

The situation is bedevilled by the widespread misunderstanding of the legal status and social and economic conditions of the modern Indians which exists among the mass of Americans, not least in political circles. The present symposium gives a review, in the main scholarly and objective, of relevant facts and opinions from the pens of anthropologists, educationists, former and present members of the Indian Service, and one Senator who emphatically propounds the case for 'termination.' The 16 articles are grouped under four sectional headings: The Background, The Administration of Indian Affairs, Institutional Aspects of Contemporary Indian Life, and The Integration of American Indians. There is a useful index.

A comprehensive review being out of the question it would be
We go on to the development of that typical American product, the tall story. This was, chiefly at any rate, the work of journalists and other professional writers. There are then three chapters on the folklore of groups such as the Ozark Mountaineers, the Pennsylvanians, the Mormons, the Greeks and the Negroes. This, including that of the Negroes, is with few exceptions of European origin.

Of the ‘folk heroes’ Paul Bunyan is a creation of fiction but Davy Crockett a real man to whom fictitious exploits have been attributed. Here again it is difficult to pick any genuine folk elements from the mass of professional writing.

The last chapter is on the ‘folklore’ of the universities and armed forces, and an appendix of six pages lists without comment folktales motifs from the Arne-Thompson index. Mr. Dorson has produced a very readable book, but it adds little to our knowledge of folklore origins.

DON ABBOTT


The first part of this book is concerned largely with the concept of ‘Sambo’. Sambo is or was represented by Southerners as the typical Negro—docile, cheerful, irresponsible and childish. The author shows not only that Sambo is not a product of African race or culture, but also that there are no Sambo in Latin America. This is due in the first place to the law of Spain, where there were always slaves and they were allowed to acquire property and buy their freedom if they could acquire enough, and secondly to the Church, which insisted on the recognition of marriage. In the Southern States, though the living conditions of slaves were no worse, they were allowed neither to acquire property nor to marry, and, in consequence acquired a type of mentality which the author compares to that acquired by those who managed to survive in the Nazi concentration camps.

The author goes on to explain why it needed a war to abolish slavery. The Americans were unaccustomed to ancient institutions with merits and demerits which could be modified as times and opinions changed. Apart from slavery, in fact, there were no institutions. There were sects but no Church and lawyers but no Bar, and the supporters and opponents of slavery had not, as in England, been to the same schools and universities. The violence of the abolitionists produced such a reaction in the south that compromise became impossible.

This is an interesting and well written essay, but there is much in the footnotes which might have gone into the text.
AFRICAN MASKS FROM AN UNRECORDED STYLE PROVINCE

by

DOUGLAS FRASER, M.A., PH.D.
Assistant Professor of Fine Arts, Columbia University, New York

A few years ago Professor Paul S. Wingert made some additional observations on three masks (Plate Ga-c) in the Museum of the American Indian which he had previously published, with reservations, as 'Ancient' Bella Coola (?) masks. Wingert remarked that he now doubted whether these masks were of American Indian origin at all. Though I agreed with his views, I was unable at the time to offer a better attribution. Since then, I have learned that Dr. Frederick Dockstader, the Assistant Director of the Museum, has, from the beginning of his tenure, regarded these objects as the product of African workmanship.

Recently, while conducting a seminar in Northwest Coast art, I re-attacked the problem and came upon some new evidence. Inspection of the material, the carving technique, and certain ornamental details disclosed that the three masks are not of American Indian, but of African origin, as Dr. Dockstader had suspected. Carved in a medium-weight, porous wood having none of the distinct cleavage planes of cedar or maple, the masks show traces of rough knife marks of a sort entirely foreign to Northwest Coast art. The presence of stripes of gum still pitted from a seed inlay is yet further corroboration, as this form of decoration, common in Africa, is unknown in the Pacific Northwest.

Had these carvings stemmed from any easily recognized style province, they would probably have been unmasked long ago. Proper attribution depends therefore upon comparison with documented specimens of rather exceptional types. In the Museum of Primitive Art in New York, there is a recently acquired wooden mask (Fig. 4) with red seed ornament that closely resembles the three unlocalized pieces. This mask while in private hands was exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art show in 1935, being then ascribed to Djamperi, Cameroon. This attribution (if it was an attribution) may derive from certain broad analogies with a mask earlier illustrated by von Sydow. After its purchase by the Museum of Primitive Art in 1936, the mask was tentatively assigned to the Dogon because of some similarities with a carving published by F.-H. Lem. But at present the piece is regarded as highly problematical.

Efforts to localize the Museum of Primitive Art specimen led back to the somewhat erratic writings of von Sydow. Mr. Allen Wardwell of the Museum staff kindly called

* With Plate G

to my attention yet another mask recently reproduced as Plate 118C in the Afrikansche Plastik. This carving shows several points of agreement with the New York masks. The appearance of parallel scarification marks and the use of seeds around the mouth, eyes, and nose suggest a degree of proximity though the styles as complete entities are not uniform. Von Sydow's mask is said to come from the Igbira-Bassa, a Nupe-speaking people living near the Niger-Benue confluence. But the piece is unlike any from that region known to me.

No precise attribution for the New York masks has proved possible. Several colleagues have expressed opinions, but no one has been able to produce real evidence of provenience. Personally, I feel that the style almost certainly belongs to the central Sudan, though I can find no agreement with the Dogon or other widely recognized types. The group is in any case distinct. I would welcome any illumination which readers of Man may be able to shed on this problem.

Notes

1. Paul S. Wingert, American Indian Sculpture: A Study of the Northwest Coast, New York, 1949, Plates LXXIII, LXXIV, with information taken from the catalogue. These masks were purchased in Paris early in the century. I wish to thank Dr. Frederick Dockstader for permission to publish these photographs.
2. The masks are not mentioned in my Master's essay, The Masks of the Northwest Coast, unpublished typescript, Columbia University, Department of Art History and Archaeology, New York, 1935.
7. After the above article was written, I came across one further specimen that may have some significance in this quest. It is a mask illustrated in La figura humana nell'arte dei primitivi, catalogue of an exhibition of objects from the Pigorini Museum, Rome, held in Turin in 1936, with an introduction by Vinigi Grottanelli. Plate XII, catalogue No. 33, is described as 'White Nile, tribe uncertain (Bari?), 28 centimetres high (No. 29586).'

65
ON DETERMINANTS OF THE STATUS OF ARAB VILLAGE WOMEN

by

DR. HENRY ROSENFELD

Department of Sociology, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem

95 In the following paper I shall discuss briefly the status of women in the Arab village, utilizing the concepts of kin relations and property relations. These concepts, of course, are not novel. Morgan describes most of human history as being founded upon personal relations, societas, followed by the state, civitas, which is founded upon territory and property. Maine discusses the revolutionary change in the history of political ideas from that of kinship in blood to one where local contiguity establishes itself, and historically analyses legal concepts of change from status to contract. The above scientists surveyed a multitude of societies and combined historical with formal analysis. The scope of this paper is limited to the Arab village in Israel and is restricted to the recent past and present; the history of change from a kin system to one of property, while implicit, is assumed, and therefore the data are offered in formal terms. While this is less satisfactory than the use of history to show the process of one form or idea system growing out of another in time, the Arab peasant society does offer us both levels of kinship and property relations, the earlier with the later and joined by a long history together. So intimately interlinked are the two that there is the danger of showing only their functional interrelationships. We must take into consideration the totality of relationships, but in order to see what aspect is definitive at any particular point in time and the historical causes that have brought it into being.

The general setting of the Arab village and the over-all determinant for the type of relations that we shall discuss is a history of at least 300 years in a feudal-type economy which was maintained at a low technological level by the Ottoman Empire and its controlling group of military governors, fieff-holders, tax-farmers, landlords and merchants. We find therefore that the internal village economy was a natural one, production was mainly for household consumption and taxes, markets were distant and underdeveloped, village labour had no money value and exchange was mainly in terms of barter. In many, but not all, of the villages, land was owned by absentee landlords, many farmers were tenants, and a tax system that took up to 50 per cent. of the crop was prevalent. Internal kin relations were based on extended families grouped together to form patrilineages. As for property, land, plough animals, trees, tools and houses, in short, all material property and wealth were and are today in the hands of the father patriarch family head. At his death or soon afterwards his sons divided the inheritance equally and set up their own individual households separate in property but linked in patrilineal descent.

Kinship

Kinship is significant in the lives of both men and women. Immediate neighbours are one's relatives, life is led in a lineage framework, marriage is often between kinmen, and in terms of internal politics the lineage acts as a group in relation to similar units. Family and lineage also impose restrictions, but these are greater for the women. A woman cannot move about her own village freely or without a specific purpose or outside the village unless accompanied. The legal and emotional tie of the woman to her father's house does not end with marriage. Marriage is necessary for her protection, in reality the honour of her father's house is at stake and they and not her husband must avenge it. If forced to take an oath, neither the woman nor her husband does so, but it is her brother who swears for her. One institutionalized form of behaviour, that of brotherhood, can concretize and serve as an example of the importance of kinship for the woman. Women are not free to move about alone, their honour must be protected and yet only the brother or father can do so when the husband is not there. Thus a woman going on pilgrimage to Mecca without a family member or relative nevertheless requires someone to protect her. A stranger male may be given the task but first he must make brotherhood with the woman... 'You are my sister in the book of God and whoever breaks this oath, God will punish.' In extenuating circumstances or situations which are liable to be given dual interpretations the only recourse open to the women is the oath of brotherhood. A widowed woman and a man living near her who is often in her house may protect themselves from gossip through this oath. And while this is a fictional expression of kinship, a mechanism for solving situations wherein the woman is in the uncommon condition of being without her kin, this extra-kin relationship does not lack continuity. They are 'brother' and 'sister' until death, carry out other institutionalized forms of behaviour such as the gift, 'Idiyya,' of the brother to his sister, and their children fit into the patterned use of kin terminology.

Inheritance: The Kin and Property Prerogatives of Males

The inheritance system and non-inheritance by women offer the best clue to the kin-property dichotomy. At the death of the father sons inherit his property equally. This contravenes the Koranic legal religious code wherein daughters are supposed to take one-half the share of sons. 'The sister has a claim to the property of her father's house as long as she lives,' but she defers in her rights to her brother. It has been pointed out that the descent
system is patrilineal. Daughters belong to the patrilineal descent unit but family continuity is measured through males alone. When there are no sons, and daughters are the supposed inheritors, the marriage system and lineage pressure are brought to bear. For example, of the twelve brotherless women in one village investigated who married after their father's death, three married first cousins and six second cousins, and their share of the property went to the husbands. Males, therefore, enjoy kin-property rights.

What does the woman enjoy? The answer seems to lie in the meaning of the negation of her rights. As a member of her father's household her father's and brother's house is always open to her. She may always return to it in joy and in the knowledge that she will be cared for and protected. This kin-family protection is fundamental to a woman's existence. Its loss is a tragedy leaving the woman vulnerable before society. The negation of her rights is in kin terms; only by foregoing her rights in property does the woman enjoy kin rights. The determinant of this negation is property. First, some examples of these kin rights.

(1) The załãne woman. The załãne woman leaves her husband's house and returns to her father's house when she feels that she is being ill treated. The literal meaning of załãne is angry. When the woman feels that her rights are not fully given, when she is beaten without just cause, when her father's house is slandered or when she has excessive trouble with her in-laws, then, among other possible reasons, the woman may seek protection in her father's house. The woman goes załãne only for a few days usually, almost never more than a few weeks. Each time I asked my main woman informant about the załãne women she would give me an entirely new list. There were always five to ten women who had returned to their father's house if only for a few days. Then one of her husband's male relations would go and return her to her husband's house.

Among many examples of załãne women are those where the father or brothers insist that the woman remain with them until certain conditions are specifically met by the husband. Here is an extreme example in the case of 'Aishi who went to her brother's house after her husband had severely beaten her.

Her brothers were very angry. They kept her for two years. If they had not been close relatives they would have made them divorce. One of 'Aishi's brothers wanted to kill Muhammad. Muhammad continually sent people to bring her back, but they always refused. Finally, after two years they allowed for him. They told him: 'The next time we will take her from you.' Her brothers honour her, no one can take an atom of soil from under her leg.

The following example of the załãne women is the only one that I have where hunger and want were the reason for the sister's return to her father's house. Before her brother would return his sister Thrayya to her husband in a neighbouring village measures would be taken to insure her future protection and also to give her the opportunity to return again if she should need.

Thrayya came to her brother's house załãne. Her husband had no work and there was no food for her. When her husband sent the people from his village to return her, her brother refused. He demanded that the husband pay her £20 to insure her future. The husband sent the £20 and then her brother also gave her £10. The reason for this additional £10 from his own pocket is that she will have face to return another time if she needs. When the husband knows their daughter is valuable, he will hesitate to treat her badly. Or the people say to her, 'you come back with nothing, you have no value to your family.'

(2) Freedom of the woman in her father's house. A woman feels free to go to her father's house and take wheat, coffee, sugar, etc., when she is in need or short of anything. It is her right because she remains a part of her father's household. Here is an example from my notes:

When Rimi heard that her brother had invited important guests to his house and had slaughtered a lamb for them, she wanted to send her daughter to take some of the food. Her son did not like the idea and said: 'No, don't send her. If they want to feed you they will send by themselves. Tomorrow they will say that she always comes and eats from us.' Rimi replied: 'It does not matter. I am not eating from her (her brother's wife's) mother's house. I am eating from my brother's house and my father's property.' Another informant commented on this: 'The sister can say: 'Every time I want I will come and you (the brother's wife) cannot forbid me. I am eating from my father's property, and not from your money, not even from your husband's money.'

(3) 'Idiyya, gift of the brother to his sister. It is the duty of the brother or father to send his sister or daughter on the occasion of the two great feasts of the year a gift of money, food, or clothing—idiyya. The gift points to the connexion between the paternal line and the woman who has left it through marriage; her right is maintained. The visit paid to the sister, especially the sister or daughter who has been married into a strange village, is extremely important. When the father or brother fails to come on the day of the Great Feast then the woman feels that she has been forgotten.

The woman carries her hurt quietly. If she speaks against her brother then the villagers will say, she is not good. They will say (if the brother fails to come) that her brother no longer cares for her and that she no longer belongs to her brother's house. The brother must bring a gift (idiyya) to his sister. This is to show that she has worth in his eyes, and that he respects her. When the brother comes and he brings a dress and meat and gives his sister money then she appears big in the eyes of the people. The people say they are from a good family and they never forget the woman niwalisy, one who is under the protection.

The Basis of Kin Continuity for the Woman

The tie and connexion of the woman to her father's house and to her brothers has been evident through such forms of behaviour as załãne, the freedom of the sister in her brother's house, and idiyya, the gift of the brother to his sister. Such customary and institutionalized forms of behaviour express the continuity of kin relations even after the woman has left her father's house. She will not cease to be recognized as a kin member. She is dependent on kinship, the major construct of her life, due to the determining factor in her life, her forfeit of her claim to the property of her father's house. To take the claim is to forfeit the guarantees of kinship.
In the village investigated only two women took their share of the property after their father’s death. We may examine the fate of one of these women, one who took her share after her brother’s death, through the eyes of an informant:

This is ‘Ariyya Fayad, she took her share (of the property) and the days turned over upon her (she became old and had need of her relatives). During all the years her brother’s sons did not send her gifts, ‘idiyaa, and now she is as dead for them. This is ‘Aishi Salim, she did not take her share (of the property) and now she is a widow. Every year her brothers’ sons send her 500 dinars, 600 dinars and oil and meat and ‘idiyaa at the feast. She comes with a strong eye and takes as she wishes. (She feels free to go to her brother’s house and take food, etc.)

And the second example:

Leah was poor and her husband died. She had been married into another village and needed her son to support her. Her son worked for Leah’s brother Siman in a clothing store in Hafa. He worked for his uncle for seven years and only received his food. She told her brother, ‘We want to live. My son worked for you for seven years and took nothing.’ Siman told her, ‘I have no money. ‘You have no money, I want my share husst (of the property).’ Siman did not think she would take it. When he saw that she went to the land registration office he tried to give her money. But she was angry and she refused. She took her share and took its price (sold it). Now they are not good with each other, he will not visit her and she does not find a strong eye to go to him.

The woman who takes her share of the inheritance loses her rights in her father’s house. She would be as a cut-off woman, gat’ta, a woman who had no father or brothers or relatives. She could not return to her brother during time of need when angry za’laine; she could not take anything from her father’s house. Her condition as a woman, her status as well, would be completely undermined. She is in so many circumstances dependent on her brother’s and her father’s house that practically speaking no woman dare risk taking her share. In the formal, legal sense and kinwise, a woman has a household; realistically, that is propertywise, she does not.

It is so inconceivable that a woman should take her share of property from her brothers that of dozens of individuals questioned few could say more than that this is the custom. One good explanation that clearly points up the motives behind actions and ideas of both men and women is tied to the gift. I quote from an informant:

The brother knows that his sister has a right with him in the property. Therefore, he must make the duty (wa'il) and every feast or occasion to send her ‘idiyaa. This is the gift which he must continue giving her instead of the right she has with him. When the woman takes her share from her brother then she feels she is not from the family and she has no one, and her relatives will stop speaking with her completely.

The tie between brother and sister is a strong one. The reliance of the sister on the brother is only part of this; the reliance of the brother on the sister is economically greater. It is through his sister that the brother marries, either by using her bride price or by exchanging her. In addition the sister defers to the brother in property rights. Small wonder that the gift of ‘idiyaa is customarily called the duty, wa'il. In all delicacy it is called a duty, in all reality it is a debt. Love and respect towards the sister have not alone formed this duty but rather the idea of compensation, a token for the sister who gives up her rights to property after the death of her father.

Authority as an Expression of Property and Kinship

We have seen, albeit briefly because of lack of space, that kinship encompasses the life of the Arab village woman. The determinant of her kin relations is oddly enough in a sphere which need not concern her at all—male property control. We may now trace, again briefly, various structural periods in the life of the woman using our dual concepts of kinship and property as they are expressed in authority.

As a girl in her father’s house she is surrounded by her immediate kinsmen. She is under the direct authority of her father, the property-holder. Early marriage takes her into the household of her husband’s father for whom she will work. Here she will be under the control of her mother-in-law and father-in-law and in differing degrees answerable as well to her husband and his brothers. Only upon the death of her husband’s father, and the transfer of his property in equal shares to his sons, will the woman, and her husband as well, be free to set up their own household. Or they may continue in a joint enterprise for a brief period with her husband’s brothers if it is economically practical to do so.

Whether with her husband’s father or his brothers, the woman exerts pressure upon her husband to cut himself off from these families. She is under the domination of many individuals, she is working on property that is not her own and which also has no immediate legal connexion with that of her own extended family of father and brother, she benefits from the property only according to her husband’s future share, she must work not only for herself, husband and children, but for his parents, brothers, and their children as well. She may have grown sons who contribute greater shares of labour than her husband’s brothers’ families, or fewer or no children meaning that the financial outlay from common household money for the others is greater. Such problems face her husband as well but the woman does not feel the same emotional ties of kinship that bind the son to his extended family. Her family is her father’s extended family where her legal rights and kin rights lie. She has none (or fewer, since she may be a close relative) of the feelings of guilt that her husband has when the previously mentioned problems bring him to leave his father before the latter’s death or to separate from his brothers.

When the woman arrives at the point where she and her husband set up their household she is still propertyless but she has now reached the structural situation that she has constantly striven for wherein the only real authority over her is her husband. Her own kin represent authority, but it is now a secondary protective authority watching over her interests and their family name and honour. I shall return to this point in a moment. In her husband’s household, with children and especially sons, her position is
reasonably secure. Polygyny is only a major threat when there are no sons; divorce is rare. Her sons marry and her work load lessens with daughters-in-law in the house whose work she supervises. She is responsible for the stores and the household property and superintends them with an iron hand not allowing the daughters-in-law to touch anything without permission.

One young man asked his mother to send some milk to her brothers to which she replied, 'When I become free and alone I will send. But now this is not for me alone. If your grandmother agrees, send to them. She is the owner of everything.' Such an example is more than a mechanism of psychological control over others expressing the same control that was meted out to her when she herself was a daughter-in-law. She now has a stake in the continuity of a household that she has helped to build, while the daughters-in-law are not concerned with this household but wish to draw away from it. Neither the mother-in-law nor the daughters-in-law have property, yet they must struggle against one another: the older woman for the continuity and preservation of a household, sons and property, that affords her security; the younger women for its dissolution, in order to minimize the number of individuals controlling them and to arrive more rapidly at a position of some authority themselves. That property is at the root of their conflict is clearly expressed when her husband dies. Mother-in-law dominance is now reversed. The property goes to the sons and supervision of the house and stores, slowly or rapidly, but eventually, goes over to their wives. Now it is the older woman who must request tolerance. As one daughter-in-law told her mother-in-law: 'You were a knight and a spear in your hand. Your time went. Get down, I want to ride. Today I rule.' She is dependent for care not on any personal resources, for she has none (except her share of her bride price), but on her close kinsman, her son. And he is generally kind and affectionate—of course—within the limits of pressure from his wife, and is always troubled. As one woman explained it, he may bend and even break: 'The son sympathizes with his mother, but to keep her tongue short. Who is taking the inheritance of the father? The son will receive the property, the money, everything. The mother has nothing. The mother says to her son: 'I want to live alone. I will not stay under the rule of your wife.' To which he replies: 'If you wish to stay with us, welcome. You will have what to eat, to drink, clothes, but not to keep quarrelling with my wife. If you must quarrel with my wife, either live alone, or that is your brother's house, go and live with them.' Her alternatives are between kinsmen.

We may now investigate some other structural possibilities and the question of family honour. The divorced woman and the young widow must return to their father's house to be remarried. Logically, there is no reason why she should not be allowed to remain in her former husband's house or in her father's house, but an extreme emphasis is placed on honour. Only a husband can provide the moral cover which may protect the woman from slander and gossip and the father and brothers are most sensitive on the point of family honour. There is sympathy for the young widow but after a few months and no more than a year she will be remarried. If she has children they must remain in her husband's house for they belong to his family. There are two institutionalized possibilities which allow her to remain with her children. One is the levirate and the second is īhdâne. In the levirate, which is more common, the girl is married to her dead husband's brother, with a widow's bride price, or half the usual bride price being paid. In īhdâne, for which I have only three examples in a village of 1800 people, half a bride price is paid by the widow or her in-laws to her father or brothers. In each case the father or brothers gain economic satisfaction and satisfaction of their honour. The decision rests with them and if she is required for a marriage by exchange, they may deny her the levirate, although this is rare since public opinion is also a factor. If greatly motivated by greed they may make the īhdâne excessive. The problem of preservation of honour, as in all forms of behaviour or emotion, may be answered on its own terms: that it has a long history of people sincerely believing in it and acting it out. But it seems apparent that it is the men who protect honour and demand immediate remarriage of the women. Through their ideological control over what is the meaning of honour, they reinforce their control on the economic value of the woman.

There is one structural possibility which, for a brief period of time, allows the woman almost the same rights as the male, kin—property prerogatives. That is, as a widow with sons who are still unmarried, who remains or is allowed to remain because of her age and her sons, and such a right is dependent on her having sons, in her husband's (not his father's) house. She is in charge of the property as well as the stores, there is no direct authority over her and she therefore has great independence, she arranges the marriages of her sons and daughters, she may hire workers to work the land, and must often be approached by mature men on various economic matters. Her husband's brothers and relatives might try to interfere, but the inheritance and money are in her son's names and the woman with a reasonably strong personality need have few problems. That such a condition appeals to women is evidenced by the fact that widows with children who are not forced to leave their husband's house are not interested in remarrying.

**Conclusion**

It has been shown that the woman's sphere of life is expressed in kin relations. In functional terms she cannot function without kinsmen. One weakness of narrow functional analysis is its formalistic tendency to give equal weight to many factors at one point in time in an attempt to show balance, arriving thereby at non-historic static function. My thesis is that certain relations of life are more crucial for cultural behaviour than others; formal analysis might tell us what they are, history is necessary to inform us why they are so and in what circumstances they came into being. In the paper offered it is property relations that are definitive. They are male-dominated property relations
and although the woman may have nothing to do with them, their rejection for her is the major determinant of her status and behaviour. Women are reduced to reliance on kinship. The deeper historical analysis needed would probably point out that both men and women relied on kinship until that point in time when agriculture and stock-breeding production became male-controlled, males became exclusive property-owners and a qualitatively different period began. When property relations became definitive then kinship relations became secondary even though males also continued to utilize them, albeit unlike women who were restricted to the earlier historical period. But the condition is certainly not a static one. It has remained for centuries owing to the preservation of a feudal-type technology and economy in Arab villages. With expansion of mechanized farming, a definite money economy, outside labour and other material changes as well as a knowledge of different idea systems, the all-pervasive kin status of the woman will also change and along with it the ideas and beliefs of the people.

Notes

1 This paper was first presented before the Sociology Meeting held by the Sociology Department of the Hebrew University in April, 1958. It is based on field work conducted in 1953-54 in north-west Israel which was supported by grants from the Social Science Research Council and the Ford Foundation.


5 H. Grandidier, Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village, Helsingfors, 1953, p. 254.

6 Ibid., p. 256.


8 Ibid., pp. 50-52.

9 Rosenberg, as note 4.


11 Rosenberg, as note 7, p. 16.

12 Granqvist, 1935, p. 301.

13 I do not mean by this that the status of men and women was on an equal one. It was in all probability a more equal one, what with kinship relations (as I use the term in the sense of a total category) expressed in economics, law, ideas, etc. Men though, as both military and ideological (religious) controlling specialists, even in the earliest periods probably managed to differentiate statuses.

14 For some of these recent changes see Rosenberg, 'Social Changes in an Arab Village,' New Outlook, Vol. II (1959), No. 6-7.

OBITUARY

Leslie Armstrong: 1879-1958

Leslie Armstrong, a civil servant in a highly responsible position, devoted his annual leave for many years to investigations of Creswell Caves in the Magnesian Limestone of East Derbyshire. The sequence of human occupation by Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cultures is fairly well marked, as is a Mousterian sequence. Unfortunately, he did not write a complete record of the work but a short article in Sheffield and Its Region (British Association, Sheffield Meeting, 1956) gives a recent statement. He later planned to get an analysis of carbonaceous materials from his different layers for dating by the carbon-14 method. This might give valuable results. Lower Palaeolithic bifaces tools, real and conjectural, also gave him interesting material. At Grimes' Graves, Brandon, Norfolk, he examined a pit that apparently had been unproductive to the prehistoric miners and found a small (female) figurine fore-shadowing Epstein's Genesis in a cult setting at the pit bottom. Family links took Armstrong to Rhodesia, where he joined on discussions concerning Stone Age Africa. He also cooperated with Czechoslovak colleagues studying the Upper Palaeolithic there, so his views were often based on wide experience.

H. J. FLEURE

SHORTER NOTES

Maori Women and Maori Cannibalism. By Dr. A. P. Vayda, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York

That Maori women managed to sustain themselves without recourse to human flesh—which is said to have been prohibited to them—has been regarded by some writers as evidence that Maori cannibalism was not due to lack of food. It should, however, be pointed out that such a prohibition, if it did indeed exist, cannot be regarded as evidence that cannibalism was not due to a lack of food on war expeditions, for women did not as a rule go along on such expeditions. 'He pata tasa ki te tane, he whanan tama ki te wahi—Fighting with man and childbirth with women,' says a Maori proverb, and this expresses the Maori notion that war is a characteristically male sphere of activity. There were of course times when Maori women fought. However they were likely to do this rather as members of a defending force than as attackers. For example, they would fight when an enemy threatened the inner defences of their fortified village. In a sham fight witnessed by John Nicholas and Samuel Marsden at New Zealand's Bay of Islands in 1814, some Maori women participated, but Nicholas learned that it was not a general practice for women to take the field and that only 'certain ladies of a more intrepid character than the rest' had the passion for warlike prowess. It is possible that the number of ladies of such character increased in the early part of the nineteenth century because of the many male warriors killed during the period when muskets were first employed in Maori warfare. But the women, according to John White, were invariably left behind when a war party sought blood revenge. And Richard Taylor refers to women as being left behind in general by Maori war parties.

It seems significant that White should emphasize the absence of women from expeditions in quest of blood revenge, for it was probably on these expeditions that commissariat was most likely to be a serious problem for any people not eating human flesh. In quest of blood revenge, war parties could be taken much further afield than when they went to fight because of either boundary
disputes or an enemy’s acts of trespass. In the latter cases, hostilities were directed as a rule against nearby groups. Revenge, however, might be sought for homicide committed generations earlier by enemies now living far away? It was, as I have noted elsewhere, on the more distant expeditions that supplies were more likely to be short. And on such expeditions, the practice of cannibalism—after a successful attack and also before the attack if any stray enemies were caught—appeased the hunger of the warriors and sustained them until their return home. I have discussed the evidence on this point in another place.

It may be concluded then that the alleged non-cannibalism of Maori women cannot be regarded as evidence that the shortage of foods other than human flesh was not a factor contributing to cannibalism by Maori men.

Some brief observations incidental to my main argument remain to be made. It should be noted that the extent and the effectiveness of the prohibition of cannibalism by Maori women are not at all clearly established. Richard Taylor and Elsdon Best could not learn that the prohibition was in force anywhere except in the Taupo district of the North Island of New Zealand. Sir Peter Buck, however, has described the prohibition as operating among most Maori tribes, while John White has noted a distinction between the flesh of enemies killed in battle and the flesh of slaves killed outside of war. Women, according to White, could eat the latter but not the former. This of course is a distinction consistent with the non-participation of women in war expeditions.

Notes

2 Tuta Nihono, Narrative of the Fighting on the East Coast, 1865-75, with a Monograph on Bush Fighting, Wellington (Dominion Museum), 1913, p. 51.
5 White, 'Maori Customs and Superstitions,' in The History and Doings of the Maoris, by T. W. Gudgeon, Auckland (Brett), 1885, p. 179.
6 Taylor, Te Ika a Maui, or New Zealand and Its Inhabitants, London (Macintosh), 1870, p. 189.
7 Some discussion of ‘causes’ of war among the Maoris may be found in A. P. Vayda, Maori Warfare, Wellington (Polynesian Society), in press.
8 Vayda, op. cit.
9 Vayda, op. cit.
11 Buck, The Coming of the Maori, Wellington (Whitcombe & Tombs), 1949, p. 102; White, Te Rou, or the Maori at Home, London (Low), 1874, p. 234.

The Origin of the Majimaji Revolt. By A. R. W. Crosse-Upcott

98

Several theories have been advanced to explain the sinister and dramatic Majimaji rebellion of 1905, which engulfed the entire southern half of the Deutsch-Ostafrika territory, then barely a decade old. Yet, none of those that have come to my notice seems to me to ring altogether true. For a start, the official German hypothesis of a planned conspiracy has been effectively demolished by R. M. Bell’s excellent account (1950) of the nuclear outbreak; and indeed, common sense alone would render such a notion suspect, in view of the prevailing aftermath of a chaotic slaughtering and tribal-war era. The associated claim that Islamic elements were behind the revolt has more cogency, but here again my own researches on the spot show little more than innuendo or subordinate participation on the part of local Muslims. True, the Ngindo instigators of the trouble embraced the Mohammedan faith along with the magic water (from which the movement derived its name ‘Majimaji’ or ‘Water-water’ in Kiswahili); but, even though by a paradox it is Islam which has persisted among the Ngindo tribe, initially the pagan Majimaji cult seems to have had the upper hand. The intriguing question of the degree to which Islam can be made responsible for the revolt is one which I intend to discuss in a separate essay.

Another explanation, that of J. H. Driben (1931), holds that Nubian mercenaries from the Sudan imported the idea of immunity from rifle fire conferred by mystic water. While this is possible, the evidence that I shall bring in support of an indigenous water cult anterior to the German occupation makes it unlikely that the Nubians should have contributed much to the Majimaji unrest. If anything, their contribution would have been to arouse discontent through provocation, as they won evil fame for atrocities against the native population. This introduces the controversial hobby horse of German oppression, roundly condemned by Bell. Whilst I would not seek to defend the régime, I am undecided about the alleged intolerable conditions in the area in question, namely Liwale, if only because the German personnel were too few in number and insufficiently mobile to mount a thoroughgoing reign of terror. Granted, the authorities were not popular; but this alone can scarcely account for the widespread and violent Majimaji reaction. In this connexion the Ngindo, who are by no means unintelligent, seem to have been well aware of the probable outcome of German defeat, that is, Ngoni resurgence; raiders of the Ngoni tribe, thought to be of Zulu extraction, had pulverized the region from Lake Nyasa right to the coast for more than a generation before the Germans took over. And there can be few who would opt for Ngoni frightfulness in preference to German discipline. However, the wizards who preached the Majimaji cause seemingly met this objection by promising to send wild beasts to drive any invaders back!

Almost half-a-century before the Majimaji cataclysm, the explorer Sir Richard Burton ascended the Rufiji valley on his way to the interior. Not many marches inland from the coast he made the following observation:

Certain ‘hill tribes . . . have a place visited even by distant Wazarambo pilgrims. It is described as a cave where a P’hepo or disembodied spirit of a man, in fact a ghost, produces a terrible subterranean sound, called by the people Kuroro or Bokeroro; it arises probably from the flow of water underground. In a pool in the cave, women bathe for the blessing of issue, and men sacrifice sheep and goats to obtain fruitful seasons and success in war’ (Burton, 1857, p. 88).

Now, Bokeroro is the title commonly assigned to the originator of the Majimaji cult. In and around Liwale I myself always encountered the variant Bokeroro, but the Ngindo itself had authority (Bell) for the pronunciation Bokeroro. Eye witnesses of the rebellion speak of bogus slaves held in a cave by this same Bokeroro, who was in addition associated with a pool called Ndagarala, said to be situated at the confluence of the Lhenge and Ngarami rivers, some distance north of Liwale (Liwale District Book). People were attracted thither by the rumour that their ancestors, whose spoken answers to questions would be boomed through tunnels in
the cavernous rock, were to be seen reflected in the pool’s surface. Actually Boker is a term loosely applied to several witch-doctors who achieved prominence in launching the Majimaji campaign; and the primary Boker’s real name was Kinijiketire Ngwale. He was hanged by the Germans in the early stages of the revolt.

The hill tribes to which Burton referred in his journal appear to have been the ‘Waruguru’ (Burton), otherwise known as Luguru, a group inhabiting the mountains of Uluguru well to the north of the Rufiji. I have no first-hand knowledge of these mountains, having seen them only from a distance, but people familiar with the area tell me that they are very remote and of caves of any size. A comprehensive article on Uluguru religious beliefs (Scheeder and Tastevin) contains no allusion whatever to any cave; and a German soldier-official who spent years in Uluguru before the turn of the century, though he dwells on the ‘wonderful mountains’ (Von Prince), mentions neither cave nor shrine. The apparently complete absence of written corroboration or factual proof to bear out Burton’s story leads me to suspect that he may have been mistaken as to the scene of this earlier cult. His informants may have been speaking from hearsay, probably through an interpreter, and there is every likelihood that inaccuracies might occur. My own supposition is that, hearing of the mountainous surroundings of the sacred pool, Burton guessed the known Luguru range to be the locality his informants meant; whereas he would have had no knowledge of the unexplored country lying to the south of the Rufiji. Neither Burton, who had already tried to do so without success, nor any other explorer, excepting the ill-fated Moschner and Von der Decken, had managed to penetrate the hinterland of Kilwa, to the south, owing to the hostility of the slave-traders. So nothing was known about mountains or any other geographical feature southwards.

In point of fact, the Matumbi region not far south of the Rufiji contains both caves and mountains. An article on the geology of the Rufiji basin (Stockley) includes a significant discussion of caves in the Mttumbe valley, about 30 miles inland from the port of Samanga. According to this source the principal cave thereabouts, Nangoma, runs to truly gigantic size. A Roman Catholic priest from the nearby Kipatimu mission, Father Ambrosius Mayer, visited Nangoma shortly after its discovery by the authorities in 1910. He estimated that 5,000 people could have camped unseen in its enormous vestibule (ibid.), where he found the traces of numerous hearth fires. This, then, would seem to account for the local reports of villages mysteriously deserted during the Majimaji operations. Another feature of Nangoma cave which Father Ambrosius noticed makes the analogy with Burton’s account startling, namely ‘an unruled still pool of water which appeared to be of considerable depth’ (ibid.). A successor at the Kipatimu mission, Father Hilmar, who contributes a section on this subject to form part of Stockley’s article, observes: the natives state that this stream never dries up even in the driest dry season.’ Further, he specifically declares that the Majimaji subversion ‘originated from this place,’ though unfortunately without giving details or citing the grounds for his assertion.

One cannot therefore be certain that the rebellion did have its genesis at Nangoma. Nevertheless, from the foregoing, a strong presumption exists that the original magic water, or perhaps simply the idea of magic water, emanated from it. Also, the evidence from Ngindo survivors of the revolt points consistently to Ngarambi (Rihingo), like Mtimbe a part of Matumbi, as the hearth and focus of Majimaji propaganda; note that the Ndalahala pool at Ngarambi, mentioned earlier, is stated to be surmounted by a hill called Bwengu (Liwale District Book). Inevitably, some confusion has arisen in the recounting of these almost legendary events, but all the versions volunteered to me by local inhabitants agree in placing the origin in that general vicinity. For instance Ngameya, the witch-doctor who assumed Boker’s mantle and wielded the greatest influence during the victorious phase of the militant cult, operated in the Kitope area of Matumbiland. An old map of the Rufiji (Beardall) marks ‘Kitopi Hill’ no great distance inland from Samanga, i.e. to the east of present-day Kitope; and one is tempted to think that this individual lived fairly near to Nangoma cave and had access to it; certainly the home of Boker himself, to whom Ngameya was related by marriage, lay close by at Ngarambi. Once the Majimaji conflict had broken out in earnest, Ngameya transferred his headquarters to another hill farther to the west, Nandanga; and it was to Nandanga that almost all the ‘pilgrims’ whom I interviewed went in search of ‘the water.’ Minority opinion favours a source on the Rufiji river itself at Mpanga (Bell), not far from which a water spirit called Nyangumi (literally ‘whale’ in Kiswahili) was thought to haunt the Pangani rapids. It is curious that Boker’s younger brother, Ngiugumaina Ngwale, should have adopted the title ‘Nyangumi’ (ibid.), and that one authority should have regarded Nyangumi as the prime mover in the revolt... the people allegedly believed that a great medicine man lived in the Rufiji river in the form of a water monster, and that this supernatural creature could dispense medicine’ (Sayes). Evidently, like the other sources of magic water, Mpanga has its characteristic hill; for Beardall (1881), surveying the Rufiji for the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1880, claims to have climbed it. The truth may be that, as the revolt developed, the distributing centres for magic water multiplied and spread far afield; thus in central Liwale it is said that a container filled initially at Ngarambi could be replenished anywhere in Ngindolande. Moreover, Ngindo cynics of today invariably ascribe the entire rebellion to the greed of the witch-doctors, intent on amassing more and more wealth from the lucrative fees charged for the magic water! Hence the birthplace of the revolt can be taken to be somewhere in the Matumbi area immediately south of the Rufiji river, most probably at Nangoma cave itself. Furthermore the historical material which I quote indicates the probable existence of a water cult at Nangoma at least half-a-century before the Majimaji upheaval. My tentative reconstruction of the cult’s evolution is this. For a lengthy period, perhaps even for centuries, the awesome setting of Nangoma had given rise to mystical beliefs associated with water. Though widely known, as the allusion to ‘distant Wazaramo pilgrims’ shows (Burton; the Zaramo then occupied the Dar es Salaam coast and its nearby hinterland, much as they do now), the water’s magical properties seemed to have been mainly peaceable until the opening years of the present century; Burton does mention success in war as one of its attributes, but the sort of irregular skirmishing of the time between minor tribal segments, set against a background of sporadic and disruptive slave raiding, lacked the systematic character of true warfare; in Burton’s day the widespread pillage and slaughter of the Ngoni raids from the west had yet to impinge seriously on the coastal belt. Whilst the German occupation put an end to this instability, considerable tensions remained unresolved. The rascour of the Islamic coast, expressed in the formidable Bushiri rising of 1888 which had all but annihilated the German chartered company and had prompted direct imperial intervention, still lingered; and the authorities had been obliged to put down a whole series of local outbreaks in the turbulent interior, notably in the desperately fought Hehe campaign of 1890 to 1894. Any general appeal to violence would therefore have found support in a number of apparently disparate quarters.

Just such a general appeal to violence, as yet latent, existed ready-made at Nangoma. Though the first reported incidents in the Majimaji rebellion occurred at Samanga and Kibato, in the vicinity of Nangoma (Bell), not a few of my Ngindo informants
consider that the water cult had next to no warlike content before the advent of Abdalla Mpanda, the most ferocious of the rebel leaders in Liwale, who is alleged by them to have twisted a largely neutral panacea into a 'war of liberation,' using the threat of reporting the local headmen to Liwale bonza for failing to give warning of the impending onslaught. Whilst this is manifestly an exaggeration, there are grounds for believing that the movement was not in the least aggressive in its inception; it is noteworthy that according to Bell's chronolgy Kinjikete Ngwale, the prototype Bokera, was already in his grave ten days before Liwale bonza was founded. Rather, it was only by degrees, and aided by bureaucratic inaction on the part of the imperial German government, that the revolutionary elements gained the upper hand. Perhaps the shift of Ng'ame's base to Nandanja hill marked the decisive swing to a belligerent policy; for it was from this centre that for the first time the Majimaji 'armies' took the field. Henceforth the contagion of Majimaji defiance spread rapidly, until the feeble detonation of Nangoma was lost in the vast explosion of war.

References
Liwale District Book (Official).
Sayers, G. F., Handbook of Tanganyika (1930).
Von Prince, T., Gegen Araber und Negern.

CORRESPONDENCE

Sir,-I have just read with great interest Dr. Kathleen Gough's article entitled 'The Nayar and the Definition of Marriage' (J. R. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. LXXXIX, Part 1, 1959) and I should like to comment on some of the issues which it raises.

1. Dr. Gough is concerned with the problem of the definition of social phenomena (in this case marriage), giving us to understand that it is at once fundamental and difficult. Connected with this is her view, in my opinion misleading, of the purpose and validity of such definitions in anthropology. In her Introduction she observes that definitions are classificatory devices and not 'aims of research.' The aim of a definition, we are told, is to isolate an institution as a cross-cultural phenomenon, a step that is logically distinct from, and must precede, a cross-cultural comparison. The validity of a definition is determined by its ability to include within a single category all institutions that do in fact have a basic element in common. On this basis the Notes and Queries definition of marriage is to be regarded as inadequate (it does not, for example, permit us to classify 'woman-marriage' together with marriage between male and female), and in its place Dr. Gough offers a new definition which she hopes will have greater cross-cultural validity. However, if definitions are labels for groups of similar objects rather than pointers to problems for analysis, there can be no room for disagreement with regard to their appropriateness or otherwise in particular cases. Either—to follow Notes and Queries—the case in hand is one of 'a union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are recognized legitimate offspring of both parents,' in which case it may be called marriage; or it is not, in which case it may not be so called. There is no real theoretical difficulty here whatever. No one need hold that the definition has anything to do with the metaphysical problem of whether or not it is the union that is really married. As regards Dr. Gough's new definition—Marriage is a relationship established between a woman and one or more other persons, which provides that a child born to the woman under circumstances not prohibited by the rules of the relationship, is accorded full birth-status rights common to normal members of his society or social stratum—the same applies. As a tool of classification it merely enables us to say 'Here is a case of marriage' more often than not we would use the old definition. But her claim that we may see a 'common element' in the institutions which anthropologists normally label marriage and Nayar unions represents nothing more than a logical rearrangement by which the old definition has become a limiting case of the new. It is not an empirical discovery occasioned by the accumulation of evidence, but a tautology. And since a definition conceived of as a label is a tautology, it is as such neither more nor less valid than any other similar label.

It seems to me that 'the problem of the definition of social phenomena' as envisaged by Dr. Gough involves the holding of a number of ideas which appear to support each other but are in fact expressions of the mistaken view that the social world consists of a number of free-floating basic entities called institutions which exist prior to and are independent of any conceptual apparatus that we bring to bear on their study. It is in the light of this view that the following ideas, either stated explicitly or implied in Dr. Gough's article, seem so self-evident: that the collection of social facts and their labelling precede comparison or explanation or both; that a definition is a classificatory device and not an aim of research, that the wider the definition the better, and that cross-cultural survey involves a comparison of similar objects. (It is interesting to note here again, as Dr. Leach has very recently done, how far we are still committed in social anthropology to the idea that the construction of typologies in the manner of natural history represents scientific method per excellence.)

I would in fact argue that the so-called unsatisfactoriness of a definition is—contra Dr. Gough—an indication that we do not take it to be a mere classificatory tool, but regard it rather as an 'aim of research,' a way of asking questions. In other words it is precisely because we are drawn from the mere exercise in pigeon-holing cases of marriage to an examination of, among other things, the problem of the 'legitimization' of children and the rules controlling the unions for which this is necessary, that we say 'This is an unsatisfactory definition.' In fact cross-cultural comparison becomes possible only with the clear recognition that the definition contains aims of research. For which we compare we are not basically concerned with enumerating identical objects, but with asking similar questions which involve certain analytical concepts. The problem, in other words, is not whether or how we can classify, for instance, 'woman-marriage' together with marriage between male and female. It is, rather, whether we wish to investigate and analyse unions between male and female which have as one of their important consequences the 'legitimization' of offspring, or various kinds of relationships which are involved in the 'legitimization' of offspring. The choice, then, between two definitions has to be made on the basis of the kinds of question which they enable us to ask. And there is no a priori virtue in preferring a wider and more complicated set of questions to a narrower and less complicated one. In fact, I would suggest, seen as a pointer to a certain range of problems Dr. Gough's enlarged definition has serious disadvantages when compared even with the Notes and Queries one. For while it appears at first sight to provide no more than a mere increase in the number of discriminating between social phenomena, it turns out in effect to be a demand for the immediate consideration of the entire problem of the acquisition and determination of social status in its widest sense. In this society, for example, there are a vast number of relationships.

73
between a woman and other persons and groups which provide that 'a child born to the woman ... is accorded full birth-status rights common to normal members of his ... social stratum'—including those which incidentally determine its arrival being announced in the Births column of The Times. Would research not proceed more smoothly if we broke down such problems into more limited ones?

It is, I hope, clear that nothing that I have said is intended to detract from the merit of Dr. Gough's admirable analysis of her Nayar material. It is simply that I question the methodological implications of some of her theoretical statements.

TALAL ASAD
Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford


STR—In the last issue of the Journal the Revd. A. M. Jones describes a number of African, principally West African, culture traits which are probably of Asiatic origin. Another has recently come to my notice.

RAGLAN

AFRICA


Melville J. and Frances S. Herskovits have published under the title Dahomean Narrative a volume of 490 pages, dozens of which serve as an introduction, in the form of a source of material on the unwritten narratives.

M. and F. Herskovits have long been devoted to the study of the classification of the narratives and their role in the development of the social world. They have shown that the narratives of the Dahomeans (who have been known to us as part-time narrators) are divided into two main categories: (1) 'The hwenohor, literally 'time-old story', which the Dahomeans translate variously as 'history, as traditional history, or as ancient lore,' and 'The heho, the tale.'

The authors introduce them in the classification of the narratives: (1) 'Myths, compounding the stories of the gods and the creation of the world; (2) Cim myth-chronicle, containing the origin of the gods of the great families, of which are described the myths and the corresponding events; (3) Verbal sequence, telling the events of historical characters, the genealogies, the rituals. The ensemble of these stories is transmitted, in general, with fidelity and without modifications, and it is divided into two parts by a very old and respectable time. For the heho: (1) Divination stories; (2) Hunter stories; (3) Terrible stories of Twins, Orphans, Children-born-to-die, Abnormally born; (4) Yo stories, Yo is defined as a sort of story about good and evil; (5) Tales of women, love's intricacies and betrayal; (6) Explanatory and moralizing tales; (7) Transformation tales, and other miscellaneous types. These texts heho, eux, can be divided into a number of different contexts, and the changes which occur are often introduced.

These diverse forms of narratives, with a number of texts published in the volume, are left to the authors, as they are the styles and the circumstances in which they are found. The question of the recklessness, proverbs, verses and their importance in the culture of Dahomey, in breadth and depth of the relationship of verbal to musical forms is studied by them. At the outset of the introduction, they have the attention to certain points which seem to be very important for the understanding of the culture, such as the relationship of the gods and the world, the terms which are used for the gods and which are the source of change by a modulated difference; they also signal that instead of symbolic rhyming schemes there are in these languages tonal clusters or structure repetitive patterns in verse.

In the language of the introduction, the authors tent to resume the usage of the lecturer, the theories the most important in the language of the myths. The terms, they consider them in their psychological and cultural, which may be found in a narrative

In J. R. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. LX (1910), p. 293, Mr. P. G. Harris says that in Yauri, Nigeria, a woman after giving birth to a child has to tie over a hot fire in a state of confusion perspiration for several days without leaving her bed, which is a raised one specially constructed for the purpose. In Vol. LXIII (1933), p. 416, Dr. Quritch Wales describes the same custom as observed in Siam, where it is accompanied by a ritual of fire-worship. There a woman must for a number of days, 30 in the case of a first child, lie on a hard wooden bench in front of a hot fire and drink only hot drinks. Dr. Wales says that this custom, in spite of its ill effects on the health of mother and child, is still observed by most of the peoples of Further India. In the Sarawak Museum Journal, 1938, p. 713, Mr. G. Jamieson states that among the Coastal Melanans 'after delivery a woman is left for forty days on a raised bed to be 'heated' against a continual slow fire.'

Such a custom is unlikely to have been independently invented in Negro Africa, which, in general, remarkably free from purer social taboos.

Usk, Monmouthshire
convincing. Sometimes more detailed information might be wanted: the ethnic distribution of the attendants at funeral rites (p. 72), the number of Christians among the women who want emancipation (p. 69f.), etc. 'Superficial' seems to be the only comment on the figures of men preferring a European boss to an African one (p. 87).

M. Tardits’s study offers no surprises. But it does away with some prejudices which are still circulating, and offers to those who already know about this matter solid figures of proof. In this lies the merit of this sociological study.

JANHEINZ JAHN

Political Cohesion in a Stateless Society: The Tallensi of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast (Ghana).


What is, formally, the chief conclusion of this work is perhaps implicit in the paradox of the title: it is a study of political cohesion in a society with a segmentary structure. The political unit is by definition identified with the military one, and the test of ‘cohesion’ amongst such units is the absence of warfare, which rather naturally fails to be confirmed. If the study had been one of politico-jural-ritual control, those familiar with the original studies of Professor Fortes will recognize that the result would have been approximately opposite: the unity of ‘Tailand’ is a direct expression of the efficacy of the ‘religious superstructure’ of offices sanctioned by earth and ancestor cults, not in eliminating conflict but in making peace before a conflict has run full course and in transforming the temporal disaster into a compelling moral lesson.

As an added conclusion, Sommerfelt does seek to account for such social unity as the Tallensi possess—he emphasizes interpersonal ties resulting from exogamic rules and the importance of cognatic kin groupings. But he does not seek to explain how such interpersonal ties would actually contribute to control, as distinct from cohesion, on the inter-corporate level. Apparently, the Tallensi preferentially marry and fight one another as an expression of their relationships on this level—reflecting a structural breaking point above which such concepts as ‘solidarity’ and ‘cohesion’ or fusion must be applied even more cautiously than below it. But the terms of analysis which Sommerfelt adopts, and which lead him to a ‘simpler model of the structure’ than Fortes gave us, do not allow recognition of such a breaking point. He has ‘rejected Fortes’s contention that ritual per se provides an organizing principle on the level of inter-clan relationships’; he regards the diffusion of a kinship idiom through the religious role system as evidence that this is simply an extension of the kinship system itself—that it derives from the same, unitary ‘organizing principle of Tale society’, which is nothing more specific than kinship itself. The result of such non-specificity is illustrated in the proposition that composite clans are integrated through the ‘authority’ of dead ancestors, rather than through recognition of a sibling-like relationship of seniority-in-equality symbolized in ritual; and it culminates in a failure to see that the structure on a yet higher level is in significant ways differently organized from that of each segment, as well as having distinct functions.

G. K. PARK


The Tibesti mountains lie south of the Fezzan and north of Lake Chad, rise in places to 8,000 feet, and form the centre of a region which extends from southern Algeria to the Sudan. The highlands and the surrounding plains are inhabited by nomadic tribes forming a linguistic and ethnic group divided into sub-groups of which the principal are the Teda in the north, speaking Tedaga and breeding camels, and the Daza in the south, speaking Dazaga and breeding cattle. They are known as Tubbī or Tubbī and differ from the rest of the Sahara nomads, who are of Mediterranean-Berber or Arab stock, i.e. basically pale or lightbrown, in that they are dark or black-skinned, with negroid features. Like other Sahara nomads they move about in small family groups, possess gardens in oases cultivated
by black slaves or their equivalents, and until recently kept their independence through centuries of fighting against predatory neighbours, conquering empires, and ambitious chiefs of their own clan.

Monsieur Chapelle spent most of his life in the Sahara leading gourts, administering districts and studying the languages, culture, social structure and character of its peoples. He came to the Tibesti region in 1930, soon after the final French occupation, and speaks of his unforgettable experience of discovering men who had never seen a stranger. Nomades noirs du Sahara is an exhaustive description of the Tuubu and their world, based upon close observation, wide reading and minutes fieldwork. The account of the Tuubu camel saddle and harness alone occupies eight pages and seven figure drawings and the same meticulous study is devoted not only to subjects of material culture such as desert economy, clothing, or the family tent, but to clan organization, justice, social ritual, gift-exchange, etc. A great number of sayings, stories and songs of the Tuubu are quoted in French translation, many of them characteristic and significant. The book is extremely well written and profusely illustrated with figure drawings, statistical tables and excellent photographs. It is a most useful work of reference, and a pleasure to read.

Dr. Kronenberg’s work is considerably shorter and less attractive, but more systematic. He belongs to the school of Professor Heine-Geldern and published an article on the Teda in MAN five years ago (1955, 82). Having travelled in other parts of the Sahara on an earlier occasion he went to Tibesti at the end of 1953 and spent five months there, mainly in the highlands. In concentrated form he presents the results of his ethnographic and anthropological inquiries into Teda society, covering a great deal of ground with the help of abundant quotations—often in French (from Le Cœur, d’Arbaumont, and others) and also in English (from Cline, and even from Radcliffe-Brown, in his chapter on Kinship)—from other authorities with whom, however, he does not always agree. He advances a theory of the origins and history of the Teda which inevitably is largely conjectural since accurate sources are lacking, and he transcribes traditional stories and legends and describes ceremonies, as it seems mainly in order to prove the strong pre-Islamic elements in Teda religion which, in his view, other authors do not sufficiently emphasize (p. 100). He publishes and discusses some interesting photographs of sites with Darra stones (Plates XXIV, XXVI) where apparently until quite recently animal sacrifices took place (pp. 122-124), and, in two appendices, gives precise descriptions, with figure drawings, of sand oracles and of games played with pieces on squares in the sand, some for two players and some a kind of patience, for one player only.

With regard to the language, both authors refer the reader to the works of Barth, C. and M. Le Cœur and others. Dr. Kronenberg, while acknowledging his debt to Le Cœur’s Teda dictionary, worked with interpreters; but M. Chapelle clearly understands the language and its dialects. He speaks of accents, and ways of enunciation, and quotes expressions explaining their exact connotations. It must be regretted that he does not give us a picture of the language, its affiliations, and the degree of its penetration by Arabic.

E. A. ALPORT


I know of no person who has been more closely concerned with British policy in Africa during the last quarter of a century than Sir Andrew Cohen, and when this book arrived, I tore it from its wrappings in my eagerness to begin reading.

My disappointment was profound when I discovered that the slim volume contained no more than a transcript of four talks delivered early in 1958 at Northwestern University; that Central and South Africa were excluded ‘so as not to have too wide a canvas’; that the author ‘cannot go into the withdrawal of recognition from the Kabaka’ and adds ‘I do not propose to deal with the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya.’ I could find no mention of the Horn of Africa, where quite a lot might be said about British policy, and

the Sudan is also excluded, possibly because it was assisted to independence by an agency other than the Colonial Office.

So far as it goes, the book is of course excellent, but what a pity that it stops so short! Let us hope that, as soon as he feels free to do so, Sir Andrew will get down to it and take us through all the tortuous ways of British policy in Africa, from the Sahara to the Cape, and from the Gambia to the Haad. In the meantime we must be content with an introduction which includes a brief historical review, an authoritative account of how the British colonial administrative machinery works, and a statement of the problems and difficulties which it has had to face.

G. BERESFORD-STOKEE


This deals with the Bagisu of Mount Elgon who, the author says, call themselves Bamasaba; those whom I knew in 1921 rejected this name, and called themselves Bagisu. While a better account than Roscoe’s was in any case needed, this book reveals that the village, not the clan (as was previously believed), is the basis of political organization; and what used to be considered as clans are here described as lineages. Unfortunately some ‘lineage jargon’ has crept into the section on social organization. In view of the widespread and firm belief, especially among Africans, that the Gisu are cannibals, it is a pity that some real evidence for or against this could not have been obtained. This volume is noteworthy in that it is based almost entirely on the author’s fieldwork. It is a welcome addition to the Ethnographic Survey.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD


L’auteur compare les méthodes et les résultats obtenus par les divers peuples colonisateurs et par les Africains. Et si les 3/4 de son ouvrage sont consacrés à des sujets concernant les milieux physique et biologique, c’est sous l’angle des besoins humains qu’il les étudie.

La 1ère partie (principes et généralités) constitue une introduction générale.

La 2ème partie (milieu physique) traite de la géographie, de la géologie, de la météorologie. Ces trois sujets constituant la base de l’environnement, détermine ce facteur capital en Afrique: les ressources en eau.

La 3ème partie (milieu biologique) traite de la botanique (entre autres des forêts), des animaux sauvages, des pêches, des insectes (en particulier les vecteurs de maladies). L’agriculture en général et la culture de plantes industrielles dépendent aussi des sols. Puis on passe à l’élevage et aux épizooties.

La 4ème partie (l’homme) traite principalement de questions de médecine et hygiène et des sciences de l’homme (préhistoire, histoire, ethnologie, anthropologie, etc.) mais aussi de l’enseignement et de l’industrialisation.

Des références, plusieurs appendices—entre autres une très utile énumération des instituts scientifiques et des centres de recherche de ce continent—, ainsi qu’un index, complètent l’ouvrage.

Résultat de la coopération de l’auteur avec les instituts de recherche du pays, cet ouvrage, qui résume l’énorme expérience acquise par E. B. Worthington au cours de sa longue carrière africaine, aborde tous les sujets concernant le développement de cette partie du monde.
A un moment où gouvernements métropolitains et africains sollicitent le savant dans des voies peu compatibles avec la sérénité de la recherche pure, il était bon qu’un ouvrage de cette qualité vienne rappeler que l’étude scientifique est un travail préalable à tout développement pratique. Et que l’on ne peut demander à l’Afrique plus qu’elle ne peut donner: l’homme peut se servir de la nature; il ne doit pas dépasser les limites qu’elle fixe de façon impérieuse.

Cet ouvrage doit être lu par tous ceux qui s’intéressent à la politique, à l’économie ou à la science de ce continent.

RAYMOND MAUNY


Any review of African Negro biology must be, as Dr. Heuse admits, more a catalogue of ignorance than of facts. Yet in a book of this size it is impossible to do justice to such an all-embracing field. The body of the work deals in less than two hundred small pages with hamatology and serology, biochemistry, physiology, neurology, physiological psychology and ethnobiologie (environmental effects). The section on psychology includes a large proportion of new data and will probably be the least familiar to British anthropologists.

In each chapter a selection of published material is given together with the results of tests by Heuse and his colleagues on a mixed bag of West African soldiers stationed at Marseilles. The scope has been limited where possible to normal values, and the reader is referred to Lewis's The Biology of the Negro for pathological data. Similarly, overlap with Lefrou's anatomical study Le Noir d’Afrique is avoided.

A plea is made for as many tests and measurements as possible to be made on each series studied, and for more detailed recording of environmental conditions. In the event the studies from various parts of Africa summarized here too often lack the relevant social and ecological data, and the value of many of the results as quoted is questionable. Is it useful, for instance, to give valid and scientific men/globulin ratio (p. 57) without data on the epidemiological background of the subjects? Again, little value can be attached to comparisons of mean birth weight in different continents without adequate environmental data (p. 96).

An appendix lists recommended techniques for a selection of biological and psychological tests. Not all the methods would find favour on this side of the Channel. Where references are given they usually refer to French authors; cross-references to equivalent techniques familiar to English-speaking workers would help towards international standardization.

Misprints and mistakes are not infrequent. The kolanut tree, for example, is not a savannah species (p. 161), and malarial infections in infants are rare in extreme holo-endemic conditions (p. 168). Eyebrows will be raised at some of the heretical opinions (e.g. on biochemistry and genetics on p. 73) and many readers will be unhappy at such statements as ‘chaque groupe humain, ethnique, racial ou professionnel, un semeur propre’ . . . on p. 109.

Dr. Heuse invites workers in the African biological field to supply data and suggestions for future editions. To incorporate all the results now available and give a fuller treatment to environmental variables would be a large-scale undertaking. If this is not possible it might be wise to limit the scope considerably while expanding the sections retained.

J. P. GARLICK


The first book is a descriptive analysis of results of a sociological survey carried out by the author (formerly Lecturer in Japanese Institutions at the London School of Oriental and African Studies and now Professor at the University of British Columbia) when he was in Japan in 1951. The investigation covered the population of about 1,200 people living in Shitayama-chō, a ward or sub-district of Tokyo, and good reasons are given for regarding its findings as depicting a fairly typical cross-section of Tokyo life at the time.

The survey was remarkable in many ways. Work which, under other direction, might have involved extensive financial outlay and a massive staff, was entirely planned and executed by the author himself with the assistance of a number of Japanese university students as interviewers. The project was an ambitious one for a foreigner, without any official status, but the author clearly won the confidence of the people of Shitayama-chō, where he was living, by his mastery of Japanese, his wide knowledge of Japanese history and thought, and his personal interest in them and their lives.

The interviews covered all aspects of the subject, from housing, family incomes and expenditures, education, recreations, the household and family system, to views on politics, ethics and religion. The results of the questionnaires are presented in tabulated form and are explained in detail. Since the author is a sociologist as well as a specialist in Japan, the comments and explanations are extremely rewarding and pertinent. The assembled facts, which in themselves could be dull, are instilled with a human interest and are interpreted with a masterly grasp of their significance and historical background. Both the general reader and the expert on Japan will find the book fascinating and informative. The photographs are well chosen. The author's style is clear and fluent, and his judgment and conclusions can rarely be faulted.

The material in this book, especially in the appendix, is not essential to the main topic. Appendix V, for example, is a summary of speeches made at two meetings of the Shitayama-chō Ward Association. But such illustrative material is nevertheless worth inclusion.

It is unfortunate that the text, which was apparently completed about 1953, had to wait until 1958 for publication. But although the present-day situation in Tokyo will have changed in some particulars since 1951, it can safely be said that the general picture of Tokyo life given here is still basically true, and will remain so for several years.

It is a fortunate coincidence that Village Japan should have been published almost at the same time as City Life in Japan. These two complementary works offer the sociologist a complete and authoritative account of both sides, urban and rural, of modern Japanese life, with a new high level of sociological and sociographic study of the sociology of Japan. Such has been the advance that it is difficult to realize that it is only 20 years since Embree's pioneering study A Japanese Village, Surrey Mara.

The three authors are professors of the University of Michigan, whose Center for Japanese Studies for several years maintained a Field Station in Japan at Okayama, a city in the south-west of the main island near the northern shore of the Inland Sea. It was from this Field Station that the village of Niikie, about eight miles away, was investigated as a specimen Japanese village. Since the book is entirely devoted to Niikie, it should perhaps have been entitled A Japanese Village, for although some general patterns obviously hold true for the whole of rural Japan, there are great variations in climate, topography, agricultural activity and communications which produce marked differences from one village to another.

Niikie was under close study from 1950 to 1954 by the three authors, Professor Hall, a historian and founder of the Center for Japanese Studies, Professor Beardsley, an anthropologist, and Professor Ward, a specialist in political science, and by a number of other experts, including geographers, economists, psychologists, medical doctors and linguists. Their findings have been skilfully integrated, and the book can be read as a whole without consciousness of its being a compilation of the findings of many contributors.

The smallness of Niikie village (190 people in 24 houses) enabled
the investigators to embark on an extremely detailed examination of its people and of their lives, every facet of which was painstakingly recorded. The early history of the village and of the surrounding area is given proper consideration as a necessary background to the modern situation. The chapter on physique and temperament adds some interesting new facts and ideas. The work as a whole shows how strong are the traditional, cultural and political forces, and yet how extensive are the results of post-war westernization and reform. The general impression left is of a hard-working community toiling cheerfully to maintain a modest living from the soil.

This is a work of sound scholarship, well planned, attractively written and excellently equipped with maps, photographs and plans. E. B. CAEDEL


The role of the services in providing amateurs for the pursuit of Indian archaeology was a prominent feature of British rule in India, and many illustrious names are associated with it, including such remarkable men as Col. Colin MacKenzie, Tod 'of Rajasthan,' Maj.-Gen. Alexander Cunningham, Col. Macdonald, 'Tayik' and more recently Comdr. Todd (R. E. N.). But it has been left to Col. D. H. Gordon, probably the last of these military amateurs, to gather together the fruits of his own and others' labours and make a connected account of the whole subject. Thus his book may be regarded as at once the climax and the conclusion of this now closed chapter of British Indian history, and it remains to be seen whether the officers of the three services in independent India and Pakistan will carry on the good work. The full debt of archaeology to military field work may never be known, but one is tempted to see the discovery of many sites as linked with the development of tactical cover, just as much as to recognize a causal connexion between Comdr. Todd's sites and the golf courses on which they so often occur!

Bearing all this in mind, and also that the author of the book under review did most of his field work many years ago and has had to rely upon the often incompletely published accounts of the mass of discoveries of the last decade, it is perhaps unfair to describe this as an uneven book. However, there is a considerable disparity between the chapters and this is not compensated for by a sufficiently prominent geographical framework or chronological structure. Chapters I and II, which cover the Paleolithic, reflect the unsatisfactory nature of the published materials, but they do little to clear up the existing confusion: indeed, they sometimes add to it, as in the equation of 'Mesolithic'—a term hardly used in recent Indian prehistoric writing—with 'Middle Stone Age' now used in the Indian context with a typological and technological significance similar to that current in Africa. The next three chapters cover the Chalcolithic cultures of Baluchistan, the Indus Valley civilization and the period of post-Harappan invasions. The analysis of the Indus valley is of particular interest, and using criteria disregarded by earlier writers the author makes some valuable proposals for the chronological subdivision and cultural evaluation of the period. The interesting analysis of the chalcolithic pottery of Baluchistan and its interpretation would be enhanced by more copious illustrations. The dates proposed for the downfall of the Indus cities and the ensuing Jhikar and Ravi cultures, and the general reading of the tantalizing scraps of evidence which relate to them are among the highlights of the book. Col. Gordon has already made a notable contribution to the study of cave and rock art in India and it is good that he should include a chapter summarizing his conclusions upon this topic. Chapter VII deals with the post-Harappan cultures of the Deccan and Gangetic India. The chronology which the author follows in this and the subsequent chapter, although originally in part proposed by me, must, in the light of recent research by myself and others and of a growing number of carbon-14 dates, now be considerably modified. The Neolithic of the Deccan has been shown to extend back into the third millennium b.c., and in my present opinion the coming of iron into South India cannot well be later than the middle of the first millennium b.c. Finally, it is now wellnigh impossible to envisage a Dravidian-speaking invasion of the South at so recent a date.

This book is produced in India and as such it reaches a high standard. The illustrations are not only good, but well chosen, and they almost entirely escape from familiar clichés. Throughout there are valuable records of the author's own observations, at sites which have never received any publication which they deserve such as Burh-a-ja the megalithic site of Kashmir, or of objects which have escaped notice—among them the problematic socketed Celt from Kurukshetra. Altogether there are many new ideas, some of considerable interest. If the book sometimes fails to give an overall picture of the development of Indian civilization (impossible task!), it is as much due to the tremendous complexity of the problems involved as to any limitations imposed on it by the author; and he is to be congratulated upon its production.

F. R. ALLCHIN


In Race Elements in Bengal, another massive work on Indian anthropometry, are presented the results of the survey undertaken by Professor Majumdar in Bengal in 1945. A valuable link in the chain of work now spanning northern India from coast to coast, it concerns primarily head and face measurements, stature, sitting height, and weight, of some 3000 subjects, and ABO blood groups of rather fewer; these are drawn from 41 social and geographical groups in Bengal before partition, though as a result of the unsettled conditions the geographical coverage was not as wide as had been intended.

The individual metrical data and their analysis are exhaustively presented. Examination by factors of size and shape, modified from those of Penrose to take account of character inter-correlations, is revealing. Head shape, based on five characters, clearly distinguishes between the Bengal, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar samples, but does not differentiate groups within a state; the Maharashtra and Orissa samples respectively resemble their neighbours Gujarat and Bengal. By contrast, head size, based on six characters, brings together comparable social groups irrespective of the state to which they belong. Face size (three characters) and nose shape (two characters) distinguish the Bengal groups from those of the other states and again differentiate the samples according to social position. From a D² analysis of constancy for those samples containing more than 30 subjects, six groups stand out from the remainder and are clearly distinguished from each other; these, it is suggested, are isolated groups without any contact with each other or with other caste or religious groups. The remainder do not fall clearly into distinct clusters; although there is a suggestion that the higher castes (Brahman, Baidya, Kayastha and Baisya) are slightly different, such clusters as are suggested indicate affinities according to region rather than to caste, i.e. the distance between different groups in the same district tends to be less than that between groups of the same caste living in different districts; there is a parallel affinity of Muslim with non-Muslim groups belonging to the same region. From inspection of the mean values of particular characters it is concluded that the higher castes are distinguishable from the other caste and tribal groups, and that the affinities of the Muslim groups do not lie with the higher castes. The ABO data show no significant differences among the Brahmin, Kayastha, Baidya and Muslims, but do appear to suggest a distinction of the tribal peoples, with their lower O frequencies, from the remainder.

A great deal of effort has obviously been expended in this report. Statistical wisdom is manifest on page after page—the importance of scrutiny, the difficulty of comparing anthropometric results by different observers, the calculation of sample size required for a given degree of accuracy of definition of configuration, the care needed when comparing different values of D² when samples are widely different. Yet one wonders whether preoccupation with method has not diverted attention from equally important issues: the biological significance of D² figures, the effects of the Bengal famine (which Majumdar claimed in the introduction to be of particular interest and which is not thereafter mentioned),
the validity of deriving 'race elements,' the possibility of regional variation in ABO frequencies. Nevertheless this study is an important contribution to the descriptive anthropometry of India, and it contains much that is pertinent to the methodology of anthropometric analysis in general.

D. F. ROBERTS

Dance and Magic Drama in Ceylon. By Beryl de Zoete. London (Fisher), 1957. Pp. 327, many photographs, 1 plate. Price £1 16s. It is only on the very last page of this beautifully produced book, in the last sentences of the Epilogue, that one discovers the real reason why it leaves one with a sense of dissatisfaction: it has the wrong title. Dance and Magic Drama in Ceylon does not indicate the contents at all. In those last lines Miss de Zoete tells us how, under pressure from the publishers, she changed the original title 'The Thunder and the Freshness' (taken from one of the last poems of John Kears) to the present one. It seems that this is one of the worst disservices the publishers could have done to the author. 'The Thunder and the Freshness' suggested exactly the real value of this fascinating, tantalizing and often exasperating book. It is emphatically not a treatise on the hardly discovered and certainly miserably inadequately surveyed field of Ceylonese dancing and theatre with its innumerable ties with magic and other aspects of village religion and its curious mixture of indigenous and foreign strains.

The book is a poetic, intelligent and often very witty survey of the whole Ceylonese scene, covering a much wider field than dance and drama and giving a vivid impression of the odd and often disconcerting mixture of dogma and genuine trends in this very tangled society. Naturally dancing and drumming continually come into this picture, but never, for all the illuminating observations, to any sufficient degree.

The book abounds in tantalizing hints jotted down disjointedly on the pages of her day-to-day diary, but time and again, just when the reader is keyed up, he is left off with a sentence like the following (p. 149): 'It was also during this Festival that I went with Harry Pieris to a most extraordinary ceremony... I have recorded all these things in my diary in some detail and hope to publish them in due course.' Or, a few pages later (143) when we hope at last to get some real information about that most elusive and important of Ceylonese dance dramas, the Kolomba Kankaria (which the author expressly states to have been her Leitmotiv), where she says: 'I have in my notebooks a detailed description of this extraordinary ceremony.'

For those who know Ceylon the innumerable characters who flit across her stage, and many other things such as the description of the admirable efforts to maintain the tradition of dance and folk art in Mr. Delgado's school far away in the mountains behind Ratnapura, are enchanting and revive memories, but one wonders how readers who have no experience of the island will react to the kaleidoscopic tangle of colours and characters at each turn of her hand.

Miss de Zoete's purpose, stated on p. 12, when speaking about the Indian epics and their migration across the whole of Asia ('I felt that I must go more deeply into the origin of these epic themes which in every country took on a new shape according to the soil'), is indeed evident all through the book, but only in flashes. It is true that she expressly says (p. 13): 'It is not my aim to instruct people in the intricacies of classical dancing in India or anywhere else in the world. There are far more scholars than poets and I must leave it to the scholars to instruct while I go ahead with my poetry'; but even poetry would have benefited from being a little more closely knitted.

There are a few signs of haste in correcting the text. The Dutch archaeologist, Dr. Suttert in, is called Suttert in on p. 112. On p. 117 the Makara Сакранта is called Makara Сакранавати. The Nagavaram is described on p. 192 as a 'bamboo flute' whereas it is a prominent member of the oboe family. Also I found it difficult to disentangle the characters in the sad little story (p. 192) of how the good king Bali was pushed into the nether world by Vishnu's foot and now is only permitted to visit his former realm during the ten days of Onam.

'The Thunder and the Freshness,' as I prefer to call it, clearly is a preparatory work. It is fervently to be hoped that the enviable rich material of the notebooks will be given to Western and Eastern readers in a compact and consecutive form in a not too distant future. If such a book were to fulfill the promise of only half the hints in this book, we should be richly rewarded.

A. A. BAKE

Die Bodenkultur in Ost-Turkest: Oasenwirtschaft und Nomadentum. By Ludwig Golomb, S.V.D. Studia Instituti Anthropo, Vol. XIV, Postio-Foroidvile, 1959. Pp. xii, 160. The author has lived in East Turkestan or Sinkiang as a missionary for almost 20 years, 1932-1959, travelling much and living several years among the peasants. His knowledge of ethnographical, social and economic conditions is therefore acquired at a time before they were changed by modern movements. He gives us a description of old Sinkiang as it was before the recent revolution. And probably this picture will still retain some of its validity when the modern revolution has done its work.

East Turkestan is and must for natural reasons be a land where intensive oasis culture reigns in comparatively restricted areas, utilizing the waters of the mountain rivers for irrigation, while greater areas are used for extensive nomadism, herding especially sheep, goats and horses. The nomads do only very little cultivation, and only of dire necessity. The mountains where the nomads mostly live do in some humid regions allow of cultivation without irrigation. The lack of improved roads makes it difficult, however, to utilize these regions; and the nomads have a natural dislike of agriculture.

The author has given a rather full description of the economic culture of the oasis people. The nomadic culture is evidently poorer and is more summarily treated. However, both these cultures are based upon natural conditions and upon old traditions, and therefore the author thinks that they still have a long life before them. 'For no human power can create another climate in East Turkestan.'

GUDMUND HATT

The Bedouins: Manners and Customs. By Yaovia Ashkenazi (in Hebrew). Jerusalem, Israel (Rubin Mass), 1957. Pp. 222. Dr. Ashkenazi has given us, within the confines of a pocket book, a comprehensive account of the Bedouins and semi-nomads—with particular reference to those of the Israeli Negev—in a situation of cultural change. He portrays the impact of village and city, and the encroachment of a pastoral, industrial and intensive-agricultural economy. The policy of successive governments since the beginning of the twentieth century has been directed towards instilling within the primitive nomadism an association with the soil. Urban power restrained the nomads from molesting the agricultural production of the villages. Dr. Ashkenazi aims accurately in specifying certain material objects (such as arms, salt and tobacco) whose restriction in modern times transformed the entire Bedouin economy. The intervention of the police power of a central government and the drawing of boundaries across the desert modified the political configuration. A consequence of this was the replacement of traditional duties of the sheikh by new ones, such as the responsibility to collect taxes in the tribe.

The author has presented a wealth of material and his book will undoubtedly become the standard work, in the Hebrew language, on the Bedouins and semi-nomads of contemporary Israel. Three of the important problems which his work suggests are (a) varying manner in which nomadism declines at different points along the economic scale; (b) the difference of pace in cultural change between men and women; (c) the manner in which traditional pursuits (e.g. camel-breeding) remain significant as conferring prestige, even within the entirety of modern life.

DAVID MILLER
the caste structure and rural polity. The most significant part of the monograph, however, is the author's evaluation of role relationship and the disruptive trends which he has found in the functioning of the jajmani system, and the changes which he observes in the locus of power in rural society.

The jajmani system has different connotations in different parts of India, for example, in Bengal as well as in the whole of eastern India, it is the Brahmans, and only the priests among them, who have jajmanas, for they minister to the ritual and spiritual needs of their jajmanas and there is no such jajman-Kamin relationship as one finds in parts of northern India. It is only the Nai or the barber who also own jajmanas, and the Nai claim to be Nai-Brahmans.

In northern India, usually the unclean castes are taken to be Purjans or Kamins while the high-castes (twice born) are the jajmanas. In Bengal, it is the Brahmans who have jajmanas, and they serve the twice-born castes including the Brahmans, but the priests are not Kamins or Purjans, nor do they serve the lower castes. For the latter there are degraded Brahmans, who have their jajmanas among the lower castes. The lower castes are always the Bitinvas of the higher castes, and affiliate family-wise with the latter.

The question that arises in the context of the jajmani system is how far it is independent of the caste structure, how far the functional interdependence and reciprocal economic ties are independent of the pattern of inter-caste relations as such. On the other hand, there are enough evidences to suggest that the jajmani system is a mere link in the chain of socio-economic relationships that the caste structure inevitably stands for. It is not that 'a knowledge of the jajmani system is essential for any full understanding of the caste system itself,' as the author claims, but it is the knowledge of the caste system that would explain the nature and function of the jajmani system. Besides, the caste system is universal, while the jajmani system is not, and local conditions may have put the jajman system in the context in which field workers in rural society find it. It would be a tall claim to find the locus of power in rural polity in the jajmani system; one has to go to the parent structure which provides the sanction for the 'so-called' jajmani system.

The precise type of economic relationship in the villages of northern India is determined by the complex division of labour that is partly based on economic and partly on ritual considerations. The other significant point that strikes the rural sociologist, is that the jajmani system does not exhaust itself, with the configuration of a village, it extends to a wider area, a region sometimes.

Dr. H. Gould, in an article on the jajmani system in the Southwestern Journal of Anthropology (Vol. XIV, No. 4, 1938, p. 431), has shown how far the superordinate-subordinate dimension of the system is primarily patrimental and only remotely pecuniary in its basis.

We would think that Beidelman's analysis does not do justice to the various facets of the integrative structural system in rural India, but merely emphasizes the coercive and exploitative aspects of the jajmani system. The Kamin is not as helpless as Beidelman describes him, neither is he so powerful as some observers have figured him out to be. The cohesive and security aspects of the jajmani system, like those of the caste, are still important; contrary to Wiener's view of the jajman-Kamin relationship, Beidelman thinks that the jajman tend to be Kamins, and vice versa. This is partially true, for the Kamin too plays the role of jajman, though the multiplication of functionaries may depend on the needs of the community. One also feels that what Beidelman does is not the analysis of the jajmani system as such, but certain relevant and also irrelevant fragments of it, gleaned from innumerable sources, without discriminative appraisal. The selective data presented by Beidelman certainly point to the breakdown of role relationship implicit in the jajmani system, and indicate current power changes. Since 'jajmani ties' vary from place to place and from time to time, it is not possible to define role relations implicit in the jajmani system reflect only power change.

The monograph is welcome, as it aims at a clarification of concepts and offers an interpretation of a system of reciprocal socio-economic relations on the basis of existing literature, which, however, is not adequate.
PHALLIC OBJECTS OF THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

A, B, stone phallus from Murchison District, Western Australia. C, D, stone phallus from the Kimberley region, Western Australia. E, F, stone phallus, unlocalized. G, H, phalli in string and wax, north of Halls Creek, Western Australia.
PHALIC OBJECTS OF THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINALS

by

CHARLES P. MOUNTFORD, O.B.E., DIP. ANTHROP. CANTAB.

II8 For the past 40 years or more, a number of representations of human penes have been collected by investigators or found their way into various Australian museum collections.

The aborigines used several materials in the manufacture of these phallic objects. Campbell (1921, p. 143), described two penes in stone, one in wood and one in moulded clay; Mountford (1939, p. 136), three penes and a ceremonial knife in stone and (1956, p. 341) one in wood, while the present paper describes three stone penes and two made of string and wax. Balfour (1951, p. 246) recorded a natural stone bearing a remarkable resemblance to the human penis which is similar to one recorded by Mountford (1939, p. 156, Plate S, c).

The stone penis recorded by Balfour is linked, in some unknown manner, with the rain myth of Korporilya, central Australia, and the wooden example (Mountford, 1956, p. 341, Plate 110, c) from north-eastern Arnhem Land, is said to have once belonged to a mythical man, Borolo-Borolo.

During the early days of the world Borolo-Borolo was expert in finding the hives of wild bees. When, today, the aboriginal men set out on a search for honey, a much esteemed food, they first visit the wooden penis of Borolo-Borolo, which is a wooden post about three feet high in the shape of a penis, and, striking it lightly with a small branch, ask that their eyesight will be made clearer for the task before them. This ritual, the aborigines assured me, made their eyesight so much clearer that they had little difficulty in following the flight of the bees, and thus locating their hives.

This paper records five replicas of human penes from the ethnological collection of the Western Australian Museum.

Plate Ha, b, is an unfinished stone penis from the Mili-Milly station in the Murchison Ranges of Western Australia. The aborigines, having found a suitable stone, had already cut a groove around one end to shape the glans penis, and a longitudinal cut to represent the sub-incised urethra (b). Later, no doubt, the aborigines would have smoothed the stone by hammer-dressing, as they did with Plate He-f.

Plate He, d, called mungan, was collected in the Kimberley area of north-western Australia. This is a well finished replica of a sub-incised penis, the longitudinal groove (c) representing the split urethra. There is no explanation for the additional ring at the base.

Plate He, f (unlocalized), is a smaller stone penis collected by W. D. Campbell. It is possible that Campbell found this object in the same locality as those which he described in MAN (1921, 90). This specimen is almost identical with that collected by W. W. Dodd, from north-western Australia (Mountford, 1939, p. 156, Plates S, A, B).

Plate Hg, h, from a locality about 250 miles north of Halls Creek, Western Australia, are representations of circumcised penes made of string (probably bound over a grass core), and covered with a coating of the soft wax of the stingless bee. No objects of this type have been collected previously.

At present there is little evidence to suggest the use of these curious objects. The fact that Campbell states that they are still being made by the aborigines of his day indicates that they were a part of the present-day culture. His statement that the purpose of these objects was to impress the initiates about the importance of the rites of circumcision and sub-incision, however, is only a supposition which may be far from the truth.

The existing evidence suggests that these phallic objects are probably linked with some mythical being, in perhaps the same manner as the wooden penis of Borolo-Borolo in north-eastern Arnhem Land, or the stone penis belonging to the rain totem of Korporilya in Central Australia. The penis of Borolo-Borolo, known to both men and women, was part of the secular life. We have no such evidence about the Korporilya example.

In spite of the fact that both Balfour and Mountford record stone penes from Central Australia, most of the specimens have been collected in north-western and western Australia. As these objects are small and easily carried, they would almost certainly be traded from one place to another. This would suggest that they are manufactured in a much smaller area than the present distribution indicates.

The carved stone penes exhibit a remarkable skill in shaping this hard material. They constitute an ethnological problem in a country like aboriginal Australia, where the techniques of stone-working have never reached a high state of efficiency.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. W. Ryde, Director of the Western Australian Museum, for sending these specimens to me in Adelaide for examination and photography, and to Dr. R. M. Berndt for acting as his messenger.

References

Campbell, W. D., 'Description of Certain Phallic Articles of the Australian Aborigines,' MAN, 1921, 10.

A NOTE ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN A RURAL AREA OF GREATER DJAKARTA

by

MAURICE FREEDMAN, M.A., PH.D.
London School of Economics and Political Science

The information in this note was collected during five weeks in 1954. The Malay-speaking area round Djakarta is little known sociologically and ethnographically, and it has seemed to me worthwhile to record what data I have on it, however fragmentary.1

Kampung Utan is the name for two small administrative units (kampung) in the sub-district (ketjamatan) of Pasar Minggu, which in turn falls within the municipality of Greater Djakarta, the Indonesian capital. Apart from the urban conglomeration of Pasar Minggu itself, the general area is rural in character. The people who live in it often call themselves Orang Batawi (from Batavia, the former name of the capital) and sometimes Orang Melaju, that is, Malays.

In common with the whole region about Pasar Minggu, the Kampung Utan area is famous for its production of fruit for the Djakarta market, the cultivation of rice and vegetables playing a minor role in the economy. The fruit-growing character of the area is reflected in the pattern of settlement. Typically, an individual house site (pekaran) is surrounded by its orchard (kehun). Local income is in part derived from working on a nearby government horticultural station, and to some extent from the waxing of batik and the sale of milk, but the trade in fruit dominates the scene.

There is no village of Kampung Utan; the houses, each set in its own land, are so widely spread as to rule out any nucleation. Settlement is continuous and produces networks of social relations which take little account of the lines drawn on administrative maps. The modern administrative system dates from the time, some three or four decades ago, when the Netherlands Indian government resumed direct control of large areas in the Residency of Batavia which for more than a century had formed private estates (particuliere landerijen) administered by their owners.2 At the present time each kelurahan3 is headed by a lurah who is said to be elected. He appears to be appointed by higher administrative authority in some sort of consultation with the local people. The lurah in turn appoints the headmen of the kampung who are known as mandur, and he also selects his own clerk, djanu tulis. These petty officials are local men, but their position seems to be that of representatives of the government in the countryside rather than of representatives of the people in official circles. They are literally part of an administrative system, carrying little influence upwards. The mandur are responsible for collecting certain administrative information which they pass on to the lurah, and for organizing guards to watch over the area at night (ronda).

Each kelurahan has some ‘village land’ (tanah desa) the disposal of which seems to rest with the lurah, who may rent it to individuals from within or from outside his area. Some of this land is now rented to landless locals, but formerly much of it, if not all, was rented to outsiders for exploitation on a commercial basis. It is important to note that, although the so-called village land is technically corporate property, there is in fact no corporation defining itself as a community in respect of it. The village land appears to be an administrative convenience deriving from conditions of the Dutch days and having little relevance to any social units other than those which are purely administrative. In the religious sphere each kelurahan possesses a mosque of its own (although there are several prayer houses, launggar, in the area), and a religious official known as the amil.

Only two contexts came to our notice in which the local secular officials appeared to assume other than an administrative significance. It was said that at the distributions of meat at Lebaran Hadji, the feast following the fasting month, the lurah and the mandur are each sent a ceremonial portion; and we saw for ourselves that in a marriage the mandur hands the gift of money from the groom’s side to the bride’s. In an area where Islam, while being officially the religion of all the inhabitants, commands only a mild adherence, the amil in the kelurahan and his superior, the penghulu in the ketjamatan, appear to exercise little influence outside the range of their strictly religious duties.

The administrative and religious officials fail to provide a pervading system of local leadership. The deficiency is not supplied by the kinship system, which, as a variant of a common Malaysian type, does not furnish any basis for the emergence of distinct and separate groups other than families living in single households. The system is bilateral in the sense that individuals formally recognize kinship ties equally through both males and females.

The people of the Kampung Utan area live in small houses of simple construction. These houses contain groups which are usually elementary families (parents with their unmarried children) but sometimes include members of three generations. In one half of Kampung Utan, with a total population of 440, there are 90 households varying in size from one to ten persons. The average household size is five, all but 16 households falling within the range of three to seven persons.

When a married couple does not set up separate residence it lives with the husband’s family, and the system of inheritance reflects this bias. The stated basic rule of inheritance is that all children have a right to a share of their father’s property, a son taking twice the portion of a daughter. (This is of course a Muslim principle.) However, it does not seem that this rule is strictly followed. A man’s house passes to his sons, but its furnishing and any valuables are

82
apparently the prerogative of the daughters. His land may be divided up in different ways according to circumstances, stress being put upon deliberation and agreement among the heirs rather than a close adherence to the Islamic rule. Land passes only to consanguineal kin; a widowed spouse receives none from the deceased spouse. Because a new marriage may imply a new household, some divisions of property are made before death, and if a division of land so made is registered with the lurah absolute rights in it pass to the recipients. Once land is registered in an individual's name he can sell or otherwise dispose of it as he pleases. There is evidence of considerable sale of land in the area, and nobody seems to be under an obligation to consult either kinsmen or neighbours before selling land to an outsider.

On the basis of these few facts it is possible to speculate about the extent to which a principle of descent enters into the system of bilateral kinship. The exclusion of spouses from inheritance rights in land implies that ties of affinity are kept (at least ideally) from merging with cognatic relationships, a wife, for example, not being able to step into the rights of her husband. And because cognatic descent is maintained in this fashion, it may be that on closer examination we should find that 'bilateral descent groups' are of some structural significance. I mean by this that descent traced from a given forebear, through either males or females, may produce a series of overlapping groups the members of which expect special behaviour of one another. But this 'special behaviour,' if it exists, cannot be directly connected with land, because once transmitted a parcel of land falls with all its rights into the hands of an individual. It is possible that some kind of solidarity in social relationships is expected of people who trace descent from a common ancestor. On the other hand, if indeed 'bilateral descent groups' exist, they must be very shallow in genealogical depth, for it is clear that genealogical reckoning is restricted, and there are no joint rights in property held by several people such that membership in a 'bilateral descent group' could be maintained over many generations by reference to these rights. I suspect, in fact, that certain ritual privileges may be transmitted from a prominent man to his male descendants (through both males and females) and that this is what in practice constitutes a grouping by descent in Kampung Utan. As concrete evidence I have only the fact that all the boys tracing their descent from a particular notable (the grandfather of men now in their thirties) wear their hair in two tufts until circumcision, a style not affected by other boys.

Each household with its own property is an independent unit over which no external kinsman has any formal control. Closely related people in different households may help one another in times of need, but there is clearly no obligation which forces a man or woman to such behaviour. Living in small and highly individualized property-owning units, the people of Kampung Utan are members of a local system in which households are not grouped together in fixed aggregates for social action. One household has social relations with many others, but the network of relations which it builds up need not coincide with the network constructed by any other household.

The marriage system is apparently one in which new social ties are constantly being created. I could see no evidence of first-cousin marriages, although they are not in general prohibited. (The children of two brothers, however, may not marry, nor may other first cousins marry when the man is the child of the younger of the two parental siblings.) A constant stream of outsiders flows into the area; they do not seem to have difficulty in finding spouses. Moreover, as elsewhere in Muslim Malaysia, the divorce rate is high, and an individual may well enter into several sets of affinal relatives successively. (The official figures for marriage and divorce in the kecamatan office at Pasar Minggu show roughly one divorce for every three marriages in any year, but I certainly have the impression that in Kampung Utan the divorce rate was higher than these general data suggest. We know that instability in Muslim marriages in Indonesia and Malaya may reach very high proportions.) A child may accumulate social relationships as a result of the divorce and remarriage of his parents. (According to local custom the father has the prior right to the children on divorce, but he may agree to leave them in the care of his ex-wife.)

The social network of any household is to be seen in the attendance at feasts. The hajat or pesta, as the feasts are locally called, rally kinsmen and friends from a wide area. They are held usually to celebrate a wedding, a circumcision, or the completion of a new house, and, in theory at least, on any other occasion when the giver of the feast wishes to raise money. All guests attending the feast must give small contributions in cash, from which the host may legitimately make a profit if he can. The gifts are handed over, men to men and women to women, with a show of delicacy and privacy, but the hosts know what amounts have been contributed by their guests individually and so realize the extent of their obligations when they in turn are invited to feasts. (The cash contributions are slipped from hand to hand and quickly pocketed, but, as one informant put it to me, the hosts 'rasta tangan, feel with their hands'.) It is shameful for a man to neglect his role in the series of reciprocal obligations set up by feasting, and if he is invited he does everything that he possibly can to raise the cash necessary for his contribution. He fails to appear only if he is absolutely without means to honour his obligation, and it was clear that it was very unpleasant for a man to find himself in such straits. The fear of being sepil (lonely, desolate) is often expressed; it is a state into which people can fall in they do not take part in festivities.

The food provided at a feast is very simple, and, despite the smallness of the contributions, it is not difficult for a host to make a profit. However, at most feasts some sort of commercial entertainment is offered (lenong, a play with live actors; an orchestra; or shadow play, wayang kulit) which reduces the chance of a large profit being taken. The economic and social significance of feast-giving requires little stressing. It is a way of widely spreading the burden of ceremonial expenditure and, on occasion, of raising money in a pleasurable and sociable manner for capital investment. Moreover, it is perhaps an essential feature of a social system in which the loosely constructed ties of
kinship and neighbourhood are periodically reinforced, and in which organized amusements must wait upon individual enterprise. Since there is no clearly defined village community, the feasts provide foci about which country social life turns.

The ties between households are expressed also in reciprocal help, and in Kampung Utan, as elsewhere in Indonesia, people are apt to lay great stress on tolong menolong (exchange of services between neighbours) and gotong royong (the organization of communal labour groups), as these terms are locally used. At funerals, for example, neighbours and kinsmen appear at the bereaved house, make contributions of small sums of cash, and help in the necessary activities connected with mourning and burial. Yet in fact, the economy is too closely adjusted to money and hired labour to make the ideals of neighbourly co-operation realizable on the scale that one might infer from informants' statements. I am inclined to think on the basis of what I saw that the economic significance of non-monetary exchanges is small. I watched two houses being built in Kampung Utan and was not impressed by the amount of unpaid labour recruited, despite the ideology of mutual help in housebuilding. I saw only one case of gotong royong when a fish pond was cleared one night. I shall venture further and suggest that the case of Kampung Utan should encourage us to be sceptical about the practical significance of mutual help in other parts of Indonesia which have been overtaken by a market economy. Gotong royong is a term which nationalists and politicians constantly produce in order to stress the co-operative nature of Indonesian society, and foreign observers are apt to allow themselves to be persuaded unduly of its importance. As far as ordinary country people are concerned, official appeals to the principle of gotong royong (used generally both for mutual help and communal co-operation) in the cause of local improvements may fall on deaf ears where economic changes have promoted different ways of organizing labour. I suspect further that much of what passed for gotong royong in the Dutch and Japanese days was in fact the result of administrative pressure. I may quote the headman of a village in another part of the country who complained to me about the bad state of the village roads. 'In the Dutch time,' he said—and his anti-Dutch sentiments surpassed the common standard—'we had gotong royong to repair the roads. But now we have democracy and nothing gets done to them.'

I have tried to indicate that formally society in the area of Kampung Utan is loosely constructed. The administrative system does not coincide very significantly with units of local social organization. Such community as there is rests on fluid groupings of neighbours and kinsmen which are expressed at marriages, circumcisions, deaths, feasts, and in casual visiting. Yet although no formal leaders are thrown up by this system, there is a small number of men in the area who earn a special regard by their comparative riches and who command followings. They do not preside over groups with fixed boundaries, but they exercise power within the groups which for the time being adhere to them. One of these leaders was a foreman on the local horticultural station and at the same time the owner of several milch cows; in Kampung Utan he was a rich man. It was clear to us that he could influence and command the respect of a group of men which included both some of his own kinsmen and neighbours. How lasting his power may be, our short experience cannot of course judge.

Followings are intimately bound up with an institution of Kampung Utan life which variously goes by the names kongko, konglok, kongkuwan, and kongkonan. In the evenings men form themselves into small groups which go the rounds of their several houses, principally under the influence of particular 'leaders.' In these meetings the men discuss any matters which are of immediate interest to them, such as the current prices of fruit, times for planting, and local gossip. The groups are probably not very stable in their membership, but they provide a continuing framework for co-ordinating economic and social activity over a wide area. The zest with which men look forward to their kongko meetings is probably matched by their structural importance in a social setting which lacks highly formalized methods of grouping men together for routine purposes. The structural principles of this kind of society are tantalizingly vague; one knows that they are there, but it takes a long time to bring them into focus.

Notes
1 I was in Indonesia under the auspices of the World Health Organization, to which I am very grateful for the opportunity of carrying out some research there. The data in this Note have no direct connexion with the investigation which I was making for W.H.O. I was accompanied in the field by my wife, whose help I gratefully acknowledge. I have also to thank Mr. L. E. Latuas of the Nutrition Institute, Djakarta, for his assistance in Kampung Utan.
3 The administrative unit standing between kampung and ketamatan.
6 For the analysis of a highly developed system of feasts for credit in the same cultural region, see R. Firth, Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy, London, 1946, pp. 176 ff.
7 For statements on the importance of gotong royong see, e.g., Ch. J. Grader, Rural Organization and Village Revival in Indonesia, Data Paper No. 5, Southeast Asia Program, Dept. of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, New York, 1952, pp. 3 f., 8 f. (This is a translation of a Dutch original which appeared in 1951.)
8 I suspect that all these words are derived from the Hokkien dialect of Chinese. The language of the area has been quite heavily affected by former Chinese residents.
A METALLURGICAL STUDY OF FOUR IRISH EARLY BRONZE AGE RIBBED HALBERDS IN THE PITT RIVERS MUSEUM, OXFORD*

A REPORT TO THE ANCIENT MINING AND METALLURGY COMMITTEE

by

T. K. PENNIMAN and I. M. ALLEN
Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford

During a metallurgical study of Early Bronze Age implements from the British Isles, undertaken as part of the programme of the Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute, it was observed that the micro-structure of an arsenical-copper ribbed halberd was markedly elongated, indicating that the weapon had been cold-forged. This observation led to the question of whether these artifacts were generally cast or forged to shape, and whether the forging technique was connected with any particular alloy, since it is often assumed that copper artifacts were largely forged to shape, whereas those of bronze were cast to their finished form. The reason for this difference in metallurgical technique was assumed to lie in their different properties of work-hardenability. To check these assumptions a ribbed halberd and a ribbed dagger, both of bronze, and three ribbed halberds of copper were metallurgically examined.

The most important mechanical property of both copper and bronze for the manufacture of tools and weapons is that of work-hardenability. To assess this property a number of hardness tests were made on each weapon and the results compared with graphs showing the minimum and maximum degrees of hardness which are obtained with alloys of similar composition. Several copper alloys (Case, 1954), resulting from the presence of various impurities in the copper ores, have been used for making halberds.

The four halberds chosen for examination were all Irish (unlocalized) finds; this is not surprising since the halberd probably played a more important role in the Bronze Age history of Ireland than in any other country of Europe. O'Ríordáin (1936, pp. 195–321) has classified the halberd typologically, and by this classification P.R. 1487 (copper) is of type 3; P.R. 1488 (copper) and P.R., Lindsay collection (copper) are of type 4; and P.R. 1488 (bronze) of type 5.

Methods of Analysis

Hardness analysis. The hardness tests were made with a Firth Brown Hardometer using a 2-millimetre ball with a 30-kilogramme load. The hardness figures of Graph A (fig. 1) were taken from Heape (1923), Hanson and Pell-Walpole (1951), Witter (1938) and Nordenskiöld (1921), and from tests made on small specimens of ancient bronze. The hardness figures of Graph B (fig. 1) were taken from Archibbut and Prytherch (1937), and from tests made on specimens of ancient copper.

Chemical analysis. Tin was precipitated as stannic oxide, and then gravimetrically estimated by ammonium iodide. Arsenic was separated by distillation as arsenic trichloride, and then volumetrically estimated by potassium bromate.

Metallographic analysis. The usual methods of metallographic examination were used. Specimens of copper were etched by ammoniacal ammonium persulphate, and those of bronze with ferric chloride acidified with hydrochloric acid.

Graph A: Hardness values of low-tin bronzes. The lowest line shows the increase in hardness which accompanies an increase in the tin content of sound sand-cast bronzes. The structures are either cored $\alpha$ if below about 7 per cent. of tin, or $\alpha+(\alpha+\delta)$ above this figure to 15 per cent. Annealing produces a slight decrease in hardness.

The second line shows the increase in hardness which accompanies an increase in the tin content of sound chill-cast bronzes. The structures are either cored $\alpha$ if below about 5 per cent. of tin, or $\alpha+(\alpha+\delta)$ above this figure to 15 per cent. Annealing produces an increasing fall in hardness from about 4 per cent. to 15 per cent.

The fourth line shows the maximum hardness obtainable by work-hardening cast bronzes without resorting to heat treatment.

The top line shows the maximum hardness obtainable by work-hardening of wrought bronzes. Beyond the values indicated by this line disintegration of the metal occurs.

Graph B: Hardness values of copper with varying proportions of other elements. The name of the element added is enclosed...
in brackets on each line, the lower line indicating the hardness of the cast alloy and the corresponding upper line the maximum degree of hardness obtained by work-hardening. The upper line for oxygen has not been given because of insufficient data.

REPORT 1. EARLY BRONZE AGE HALBERD BLANK
(P.R., LINDSAY COLLECTION)

Chemical analysis proved the metal to be a 0·62 per cent. arsenical copper. Spectrographic analysis: Pb, 0·019 per cent.; Sn, 0·92 per cent.; Ni, 0·013 per cent.; Fe, 0·005 per cent.

Examination showed a coarse cored dendritic structure typical of an arsenical copper which has been cooled slowly in a heat-insulating mould (fig. 2, b 1).

The bivalve mould was probably made from stone or clay with the turner and pouring cup at the pointed end. The mould may have been preheated for casting the artifact, but this cannot be ascertained from the microstructure.

Oxides, probably of arsenic and antimony, were sparsely distributed throughout the section, increasing in number towards the edge. From the low oxygen content it would seem that some means such as charcoal or poling was used to protect the artifact from atmospheric oxidation during melting and pouring. Recrystallized twinned grains were superimposed on the cored structure (fig. 2, b 3) indicating that the metal had been lightly worked and annealed. A number of cracks (interdendritic porosity) were present, and these had been closed and elongated in two directions (fig. 2, b 3), indicating that the specimen had been forged on its edge (probably to trim off the ‘casting fin’ and ‘true the edge’), then lightly forged on its flat surfaces, the latter forging being at right angles to the first (fig. 2, b 3). The dendrites towards the edge (fig. 2, b 3) had also been elongated in both directions, but in the centre section (fig. 2, b 1) the dendrites were not elongated.

FIG. 2. EARLY BRONZE AGE HALBERD BLANK
See Report 1. P.R., Lindsay collection. B1–3, drawn at x45, reproduced at x22·5

The specimen is almost certainly a halberd blank which had received a preliminary forging prior to the final forging for producing the cutting edges.

Forging had increased the hardness from 62 Brinell at the centre to 93·5 at the edge.

REPORT 2. EARLY BRONZE AGE HALBERD (P.R. 1487)

Chemical analysis proved the metal to be a 2·6 per cent. arsenical copper with 0·9 per cent. of antimony. Spectrographic analysis: Ag, 0·26 per cent.; Pb, 0·02 per cent.; Sn, 0·01 per cent.; Zn, 0·01 per cent.; Bi, 0·01 per cent.; Ni, 0·01 per cent.

Microscopic examination of a section taken from the centre of the artifact (fig. 3, A, position 1) revealed a normal coarse dendritic structure of a cast alloy (fig. 1, b 1). Strain markings were present at the edge. This section also exhibited interdendritic porosity and isolated slate-grey globules of mixed oxides of arsenic and antimony. A second section (fig. 3, A, position 2) showed the dendrites slightly elongated in the direction of the forging, and a third section (fig. 3, A, position 3, and fig. 3, A, B 3) taken from the edge, revealed a spindle structure indicating severe cold-forging. Cuprous oxide was not observed, and it is therefore likely that some method such as charcoal or poling was used to protect the artifact from atmospheric oxidation during casting. The forging had produced an increase in hardness from 62 Brinell at the centre to 150 at the cutting edge. Fig. 1, graph B, shows that this artifact has been worked to a high degree of hardness. The graph also illustrates the advantage of arsenical copper over pure copper (maximum Brinell hardness 110) for making tools and weapons.

From the above evidence, it is likely that the artifact was cast in a closed bivalve mould of clay or stone, and that its first form was similar to fig. 3, c, from which it was forged to its present shape.

FIG. 3. EARLY BRONZE AGE HALBERD
See Report 2. P.R. 1487. B1–3, drawn at x25, reproduced at x10

It will be noted that the base of this halberd is very thin, as are the bases of many other Early and Middle Bronze Age halberds, daggers and rapiers. The probable reason for this was to facilitate drilling for rivets.

From the inspection of both moulds (Evans, 1881, pp. 433f) and weapons, it appears likely that the metal was poured in at the pointed end of the artifact. This technique would give a good pressure head of metal and also allow the base to be thin.

REPORT 3. EARLY BRONZE AGE HALBERD (P.R. 1488)

Chemical analysis proved the metal to be a 2·1 per cent. arsenical copper. Spectrographic analysis: Pb, 0·035 per cent.; Sn, 1·66 per cent.; Ni, 0·012 per cent.; Fe, 0·005 per cent.

Metallographic examination showed a highly developed dendritic structure (fig. 4, B 1) typical of an arsenical copper which has been cooled slowly in a heat-insulating mould. The dendrites had
grown at right angles to the walls of the mould reaching almost to the centre of the section. This coarse structure suggests that the stone or clay bivalve mould was preheated.

Oxygen had been absorbed during casting, producing mixed oxides of arsenic and antimony, but these were sparsely distributed in the section, indicating that the metal was protected by charcoal from atmospheric oxidation during melting.

A section taken from the centre (fig. 4, A, position 1, and fig. 4, b 1) showed a normal cored structure with interdendritic porosity. Superimposed on this structure were twinned polygonal grains indicating slight working and heat treatment. The dendrites in a second section (fig. 4, A, position 2, and fig. 4, b 2) were distorted and the cores elongated in the direction of the forging. Recrystallized twinned grains were again superimposed on the cored structure. Some β phase had been precipitated accompanied by characteristic cracks. Strain markings at the edge indicated cold-working. A third section taken at the cutting edge showed a spindle-like structure of elongated cores and cracks (fig. 4, A, position 3, and fig. 4, b 3) indicating severe forging. This had increased the Brinell hardness from 75 to 153. Graph B shows that this artifact has been worked to a high degree of hardness.

**FIG. 4. EARLY BRONZE AGE HALBERD**

*See Reports 3 and 3a. P.R. 1488. B1-3, C1-3, drawn at ×30, reproduced at ×15.*

Spectrographic analysis showed the presence of iron, nickel, antimony and oxygen, which all tend to increase hardness. The three holes in the base of this artifact were of similar diameter and had all been drilled from both sides, probably with a hollow tube drill fed with sand and water.

**REPORT 34. EARLY BRONZE AGE ROUND-HEAD RIVET FROM HALBERD (P.R. 1488)**

Microscopic examination showed a highly developed dendritic structure (fig. 4, c 1) typical of arsenical copper which has been cooled slowly in a heat-insulating mould. The dendrites had grown at right angles to the walls of the mould reaching almost to the centre of the section. This coarse structure suggests a preheated clay mould. Mixed oxides of arsenic and antimony were distributed throughout the section. The composition of the alloy and its structure were identical with those of the halberd. The dendrites in one head had been elongated into a semi-oval form by forging. Small recrystallized twinned grains were present in the spindle structure indicating that the rivet had been heated, but this had not been sufficient to eliminate the strain markings (fig. 4, c 2). The structure of the shank showed recrystallized twinned grains superimposed on a cored structure (fig. 4, c 3). The structure indicates that the rivet was forged with a round die, from a piece of cast rod. The forging was probably started at red heat and continued until the temperature had fallen below 200°C. Annealing may have partly caused the precipitation of the β phase, producing cracks. The structure of the other head of this rivet (fig. 4, c 3) was similar to the one already described, but did not exhibit twinned grains, and the rivet was therefore closed cold against the haft.

**FIG. 5. EARLY BRONZE AGE HALBERD**


cutting edge, finally taking a spindle form in this region with pronounced elongation of the αβ eutectoid and stannic oxide crystals. The structure indicated cold-working and this had increased the Brinell hardness from 65 at the centre to 133 at the cutting edge. Examination suggested the use of a method of localized heating (probably by blowpipe and charcoal) which had been applied to the edge during forging, producing a high concentration of twinned α grains effecting a marked difference in micro-structure from that of the centre. Thirteen other weapons so far examined in our laboratory
(swords, rapiers, daggers, spears) have similar structures, indicating delicate forging and annealing at their cutting edges. It should, however, be noted that recrystallization would tend to occur more readily at the edges because of their thinness, and the concentrated forging which they receive. The specimen was cast in a bivalve mould.

REPORT 5. EARLY BRONZE AGE DAGGER (P.R. 1488)

Chemical analysis proved the metal to be a 5-8 per cent. tin bronze. Spectrographic analysis: Pb, 0.02 per cent.; As, 0.36 per cent.; Sb, 0.1 per cent.; Ni, 0.017 per cent.; Fe, 0.029 per cent.

Metallographic examination of a section taken from the centre (fig. 6, a, position 1) of the artefact showed large twinned α grains, accompanied by interdendritic porosity which had caused the α eutectoid to segregate; well defined crystals of stannic oxide were also present (fig. 6, b 1). The structure suggests that the pouring temperature was high and the pouring turbulent, the former causing porosity and the latter aerial oxidation. Strain markings at the edge indicated cold-working in this region. A second section (fig. 6, a, position 2) taken between the edge and centre also exhibited α grains, but these were smaller and a greater number were twinned. This section also contained stannic oxide crystals, and the α eutectoid. Strain markings were more numerous than in the central section (fig. 6, b 2). A section of the edge (fig. 6, a, position 3) exhibited a spindle structure (fig. 6, b 3), in which the shrinkage cavities and both of which increase the hard α constituent, 0.5 per cent. of either being equivalent to 1 per cent. of tin. The amounts in which the other impurities occurred were insufficient to affect the cold-working or hot-working properties of the bronze in either the cast or annealed state.

Bronze in the 6-12 per cent. tin range requires annealing before extensive forging can be made; it can, however, be lightly worked in the cast state, and produce as good a cutting edge as many of those on 36 British Bronze Age implements so far examined in this laboratory. One may therefore wonder why these bronzes were annealed, when the only reason for forging would have been to make a good cutting edge. None of the 36 bronze implements mentioned reached a hardness higher than 190 Brinell, which is below that obtainable by cold forging as shown in Graph A. The casting was made in a closed bivalve mould, probably of stone or clay. Mild intercrystalline corrosion had occurred, producing a hard dark green patina consisting largely of malachite.

REPORT 5a. EARLY BRONZE AGE FLAT-HEAD RIVET FROM DAGGER (P.R. 1488)

Chemical analysis proved the metal to be an 11.28 per cent. tin bronze. Microscopic examination showed a wrought α bronze which had been forged and annealed, producing small twinned grains of uniform size, indicating a moderate annealing temperature. Numerous strain bands had been produced by severe cold-forging after the heat treatment (fig. 6, c 1); this had also caused bent twins, particularly in the grains nearest the edge. Crystals of stannic oxide were regularly distributed throughout the section. Towards the head of the rivet the grains and stannic oxide crystals were distinctly elongated at right angles to the direction of the forging, indicating that the rivet was closed cold. Several large cracks had occurred running at right angles from the head into the shank (fig. 6, c 2).

The rivet was made by forging down a rod of bronze into a smaller rod of square cross-section. It was then partly rounded by blunting the corners with a second forging (fig. 6, c 3).

The hole to accommodate this rivet had been drilled out from one side, presumably by a hollow drill fed with sand and water.

Summary

Report 1 suggests that the first stage in the making of a halberd was the casting of a blank. This was cast in a stone or clay bivalve mould, which was probably preheated. The pouring cup and runner were situated at the pointed end of the weapon thus allowing a thin base to facilitate drilling of rivet holes, probably with a hollow drill fed with sand and water (Coghlan, 1951, p. 84). The second stage (see Report 1) was a light forging to trim the rough casting fins off. The third stage was the making of the cutting edges by alternate cold-forging and annealing; hardness being imparted to the cutting edges by a final cold-hammering, after which they were sharpened by grinding. All the specimens, with the exception of the halberd blank, showed evidence of grinding. Report 4 suggests that a method for localized heating was used; this probably consisted of heating with charcoal and blowpipe. Report 2 indicates that some halberds were completely forged cold. Reports 1 and 3 show that copper artifacts were cast, forged and annealed, and Reports 4 and 5 show that bronze weapons were also cast, forged and annealed. Hence, in these few examples there was no difference in the metallurgical technique used for making weapons in either copper or bronze. The metallographic examination indicates that the metals were protected from atmospheric oxidation, presumably by charcoal. The smith having 'won' his metals from oxide ores by the
action of charcoal would naturally protect them with more charcoal during melting to prevent them reverting to oxides. A report by Dr. Voce on an Early Bronze Age dagger from the Ashmolean Museum was similar to Report 4, but the final cold working of the edge was less than that observed in this specimen; also the specimen examined by Dr. Voce had decorations which he concluded had been chased by punching after annealing.

Reports 3a and 5a indicate that the practice of using rivets made of softer metal than the object to be riveted was not always followed in the Early Bronze Age, since one rivet examined had been forged hot from the same metal as the halberd (Report 3a) in which it was used, and the other rivet (Report 5a) is made of bronze of higher tin content than the dagger from which it was taken. Further examination of Early Bronze Age rivets would be needed to show whether these are isolated examples or represent a common practice.

Acknowledgements
The authors express their thanks to Dr. E. T. Hall of the Oxford University Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art for the spectrographic analyses of Reports 1, 3, 4 and 5, and to Mr. H. J. Case of the Ashmolean Museum for the analysis in Report 2, already published by H. H. Coghlan and H. J. Case in

'Early Metallurgy of Copper in Ireland and Britain,' Proc. Prehist. Soc., Vol. XXIII (1957), pp. 112–13. To Mr. H. H. Coghlan, they are indebted for much valuable and detailed criticism. They are also grateful to two of their museum colleagues, Mr. Anthony Wooton for drawing each artifact and its micrographs, and Mr. K. H. H. Walters for photographically reproducing these on one print for each report.

Notes
6 E. Nordensköld, The Copper and Bronze Ages in South America, Comparative Ethnological Studies, 1, Göteborg, 1921, p. 111.

OBITUARY

James Philip Mills: 1890–1960. With a portrait

James Philip Mills had barely passed the span of three score years and ten allotted us by the psalmist when he died on 12 May. Felix opportunitate mortis, perhaps, for the world is changing uncomfortably fast. At any rate the hill men of Assam, whom he knew and loved, must live today in a world quite other than that in which he served them. The son of James Edward Mills, he was born in 1890, educated at Winchester and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and entered the Indian Civil Service in 1913. He was posted to Assam, and in 1916, I think, joined me in the Naga Hills. After a month or two at headquarters he took charge of the Mokokchung subdivision which was beginning to get unruly having been without an officer for six months or more owing to the shortage during the war. His hobby at that time was ornithology and he was making a survey of birds and mammals for the Bombay Natural History Society, part of which at any rate was published in 1923. But he soon found ethnography more engrossing, and one of his Presidential addresses to the Royal Anthropological Institute nearly 40 years later was called 'Anthropology as a Hobby': in the first instance, however, he took to it less, I think, as a hobby than because he realized that good administration and a satisfactory solution of its many problems could not be achieved without a thorough knowledge of the people and a real understanding of their way of thought. His monograph on The Lhota Nagas came out in 1922 and The Ao Nagas followed in 1926. Then came a period of leave and a number of minor articles in various periodicals. 'Folk Stories in Lhota Naga' was published in 1928 (J. Asiat. Soc. Beng., Vol. XXII (1926), No. 5) and jointly with myself 'Ancient Monoliths of North Cachar' (ibid., Vol. XXV (1929), No. 1); he was then acting as Deputy Commissioner of Cachar. He was made Honorary Director of Ethnography for Assam in 1930, and he returned to the Naga Hills and completed his monograph on The Reingma Nagas, which was published in 1937. It was before this, about 1935, that he was sent to the Bengal Government to examine and recommend on the administration of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, in the course of which task he covered over 500 miles, mostly on foot.

JAMES PHILIP MILLS, C.S.I., C.I.E.

89
in a couple of months and submitted an admirable and exhaustive report on the mistakes that had been made in the past and the measures needed for the future.

He was made a C.I.E. in 1941, and in 1942 was awarded the Rivers Memorial Medal of the Royal Anthropological Institute for fieldwork among the Nagas of Assam. In 1943 he was appointed Adviser to the Governor of Assam for Tribal Areas and States, a post which not only made his experience of the administration of hill tribes and their problems available in the many and varied hill areas of Assam, but gave him an opportunity of learning much about tribes with which he would otherwise have never come into contact. It is to this opportunity that we owe his second Presidential Address on ‘The Muslims of the Lohit Valley.’ In 1947 he was made C.S.I. and retired from India, and in 1948 he was appointed Reader in the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, a post from which he retired in 1955. He had been elected to the Council of the R.A.I.—he had, of course, been a member of the Institute for many years—in 1948 and he held the office of President from 1951 to 1953. Among his other activities at the S.O.A.S. was the compilation of a bibliography of ethnographical matter relating to Assam, which has never been separately published but has proved very useful to other bibliographers. After his retirement from London to his home at Sydling St. Nicholas near Dorchester he interested himself in local affairs, and in his garden, and continued, as he had been in Assam, a keen fisherman. He married in 1930 Pamela Moira, daughter of J. Fothery Fesey-FitzGerald, who with two daughters survives him. He gave important collections to the Pitt Rivers Museum of the University of Oxford.

Mills made an admirable colleague in administration. Apart from his practical and intellectual ability, his never failing sense of humour, his wit and his good temper in trying circumstances made him an invaluable companion, particularly in camp. When he was my sub-divisional officer at Mokokchung his periodic visits to my headquarters at Kohima were events to be looked forward to, and he was beloved by his subordinates no less than by his colleagues, and equally so by many friends of all stations in Assam. The world is poorer by his loss.

J. H. HUTTON

SHORTER NOTES

Ancient Preserved Brains. By Dr. K. P. Oakley, F.B.A., Sub-Department of Anthropology, British Museum (Natural History). With a text figure

Human skeletal remains were found in September, 1959, during excavations in connexion with the Sewerage Works in Hampton Road, half a mile north-west of Droitwich, Worcestershire, and these were sent to the Sub-Department of Anthropology, British Museum (Natural History), for investigation. According to a report supplied by Mr. John Williams, Chief Constable of Worcestershire, the bones had been found at a depth of 10 feet (probably in part made ground) and had been contained in a wooden coffin, which crumbled when an attempt was made to lift it. The finds were examined on the spot by Mr. D. R. Shearer, Assistant Curator of the Worcester City Museum, who formed the opinion that the burial was Romano-British. All the available evidence supports that conclusion. The excavation also yielded many potsherds, and a selection of these were examined in London by Mr. G. C. Dunning of the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate, Ministry of Works, who identified them as pieces of Romano-British domestic pottery dating from the second century A.D. The site of the discovery is close to a Roman fort.

In the course of cleaning the skeletal remains in readiness for detailed examination, Miss Rosemary Powers, Assistant Experimental Officer in this Sub-Department, noticed that there were fragments within the cranium which had all the appearance of being shrunken pieces of brain (fig. 1). Closer examination confirmed this identification. Preliminary chemical tests by Mr. A. E. Rixon in the Palaeontological Laboratory showed that the brain tissue had been replaced by a wax. The matrix, which contained a high proportion of clay, was tested for salt, but none could be detected. As the preservation of soft tissues is most unexpected in Romano-British material, it seems worth while to put this find on record, particularly as such findings may be of both forensic and anthropological interest.

A fragment of the brain was submitted to Professor H. Spatz, retired director of the Max-Planck Institut für Hirnforschung at Giessen, who has examined a number of bog burials in Germany, and is especially interested in the preservation of brains. He has contributed the following comments on the Droitwich find:

The waxy material in which the Roman brain from Droitwich is preserved appears to be adipocere. Personally I have examined brains from bodies preserved in peat bogs, but none of these shows preservation in adipocere. However, the formation of adipocere has been described by the following authors:

W. Müller, Postmorte Dbersicht und Fettwachbildung, Zurich, 1913. This is an extensive illustrated monograph on the results of the examination of 120 Fettwachsleichen (adipocere bodies) exhumed from a cemetery in the glacial clay of the end moraine of the old Glauber glacier in Switzerland. The damp, fine-grained clay which shuts off the air and the excess of water furnished the optimal conditions for the formation of adipocere.

The nature of the process involved in the formation of this grave wax has not yet been fully clarified.

FIG. 1. FRAGMENT OF A CEREBRAL HEMISPHERE PRESERVED IN 'GRAVE-WAX'


In the second form of preservation of brain, which I have encountered in bog burials, the tissue is extremely rich in cholesterin. The main factor in this form of preservation is an absolutely sterile environment. See H. Spatz, E. Kleenk and P. B. Diezel, 'Der Gehirnrest der Moorleiche von Windeby (Schleswig),' Prachtgeschichte der Zeitschrift, Vol. XXXVI (1957), 1958, pp. 129–56. The age of the specimens investigated at Windeby was estimated to be 1,000 years.

A third form of preservation of brains is through mumification by drying (invoking shrinkage). Here belong the findings of Eliott Smith based on his excavations in Upper Egypt (where some of the material dated from prehistoric times). See his paper 'On the Natural Preservation of the Brain in the Ancient Egyptians, J. Anat. and Physiol.,' Vol. XXXVI (1902), pp. 375–86, and his book The Papyri Ebers, London, 1939. Eliott Smith published photographs of a remarkably well preserved brain of an Egyptian, 'who died more than forty-five centuries ago.' Except for these references I know of no recent literature on the subject.

Thus it appears that there are various conditions under which brains may be preserved (provided that there is no putrefaction). Anthropologists ought to be more conscious of the importance of such findings and pay more attention to remains of the brain in excavated material. If the skull is not opened, an X-ray photograph will probably show whether a brain, or the remains of a brain, are preserved within, at least in the case of bog burials.

Some of the histochemical aspects of the preservation of human tissues under varying conditions are at present being studied in the Serological Laboratory here by Mrs. Madeleine Smith.

Ancient Preserved Brains: A Further Note. By Miss Rosemary Powers, Sub-Department of Anthropology, British Museum (Natural History)

Following Professor Spatz’s identification of the fragments of brain in the Drottwich cranium as adipocere, I came across the following entry in J. Barnard Davis, Theosaurus Cranii, 1867, p. 4, referring to remains found in a bog in Cumberland, possibly dating from the Bronze or Iron Age. The specimen in question is listed as ‘Ancient Briton,’ said to be adult, probably male, and received from Mr. Robert Ferguson of Carlisle.

‘10, 680—Fragmental remains of a man and of his skin dress. Small portions of skull; piece of brain, converted into adipocere, five cervical vertebrae; left hemi, clavicle and first rib; right scapula and half of lower jaw; three teeth; locks of hair, which is black, &c. Portions of his dress, made from the skins of Otters, with the hair on, sewn, very neatly and regularly, with sinews. Found in Scaleby Moss, Cumberland (region of Brigantes), May 28, 1843, at a depth of 1/4 feet, and 3 feet from the bottom. The bones have been deprived of their salts by the acids of the bog, and transformed into leather by its tannin. Even the teeth have become flexible. Heathen is said to contain as much tannin, weight for weight, as oak.


This specimen was formerly preserved in the Royal College of Surgeons, but I am informed by the Conservator that it was probably in the Curio Room, and did not survive the destruction which occurred there in the Second World War. It is not amongst the material transferred to the British Museum (Natural History) after the war.

The ABO System of Blood Groups in Khalkha Mongol.

By Emanuel Villek, M.D., Archeological Institute, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague. With a table

In 1958 the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences sent an archaeological expedition to Mongolia. The expedition, in cooperation with the Scientific Committee of Mongolia and under the common heading of the Czechoslovak-Mongolian Archeological Expedition, 1938, carried out a systematic study of an Old Turkic memorial on the River Orkhon, about 250 miles west of the city of Ulanbaatar. On this occasion, as physician of the expedition and anthropologist, I also carried out some preliminary studies on the physical anthropology of the main population of Mongolia, the Khalka, on whose territory the expedition was working.

In addition to other investigations, a preliminary examination of the blood groups of Khalkha Mongols was made in Khudjierta (310 miles south-west of Ulanbaatar). Ninety-two individuals in all were examined; for technical reasons, only the ABO system was studied. The examination was carried out by the glass slide method, using liquid (not dried) sera.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khalka</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♂</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♀</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♂ + ♀</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this set it appeared that, as compared for example with the percentages of the individual blood groups in Czechoslovakia, there was a slight increase in group O and an increase of about one-third in the percentage with group B, whereas the values established for group A were only half those found in Czechoslovakia.

This investigation could be performed only on a small sample and the data obtained must therefore be considered as purely preliminary.

CORRESPONDENCE

Structural Theory and Descent Group Theory in South India.

Cf. MAN, 1959, 323

Sir,—It may appear ungracious to seem to cavil at a review of one's own work which is couched in such generally laudatory terms (Une Soue-Caste de l'Inde Sud, reviewed by Dr. E. Kathleen Gough in MAN, 1959, 323). But I am afraid that the author's concern is to be kind, together with another factor which I shall presently mention, has tended to obscure her conclusions. Since this is a matter of some general interest among social anthropologists at the moment I may perhaps be allowed a little retrospect on the accusation that I have 'introduced some confusions into the analysis of Dravidian kinship.'

My own point of departure was that the mother's brother in that terminological system is essentially the father's affine (MAN, 1953, 54). The point did not go unnoticed: the late Professor Radcliffe-Brown took exception as some, apparently, still like to recall (MAN, 1933, 160; cf. J. Goody, J. R. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. LXXXIX, 1959, p. 63). It was consequently interesting to see that some three years later my present reviewer, without any reference to the controversy, effectively granted the argument. She then wrote, among other things, that 'the mother's brother... is, after all, wife's brother to the father' (Amer. Anthrop., Vol. LVIII, 1956, p. 843). This admission was all the more gratifying in that it was based upon the field experience of a scholar who could not be supposed to have any bias in favour of the position. There was certainly much reluctance in her presentation, and the implications of her perception were not as fully drawn as one would have liked. However, the point was conceded and it now seems disconcerting to find that I am said to
have 'introduced some confusions.' Moreover, the question which I have isolated is basic, and Dr. Gough is mistaken if she imagines that, having practically forsaken the mother's brother, she can hold to the father's sister, and indict my 'muddled classification of ego's kinwomen.' On this point, my view of the terminology can be compared with the critic's own explanation of it (Amer. Anthrop. Vol. LVII, pp. 844–9).

A book must stand or fall by what it says, and this one cannot be taken to be unaffected by its theory. Actually the criticisms are of two kinds, some about what the book does, some about what it does not do. Concerning what it does, the critic's praises, together with her incomplete admission in another place, suggests that the structural theory of kinship, and the structural treatment in general, has been useful. (Of course, her suggestion that kinship is in the last analysis reducible to descent is not acceptable.) Had the critic been more consistent, and granted this, the ground would then have been cleared for the other kind of criticism, about the insufficient analysis, or the lack of an analysis, in terms of the descent-group theory. This has not been substantiated as yet, but may well be justified. I presumably have given enough material (this is apparently what is called my 'voluminous scholarship') to enable those who wish to do so to attempt this kind of alternative reconstruction.

I hope that I have not been unfair in trying to uncover, at the root of the critic's ambivalent attitude, two scientific issues. One is the fact that the marriage alliance view of South Indian kinship has seen its basic point confirmed by one of its avowed opponents who has field experience; the other is the question whether an analysis mainly conducted according to it can be supplemented by an analysis in terms of the lineage and political theory in the classical African fashion.

LOUIS DUMONT
Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études (6e section), Paris

A Phallic Object from North Wales. With a text figure

Sir,—MAN would seem a somewhat anachronistic organ to reproduce in illustration of a very singular find brought to light during alterations to a Caernarvonshire farm house (R.C.A.M., Caern., Vol. II, No. 1032).

It was picked up from the débris after the plaster had been stripped off the walls of an eighteenth-century wing. This part of the house had been altered during the nineteenth century, and as the phallus was made of plaster of Paris a late date is suggested.

FIG. 1. PLASTER PHALLOS FROM NORTH WALES

I guess that it is a cast from life, and most likely to be the work of some eccentric, droll or dirty-minded plasterer who may have been demonstrating the art of taking a cast. Was it a trade mark? Other fantasies come to mind all too easily; but its very attitude suggests that nineteenth-century, puritan North Wales was not the centre of some impious Rabelaisian cult. Is it very unusual?

D. B. HAGUE
Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire, Aberystwyth

REVIEWS

GENERAL


In reviewing a book containing a series of articles already commented upon by a great many people, and already part of the reading list of most courses on anthropological theory, how far can a critic go beyond mere paraphrase or exegesis of what has already been said? The writings of Claude Lévi-Strauss collected here have become so much a part of the recent debates between anthropologists that it is safe, although hardly revealing, to say that they are important and that not to have read them is to ignore one of the most stimulating minds in contemporary anthropology.

The kind of contribution that Claude Lévi-Strauss has made is stated in the very title of this book, and concerns the concept of structure. How to utilize this concept, copied as it were from the physical sciences, without falling into the antinomy of naïve analogical misuses, is the thread that links together all the various articles on kingship, linguistics, magic, religion, art and methodological problems. No summary here can give justice to the dialectical ability of the arguments used. To say that in certain cases the argument, as in the answer to Gurvitch, is purely methodological is to lessen its importance. The strength of the methods used by the author lies in what appears to me to be his constant return from data to hypotheses and again to data. It could be said that how to view data as evidence of causal relationship is the idée-fondre of the book. To understand the data is to understand the logical structure between the observed facts, and the structure of the logic utilized by the observer in the analysis. The complexity of Lévi-Strauss's presentation derives from his attempt to integrate these two aspects. Structure is not, for him, an exercise in simple statistical correlations, but involves the totality (à la Mauss) of the perception of the individual and the totality of the thing perceived. To fail to see this is to fail to see what the anthropologist is trying to do: to go beyond the appearance to the unconscious roots of things. To deny the validity of Levi-Strauss's arguments is to deny the generally accepted statement that anthropology is an inductive-deductive science, like all sciences.

To me the book is also, beside the lights it brings on many technical problems of anthropological research and teaching, an extended footnote to a mind that could produce such lucidly conceived books, both classics now, as Les structures élémentaires de la parenté and Tristes tropiques.

PHILIPPE GARIGUE


The testing of Negro intelligence, in comparison with that of whites, is a major industry in the United States. Of the products of this industry, Dr. Shuey's book is a very comprehensive, clearly written and highly organized survey. The only criticism one might make of her presentation is that it is
perhaps too highly organized. Instead of presenting some
consecutive theoretical argument, she presents study after study,
grouped according to such categories as type of test and type of
subject. There have been attempts to fuse some of these differences in
some direction, namely that of the inferiority of the Negro. A reputable
reason for studies of this kind is the investigation of racial differences
in circumstances where it is hoped that relevant environmental
determinants may be adequately controlled. The effect of Dr.
Shuey's accumulation of evidence, including, as it does, some
studies which do attempt to control environmental variables, is a
massive one, intensified rather than lessened by the moderation with
which she concludes with her belief in 'the presence of some innate
differences between Negroes and whites as determined by
intelligence tests.'

Dr. Shuey not only reports studies where the kinds of environ-
mental factors that have been found important in other studies,
such as amount of schooling and socio-economic status as measured
by home ratings, or Sim's score card, or parental occupation,
have been held constant by comparing matched samples; she also
refers to evidence that the kinds of tests that are most affected by
such environmental factors are the ones which Negroes tend to do
better rather than less well at. These tests may be described in various
ways. They possess a larger verbal component, they are more
commonsensical, more practical, and more concrete rather than
abstract, or mathematical, or involving formal perceptual relation-
ships of the kind that the lodestone of 'pure' intelligence has lured
psychologists to devise. It is a difference that lends itself to charac-
terization in terms of qualitative differences between high-order and
low-order intelligence. The Negro's is a plodding, prosaic,
empirical intelligence, not a logical mathematical one. The growth
curve of low intelligence is less steep and falls off earlier than that
of high intelligences. This also is found in comparisons of Negroes
and whites, even though, since the older ones are high school and
college students, which include smaller proportions of the Negro
than of the white population, one would expect the difference to be
in the opposite direction. Though this might be due to the poorer
quality of education which they receive, it is taken as further
evidence of their innate inferior intelligence. In her last chapter
Dr. Shuey reviews the evidence on the question of selective
migration and concludes, though there is some sound of burrel-
scraping here, that the difference between Negroes in the southern
and the northern states cannot be entirely accounted for by the
environmental advantages of the latter.

Findings such as these or, rather, interpretations of such findings,
have been criticized on numerous grounds. They have been faulted
on statistical grounds, e.g. for failing to allow for possible regression
effects for samples drawn from unequal populations. They have also
been criticized for being insufficiently precise in equating
categorical variables with environmental variables such as frequency of
school attendance, sufficiently sensitive indices of socio-economic
status, and social expectations and motivations. It has also been
pointed out that the environmental factors relevant to attempts to
account for social-class differences between white school children
may not be the relevant ones in comparing relative performance of
Negro and white children. It is known for example that difference in
intelligence between different occupational groups is less in the
case of Negroes than in that of whites; therefore the use of
occupational categories of parental occupation in counting Negro and
white children may not be the best way of allowing for genuine
environmental differences between the two groups. But though criticisms of
this kind can be made, they have never so far as I know been
actualized in specific investigations, which succeed in showing
Negro intelligence the equal of white.

Nevertheless it is a pretty big step to argue from these gross
complex behavioural differences between groups of people within a
cultural setting to relative numbers of the genes which they possess.
After all, it is one thing to show that we are using two different
methods of investigating genetic differences have been employed in this
question. And obviously, the use to which these findings may be put is such that
we would want to be very sure indeed before we come to con-
clusions of the kind that Dr. Shuey draws. The way in which the
qualitative differences in intelligence between Negroes and whites
had been interpreted sounds dangerously like a stereotype. It is
based on the belief that the more geometrical and less verbal
you make your intelligent tests, the more concrete such an
intelligence is that you measure. But I should have thought that
this type of intelligence could just as easily be affected by cultural factors as that of
the more concrete variety. One suggestion that has been made is that
it is affected by the relative amount of perceptual stimulation that
we get in our early environments. Of this theory, which might
gain for the relatively less good performance of Negroes at
abstract perceptual tests, Dr. Shuey says very little. She says very
little also about studies reporting improvement in scores at this
kind of intelligence test as a result of practising tasks involving these
functions, where the improvement achieved was greater for Negro
than for the white children tested. It is true that very few of such
studies have been carried out but it is a measure of the apparent
lack of interest in theory on the part of Dr. Shuey that she does not pay
much attention to points such as these, instead relying somewhat
on a sort of statistical steam-rolling effect.

W. H. N. HOPF

Race—Individual and Collective Behaviour. Edited by Edgar T.
Thompson and Everett C. Hughes. Glencoe, Ill. (Free

This recent addition to the proliferation of collective
publications on the subject of race and racism could well be sub-
titled 'The Race Relations Week-End Book.' For it contains nearly
150 extracts from a wide gamut of writers on the subject of race
in its widest sense. The list of authors includes not only the racists
and the social scientists at each extreme, but such diverse names as
Toynbee, Budd Schulberg, Kipling, Plato, George Orwell and
W. S. Gilbert.

The book is intended to provide its readers with a wider perspec-
tive on the race problems throughout the world by giving extracts
from a wide range of documentary material. These extracts are
organized under various headings which include racial classification,
race and region, the ecology of race, the idea of race, race conflict,
status and change and the study and control of race relations.
The editors do not claim that the material is inclusive or compre-
prehensive, so that it would be unjust to carp on this score. It may perhaps
be said, however, that they have drawn too heavily on American
writers and on less recent work in the race-relations field.

The editors have provided brief introductions to the various
chapters, usually in the form of questions which are intended to
stimulate the reader to further enquiry.

The documentary material is extremely rich. In addition to the
better-known situations, it includes extracts dealing with a score or
more of less known races and tribal groups, ranging from the to New
Guinea. An interesting compilation of words and terms on p. 53
relating to racially mixed persons or groups is marred by several
factual errors in so far as the South African terms are concerned.

The Reader has an excellent bibliography but no index.

SHEILA PATTERSON

On Shame and the Search for Identity. By Helen Merrell Lynd.
Price 6s. 6d.

Shame is a commonplace sensation; at least it is
difficult to give any other name to what we feel whenever we appear
clumsy or forgetful, or have occasion to say 'How stupid of me!'
In her consideration of shame Mrs. Lynd draws her illustrations
from fiction and in consequence gives it a dramatic character such
as it seldom displays in real life. What Anna Karenina said is not
evidence.

In the second and longer part of the book Mrs. Lynd discusses,
with innumerable quotations from the writings of psychologists
and psycho-analysts, various aspects of the study of personality.
The discussion is throughout interesting, but is somewhat desultory,
and she falls at times to distinguish clearly between her own views
and those of the writers whom she quotes.

RAGLAN

Basically this is about a voyage from London to Brazil via West Africa. It originated in 1580 as a plan to attack Spanish shipping when the union of Spain and Portugal abolished the Pope's Line and presented all overseas discoveries to the former. But Leicester, who organized it, decided in 1582 to send Fenton on a peaceful trading venture to Molucca instead. The Admiral's greed and follie de grandeur were evident before England was out of sight; he had other plans of his own and the voyage became a piratical cruise with Fenton, in constant fear of mutiny, planning to rape at one time or another St. Helena, the Pacific, Brazil and Newfoundland. Encouraging his pilots to say that the nearest watering-place was in the River Plate, he blundered south until he fell amongst the Shoals of St. Anne and was forced to take refuge in the nearby Sierra Leone River in West Africa. Then, contrary to the Privy Council's instructions, which had directed him emphatically to pass by way of the Cape of Good Hope, Fenton set out for Brazil, arriving in December. A small boat was taken; they were attacked by three Spanish vessels whose presence made trade with the Portuguese impossible; victuals ran low and they turned for home. There, Fenton was arrested.

But Miss Taylor has given us more than this. All documents concerning the preparations and aftermath of the voyage have been included. Some, notably Fenton's Sea Journal and that part of Madox's journal which has been painstakingly deciphered, appear for the first time in print.

Fenton's disobedience was not uncommon amongst his contemporaries; once out of sight a commander became omnipotent; in 1570 the Lord Admiral had written dryly of such 'pickers' that their 'forbearing to utter the place that they intend to resorte unto ... gyveth us cause to mistrust that they meane not so playnely as they wolde seeme' (Br. Mus. MS. Cotton Galba C iv f. 22 r.).

Apart from Miss Taylor's clear explanations of shipping and cartography, perhaps the most interesting portion of the Voyage is that relating to the two months' stay in the River Sierra Leone—
or Tabrin. The chief ruler was King Farna, whom the Jesuit Barreirae knew and described in his last illness in 1603. 2 Farna had entered Sierra Leone about 1560 during an invasion of Mami, a Mande tribe whom the indigenous Temme called Sumba, or those who cause trouble. After the Mami had overthrown a confederation taking its name from one of the tribes which it included, the Tyapi (pl. Sapi), Farna made himself king of the Loko. In 1582 he was still fighting to enlarge his domain; this time against the Limba.

The invasion seems to have been merely a sortie by an aristocratic cadre and, while the other tribes retain their identity to this day, the Mami became absorbed and so indistinguishable from the rest of the country after a hundred years. Further south was Madyrbombe, now called Sherbro, where the king was still at war with the invaders, one of whom was Sherabola. This is the earliest mention of anything like the modern equivalent and it bears out Dapper's statement in the seventeenth century that the place took its name from a Viceroy.)

Plate VIII, Madox's drawing of a tattooed woman in the Sierra Leone River, is possibly a Limba pattern (especially the large marks round the loins); it is certainly not modern Temne nor Sherbro-Bulom, although there is a possibility that it is Loko. Farna supplied the Portuguese with many slaves.

A. P. KUP

Notes
1 Not Fatema as on p. 101, note 1. Fatema was king of the north shore and his territory ran as far north as the Iles de Los. He was an enemy of Farna; moreover—with ref. to p. 186, note 2—Farna did visit Fenton (see Br. Mus. MS. Cotton App. xvii f. 31 r.).
2 F. Guerreiro, Relacao Anual das Coisas ... os Padres de Companhia de Jesus, edited by A. Viegas, Lisbon, 1942, 1 vols., passim.
3 Description de l'Afrique ... traduit du Flamand d'O. Dapper, Amsterdam, 1686, p. 273. Dapper's dates are wrong, however.

Asia


With the publication of this volume Dr. Sommarström completes his survey of the archaeological researches made in the Edsen-gol region by the Sino-Swedish expedition, of which Part I was reviewed in MAN (1948, 256). This volume maintains the excellent standard of its predecessor in care and clarity of presentation.

Continuing the regional presentation of Part I, this volume describes first the town of Khara khotso itself. In spite of previous work on the site by Kozlov and Sir Aurel Stein it was found necessary to attempt another map of the town, but the new plan, although more exact than the older ones could still not be complete. The new survey showed the existence of two localities at Khara khotso, defined by an inner wall and an outer wall. Sommarström remarks that the inner wall is constructed in accordance with principles generally employed by the Chinese, while the outer wall is characteristic of those used by non-Chinese peoples. He takes the presence of a few Tang dynasty coins to be inconclusive, and refrains from dating the two parts of the town, since such a conclusion would require even more comprehensive and thorough digging. Six hundred and sixty-seven finds are listed for this area.

Next the area, the dissected gobi plateau to the south of the Khara khotso region, is described, where 48 watch towers from the Han dynasty are known. The next two chapters describe the remains in the central Edsen-gol region, where 37 watch towers and a fort are known, and in the Mao-ru region, an elongated area forming the southernmost part of the region. Here 42 sites were found by Bergman, who led the investigations, including 34 watch towers, a walled town of the Han age, two smaller walled town-like sites, three Han forts and one Hsi-hua fort and a house ruin. Finally the ancient remains along the source streams of the Edsen-gol are described.

This report, taken together with Stein's explorations, is a detailed and valuable survey of fixed settlements in a semi-desert region. Walled cities are not uncommon in Mongolia, and we must be grateful for this expert account which could be supplemented by descriptions of several ruined medieval cities still unexplored in northern Mongolia.

C. R. BAWDEN


The presentation of this book is of a high standard, with a coloured plate and with black and white reproductions of the thirteen scrolls; there are also additional illustrations throughout.

Dr. Schmid tells us that 'Siddhas' are comparable to the Saints of the Christian Church, and the similitudes which she quotes are convincing. The worship of these holy figures belongs to the Tantric phase of Buddhism. Siddhas are not prayed to since they have attained perfection, but they are invoked, praised and imitated.

The difficulties of identification of each individual Siddha are, it is well known, considerable. Inscriptions on the scrolls have facilitated Dr. Schmid's task, but she has shown great perspicacity in the penetrating, comparative examination of other sources and her resultant conclusions are most acceptable, based as they are on much erudite material. Incidentally, the Copenhagen bsTan-gyur is from Narthang, I having purchased it from there in 1954, and if it is a
better copy,' as is stated on p. 19, it is because I impressed upon the monks the necessity of scrubbing the wooden printing blocks with soap and water before printing.

Punctuation, unfortunately, is defective in places and the English, although reputedly revised, is not always up to standard. Tibetan spelling is not consistent, but then Dr. Schmid gives us her reasons for this and they are commendable.

In Thanka II, 3, Luyipa's hands are reversed in the description on p. 29. A number of figures appearing in Thanka VII on the right have been left out of the description. In Thanka XIII omissions likewise occur in 79, Napata's šakti's stance, in 84, Mirtropa's šakti's dress and apparel, and in the description of the animals.

It is not understood what is meant to be conveyed by adding 'sic!' after 'sa ra ka pa,' the alleged way in which Tucci writes Sar Ka Pa (p. 68).

This latest publication should be of great utility to those who specialize in the study of Tibetan iconography.

PETER, Prince of Greece and Denmark


This is a detailed excavation report on two sites about 300 miles north-east of Bombay. They are situated on opposite banks of the Nerbudda River, where it is crossed by the important overland route from the Ganges basin to the Deccan. Each site consists in a group of eroded mounds, and a series of trenches were dug to establish the sequence of settlement.

These excavations throw light on three chief phases of occupation and three broad cultural groups: first, a paleolithic culture with scrapers, points and burins, as known from other nearby sites (Nerasa series II); second, a chalcolithic culture with a distinctive flint industry and painted pottery; third, a series of iron-using, Early Historic cultures with coins, Northern Black Polished ware and Black-and-Red wares.

The material in each group is well described, and generously illustrated. The pottery is thoroughly dealt with, although it would have been much better were it to be included in a table with percentages of the different wares in each level. This information was evidently worked out by the excavators (p. 83), and tabulated would not have taken up much space.

The chalcolithic material probably represents the chief interest of the report, all the more since two Carbon-14 dates (1958) were available at the time of publication, one for the earliest chalcolithic (3025 ± 120 b.p.), another for the latest (2940 ± 120). It is disquieting to see the latter date converted to 'about 1000 b.c.,' which is nothing like the actual figure of 2000 b.c., but in any case, these dates are earlier than the usual archaeological estimates for the chalcolithic cultures in this part of the sub-continent. The material of chalcolithic material here published is now basic to any study of these cultures.

F. R. HODSON


This is a regional study in which the author has made use of earlier research, and combined it with his own observations in the field. He has visited a number of known sites, and found many more, and his descriptions and observations are concise and pointed, if sometimes rather slight. Having recently been engaged in similar field work in India I can recognize the ring of truth in what he says. One's heart warms to him for not being afraid to publish facts which he has observed with his own eyes, even when these are, in the narrower view at any rate, unexpected, and also for not being afraid to admit when he is baffled, or the evidence uncertain. The author rightly avoids statistical analysis of small collections, but supports his descriptions with a full series of drawings, a number of photographs and a summary of comparative evidence from other parts of India. As a record of a piece of primary research, and a statement of problems solved and unsolved, this monograph is very good.

In an appendix there are detailed a number of pieces of evidence recording methods of hunting and actual use of stone tools, both archaeological and ethnographical, from many parts of the world. This is interesting and suggestive, and it is a pity that it is not carried through with more specific reference to this material, at least to the extent of pointing out which examples are most appropriate to India on the grounds of typological or environmental parallelism. The classification of tool types is adequate, and clear to anyone familiar with the Indian stone age, but as a system of classification it does not go as far as it might in indicating the functional relationship of different tool types: it draws the same distinction between groups which are closely related, such as scrapers and end scrapers, as it does between those which are widely separated, such as scrapers and points. When he has put forward so much excellent material it is a pity that the author does not make a good paper into an even better one by analysing and integrating this material more fully. This applies equally to the lack of cross-referencing between the tools described and those illustrated, and to the absence of a detailed comparison between the sites on the coast and those in the interior, a comparison which would have been of considerable interest.

None of these points detracts from the real value of this work as a regional study of a type of which Indian archaeology stands in great need at the moment, and one hopes that the author will extend his research to other regions, perhaps to those parts of eastern India which as he himself points out have been so neglected hitherto in this respect.

BRIDGET ALLCHIN


All must warmly welcome the initiative of Dr. Henry Field and the Peabody Museum in starting this series of translations, and applaud the excellent choice for the first one. Professor A. P. Okladnikov, the leading specialist, published this authoritative summary as the first chapter of Narody Sibiri (Peoples of Siberia), edited by M. G. Levin and L. P. Potapov (Moscow, 1956). It brings together the results of Soviet work of recent years, which is extensive and largely unfamiliar to western scholars. Material of this sort is not easy to render into English, and certain slips are apparent here. The meaning is normally clear ('northern deer' for severnyi olen' can still be understood); but there are inconsistencies with the Russian place names, both as to spelling (Vitim for Vitim, Bratsko for Bratsée), transliteration (Yolba and Wolba, variously, for Ulba), and translation (Lake Onega, but Olenii Ozero). Care has been taken over the illustrations, which have survived double reproduction remarkably well. The maps have been well redrawn, but the legend is omitted from Map 2. None of these small criticisms of the editing, however, should be taken as diminishing the heartiness of the vote of thanks which this book deserves. May the series long continue.

TERENCE ARMSTRONG


The problem which the editors pose for the second volume of the Contributions series is the laying down of a set of postulates for the analysis of Indian caste. The problem is approached by the summary and reinterpretation of two sociological texts and various subsidiary works. The main texts are Bouglé's Essais sur le régime des castes (Paris, 1908) and Hocart's Caste (London, 1900). The first book was selected for the princiary which Bouglé gave to the Brahman in his analysis of caste, and Hocart gains preference for emphasizing the king. Of the subsidiary works, the most important is Srinivas, Religion and Society among the Coorgs (Oxford, 1952), ranks first because it describes the concept of purity as underlying Indian religion and social organization. The books
which Professors Ghurye and Hutton have written were laid aside by the editors, and no reference is made to Professor Atiyapppan’s observations on the social-control aspects of caste. While there is evidence that Indian kings did contribute to the regulation of the castes, there is little evidence for the editors asserting that the king always did this by virtue of membership in a Kshatriya caste. Cādrā kings are well known in Indian history and in Hindu traditions.

The third volume of the series contains critiques of several writers on Hinduism (Srinivas, Marriott, H. N. C. Stevenson, C. G. Diehl and V. Elwin), the editors’ essay on possession and priesthood, an article on the Tamil cult of Aiyaran, and a contribution from F. G. Bailey. The essay by Dr. Bailey combines his critical summary of the first volume of the Contributions with a (counter) manifesto for a sociology of India. It is evident that Dr. Bailey’s criticism of the style of the first volume was disregarded as this third issue was composed. Whatever may be its defects for the pungent statement of hypotheses, a more conventional style should be considered for future issues of the Contributions. The inclusion of the review of C. G. Diehl’s work on Tamil religion is of great interest. Like many other missionary authors before him, Diehl has contributed to the knowledge of folk religion in India by his acquaintance with a regional language and its literature.

W. McCORMACK


This book has been written to provide us with an ethnographical survey of an Indian village near Lucknow, as a basis for the evaluation of rural problems and social change in India. It is addressed not only to anthropologists, but also to a wide audience of administrators and development workers, who require a general account of the lives of the people with whom they deal. This is provided in major Chapters on inter-caste relations, the village economy, family organization, religion and the influence of the village and caste councils and village leadership. Among other topics dealt with are games, the treatment of disease, contacts with the outside, and education.

A wealth of material is contained in these accounts. Inter-caste cooperation is described in great detail, for instance, as are the changing attitudes of village caste groups to one another. The informative histories of disputes handled by caste and village councils and by the courts portray vividly a situation in which skill in making alliances is reinforced by physical strength. The descriptions of family and public rites will also be useful for comparison, and the last Chapter contains a discussion of the concept of Sanskritization. Professor Majumdar finds the term imprecise, though he does not feel able to jettison it at present; in discussing the mobility brought about through Sanskritization, he puts forward the important point that ‘vertical’ mobility in the caste hierarchy is structurally less significant than the ‘horizontal’ mobility of intra-caste fission into separate and competing sub-castes.

A book of this kind by its wide coverage invites readers to ask for more in their areas of particular interest. It would be good, for example, if localities were treated more fully, and if certain patterns (p. 196); and a list of only 27 kin terms (p. 207) leaves one wanting the remainder. Again, the transfer of land from landlords to cultivating tenants is said to have made for a decline in the power of the former and a corresponding increase in inter-caste rivalries, and such a crucial change might well be documented by giving the quantity of land which has changed hands and the cases of the beneficiaries, as part of a discussion of the financial as well as the social implications of this change. But these comments do not detract from the value of the book, which is a welcome addition to the ethnography of India.

ADRIAN C. MAYER

EUROPE

we can see how the sociological or anthropological treatment of a specific problem can be used (despite deficiencies of data which are stressed throughout) to illuminate the whole realm of social life. For this chapter is not only a penetrating and learned commentary on the myriad studies of the Jews: it deals with the very nature of a social system. It does so in several ways. Freedman points out that we need, for example, studies of the Welsh to put into correct perspective the position of minorities like coloured and Jews. I remember well when a critic, complaining of a slow-changing image by Glamorgan ancient historian, blamed much more cogently Freedman. He argued that a study and understanding of the whole society is necessary before the position of minorities can be appreciated, as when he discusses how British tolerance can also be British (or perhaps English, as he says) resistance. His whole discussion of the range of assimilation and acculturation is admirable.

With the increasing output of anthropology it becomes more and more difficult for us to focus research in all its fields. This is most unfortunate: for there was much in these illuminating essays on Jews in modern Britain which was closely analogous with, for example, the results coming out of the studies of J. C. Mitchell and A. L. Epstein of tribalism in Northern Rhodesian towns. In a sense, as Freedman implies, Judaism is a form of the tribalism which we can observe developing in new African towns: and students of both can draw help from one another. Perhaps in the new Africa there will yet be peoples whose unique tribal characteristics will be made the subject of aggravated persecution. For this, as Freedman says, remains in many ways peculiar to Jews among the many peoples who make up the heterogeneous populations of modern states.

Finally, I consider it important to note of this essay that it shows how objectively an anthropologist can study the community of which he is a part.

MAX GLUCKMAN
Stone implements found in various caves and rock-shelters on the Vindhya Hills, Baghelkhand, Central Provinces, India

Various Stone implements found in caves and rock-shelters on the Vindhya Hills, Central Provinces, India

DRAWINGS OF INDIAN STONE IMPLEMENTS PROBABLY BY A. C. CARLYLE

In the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum. Drawn at actual size, here reduced to 1/4.

(To illustrate article 140)
SOCIETATI REGALI
INSTITUTUM REGALE
ANTHROPOLOGICUM
SALUTEM

PÆCEPERUNT nobis concilium sodalesque Instituti Regalis Anthropologici Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae, annos vix CXVII conditi, ut vobis, viri illustriissimi, præsidi concilio sodalibus Societatis Regalis iam annos CCC celebrabantibus animo lætissimo gratulemur. Mora nimia sit si multos illos sodales nostros nomine recordemur qui usque ab Instituto condito in statum ampliorem vestra sodalitatis accesserunt. Vos enim naturam rerum omnem, cuius homo pars haud minima, nos autem hominem in natura indagare solemus. Talem communitatem maximi æstimamus atque ut in perpetuum permaneat intenti precamur.

SUNT quibus scientiæ humanae, quæ sub nomine anthropologia amplexuntur, diversæ nimis et disiectae videntur ita ut partes aliae scientiis naturalibus aliae libentius humanitatis adhaerere possint. Nos tamen hoc non pro infortunio habemus sed pro opportunitate egregia. Constat enim inter vos et nos scientiam unam esse atque indivisibilem: cur aliter Societas Regalis trecentos annos universalis cum approbatione permanit? Nonne docet nos antiquitus experientia scientiæ provincias non per rectas lineas se promovere, velut inter longos illos muros Atheniensium, sed humani ingenii commercio nullus confinis assuefacto? Disciplina igitur anthropologica nobis neque dimidiae partes non congræ, haec corpus humanum haec mores investigans, neque tertia quadam jurisdictio sui potens inter scientias humanitatesque esse videtur, sed potius ambarum pars omnino necessaria, quasi ferrumen præbens quo coniunctæ præstantiæ rerum naturam cognoscere vitantur.

SOCIETATE vestra denique pra ceteris omnibus et nos et cuncti scientiarum studiosi semper confidimus quam libere scientiæ propugnatorum principali contra doctrinas subdolae extrinsecus insinuatæ. Pietate sincera spe secura admiratione verecunda vobiscum nos omnes libentissime gaudemus atque ut Societatis Regalis gloria in æternum floreat, immo vero si fieri potest continent Amplificetur, vehementer exoptamus. Quapropter præsidem nostrum eremutum Ioannis Alexandrum Fraser Robertus, sanguinis humani indagatorum præclarum, delegavimus qui sollemnibus vestris intersit obsequiumque nostrum cum hoc volumine simul offerat.

DABAMUS LONDINI EX ÆDIBUS NOSTRIS, IDIBUS JULIIS MCMLX

Audrey I. Richards
Marian W. Smith

Præses
A Secretis
MORHANA PAHAR: OR THE MYSTERY OF A. C. CARLYLE*

by

G. DE G. SIEVEKING

Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum

140 Mrs. Bridget Allchin's article (MAN, 1958, 207) on the caves known as Morhana Pahar which she believes were discovered by General Cunningham’s 'first assistant' in the Archaeological Survey of India, in 1880 or 1881, has prompted me to some further inquiries.

The name of this officer, as given on the spine and the title page of his Report of Tours in Gorakpur and Ghazipur (Archaeol. Survey Rep. XXII (1885)), is A. C. Carleyle. However, there is no doubt that his real name was Archibald Campbell Carlyle. In the files of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum there is a black-edged letter dated 12 November, 1897, which reads as follows:

Airlie Lodge,
Campden Hill Road,
Kensington, W.

12 Nov. 1897

Sir,

My Brother, Mr. Archibald Campbell Carlyle, who for many years held an appointment in the Archaeological Survey of India, has recently died, and I wish that at his death two short square Buddhist railing pillars with mortised holes in their sides, as well as his copies or rubbings of Indian inscriptions should be given to the British Museum.

Will the Museum accept them, and, if so, should they be sent to Bloomsbury, or would the authorities prefer to send some one to inspect them first?

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Hildred E. Carlyle.

Either, therefore, Carlyle is a curious Indian misprint, or A. C. Carlyle changed the spelling of his name for the period of his service in India. It is necessary to emphasize this point since the Museum collections studied by Mrs. Allchin naturally registered the finder by the name of Carlyle.

Mrs. Allchin has not, I am afraid, understood the mechanism of the acquisition by the Museum of the portions of the Carlyle Collection which she lists. She states that:

One of Carlyle’s [sic] executors, Charles Seidler, sent selections of his finds, which consisted of stone artifacts, chiefly microliths, to the British Museum, to the United States National Museum, to the national museums of Scotland and Ireland, to Oxford and to museums on the continent. In some cases the artifacts were accompanied by extracts from Carlyle’s notes and lists of sites.

From internal evidence we can show that Seidler was not (at the time) one of Carlyle’s executors. The report on the Collection in the National Museum of Scotland quoted by Mrs. Allchin is in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for 1892 (3rd Series, Vol. II, pp. 408–11), and as we know from the letter quoted above Carlyle did not die until five years later. Seidler’s position is in fact a crucial one. He acted as an intermediary between Carlyle and these institutions and negotiated the sale of his Indian collections in a piecemeal fashion. He was in fact a dealer. However the British Museum did not acquire any part of its collection directly from Seidler. The Indian microliths in the Christy Collection at the British Museum were purchased at the Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Science in 1887. A sales catalogue is still in existence. The general title is 'Catalogue of the Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, Indian Antiquities, etc., 1887,' and on page 51 a sub-title reads as follows:

A General Descriptive Survey of those portions which were brought to England of a Private Collection of Indian Antiquities, mostly archaic. Firstly, illustrative of the earliest arts of man in the prehistoric stone age. And secondly: including also a small collection of objects of archaeological interest, belonging to the historic period; with a few other articles, serving to bring the series down to medieval and modern times. (The Collections above referred to were made in India, personally, by Mr. A. C. Carlyle, late of the Archaeological Survey of India.)

Furthermore, there is a slip in, to mark the place, on which is written: 'Bought by A.W.F. [Augustus Wollaston Franks, then Keeper] from A. C. Carlyle, No. 1887. Chr[isty]. Collection', to which a later hand had added in pencil 'A. C. L. Carlyle.'

This is plainly the source of the collections referred to by Mrs. Allchin. Items V and VI are particularly enlightening.

V.—PÁLEOLITHIC AND MESOLITHIC.—From the Vindhyahills, Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand.

1d. Rudely chipped Implements and Flakes, of Quartzite, Hard Quartzitic Sandstone, Basalt, and Chert; some from caves and rock-shelters; others from terraces, ledges, and ravines; among the Vindhyahills, in Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand. Some also (further on) from the site of an aboriginal and prehistoric manufactory at the foot of the Hill of Marpha, Bundelkhand.

VI.—NEOLITHIC.—Vindhyahills.

1e. Implements and Flakes, of Chert, Agate, and Jasper, with others of Quartzite, or hard Quartzitic Sandstone, from Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand; including knives, scrapers, arrowheads, lances, picks, borers, fine small needle-shaped implements, and fine and narrow delicate razor-shaped flake knives, or small spokeshave-shaped implements; and also numerous little semi-lunar or crescent-shaped implements of agate, with the straight or chord side of the crescent brought to a sharp bevelled edge:—a large number of the above-mentioned specimens being from caves and rock-shelters, and other places of lodgement, such as ledges, terraces, and ravines, among the Vindhyahills.

2e. Flakes of all kinds.

3e. Rude stone Digging or Dibbling Implements, of various kinds; and two rude Club-shaped stones.

4e. Pounding Stones, Mashed, and Crushers.

5e. Stone Choppers.

6e. Stone Celts, or Hatches, of three kinds:—the first, formed by chipping, or flaking only; the second, also formed by chipping, or flaking, but sharpened at the cutting edge.
alone, by grinding; and the third kind, smoothed all over, or entirely formed by grinding.

76. Stone Implements shaped like rude Chisels and Adzes. (Perhaps used as sockets for the ancient wooden Fire Drill?)

9e. Grooved, or Pitted, Hammer-head Stones, of various kinds.

10e. Large, smoothly ground, circular or oval, stones, perforated through the centre; commonly called 'Ring Stones'; but which might be called 'Mace-head Stones.'

11e. Pounding Pestles; and Strikers for Flaking.

12e. Grinding Stones, or Mullers, with a few fragments of Bed Stones.

13e. Stone Discs.

14e. Triangular and Ridge-shaped objects of stone.

And I would also recommend a search for Item VIII (pp. 57f.):

VIII.—RUDE CAVE PAINTINGS AND MARKS ON ROCKS.

18. Copies of a few (out of many) rude Aboriginal Paintings (mostly in red colour in the original) in caves and rock shelters on the Vindhyha Hills; and specimens of the red 'Geru' Stone with the colour derived from which the Paintings were done. Pieces of this red 'Geru' Stone were found, already rubbed down into facets, in the earth in the floors of the caves and rock shelters, along with stone implements, thus proving that the 'Geru' colour must have been rubbed down and used by the same prehistoric aborigines who made the stone implements.

This is probably a more important and significant discovery!

28. A few impressions of 'Cup Marks' on Rocks. (For want of space, only a very few examples, from the northern scarp of the Vindhya, are here exhibited.)

Incidentally, this would suggest that A. C. Carlyle made tracings or copies of the cave paintings instead of taking photographs of them. Photography in a bad light must still have been a difficult process in India in the early eighteen-eighties!

Mrs. Allchin is however quite correct in believing that many of the specimens now in the Sturges Collection came from Carlyle. They were in fact purchased by Dr. Sturges, both direct from Seidler and from Canon Greenwell, whose stone implement collection was purchased by Sturge in 1894.

The documents in this case consist of letters from Charles Seidler—the first, addressed to Canon Greenwell in 1888, being the most explicit as to the finder's purpose in selling his collection:

My dear Greenwell,

I feel grateful to you for taking a series of Mr. Carlyle's implements of which I have just sent you 50 by parcel post.

The selection is not quite as good as at the beginning but you will find them curious both as regards form and material.

Please send the specimen by two postal orders which I can forward to Mr. C. at once. Poor man, he wants it. . . .

Mr. Carlyle's localities are all in the Central Provinces of India, bordering on the N.W. Provinces.

Seidler subsequently sold two collections to Dr. Sturges, in July, 1893, and April, 1896 (price £40). His letters which are still intact contain drawings of the implements (Plate I), 'Copies of Mr. A. C. Carlyle's notes' identical to those already published, and inventories of the specimens including microliths in the caves in the Vindhyha Hills, material from the Nabada Gravels (handaxes) and from the tumuli.

I quote here the only list which gives the provenances of each implement:

Contents of 3 boxes of Indian stone implements found by A. C. Carlyle Esq. (lately attached to the Archaeological Survey of India) principally in various caves and rock-shelters in the Vindhyha Hills, Baghelkhand, Central provinces of India.

BOX NO. 1

1. Crescent-shaped implement
   Morahna Pahar 2
   Gharwa Pahari 6
   Fields near Bunda 12
   Baghmar Pahari 2
   Likhnaya Pahar 4
   Bharkha 5
   Morahna Pahar 3
   Gharido Pahari 3
   Triangular 7
   Morahna Pahar 10
   Morahna Pahar 14
   Bhage Khon 4
   Morahna Pahar 10
   Gharwa Pahari 9
   Bhage Khon 5
   Morahna Pahar 7
   — do — 2
   Morahna Pahar 13
   Morahna Pahar 8
   Morahna Pahar 8
   Morahna Pahar 22
   Gharwa Pahari 4
   Morahna Pahar 9
   Morahna Pahar 11
   Morahna Pahar 12
   Morahna Pahar 3
   Morahna Pahar 2
   Morahna Pahar 4
   Morahna Pahar 9
   Morahna Pahar 6
   Morahna Pahar 2
   Morahna Pahar 4
   Morahna Pahar 9
   Morahna Pahar 6
   Morahna Pahar 2
   Morahna Pahar 4
   Morahna Pahar 9
   Morahna Pahar 6
   Morahna Pahar 2
   Morahna Pahar 4
   Morahna Pahar 9
   Morahna Pahar 6
   Morahna Pahar 2
   Morahna Pahar 4
   Morahna Pahar 9
   Morahna Pahar 6
   Morahna Pahar 2
   Morahna Pahar 4
We may therefore believe that Carlyle was the source of the implements from these and other sites in Northern India listed in the Inventory to the Catalogue of the Sturge Collection (R. A. Smith, 1937). The fact that the majority of the specimens appear to be from Morhana Pahar should be a source of gratification to Mrs. Allchin. It may indeed lead one to believe that the group of caves is that described in his notes—the two caves and two rock shelters from which the vast majority of his collection came. It is most interesting to hear that Mrs. Allchin has succeeded in identifying the caves on Morhana Pahar and many of the other 'Carlyle' sites and I hope that she will be able to let us have a district map of the sites, together with a list of what has been found in each of them, descriptive of the stone implements in the various museum collections. If their distribution is as limited as she informs us, the stone industries may have a distinctive character and the attribution of certain cave paintings to the makers of these tools would gain considerably from its definition.

THE ETHNIC ORIGINS OF ZANDE OFFICE-HOLDERS

by

PROFESSOR E. E. EVANS-Pritchard, M.A., PH.D.
Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford

The Azande are an ethnic and cultural amalgam to which more than 30 different peoples have contributed. Some of these peoples are peripheral to the Zande kingdoms, others have been subjugated by the original Azande, the Avongara-Ambomu, but still form distinct ethnic and geographical groups speaking their own languages, while yet others, forming the majority of the present-day Azande, even in those areas where the Avongara-Ambomu are best represented, have been entirely assimilated. It was the policy of the ruling Avongara family to recognize some of the chiefs of the conquered peoples but real power lay in the hands of their own representatives, the noble and commoner gowm whom they appointed to rule the provinces of their realms. Now, Junker (W. Junker, Travels in Africa, 1891, p. 193) tells us that in the course of the years during which he travelled widely among the Azande he only came across one man of any political importance who was not either a member of the Avongara aristocracy or of true Zande (i.e. Mbonou) stock. Although Junker does not seem to have been aware that the Azande, both the Ambomu and the peoples assimilated to them, had clans, it has to be borne in mind that in his day, the end of the seventies and the first years of the eighties of last century, it may have been easier than in my day to have spotted men of foreign origin without a knowledge of the ethnic affiliations of the many Zande clans, because the social and cultural absorption of foreign stocks was in a less advanced stage.

This note is written to determine the accuracy of his statement by inquiring into the ethnic provenance of such provincial governors as were commoners and of persons holding lesser office. I have in this inquiry to rely on my own information, which with regard to commoner governors is mainly restricted to the old kingdom of Gbudwe, for none of our authorities on the Azande give any detailed or precise information about the subject, or even any information at all. One of them, Fr. Geyer (F. Z. Geyer, Durch Sand, Sumpf und Wald, 1914, p. 306), goes so far as to make the statement that only an aristocrat—a member of the ruling clan of the Avongara—can become a chief, and, thus, he says, as a rule only close relatives of a king, such as his sons and brothers, can become chiefs, a statement which I would treat with reserve even though it refers to the old kingdoms of Tembura and Ezo with which I was myself scarcely acquainted. Much, of course, depends on what he means by 'chief' (hauptling). The same ambiguity appears in von Wiese's statement (Mecklenburg, A. F., Duke of, From the Congo to the Niger and the Nile, 1913, p. 229), speaking of the area near Tembura Post, that 'the sultans, village chiefs, and under-chiefs are all Asandes.' We do not know what he meant by 'village chiefs,' especially as there were no villages, nor what he meant by 'under-chiefs,' nor, for the matter of that, precisely what he meant by 'sultans.' Also we do not know what he meant by 'Asandes,' whether the Ambomu or 'true' or 'original' Azande as distinct from persons of foreign origin or whether he included among the term also persons of foreign origin who had adopted the Mbonou language and way of life, in contrast to foreigners who had retained their speech and habits. He may well have been ignorant of the difference. This is the point which I shall now discuss.

My informants mentioned the names of the following important commoner governors of provinces in the kingdoms of Bazingbi, Gbudwe's father, who died in about 1868, of his elder brother Renzi, who predeceased him by many years, and of Renzi's son Tombo or Bazuiga:

Nzaniwe, Akowe clan
Mbauru, Akowe clan
Sakita, Abangbinda people
Kusi, Abiri people
Bafurumai, Angumbe clan
Welegene, Agiti clan
Ngbandia, Avokili clan

Kuiya, Ameteli clan
Wando, Agbambi clan
Bavungu, Agbambi clan
Mada, Agbambi clan
Sakondo, Avinduo clan
Nzunga, Agbambi clan
Ngbamboli, Abaguna clan

Now seven out of these 14 persons belonged to Mbonou clans, while two, those of the Akowe clan, though of Adio stock, had been so early and completely absorbed by the Ambomu that they counted as their social equals. The other five were of foreign stocks.

* The Hon. Editor gratefully acknowledges assistance from the Ford Foundation, through the author, towards publication of this paper.
Gbudwe reigned from about 1868 to 1905, when he was killed by a British patrol. At one time or another during his reign the following commoner governors whose clans have been recorded ruled provinces of his realm or provinces adjacent to it in his elder brother Wando's kingdom or provinces in the vast area administered by his second son Mange, who was an almost independent monarch:

Gunde, Angbadimo clan
Gundusu, Angbadimo clan
Kulewoka, Abakundo clan
Zengendi, Angumbe clan
Bazo, Akowe clan
Wanangba, Agiti clan
Nguasa, Agbambi clan
Ngbomboli, Abugu clan
Bagundusu, Avokida clan
Negereni, Abananda (Akowe) clan
Sagara, Angbadimo clan
Zabia, Abananga (Akowe) clan
Bakekepe, Angumbe clan
Baepuru, Avokida clan
Bamboti, Abugu clan
Murungba, Agbambi clan
Romboki, Angbadimo clan
Zoli, Angumbe clan
Wangu, Abugu clan
Tangili, Agbambi clan
Gami, Akowe clan
Yango, Abawooy clan
Bangodiya, Agiti clan
Ndegui, Angbadimo clan
Bakorodi, Abakundo clan
Nagaza, Aghambi clan
Yangiliya, Akalingo clan
Kpooyo, Abangibinda people
Pakwiyo, Abawooy clan
Ngatuvo, Agiti clan
Gbaro, Abandodo clan
Ngbanarungba, Agiti clan
Dangba, Aghambi clan

Of these 33 persons, 26 belonged to Ambomu clans (including the Akowe) and seven to clans of foreign origin.

We may conclude therefore that whilst the Ambomu show numerical preponderancy in the lists of commoner governors it would not be correct to say that only Ambomu held important political office. However, Junker is doubtless right in the sense in which he probably intended his remark to be taken, that, except in newly conquered territories where almost the entire population was foreign, important political offices were seldom held by foreigners, even in areas where foreigners formed the greater part of the population, but were held by Azande, for the persons of foreign origin in the lists must have been completely Zandeized. Without a knowledge of the Mombo clans and those of the assimilated peoples and an appreciation of the extent to which they were distributed and mixed—and the admixture must have been far advanced by his time—Junker could scarcely have known whether a Zande was of Mombo or foreign stock.

There can be little doubt, and it is what Azande themselves say, that kings preferred to appoint Ambomu to provincial governorships; and we may suppose that the further back from the present day the more this preference would have operated, for the Ambomu were those who mostly frequented the courts; and it took a long time before a conquered people developed the habit of doing so. It was, in fact, precisely because Avongara and Ambomu represented the king in the provinces of his realm that the foreign peoples learnt the Zande tongue, to take part in affairs at court, and to adopt Zande ways of life.

When we consider the lower forms of political office, leadership of military companies and administrative posts within the provinces, we find that it was service at court and loyalty, ability and character which counted, regardless of descent, in the making of appointments, though, here again, it stands to reason that the further back we go the more such offices must have been restricted to Ambomu followers of the Avongara. This cannot, however, be demonstrated on account of lack of evidence. The earliest information that I possess is a very short list of deputies and leaders of companies of unmarried warriors in Bazingib's personal province towards the end of his reign (c. 1869). Of the eight persons listed below four belong to Mboomu clans and four to clans of foreign stocks.

Galia, Amburu clan
Sangumboli, Angbobio clan
Badiwodi, Angbadimo clan
Bakambara, Angbibi clan
Gangiya, Akalingo clan
Batangba, Abandodo clan
Baepuru, Avukida clan
Bidara, Abando clan

Some of these names appear in the following list of persons holding the same offices in Gbudwe's personal province at one or other period of his long reign, or in the earlier list of governors, for he confirmed them in office, or promoted them, when he took control after his father's death. Of the 54 persons listed 23 belong to Ambomu clans (including the Akowe) and 29 to clans of foreign origin.

Baepuru, Avukida clan
Gbaro, Abandodo clan
Ingida, Akalingo clan
Ngbatuyo, Agiti clan
Dumo, Avunduo clan
Bombu, Agiti clan
Tule, Abandodo clan
Malumbia, Abandodo clan
Gene, Aboro clan
Mbkogbudwe, Abaka people
Tupoi, Abugu clan
Nguma, Abandodo clan
Wanangba, Agiti clan
Zengendi, Angumbe clan
Likara, Abandodo clan
Bambasi, Abangibinda people
Ndanya, Abouro clan
Beka, Amisuka clan
Ngbanzingini. Abugu clan
Buso, Abandodo clan
Bazilikpi, Akalingo clan
Ngumia, Angumbe clan
Yako, Agiti clan
Zungbe, Aghambi clan
Banganzambu, Abakpara clan
Yawili, Ababangi clan
Birale, Akenge clan

Bagbaragba, Ambata clan
Bagba, Abandodo clan
Bazambago, Angali clan
Gbufa, Akpuru clan
Gatanga, Abugu clan
Bangili, Agiti clan
Turugba, Aboro clan
Ngba, Abaza clan
Bangbai, Abandodo clan
Gibile, Agiti clan
Ngbarama, Akuosu clan
Ghalika, Abandodo clan
Hiniura, Abakpara clan
Yangiliya, Avunduo clan
Mangano, Agiti clan
Mblingi, Abangau clan
Bagadu, Avunduo clan
Bagura, Abandodo clan
Basili, Abugu clan
Banginise, Abare clan
Bambui, Akuosu clan
Keledue, Abakundo clan
Ndukezingi, Akurungu clan
Yamo, Abangibinda people
Pasua, Aghambi clan
Bagaza, Akowe clan
Kuki, Akurungu

A further check was made by listing the more important commoners who held similar offices in provinces of Gbudwe's sons Ndulke, Gangura and Bafuka during their father's lifetime. Of these 36 persons 19 are of Ambomu stock (including Akowe and Adio) and 17 are of foreign origin.

Buze, Ababure clan
Zambu, Avotombo clan
Banvunu, Adogo clan
Banyekiyo, Avunduo clan
Basingbata, Abangba clan
Gbago, Abawo clan
Zaga, Abangbwi clan
Gbaga, Abugu clan
Kplengi, Abugu clan
Kuangbata, Akpuru clan
Libiru, Aghambi clan
Bandapai, Abanzuma clan
Maame, Adio clan
Ndengu, Angbadimo clan
Bakili, Agiti clan
Namba, Apsi clan
Ngawe, Abadara clan
Kotokoti, Avotombo clan
Kparyku, Akpuru clan
Gorogoe, Avotombo clan
Tungua, Agiti clan
Gange, Agbuotu clan
Gadia, Abatko clan
Gbanda, Aghambi clan
Ingiwara, Akowe clan

101
On the evidence cited we may conclude that whilst the Mboomu clans in Gbudwe’s kingdom were represented among office-holders in a proportion higher than their membership bore to the total population, it is not much higher and is less than might have been expected, considering the fact that the foreign elements belonged to peoples for the most part conquered by his grandfather Yakpati and by his father Bazingbi and by his uncles, Renzi chief among them.

An attempt was made to test this conclusion against conditions obtaining in 1929–1930. At that time the greater part of the Sudanese Azande had been compelled to live in settlements of one sort or another, though some were still in their original dispersed state. However, each settlement was no more or less composed of the same people who had lived near each other before, and the headmen were persons who represented the princely rulers in the pre-settlement districts or were the same sort of persons. The Administration did not make the appointments, which were under control of the princes themselves. These appointments therefore not only give some indication of clan, and therefore ethnic, representation among office-holders at the time at which the sample was taken, but also have some bearing on the principles of selection at any time. Quite a number of settlements had been in charge of princely rulers’ sons and brothers and other nobles. This was a new development due to the impossibility of expansion by conquest under European rule and to the equal impossibility of eliminating rivals by traditional methods; and also to the great growth in numbers of the nobility. These appointments are left out of the present inquiry since they are not directly involved in the question at issue. The inquiry covered the whole of that part of Zandeland which lies in what was, at the time it was conducted, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan or, in Zande terms, what were once the kingdoms of Gbudwe, Ezo and Tembura. Three hundred and fourteen headmen have been listed and they have been found to be numerically divided among the clans as shown in the table below. In my estimation of what may be regarded as Mboomu and foreign clans 87 headmen were of Mboomu stock and 227 of various foreign stocks. The Mboomu headmen were thus in 1929–1930 about 28 per cent. of the total, a percentage corresponding fairly well with the ratio of the Ambomu as a whole to the total population of Sudanese Zandeland. If the Akowe and Adio are included, as before, among the Ambomu the figures would be 97 Ambomu and 217 men of foreign stocks, making the Ambomu about 31 per cent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akowe</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Akudere</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avubanga</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abaroli</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abanya</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abanururu</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abayere</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abahagbe</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangamuna</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abantrye</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abamburu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abarnzuma</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abangbale</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The matter which I have been discussing may seem a small one to devote a paper to, but it is none the less an important one for an understanding of Zande political institutions and mode of administration, and of the remarkable absorption of heterogeneous elements into the single people which we now speak of as the Azande. It has a further and more general interest for the student of African kingdoms, for we often have little information about the social texture of them and, in particular, about the precise manner in which conquest brought about assimilation. This paper has some bearing on these questions. Furthermore, it is now or never that such incorrect or ambiguous statements by earlier writers as those which I have mentioned must be challenged. I make no apology therefore for citing some of the evidence which clarifies the statements of these early travellers and possibly, according to the meaning that we attribute to them, contradicts them. A critical examination of sources seems to me to be one of the most useful tasks that can be undertaken by anthropologists at the present time.
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
PROCEEDINGS

Land Tenure and Village Structure among the Luvalle Compared with Other Northern Rhodesian Tribes. By C. M. N. White. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 24 September, 1959

Northern Rhodesia (excluding the Barotse province for the purpose of this paper, since it has not yet been studied by me) is ethnographically fairly diversified, but the greater part of its inhabitants are matrilineal. As common features over most of the area we may, however, note the existence of dispersed clans, and the fact that villages are not composed of unilinear descent groups. Village structures themselves vary especially according to whether marriages are dominantly virilocal as in the Tonga or Lunda, or at least initially uxorilocal as is found in e.g. Chewa, Nsenga, Bemba and many other groups. Apart from modern improved farming, agricultural systems may be regarded as forming two broad categories—one of essentially shifting cultivators associated with the growing of maize, sorghum and millet crops, the other of semi-stable or stable cultivators associated with the growing of cassava. In terms of land-holding the main points to be made are that villages do not form corporate land-holding groups of a unilinear character because of their composition; secondly the extent to which land rights are developed to include regular transfers and inheritance of land is limited in the case of shifting cultivators by the impermanence of associations between individuals and a given piece of land.

The Luvalle, Luchazi and Chokwe of the north-west are an exception to these general features, and their ethnographical affinities are much less with the remainder of the people of Northern Rhodesia than with those north-westwards as far as the Kongo. Luvalle villages are overwhelmingly unilinear groups of matrilineally related males, marriages being virilocal, and sisters sons regularly joining their mothers' brothers. They have deep matrilineal genealogies, sometimes as much as 17 to 20 generations. The Luvalle are cassava-cultivators and there is a close relationship between the corporate unilinear composition of a village and its land. Thus, unlike other tribes in Northern Rhodesia, resting land is identified as village land and not associated with any individual who used it but no longer is cultivating it. Sale of land is quite regular in closely settled areas where a village member transfers land to a member of another village, but transfers within a village, i.e. between lineage members, are effected by gift.

An account of Luvalle rural economy which includes data on their agriculture and land holding is in the press, to be published as a Rhodes Livingstone Institute Paper; a complementary account of Luvalle village, lineage and clan structure has been completed, and it is hoped, will be published shortly.

SHORTER NOTES

Massive Acheulian Implements from Thames and Solent Gravels. By A. D. Lacaille, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, London. With three text figures

The British Museum (Natural History), Kensington, possesses the largest known Lower Palaeolithic handaxe from an English site. Of Middle Acheulian manufacture, elongated almond shape, in light grey, flint stained lightest brown and measuring 32 centimetres (12.65 in.) by 16.2 cm. (6-5 in.) by 5.85 cm. (2.33 in.), the truly noble specimen was found by G. Carter in March, 1919, near the base of gravel he was removing in the course of his day's labour in Mr. N. C. Cooper's Cannoncourt Farm pit at Furze Platt, Maidenhead, Berks. Acquired by the late Llewellyn Treacher (F.R.A.I.), and presented by him to the nation, it is now familiar as a much admired exhibit. Recently a photograph of the implement together with a miniature handaxe has been given pride of place among the illustrations in Dr. K. P. Oakley's admirable handbook, Man the Tool-Maker.²

Before this work appeared I had figured and commented on the giant handaxe from Maidenhead. In this paper² the palaeolith containing fluvialite gravels resting on the Lower Boyne Hill (Lent Rise—Furze Platt) Terrace on both banks of the Thames around Maidenhead were assigned to the Great Interglacial of England that is commonly correlated with the Mindel-Riss Interglacial Period of Penck's and Brückner's Alpine scheme. Thus, this crucial deposit is equatable with the classic Middle Gravel at Swancombe, not only geologically but archaeologically also, the contemporary and unblemished Acheulian artifacts at the Kentish site and in the Maidenhead district being identical in general facies.

The remarkable agreement existing in the average size of the bifacially flaked implements from both localities stresses the kinship of the Acheulian industries. Such a product as the great handaxe from Furze Platt therefore stands out all the more conspicuously, and as this particular specimen is so beautifully worked it has attracted much attention. However, the equivalent prolific gravels west of London have yielded other big Acheulian tools. Though none of these is so finely scarred and finished, yet they are skillfully executed for what may at first appear to be crude artifacts. One, figured (fig. 1) as representative of a few

![Fig. 1. Massive Acheulian Implement from Farnham Royal](image)

which I have found during the course of my observation of the gravel-diggings, is a squat, very heavy tool, bifacially flaked in a large cobble of mortled dark brownish flint. It was found in the now vanished Baker's (O. S. Biddle's) Farm gravel pit, south of Farnham Royal, Bucks. Very boldly flake-scarred on one face and finely on the other, the implement has only one long working edge, and may therefore be regarded as a chopper rather than a true handaxe. The tip, however, is wide and trimmed by fine dressing on one face and bold scarring on the other. Retaining
much cortex that affords an excellent grip, it measures 17.9 cm. (7.1 in.) in length, 12.1 cm. (4.75 in.) in width, and 8.75 cm. (3.6 in.) in thickness. Although quite well preserved, this massive artifact is probably not among the latest of the Middle Acheulian relics from the fluvial gravel that rests upon the Lower Boyne Hill Terrace. This appears from the fact that its ridges are slightly smoothed on one face and crushed on the other, and that its cutting edge is somewhat bruised partly by wear and partly by accidents in the containing deposit.

The report published by the Royal Anthropological Institute includes much on the Acheulian industrial products associated in the Swanscombe Middle Gravel with the pieces of the human skull discovered in 1935. Fully descriptive and superbly illustrated as are the archaeological paragraphs, they make no mention of exceptionally large, heavy tools like those from the sites between 30 and 40 miles upstream in Buckinghamshire and Berkshire. Nor is any reference to comparable large forms to be found in earlier writings on the famous gravel pit at Swanscombe. It is opportune, therefore, to notice a handaxe from here (fig. 2) belonging to the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum. Hewn in a nodule of the characteristic banded greyish-brown flint that is so abundantly represented in series of paleoliths from Swanscombe, in its dimensions this specimen is not so large as, but not less imposing than the Furze Platt giant. It is 25.9 cm. (10.2 in.) long, 10.6 cm. (4.75 in.) at its widest, tapers gradually from its heavy corticated butt, which is no less than 5.6 cm. (2.2 in.) thick, to a flat and almost cleaver-like cutting end 2.9 cm. (1.5 in.) across. Better preserved than the big implement from Furze Platt, the Swanscombe example is pristinely sharp and quite unaltered. Though its workmanship may at first seem crude, actually it is of as high order as the Berkshire find, its graceful, elongated working part having been achieved by minimal bold and shallow flaking.

Large paleoliths such as are figured here would excite attention even in Africa where the immense size of so many handaxes and the like was dictated by very real needs. In this regard one thinks of the skinning and dismembering of the carcasses of huge animals, some much bigger than their congeners in Europe.5 Experiments, indeed, have shown that for such operations the pointed and long-edged implements would serve very well.6 To what uses were put some of the other Acheulian artifacts must remain meantime in the realm of speculation.

In the category of conjectural purpose there has to be placed the last implement in this list of exceptionally large Lower Paleolithic tools. This is an ovate of grey flint (fig. 3), stained to a pleasing rich ochreous hue, found 60 years ago near Shirley Church, Hants. Having a cutting edge that extends all round, it measures 20.7 cm. (8.15 in.) by 14.6 cm. (5.75 in.) by 4.7 cm. (1.9 in.). These dimensions are about twice those of the average Acheulian ovate of well developed workmanship. Only the merest vestige of crust is left in a tiny pitting on this finely flaked implement which is a masterpiece of Lower Paleolithic craft. Dulled ridges, crushed edges and some short scratches in the flake beds attest that this great ovate was the victim of abrasive agencies in carriage. This must have brought it down the valley of the Test in gravels that came to rest between 160 and 100 feet on a slope that is now the southern edge of ground once part of the drainage of an ancient Solent River. Among the many old gravel-workings, shore and surface sites in the region, the pit in which this implement was found yielded many similarly flaked paleoliths. Visiting the place recently, I verified much of what has been said on the local geology. Consequently, after checking various points I am at last able to make known this treasure of the late R. V. E. de Barri Crawshay, of Sevenoaks, at the sale of whose prehistoric collection the remarkable ovate was acquired by the late Sir Henry Wellcome for his museum. To the present Director, Dr. E. Ashworth Underwood, my thanks are expressed for permission to draw notice to this specimen. With the other implements mentioned here it helps to shed more light on Acheulian industry representative of the longest-lasting of all man's cultures.

**Notes**

1 British Museum (Natural History), 1949, Plate I.
6 Oakley, *op. cit.*, 1949, pp. 13f.
7 Believed to be the 'gentleman from Kent [who] gave a standing order to the gravel-diggers for all that were found to be sent to him, and paid handsome for the same,' mentioned by W. Dale in his 'The Palaeolithic Implements of the Southampton Gravels,' p. 262, in *Papers and Proc. of the Hampshire Field Club*, Vol. III, 1894-97 (pp. 261-4). Southampton, 1898.

For centuries there was the closest possible contact by trade and war between England and the Low Countries. Woollen merchants and soldiers made Englishmen a familiar sight there. Many of these must have been landed proprietors interested in the development and improvement of farming, but it was not until Sir Richard Weston visited those countries that the fine farming there had any real effect upon this country's agriculture.

About 100 years later some Northamptonshire farmers were introduced to the Hainault scythe by what seems to have been the merest chance. The tool was very ancient in its country of origin, and is known to have been used there in the Middle Ages. It was probably much older. It is odd that none of the innume-

able Englishmen who must have seen it thought of bringing one home for trial. It was not until 1763 that the first attempt to use it was made in Northampton.

The common practice then was to reap wheat with a sickle, with either a plain or a serrated cutting edge, and to mow barley with a scythe. Sometimes oats were mown. Some controversy had developed about the possibility of mowing wheat, especially a laid crop. Few of the ordinary run-of-the-cloth farmers were prepared to accept the proposed change, and the workers were even more stubbornly antagonistic, as they had been to Jethro Tull's attempt to sow sainfoin with his drill about 80 years before. All the more credit is due to the anonymous Northamptonshire farmers who made the first experiments with the Hainault scythe. They were, in fact, stimulated by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, etc. (now the Royal Society of Arts).

A foreign gentleman, Monsieur Roland Charles de Breux, was sent by the Society to demonstrate the tool, and to instruct the mowers in its use. Whether he came by invitation or was visiting a friend is not clear. During the harvest of 1763 a great many trials were made with the scythe in the presence of crowds of local farmers. All were highly impressed with its advantages. The scythes did their work well, cut the corn within two inches of the ground, and, in spite of the awkwardness of men using an unfamiliar implement, scattered few ears of grain. Optimistic estimates of the work done made it twice as much as a man could do with a sickle or hook.

The opposition quickly discovered the disadvantages resulting from the use of a new thing, but these were as speedily disposed of by the party in favour. Throughout the century during which attempts were made to popularize the tool the arguments on both sides remained very much the same.

The objections were that the stubble was left much too short, and was therefore not fit for use in thatching; the weeds were cut with the corn, and would be apt to mould and heat; the weed

seed would therefore mix with the corn in threshing; the poor would be deprived of their gleanings as no grain was scattered.

The answers were simple. Mowing left a much longer straw, and this was better for thatching than stubble. The weeds could easily be shaken out of the sheaves after drying a day or two, and the sheaves could safely be left to dry if arranged in a particular way, again very different from the normal stockking.

The learner was instructed. 'Suppose three tobacco pipes to represent three sheaves, the bowls to be the feet of the sheaves and the small part the ears; lay one of these on the ground; then take another, and lay the bowl of it under the small end of the first; take afterwards a third, and disposing them in the form of a triangle, lay the bowl of the third under the small end of the second, and the bowl of the first under the small end of the third; by disposing them in this form the ears are always kept from the ground and will endure a great deal of wet without damage.' This involved much more trouble than plain stockking, but no one who entered the controversy made any bones about it, perhaps because labour at that time was so cheap.

FIG. 1. PARTS OF SCYTHES TRIED AT NORTHAMPTON IN 1763

From Museum Rusticum, 1766. (1) Handle of straight-handed scythe and cradle. (2) Blade of this scythe. (3) Blade of the same sort which was fitted to the short handle. (4), (5) Blade of the smallest or Hainault scythe. (6) Its short handle. (7) Its gathering hook. The last three show that these tools were identical with the Flemish pik en pikhaak.
FIG. 2. MOWING CORN WITH THE SCYTHE

From Stephens, Book of the Farm, 1877, fig. 419. (a) Swathes of corn. (b) Three mowers, using (left) the two-handled cradle scythe, (centre) the straight-handled cradle scythe and (right) the Hainault scythe or pik en pukhaak. (c) Three gatherers. (d) Open sheaves. (e) Bandster binding a sheaf. (f) Bandsters setting a stook. (g) Stook. (h) Man raker. (i) Hand stubble-rake. (k) Bound sheaf.

The group of Northamptonshire farmers who were the first enthusiasts for mowing wheat with the Hainault scythe sent a specimen of the tool to the Society, who placed it in their agricultural museum, which unfortunately was dispersed at a later date, the exhibits being now undiscoverable. They also sent a certificate to the Society describing the work done with it. 3

Naturally enough these farmers were convinced that the Hainault scythe would soon be generally used in this country for mowing wheat, but in the event it was not, despite various attempts to popularize it during the following century. What came to be almost a standard description of the tool and the way in which it must be used was issued much later. It was held in the mower’s right hand, and was a short scythe with a broad blade about 20 inches long. The handle was about the same length, and fixed so as to form an acute angle with the blade when cutting. It was bent outward at the end where it was held at an angle of about 120°, and shaped like the stout handle of a knife or turning tool. It was made so that when the blade lay flat on the ground the man’s hand was nearly perpendicularly over the centre of the curve of the blade so that he could swing it by wrist motion without stooping. A leather strap doubled and nailed to the handle so that he could put his forefinger through it prevented it from slipping out of his grasp. In his left hand he held a light stick three or four feet long, having a semicircular iron hook, about eight inches in diameter, fixed at its end. With this hook he collected the standing corn, and laid it towards the left, while he cut it close to the ground with the scythe. The cut corn leaned against that still standing. When half a sheaf was cut, the man turned half round, and hooked up what was cut with as much of what was standing. All this he cut and rolled up in the form of a sheaf, using his leg and foot to keep it in the bend of the blade. The man’s legs were protected by pieces of strong leather over the shins. 3

FIG. 3. REAPING WITH THE HAINAUT SCYTHE

From Stephens, op. cit., fig. 415. The method of use is identical with that shown in Flemish pictures of the sixteenth century.

As soon as the Northamptonshire experiments became known, numerous persons who had not seen the Hainault scythe discussed it, and the mowing of wheat, in the pages of the Museum Rusticum. The first of these was an Essex farmer, who had not been able to try the tool, but was strongly in favour of it. One of the Northampton men pointed out that there was a great similarity between the method of mowing beans in Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire with a cradle scythe, and mowing with the Hainault tool, though the cradle scythe was, of course, a two-handled tool. Another added a fuller description of the plate, which he thought difficult to understand. In Kent, two tools, a twisbile and a hink, were used to cut beans. These tools were not quite the same as the Hainault scythe and hook, but the man took hold of a parcel of beans with the hink and cut it with the twisbile. 'A Silent Member' therefore thought that Kentish men would speedily learn to use the foreign tool. Thomas Comber of East Newton, Yorkshire, pointed out that wheat was nearly always mown on the Wold farms. 4
Comber was an ardent patriot, and pointed out that English farmers were reluctant to follow the example of foreigners, especially Frenchmen, rather than their own countrymen. If a great many English farmers pronounced favourably on mowing wheat the rest might take it up. It was done all over the Wolds between Malton and Beverley, and the corn was always mown towards the standing crop. He was supported by a Lancashire farmer, who proposed that mowers from the Wolds should be sent to Northampton to make a comparative trial of the Hainault, Brabant and Yorkshire scythes. 'Ruricola Glocestri' failed to see the advantage of mowing wheat at all, unless there was a shortage of labour. Other farmers from different counties opposed Comber, among them Arthur Young, who had just commenced as a farmer at Bradfield Combust, but nothing very definite emerged. These efforts did not result in any general adoption of the Hainault scythe at that time.

Thirty years later Philip Howard of Corley Castle became convinced of its advantages, and wished to introduce it to his men, but could not find anyone to teach its use. The Earl of Marchmont had been defeated by the same obstacle nearly a century before. Sir G. H. Rose was another champion of it. The tool was then commonly used all over the old 17 Netherlands provinces, so he brought two Flemish labourers over to his Hampshire estate about 1811. These taught his gardener and another man, and their work was favourably reported on by the Christchurch (Hants.) Agricultural Society. Premiums were offered and the scythe men easily defeated those who used reap hooks. Rose doubted whether on this showing the common scythe could be used so advantageously for mowing wheat. Unfortunately he was sent abroad on foreign missions in 1813, and in his absence nothing further was done to stimulate the use of the foreign tool, but 30 years later he was still convinced of its value, and got his gardener to try it again. Although he had cut only two acres of wheat with it in the interval, this man, Felix Edgell, did very good work. Sir John Sinclair thought Rose's early attempt very excellent and deserving of support, but it was not successful. Sir John had, of course, himself studied the farming of the Low Countries, and appreciated the value of the tool.

Possibly because of Sir John's interest the Highland and Agricultural Society carried out some experiments with the tool in 1825. Two Flemish reapers, Jean B. Dupre and Louis Cotteau, were taken through Forfar in that year, and Henry Stephens accompanied them. He drew up a report that was published in the Society's Transactions. Many years later Stephens thought that the adoption of the cradle-framed scythe for mowing wheat had put a better tool in the Scottish farmers' hands. The Hainault scythe could not compete with it. This opinion was not shared by J. C. Loudon. In spite of a saving of about 25 per cent. when it was used, the men were very antagonistic. They were used to the sickle and the cradle scythe, but using the Hainault scythe and hook was very different. The body had to become attuned to the new and unfamiliar muscular strains, and they would not undergo this physical inconvenience. The editor of the Highland Society's Transactions was surprised that the demonstrations had no more effect.

During nearly 100 years enthusiasts tried to introduce the Hainault scythe to English farmers. It had obvious advantages, but it was not adopted, partly, of course, because it was not everywhere the custom to mow wheat in this country. When mowing was practised the home-designed cradle scythe was preferred, although one used in Scotland about 1850 resembles that of de l'Isle discussed in 1763. Even in Kent, where the twibill and hink, rather similar tools, were used for cutting beans, the Hainault scythe and hook did not gain favour. Barley and oats were mown with a cradle scythe but wheat continued to be reaped here as in most other districts until the mechanical reaper came and abolished
all question of the best hand tool. Though it was never extensively adopted, the various attempts to popularize the Hainault scythe played a small part in the development of farm mechanization, and are worth remembering.

Notes
8 Vol. VII, p. 244.

**A Puzzling Scene from Val Camonica. By Emmanuel Anati, M.A., D.Lit., Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, Paris. With a text figure**

During the fourth campaign at Val Camonica in the summer of 1958 we came across the rock carving reproduced here. It shows a phallic figure, carrying in his arms a child or an anthropomorphous figure, and standing in front of a sign which has the form of an oval face or idol. The scene is completed by a couple of animals whose precise identification cannot be defined. One of them is obviously of the male sex and seems to approach the other for sexual act.

Stylistically this scene belongs to the transitional phase between styles III and IV. If our dating is correct, this phase should belong to the very end of the second and the beginning of the first millennium B.C. The present scene should therefore be contemporary with the Unifield culture of Central Europe or with an early phase of Hallstatt.

**FIG. 1. THE PROBLEM PICTURE AT VAL CAMONICA**

of the scene and their raison d'être have not yet found a valid explanation. The subject matter of this scene is unique, as far as I know, not only in Val Camonica, but in the prehistoric and proto-historic figurative art of Europe as a whole.

I should be grateful to archaeologists and anthropologists who have constructive suggestions for the solution to this riddle.

**CORRESPONDENCE**

**New Guinea Warfare: Correction of a Mistake Previously Published. Cf. MAN, 1947, 115**

146 Sir,—In an article entitled 'The Rules of Relationship Behaviour in One Variety of Primitive Warfare', there is a mistaken notion that in the second action of Komonoka of 30 June to 1 July, 1935, on the Kamano, east-central highlands of New Guinea, some three or four Ndjaraguna village allies of the village of Nakena village were relatives. On further enquiry in that area in 1951 it was found that they were trade friends and not relatives. An informant of 1935 had not known the facts about the men. (Ndjaraguna are referred to in the article corrected as passive instead of the participants in and out of the action.) We do not care for the title of the article here corrected. Primitive means early in date, correctly used, and not 1935.

The data about conduct of women with brothers on one side and husbands on the other previously published stand, but the present

**R. F. FORTUNE**

*Faculty of Anthropology and Archaeology, Cambridge*

Professor Coulborn’s main theory is that the last ice age and the widespread desiccation which followed it made vast regions uninhabitable, and caused their occupants to flock into such areas as remained habitable, and in particular the great river valleys. There they were driven by hunger to an intensive development of grain-cultivation.

There were seven original centres of civilization: the valleys of the Nile, Euphrates, Indus and Yellow River, Crete, Central America and the Andes. What distinguished them from such primitives as managed to survive elsewhere was not the art of writing—Professor Coulborn agrees with Professor Leslie White in regarding that as of minor importance—but that ‘civilized societies are all subject to a cyclical movement of rise and fall,’ whereas ‘many primitive societies scarcely change at all in thousands of years’ (pp. 20f.). The first man, so far as I know, to put forward the cyclic theory was Polybius. Professor Coulborn does not cite him, but those whose he does cite, though their stages differ, all adhere to the mystical number, three. Professor Coulborn adds no evidence in support of the theory. Nor does he give any example of an unchanging primitive society. The writings of the functional anthropologists suggest, of course, that before the coming of the Whites all primitive peoples had lived in a state of timeless and unalterable bliss, but in most parts of the world there is archaeological evidence that earlier cultures were different and much other evidence for movements of people and cultures.

Professor Coulborn holds that though the peoples of these seven areas were subject to various forms of diffusion both before and after the periods in which their civilizations were developed, these civilizations were developed quite independently. He holds this so strongly that, of those who think otherwise, Childe and Sir Mortimer Wheeler are convicted of ‘false doctrine,’ and Professor Heine-Geldern of ‘egregious error’ (pp. 235, 3, note). He tells us that ‘there is clear evidence that each society started independently, for each one produced its own distinctive style, different from that of every other, recognizably different even to a very moderately discerning eye’ (p. 24). If we accepted this we should have to accept a great many independent starts, including those of, for example, the ‘Gothic’ builders, the Elizabethan dramatists and the French Impressionists.

Professor Coulborn goes on to describe the early history of the seven, and calls in the myths to supplement the archaeological evidence. He deals with the myths in the old-fashioned way, representing as history those parts of them which fit in with his theories and discarding the rest.

The new civilization developed in each of these seven areas included new religions, but strangely enough these new religions were all much the same. ‘Water was, of course, the essential means of the societies’ survival, and we shall find that it was the main aim of the religion in the Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Middle American and Andean societies, probably in the Indian and Chinese societies, and very possibly in the Cretan society, to secure water and establish in men’s minds the appropriate and necessary devotion to it’ (p. 130). Hence all the principal deities were deities of water and of rain. He admits that there are other elements in religion, but that they ‘are far harder to get at for the scholar than water cult is’ (p. 160). One can only comment that some scholars have found them easier. Budge, for example, starts Egyptian religion off with a sun god.

Professor Coulborn’s theories are interesting and some of them may be valid; the trouble is that he so often mistakes them for facts.


These two volumes, the second being wholly devoted to musical scores, will be welcomed as an outstanding contribution to African musical studies. The work has been admirably produced with the help of a generous grant from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. It contains probably the most intensive treatment yet undertaken, even by the Reverend A. M. Jones himself in previous publications, of fundamental problems in the transcription and analysis of musical practices of an African people, in this case the Ewe of Ghana. The writer’s Ewe informant, Mr. Desmond Tay, is an acknowledged ‘master drummer’ and Mr. Jones’s presentation of some of his rhythmic improvisations is particularly commendable.

The book is not an ethnomusicalological textbook but a collection of essays and scores and is addressed primarily, we are told in the preface, to musicians and, secondly, to others ‘who would wish to know what African music is like, and the social contexts in which it thrives.’ Information is given about Ewe dances and cult practices which provide the context for the music-making. The relationship between melody and speech tones in an Ewe song is expounded in great detail under the heading ‘Tone and Tune.’ In chapter 8, Ewe drumming is compared with that of the Lala (Northern Rhodesia) with which the writer has dealt extensively in earlier publications, the intention being to point out a fundamental musical unity.

Mr. Jones’s preference for starting from the musical facts of music-making rather than from recorded sound has been expressed in earlier writings and is reiterated here, together with mention of special apparatus designed by himself. ‘It is obviously impossible,’ he writes on p. 7, ‘for most musicians to go out to Africa and study the music direct from the Africans in their villages. What we need are reliable scores of African music so that all musicians may see what it is like.’ Certainly Mr. Jones has been the pioneer in devising techniques for transcribing those quantitative aspects of his chosen material which allow symbolization, and in supplementing his ‘performance scores’ (such as those in the appendix to Vol. I) with clear indications as to playing technique, so as to encourage his readers to attempt their own ‘African drumming’: ‘... with a good deal of persevering practice it should be possible for musical people to make a very fair show at reproducing real genuine African music’ (p. 12). The do-it-yourself method, as an ethnomusicalological field technique, has many adherents, but Mr. Jones is surely the first to offer home tuition. Some readers may feel, however, that they might have been able to derive even greater enjoyment and profit from the book had it been possible for the writer to recommend some available recordings of Ewe and Lala music bearing some resemblance to his examples. No Ewe or Lala music is to be found in the first hundred LP discs issued by the International Library of African Music in their admirable ‘Sound of Africa’ series, which is now widely available. It is greatly to be hoped that this gap may be bridged. A short list of record numbers—without titles or comment apart from tribe and territory—does appear at the end of chapter 9, ‘The Homogeneity of African Music,’ but these are offered in support of claims to homogeneous harmonic practices amongst a wide sampling of tribes. Tribes which sing a simultaneous interval of a third are grouped separately from all others and a ‘Distribution of Harmony’ map is provided to show that division on these grounds cuts across linguistic and other boundary criteria. Data for these claims have evidently been derived largely from gramophone records: ‘... to hear one single record is to hear dozens of records so far as harmony is concerned. One needs to hear the singing for but a few seconds to be able accurately to assign the tribe to its harmony family’.

149

Madame Lebeuf, already known in Africanist circles for La Civilisation du Tchad, written in collaboration with her husband J.-P. Lebeuf, has now contributed a volume to the excellent series sponsored by the International African Institute, Monographies Ethnologiques Africaines et Ethnographic Survey of Africa. The area which she deals with is centred on the Chad plain, bounded by the Tibesti and Ennedi massifs in the north and northeast, the rocky outcrops of Wadai in the east, the Kirdi populations of the Northern Cameroons and the lake itself to the west, and the 10° N. parallel to the south. From the academic and research angle, this is one of the least-known parts of the whole continent. Indeed, it surprises that while there is a good and growing accumulation of knowledge about most of Africa, the vital area of the Lake Chad-Wadai-Bagirmi complex has remained so barren and has continued to escape the attention of the foundation grants and doctoral research workers. For this reason Mme Lebeuf’s study will be particularly welcomed by Africanists, though, as she herself indicates, the principal sources of information are the narratives of early travellers, especially El Tunisi, Barth, Carbou and Nachtigal. Of contemporary scholars there is barely a handful: the Lebeufs, Le Coeur and Breendinger.

Since, unlike the subjects of some of the monographs in this series, the Chad populations are neither homogeneous nor densely apparentés, Mme Lebeuf has had to divide her study into ethnic groups rather than cultural sections. She treats separately the Saharan peoples (Teda, Daza and their offshoots); the old kingdoms of Kanem, Kotoko, Bulala, Bagirmi and Wadai; the so-called Arab peoples; and the populations refoulés, like the Buduma, Kinga and Dajo. This last rubric she defines as those peoples who, though within the sphere of influence of powerful empires, nevertheless developed along lines that were to a considerable extent independent. Each of these chapters contains sections on historical traditions and demography, language, geography, economic characteristics, social and political structure, and cultural features such as dress, religion, geomancy, marriage, birth and death. These observations are illustrated by an intelligent handling of vernacular terminology. The population figures are not always as up to date as one might reasonably expect from such a piece of research, e.g., the number of Arabs in Fort Lamy (p. 92) and the population statistics for the Kanem districts are certainly different now from the 1950 figures quoted here. Because of the ethnic heterogeneity, the index is confined to a tribal list and not a subject one.

There are two points that Africanists, despite their gratitude to Mme Lebeuf for this useful assemblage of sources relating to a little-covered area (even as sources seem less readily available here than research scholars in other fields of the Ethnographic Survey have discovered) would regret in this volume. The first—though this may have been beyond her control—is the deliberate exclusion of the Borno Province of Nigeria. Not only does this area contain the descendants of the old Kanem empire and almost a million Kanuri and 100,000 Shuwa Arabs, who are indisputably apparentés enough to merit inclusion in a study of the Chad complex; but also one must ask, suggesting the answer ‘yes,’ whether the time has not passed when African history or economics or anthropology is to be studied within the compact, arbitrary and artificial boundaries that exist only in political maps. Current reactions in Mali, Ghana, Togo and the Cameroons offer sufficient evidence of this, and scholars in the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. are aware of the need for an academic, if not yet political, redrawing of ethnographical boundaries. Though Mme Lebeuf rightly distinguishes between Kanembu and Kanuri, it would appear unrealistic for an anthropological study to allow Lake Chad to cut off the Kanuri. Only one hundred years ago the Kanem-Bornu dynasty of the Sefuwa still ruled in Bornu, and Magumi tradition and sentiment by no means died with the last Mani.

The second point concerns the bibliography, always one of the most significant features of this series. Here my confidence in the thoroughness of research into what is acknowledged to be an understudied area is disturbed by the omission of such standard, and not unicity esoteric, sources as Boyd Alexander, Duisburg, Denham, P. Fuchs, Heselrne, Croqueville, Cabot Briggs, Rebillet, Zimmermann, Soulen, Lieurade, Makrizi and Molin; by inadequate reference to writers like Lukas, Palmer, Kronenberg and Chapelle; by the absence of such linguistic students of the area as Barth, Bentzon and Greenberg; and by the suspicion that the French geographical journals of the period 1890-1910 have not been sufficiently combed.

One of the most encouraging recommendations of the 1957 conference on African history held at the School for Oriental and African Studies in London—whose compte-rendu has recently appeared—was for the mounting of an international research mission in the Chad area. The potential of such a proposal is hard to overestimate. In the meantime, despite the innuendo in this review that this study of Mme Lebeuf does not quite measure up to the Ethnographic Survey’s terms of reference, her monograph fills a gap and is another useful contribution to the Institute’s scheme of recording accurate and assimilable background information on African peoples.

A. H. M. KIRK-GREENE


Dr. Schlösser spent eight months in the Union and South-West Africa, and visited the headquarters of six independent African churches. She had personal discussions with most of the leaders, attended their ceremonies (taking some most interesting photographs), read all the documents relevant to their history and aims, and heard the views on them of adherents and critics. Her six examples are the Nazareth Baptist Church (Zulu); the Zion Christian Church (Sotho); the Israelites (Fingo); the followers of the revivivalist preacher Nicholas Bhengu (mainly Xhosa); a Hottentot sect which recently seceded from the Rheims mission; and the Independent Lutheran Mission Church founded in a Coloured community by Cecil Hector. Comparative tables are given for each: the personality of the founder or present leader, the history of the organization, the occasion of its founding, its structure, dogma, ritual, prohibitions, the number of its adherents, the nature of its appeal, and—an interesting point—the sources and reasons of opposition to it.

The six examples do not conform to a common model. Bhengu preaches a return to Christian morality in which he includes obedience to the law of the land; a remarkable photograph shows some of his ‘saved’ followers handing over stolen goods to the police. Hector seems to be supported mainly by his own kin. The Hottentot independent church is concerned primarily to provide better schooling than they think that the missionaries are willing to give. Edward Legkanyane of the Zion Christian Church claims to be the Messiah. John Galilee Shembe of the Nazareth Baptist Church is the son of a deified father, but seems not to partake of his father’s divinity. Both these men attract their following largely by their supposed healing powers. Both keep the manner of traditional chiefs. Shembe has his praise-singer; he holds a first-fruits ceremony; he has organized his adherents of both sexes in age grades, and they dance before him in this order at his twice-yearly great festivals.

Dr. Schlösser explains these phenomena in terms of the need, felt by man among other animals, to belong to a herd with a leader. The leader obtains his position by being seen to be (in some sense)
the strongest. While he holds it he is granted respect and material privileges, but in return he is expected to protect and care for his followers. The herd defends its own members and fights all outsiders. The Bantu, having recognized the superior power of the Europeans, would have accepted their leadership if they had received the benefits due from a leader and had been treated as full members of the herd. But the Europeans did not recognize their role, and the Bantu now regard them as an enemy herd. Generalizations focused on the specifically human characteristics of the Bantu sects might have been more interesting.

LUCY MAIR

AMERICA


Hans Feisz has taken advantage of his voyages in 1949-1958 as ship's doctor and passenger of the Royal Netherlands Steamship Company to study parts of Latin America from an archaeological point of view. As a result of his specialized interest the work reviewed here has appeared in German in the Dutch series. The title 'Zwischen Peru und Mexico' roughly sets the limit for the cultural regions discussed by the author. To be more exact he has collected his papers read at congresses, notes from his diary and sketches to present his ideas on a great many things, such as The Amazon Region, The Archaeology of Ecuador, Sarinam and British Guiana, The Archaeology of Trinidad, Aruba and Bonaire, Panama (with special sections for the Venado Beach, the Gold of Panama, Parita and Tabusará), and also Costa Rica, where the author finds the God of Colombia's St. Agustin (consistently spelt Agostin) in the stone sculpture, and a special bird cult. Pages 3-14 give the author's general programme for his voyages: to seek the roots of the historical cultures. Finally pp. 218f. provide a summary in English in which the author stresses his opinion on aspects in common between the Chavin and Early Nazca of Peru and initial stages of Central American cultures as well as Arawak, and 'in a later stage also Chiwach influence' in the formative period of the high cultures of Meso-America.

To cover all this in a book of a limited number of pages is certainly an undertaking of wide scope and probably most of today's leading Americanists would hesitate to give too affirmative opinions on many of the intricate problems involved. Dr. Feisz seems to feel more free in this respect. He doubts many things (e.g. Tello's ideas about an Amazonian landlow origin of the Chavin de Huántar culture, mainly judging from a collection of potsherds made by Dr. A. Melchior on the River Japurá, pp. 17-33) but he is quite positive on others (e.g. a common descent of the peoples of Esmeraldas, Ecuador, and the Maya, looking for their origin in the present-day South American equatorial region, p. 64, in spite of finding the great number of portrait clay heads found in Esmeraldas to be un-Indian in type, a fact which 'backs a supposition that we have to do with representatives of an Old World race,' p. 54). Generally Dr. Feisz has a strong feeling for a South American origin of cultural traits. The forming of the Mexican high cultures is a consequence of the introduction of agriculture there through South American immigrants (p. 14), and to explain the multicoloured pottery of Cocle we must look for Ecuador, South Peru (Nazca) and Marajó although 'the non-appearance in Cocle of the magic connected with taken heads clearly noticeable in Nazca' seems to be an obstacle for this view (pp. 196f).

A typical example of Dr. Feisz's way of solving the problems will be found in the following. In a collection at Parambari he finds a receptacle of clay in the form of the lower part of a woman's body with outspread legs (Plate VIII, fig. 14). He finds the vulva to be of coffee-bean type (this, however, hardly discernible in the drawing) and then immediately doubts that the many coffee-bean-like ornaments found on pottery vessels really should be taken as eye symbols as hitherto mostly done. The U-formed famous so-called stone seats from Manta-Manabí (not Manabi) should also, he thinks, be considered as female sex symbols. They were never used as seats but must be considered as hieratic stone memorials (on p. 61 called 'spirit thrones') possibly connected with a moon cult (pp. 49f). All this is perhaps to go too far, even if a fresh approach is most stimulating to read.

In many cases Dr. Feisz is a good observer. The engraved drawing on an Ecuadorian spindle whorl (Plate IV, fig. 6, after Estrada) showing at the same time two Indian ways of carrying loads, i.e., carrying-net and 'cookie yoke,' is highly interesting considering the few instances known of the latter method, undoubtedly also used in pre-Columbian America. His observation that a grave at Venado Beach, Panama, containing a female gibbus skeleton also contained a pottery vessel showing a humpbacked woman leads him to assume some kind of pictorial magic perhaps also valid for the thousands of new portrait jars placed in the Peruvian graves, as they can be thought to offer the 'soul' of the dead's perishable head a new abode (p. 154).

This far from indifferent monographed work by Dr. Feisz has the illustrations in a separate volume. They are mostly clear enough to show the point but the author's way of giving bibliographical references leaves technically much to be desired.

S. HENRY WASSÉN


Alfred Métraux aborde un sujet, le Vaudou Haitien, qui a fait les déduits de nombreux voyageurs et journalistes en veine de sensationnalisme de passage en Haiti. Métraux, loin de suivre leurs pas, aborde le problème en ethnographe, 'c'est à dire avec méthode et prudence'; en sociologue serait le mot plus exact, car sa préoccupation majeure semble être de vouloir situer le Vaudou dans la société actuelle. 'Le Vaudou, écrit-il, appartient à notre monde moderne, sa langue rituelle dérive du français et ses divinités se meuent dans un monde industrialisé qui est le nôtre, ne serait-ce qu'à ce titre, il relève de notre civilisation.' Il définit le Vaudou comme: 'Un ensemble de croyances et de rites d’origine africaine, qui éthniquement mêlé à des pratiques catholiques, constituent la religion de la plus grande partie de la paysannerie et du prolétariat urbain de la République noire d’Haiti.'

Son étude a été principalement faite dans les faubourgs de Port au Prince, bien que certains traits africains se soient sans doute mieux conservés dans les endroits reculés du pays, 'mais, dit-il, la pureté de l’héritage africain ne nous intéresse que médiocrement. Le Vaudou mérite d’ètre étudié non seulement en fonction de la survie des pratiques et des croyances d’origine africaine, mais encore comme une religion indigène au même titre que les religions dites primitives, c’est-à-dire une religion 'dérivée' qui a rempli un certain rôle dans l’évolution de ces religions et qui a dû s’adapter.'

'Il ne faut pas s’attendre à trouver un vaudou ancêtre de nos religions modernes, en d’autres termes, le vaudou n’a pas évolué de la même façon que les religions dites primitives.'

On a décrit le vaudou et des religions dont il est issu, mais il a été considéré comme un phénomène de la petite société, sans doute d’ailleurs exotique, qui est né dans un cadre de société particulièremen et qui est devenu une religion d’industries diverses. Ce qui est en rapport avec ce vaudou est en effet d’interpréter l’attitude de ces vaudous à la petite société qui parle sans arrêt de fraudes pieuses avec des clignements d’œil entendus.'

En fait le livre de Métraux est un savant équilibre entre ces deux attitudes; il est modéré son enthousiasme qui éclate quelquefois et lui inspire des pages admirables, tel l’ensemble de ce qu’il a écrit sur le Noël Vaudou, et il sait revenir de temps à autre à l’attitude volontarienne dont il se défend, et signale avec sang froid que dans les cérémonies auxquelles il a assisté, des possédés brandissaient bien les tiges de plantes au feu, mais s'arrangeaient pour les prendre par le bon bout; les houmis qui dansaient le cipé sur le feu étaient prudemment sur les bûches que les flammes avaient éparpillées.'

Après avoir parlé des origines africaines et de l’histoire des cultes vaudou, Métraux situe les cadres sociaux où évolue cette religion, le dynamisme de celle-ci et sa force de renouvellement, car elle crée sans cesse de nouveaux génies et en abandonne certains
autres. Il signale cependant le prestige qui reste attaché aux 'loa rata,' c'est à dire de l'ancien Allada au Dahomey, et il pose rapidement en revue les principaux dieux de cette origine. Il aborde ensuite la mystérieuse et controversée question de la transe des adeptes de ces religions, qui, en principe, sont possédées par leurs dieux et deviennent leurs mediums. Le coté théâtral de ces cérémonies a frappé vivement l'auteur qui se demande ce qu'il peut y avoir de simulation de la part des fidèles au cours de ces accès de transe, tenant compte de ce que leur comportement, au cours de ces cérémonies religieuses, est prévu, réglé et stylisé. Il décrit avec verve le coté cocusse qui ressort du rituel de cette religion d'origine africaine, mais mêlé d'un tant d'éléments empruntés à celui de l'eglise catholique, que, 'en regard des autres cuites, Candomblé de Bahia au Brésil et Santeria de Cuba, le Vaudou paraissait une religion décédante et considérablement abâtardie.'

Métraux donne ensuite une série de descriptions minutieuses du rituel noté par lui au cours des diverses années qu'il a passées en Haïti. Il étudie les rapports du Vaudou avec la sorcellerie d'une part et avec le christianisme d'autre part, et il constate la grande force de résistance du Vaudou contre toutes les campagnes entreprises par le clergé catholique contre les 'superstitions.' Quelquesfois l'eglise tolérait celles-ci, avec l'espoir de les éliminer, mais à l'encontre des résultats escomptés, elle n'avait pas atteint les gens pour les christianiser, mais que c'étaient eux qui se servaient de l'eglise pour faire de la superstition,' et qu'en fin de compte 'le Hoyouan s'rançonnait pour que le curé serve les loa' et Métraux montre le rôle que le Hoyouan fait jouer dans la défense des vaudoisants contre les mauvais esprits par l'emploi de la force magique qu'implique les sacrements de l'eglise.

Le livre d'Alfred Métraux a été écrit en français, et publié sous le titre Le Vaudou Haïtien. La traduction faite par Hugo Charteris nous a semblé faire avec pertinence et soin, en un langage aisé qui ne sent nullement l'effort de la 'traduction'.

**PIERRE VERGER**

---

**ASIA**


The author's purpose has been to examine the continuing effect of Hindu civilization on the culture of the Tharu of Naini Tal District in Uttar Pradesh. Two introductory chapters sketch the habitat, traditional history, and physical anthropology of the tribal group, and the final chapter is directed to the Tharu's practical problems and to the need to adapt educational programmes to their agriculture and hunting economy. The description of culture change among the Tharu begins with Chapter III, on material culture, and continues through Chapter XV, which is about games and riddles. It is interesting that the last game to have been invented at the time of the field study, in 1948-50, reveals the psychological impact of an item of modern design on the Tharu. The new game was to imitate the flight of an aeroplane. The role which guns have played in the hardening of Tharu integration into the Indian (money) economy is emphasized. Gun technology has affected the distribution of items among Tharu economic classes. The best share now falls to the marksmen and to the owner of the ammunition, respectively, and it is perhaps these persons who now organize hunting expeditions.

Students of the Indian caste system will read that the Tharu, who are only emerging from tribal status, have already split into several endogamous groups, which were correlated with their traditional status (gotra), and moieties. The narration runs into a riddle at this point: '... the higher and lower moieties are endogamous, while to each other they serve as exogamous groups' (p. 140). Tharu kinship terms emphasize sex and generation distinctions, age in ego's and in the parental generation is indicated, and the effective lineage depth is said to extend to only three generations. This picture contrasts with the unexpected emphasis among Hindus on patrilineality, or, at least on unilineality, and it seems that Tharu kinship is conservative, in spite of reformers' attempts to strengthen father-right by prohibiting divorce and by restricting the activities of women.

Srivastava traces the technique of leadership and the effects of reform movements which were instigated by educated Tharu in 1930 and 1948. The resulting picture appears similar in overall pattern to the reform movements among Camadr leatherworkers in Uttar Pradesh which Bernard Cohn has analyzed (*Village India,* edited by M. Mariott, Chicago, 1955, pp. 53-77). The immediate cause of the success of the second of the Tharu movements was their leaders' perception of a more fluid society in a post-independence era, which might have opened the possibility of a new and higher status for their group in the caste hierarchy. On both occasions the reforms grew unpopular among the Tharu, and most reverted to their traditional style of behaving about matters which the reformers had regarded as crucial for improving the group's status.

The patchwork organization of this book on the Tharu, who seem to be intrinsically an interesting and attractive tribal group, is such as to preclude an understanding of the nature and types of interaction between the tribe and Hindu civilization. For example, the Hindu reformist movement Arya Samaj is mentioned only once, doesn't appear in the index, but does appear to have influenced some educated Tharu to reject popular Hinduism. A minor, but nonetheless significant matter, such as where the wheels for Tharu carts come from, is not made clear (cf. pp. 28 and 54 on 'Carpentry'). Some of the maps cannot be read, and the glossary requires expansion and revision.

**WILLIAM McCORMACK**

---

**OCEANIA**


This monograph is the first to be published by the Museum of Primitive Art, and the high quality of the illustrations and the standard of book-production make one hope for many more. It was issued in connexion with an exhibition at the Museum in 1959, but is more than a catalogue, including plates of many fine pieces not in the exhibition. Dr. Kooijman contributes a brief note on 'New Guinea and its People,' an ethnographical sketch of the pitifully little that is known of the Lake Sentani area, and a bibliography. Although the text deals with the function of art in Lake Sentani culture, the work is done primarily to its material sense and the classification is in terms of house posts, lime gourds, bark cloth, etc. Similarly there is little attempt at stylistic or aesthetic analysis beyond description. This is partly a reflection of the lack of ethnographical evidence, but surely the existence in the one society of two totally different styles of, for instance, carving human figures (see Plates XLVI and XLVII) demands some comment. Nor is it easy to see in the startling and beautiful bark cloths the 'air of equanimity and tranquillity' that Dr. Kooijman finds in the figure carving and suggests may be correlated with the spirit of the culture. The art of Lake Sentani is dead and has been dead for more than 30 years and no further evidence about the production or use of the art is likely to emerge; this monograph is therefore in a sense definitive, but at the same time offers only a starting-point for an analysis of the relations of art with the society that produces it.

**ANTHONY FORGE**

112
(a) The quartz stool in the British Museum. L. 27½ inches. By courtesy of the Trustees.

(b) The Barbados stool, now in Lagos. Quartz, c. 10 inches high

(c) Third quartz stool, found in Lagos in 1958. Photograph: W. B. Fagg, 1958

ONI ADELEKAN’S GIFT TO SIR GILBERT CARTER IN 1896
(a-c) Partial reconstruction (without adhesives) of a large terra-cotta sculpture from the Iwunrin Grove at Ife

(d) Small bronze sculpture from Ile-Ife. H. 4½ inches

(e) Soapstone stool in the Ife Museum. H. c. 14 inches

(f) Quartz stool fragments in the Ife Museum. Length of stem c. 16 inches

(g, h) Stone stools (or stools) damaged and badly repaired, near Kuta, Iwo district. H. 34½ inches

(i) Leg fragment of stool similar to Plate Jb, near the Kuta stool. L. 7½ inches, D. 3¾ inches

ANCIENT STOOLS AT IFE AND NEAR IWO

Photographs: (a-d, g-i) W. B. Fagg, 1958-59; (e, f) B. E. B. Fagg
THE RITUAL STOOLS OF ANCIENT IFE*

by

BERNARD FAGG and WILLIAM FAGG

Respectively, Director of Antiquities, Federation of Nigeria, and Deputy Keeper, Department of Ethnography, British Museum

155 In 1896 the British Museum acquired, by gift of Sir Gilbert Carter, Governor of Lagos, the remarkable object illustrated in Plate 1a, a stool carved from a solid block of vein quartz. The Oni Adelekan of Ife (in central Yorubaland, Nigeria) had given it, probably through the local administrator Captain Bower, to Sir William Macgregor, who passed it, together with two others given by the Oni at the same time, to his superior officer. Carter presented the best specimen forthwith to the Trustees of the British Museum, and this seems to have been the first major Ife work thus to be made known to the world; however, its importance as an earnest of what was to come from the ancient city and of the extraordinary character of its culture does not seem to have been widely recognized and indeed it has received singularly little notice in the literature of African art—perhaps because it (with the others like it to which this article is devoted) is sui generis and buttressed no theories of migration or diffusion.

Our purpose here is to provide a summary account of the known stools of Ife, since they seem to form a conveniently discrete element in Ife culture, worthy and capable of being studied in its own right. It will be appropriate next to consider the other two examples which made up Adelekan's gift, and which have only recently come to light.

The four-legged stool illustrated in Plate 1b has just reached the Nigerian Museum at Lagos from Barbados, under a bequest made some four years ago by Lady Carter, widow of the Governor, who spent his retirement there. Like the British Museum example it is monolithic and of vein quartz; its form is clear from the photograph and verbal description seems unnecessary.

The third example (Plate 1c) was found by accident in 1958 by Mr. Kenneth Murray, O.B.E., formerly Surveyor of Antiquities Service, in use as a kitchen table in the servants' quarters of the old house known as 3, Magazine Point, Lagos, about 300 yards from the present Government House. Examination of the two damaged areas suggests that the loop handle has been broken off in modern times, not necessarily since 1896 but quite probably so; a reward of £100 has therefore been offered by the Department of Antiquities for its recovery. The Lagos stool appears to have been identical with the British Museum example except that the cylindrical hole (about one inch in diameter and two inches deep) in the centre of the top of the latter is not present in the former.

We shall for convenience refer to stools having a single central support and a loop 'handle' as of Type 1, and to those with four legs as of Type 2. Examples of both types exist, mostly in fragmentary form, at Ife itself, and some of them were seen and illustrated by Frobenius. Most have been brought in to the Ife Museum from various shrines and groves in the town. The largest of them are of quartz, but others are in granite and in a form of soapstone or schist. Most of those in the Ife Museum are illustrated in Plate Ke, f, and fig. 1.5

![Stool fragments in the Ife Museum](image)

These are thought to be top and bottom of the same stool, but it is not clear which is which. The upper portion in the figure has two hands carved in relief; it may be classified as a variant of Type 1. The diameter of each piece is c. 10 inches.

In early 1953 we were both engaged in the series of exploratory excavations of Ife shrines undertaken by the Department of Antiquities; these were selected from the exhaustive list of more than 100 shrines compiled by Mr. Murray, who had also, some years earlier, brought in to the aphin (palace) for safe keeping many of the antiquities, chiefly in terra-cotta with some of stone, which had survived till then in a more or less fragmentary condition on the surface in the more important shrines, notably those of Osangangan Obamakin, Kubolaje and Iwirin. This last is the richest in sculpture of all the Ife sites so far known, even though excavation there has so far been practically confined to clearing of the surface; the fragments recovered form part of at least eight or ten terra-cotta figures, most of them practically of life size. We therefore spent some time in February and March, 1953, in an attempt to reconstruct...

*With Plates J and K and three text figures. The additional plate has been made possible by a grant from the Department of Antiquities, Federation of Nigeria.
some of these figures so far as possible from the fragments in the museum and from the surface excavations. The most important discoveries were concerned with one figure, which proved to be enstooled: first we noticed that two cylindrical objects of terra-cotta bearing herringbone decoration could be fitted together to form the centre support and the greater part of the loop 'handle' of a stool of Type 1; secondly, it was evident that something had been attached to the underside of the loop and we found that four smaller cylindrical 'pedestals' could be arranged to form a four-legged stool (Type 2) which would fit satisfactorily in this position; thirdly, fragments from the top of the Type 1 stool showed the impression of the buttocks of a figure seated upon it, while part of a foot fitted the top of the Type 2 stool. Considerable progress was made in reconstructing the sculpture which evidently represented a robed figure seated on the large stool with his legs on each side of the handle and supported on the small stool. The reconstruction was then dismantled, but further work was carried out by one of us during the winter of 1958–1959 when working at Ife for the Yoruba Historical Research Scheme, and Plate Kd illustrate one stage of the further improved reconstruction; in these photographs the fragments have been placed in position without the use of adhesive. A small amount of excavation was also carried out at this time in the Iwinrin Grove under Mr. Frank Willett and several more fragments recovered; but deeper excavation will probably be required before we can be certain which of the numerous body fragments in the museum belong to this sculpture. It is, however, clear from the feet that, whereas the stool is the largest yet known, the human figure is shown at only about two-thirds of full adult size; one of the seven or eight beautiful heads recovered from the Iwinrin Grove by Mr. Murray seems to be of suitable size and style for this figure; and a fragment in the British Museum appears to be the right hand of this figure, shown gripping the edge of the top of the Type 1 stool.

This reconstruction was well confirmed by one of the bronzes found at Ita Yemoo in late 1957 (see Plate Kd), in which the stools are arranged in the same way, though the seated figure is replaced by a representation of a large pot around which a royal figure is represented in relief, except for the head, arms and feet, which are in the round.

Mr. Peter Lloyd reported to us in early 1959 that he had seen a stone stool, possibly related to those at Ife, in the bush not far from Kuta near Iwo (40 miles north of Ife) some ten years earlier. He was kind enough to conduct one of us there, together with Mr. Willett, and with Mr. Adeniji of Iwo, an associate of the Yoruba Historical Research Scheme, as guide. The object (Plate Kg, h) had in the meantime been severely damaged in a boundary dispute (its present function is apparently that of a ritually sanctioned boundary marker), and had been so crudely repaired with cement that it was impossible to determine its original form with certainty. It seemed at least possible that the upper portion, above the central flange, was in fact part of a second stool or table; on the other hand, the two broken protuberances which are seen one above the other on the upper and lower drums might conceivably be the remains of a loop 'handle.' It is hoped that the Department of Antiquities will have an opportunity of expertly cleaning and repairing this remarkable monument, and that the affinities of its form and decoration may then become more apparent. The object, which is probably of granite, is supposed to have been brought by way of Owu from Ife; it does not give the impression of being actually an Ife work, though clearly having some connexion with Ife works. As confirmation of such a connexion, we found a little subsidiary shrine perhaps 100 yards back, off the approach path (Plate Kf), consisting of the upturned leg of an Ife vein quartz stool of Type 2; there is not the slightest doubt that this is part of an Ife work, which our informants apparently did not connect it specially with Ife. We could not find any trace of the rest of this stool.11

Discussion

The contemporaneity of the stools with the 'classical style' of Ife bronze and terra-cotta work (provisionally attributed to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) is established by their representation in a bronze and a terra-cotta work of this period. There is not enough evidence to show in what material the stools were originally made. We attach weight to Mr. Leon Underwood's opinion that a model was first made in wax, perhaps by a bronze-caster, and then given to the masons to copy, this accounting for the form of the beginnings at top and bottom of the central shaft of Type 1 stools, a form far from natural in the stone-carver's art; however, the model could equally have been made in clay, whether fired or not. We do not think that the first actual stools would have been made in terra-cotta, for the pottery sculpture of ancient Ife, undoubtedly made by men like the bronzes in the same style, lacked the strength and durability of the pottery utensils made by the women, and such stools would have collapsed at once under a man's weight. It is not impossible that the first stools were in bronze, though none such have yet come to light; if so, they are likely to have borne herringbone decoration like that seen on the terra-cotta representations but on none of the stone examples.

It seems clear from the Itha Yemoo bronze (Plate Kd) that the stools were associated with the cult of the Oni or divine king, but it is possible that they were also used by other chiefs and priests. Conjecture as to the nature of the ceremony in which they were used seems unprofitable at this stage.

The nearest parallel which we can cite to the form of the Type 1 stools is provided (see fig. 2) by the circular stools (erhe) of iroko wood which are used by Benin chiefs. It is conceivable that the characteristic S form in which the supporting snakes are arranged is a Bini duplication for decorative effect of the loop handle.

The use of a circular seat or throne with support for the sitter's feet is paralleled at Idah, capital town of the Igala tribe on the Niger to the north-east of Benin. In fig. 3, the seat and the footstools are in fact cylindrical bark boxes (the cover cylinder completely enclosing the box proper) similar to those used by chiefs of the Bini and of the eastern and southern Yoruba as receptacles for ceremonial dress, and
sometimes invested, apparently, with certain ritual properties. The tall, slender cylinder, flanged top and bottom, which the Oba of Benin uses as a ceremonial elbow-rest (and of which the British Museum possesses a sheet brass example) may originally have been a bark box of this kind, and his throne, which is always kept shrouded in cloth, may according to Dr. R. E. Bradbury, anthropologist of the

![Fig. 2. Wooden Stool ('Erhe') from Benin](image)

Carved from iroko in the normal style of the igbesamwan, or guild of woodcarvers at Benin City, probably in the eighteen-nineties; height 14 inches. British Museum regn. No. 1944. Af. 4:72.

![Fig. 3. Ceremonial Box-Seat from Ikka, Igala Country, Northern Nigeria](image)

The seat and footstools are formed by cylindrical bark boxes; according to information given by the present Ata of Idah, such seats are used by certain priests as receptacles for dance costumes during ceremonies. Another specimen at the Horniman Museum, London, has boxes of carved wood instead of bark. The present example is 36 inches long. British Museum regn. No. 1913. 10-13. 1.

Scheme for the Study of Benin History and Culture, be such a box. He further points out to us that these boxes—known to the Bini as ekpokin—often have loop handles of leather set near the top of the outer cylinder, and these may possibly preserve the prototype of the hypertrophied stone handles at Ife. He mentions also that the Olowo of Owo, the Yoruba town 80 miles north of Benin, is seated on a bark box in certain ceremonies.

It seems possible, therefore, that the Ife stools may prove to have been a specialized development of a complex which is widespread in the Nigerian area.¹³

**Notes**


Johnston (whose bias towards the Oyo rather than the Ife interpretation of Yoruba history is well known) alleges that the Oni's purpose in giving the three 'marbles' to Carter was to secure his benevolence towards Adekankan's draconian policy of expelling from Ife the Oyo refugees who had settled in the eighteen-twenties in the quarter (or rather town) of Modakeke on the western side of Ife. Denett reports that Macgregor offered the British Museum stool back to the Oni during a visit by him to Lagos, but that the Oni declined it, saying that he had another one left; he also says that this stool was supposed to have belonged to Alashe, the sacrificed son of the legendary heroine Morini.

² It was published in the *HandBook to the Ethnographical Collections*, British Museum, 1910 edition, fig. 214, and 1925 edition, fig. 230, as well as by Denett, *loc. cit.*


⁵ Those not here illustrated include the greater part of a large Type 1 quartz stool of simplified form and with its loop handle not extending beyond the edge of the top, and a granite stool of Type 2, also of rather simple form.

⁶ The heads of some of these were photographed in the grove by W. D. Hambly and published in his *Cultural Areas of Nigeria*, Field Museum Anthropological Series, Vol. XXI (1953), Plate CLVII. A better photograph of them (showing also parts of the terra-cotta stool) was taken there by Mr. Ward Price, who gave it to the British Museum.

⁷ Fragments from several sites had become mixed and had to be sorted out, so far as possible, by differences of style and material.

⁸ Frobenius, *op. cit.*, pp. 314f., illustrated two similar fragments found by his colleague Marius 'in the rubbish of the Oni's old palace'; he calls them 'tubes' or 'pipes' and regarded them as architectural features.

⁹ It is possible that the enstooled figure is the central figure of a group of large statues, but if so the attendant figures are treated on a larger scale (unless indeed the enstooled figure represents a boy).

¹⁰ See MAN, 1938, Plate Ac, and F. Willett in *MAN*, 1959, 308, with Plate Kd.

¹¹ The large stool stands by a pillar named after Atorurumopo, wife of Anlunga (whose real name was said to have been Akindele), who brought the stool, known as *apere Anlunga*, from Owu, whether it had been taken from Ife by Ajiboshin, the first Olowo of Owu. According to our informants, Anlunga disappeared into the ground at the spot where the stool is, and there is said to have been a long chain under it. The quartz stool fragment is known as *Ogun Anlunga*, or Anlunga's shrine for Ogun (god of iron and war).

¹² *Bronzes of West Africa*, 1949, pp. 4f.

The majority of people in Sierra Leone belong to tribes whose speech descends from two language groups, the West Atlantic and the Mande. To the former belong the Limba, Krim, Gola, Sherbro, Temne and Kissi, to the latter the Loko, Susu, Yalunka, Kono, Vai, Mende and Koranko. Since the Mande group spring from the Sudan it would seem at first sight that the original inhabitants were of the West Atlantic group and that later they were invaded by the Mande-speaking peoples; whilst this is true in broad outline, there are important exceptions.

The Limba and Sherbro people—both West-Atlantic-speaking tribes—and perhaps the Gola and Krim, who because they are so small were often overlooked by early travellers, were probably amongst the earliest inhabitants of Sierra Leone. In 1500 the Portuguese knew of a town Quimanora, which is Krim Mano, but it is not known for certain when any of these people arrived although it must have been before 1400. A traditional account says that the first Limba man to come here was called Mansonfundu and he led an invasion into country occupied by the Gbande people, now in Liberia but then living in the Wara-Wara districts. The Gbande are related to the Loko and also to the Mende, all of them Mande-speaking people. A Gbande tradition says that their brothers left them at an early date to fight a war in the west, and this probably refers to the Loko, who were certainly in Sierra Leone before 1360, as we shall see presently, and who presumably staged a counter-attack against the Limba. The Mende entered this country only in the seventeenth century. Consequently the Loko knew and traded with the Temne at a much earlier date than did the Mende and thereby acquired in their speech a marked Temne influence which today distinguishes it from pure Mende. The traditional Susu account of their arrival on this coast—first on the banks of the River Pongo—supports this hypothesis by inference. It is however important chiefly because it gives us the approximate dates of the Susu, Baga, Temne and Yalunka migrations. The story does not mention the arrival of the Limba nor of the Bullom, both of whom were neighbours either of the Susu or of their cousins the Yalunka, and one presumes that this is because the Limba and Bullom were already in Sierra Leone. The Yalunka who followed close upon the Temne and Baga—who are related—fled to avoid the Yellow Peul who wished to convert them to Islam; Mansa Musa, Emperor of Mali (1307–1322), was renowned for his pale complexion whilst Sonni Ali (1464–1492), who began the Songhai conquests, had Berber ancestors. It is likely that the Susu and Temne fled from the Mali and the Yalunka from the Songhai expansion. Part of the Susu story says:

The Susu were nomads and hunters. They went towards the west with their women and children moving slowly but never stopping, like ants. They stayed a month, a year, two years in a place and then set out again. They lived by hunting and by gathering corn, roots and wild berries. They were armed with arrows and accompanied by many dogs as fierce as leopards. When they halted they built shelters in the forest near running water and hunted until there was no more game;
then they set out once more with their young men and the dogs in front. They also fished in the rivers, drying the fish and eating it on the spot. . . . They wished to expand towards the east but the Bankele branch of the family was turned back by another war-like people. . . One day . . . there was trouble in the north-west. The Susu there met certain black strangers from the north who . . . were entirely naked, being tall and strong with teeth filled into a point; their women had shaven heads. They lived especially by fishing in the sea of which they had no fear. These people were the Baga. . . After a period of fighting boundaries were settled between them by treaty and there was peace. The Baga formed four small nations round the large one of the Susu.

Domini Konte was very old when there arrived from the Futa Jallon district people whom the Peul called Yalunka. They told them that the yellow Peul of Futa Jallon had made war on them and that they had wanted to convert them to their fetish called Allah. . . .

When Domini Konte died his son Manga Kombeh Balla succeeded him. . . . The first Portuguese traders arrived . . .

When the Portuguese arrived the Temne and Bullom were already well enough established for the European traders to acquire a small vocabulary of their languages. Thus Alvaro Velho who traded for about seven years amongst them before he retired to Europe in 1507 gave Valentim Fernandes several placenames in Sierra Leone, including Mangus; Mange is still a common Temne village name. Fernandes knew also the names of some of what he called idols and these names, allowing for the fact that he had never been to Sierra Leone, can be identified with reasonable certainty today from his account. 'There are,' he said, 'certain houses and churches for idols where women never enter; some are called baa, other pika, and others co tuberia . . . the women's idol is called pere.' 4 Ba in modern Temne means 'the place,' Fisa is a Poror devil, Pere is a Bundu devil. Similarly Pereira, a Portuguese writing at the same time, gives a small vocabulary of useful words for travellers, including enloam, gold, men, water; these are Bullom words. Further it is likely that the word chins, first used by the Portuguese and then copied by English, French and other writers, irrespective of differences of national pronunciation, to mean a devil, is the Temne Sine devil, also used as a name for a twin.

By 1500 there were therefore in Sierra Leone the Susu, Yalunka, Limba and Loko in the north, the Bullom and Temne in the south and probably the Gola and Krim in the south-east. About 1560 came an invasion of people whom d'Almada, writing in 1594, said were called Sumba—a Temne word meaning troublesome ones—but who called themselves Mani. 6 He says that he had heard that their original leader was a woman, that when the Bundu bush was 'pulled' musical instruments were played called bombalo, and that the invaders paid a tax to an overlord left far behind which was called maref. Possibly this woman was Bakao Troumokou, who, coming from the Futa Toro district, invaded Zaria in the first half of the sixteenth century. Some of her forces therefore must have turned aside from the main body. Maref is a Malinke word and, like the possible origin from Futa Toro, points to a Mande connexion for these people. At any rate d'Almada says that the Mani met certain people who had customs similar to their own; these were presumably the Temne, who also came from the same district originally, but travelling more directly arrived first in Sierra Leone. Bombalo is a word used still for a musical instrument.

Entering from the south-east they encountered the Bullom, where a Mani warrior Masariko was killed. Then, avoiding the Limba and Yalunka because of their reputation as intrepid fighters, they advanced, conscripting as they came the Koko, Bullom and Temne until the whole confederation were defeated somewhere near the banks of the Scarcies by the Loko. Since the Loko lived inland it seems that a right wing must have turned slightly north.

---

**FIG. 2. ROUTES OF MAIN INVASIONS INTO SIERRA LEONE:**

*At this time the Loko kingdom probably stretched along the route taken by the Mani right wing after it had subjugated the Loko, i.e. from the modern Bandjola to the Sierra Leone peninsula. Barreira called it the largest in these parts.* King Farnas, the first Mani king of that territory, died at the end of 1605 and he seems to have divided his kingdom—possibly separating the Temne and Loko majorities—leaving the peninsula to a son whom Barreira baptized Philip, and the rest to another son Sangrafar. Philip only inherited it after his brother Souga had refused it. (Guerreiro, Relação Anual . . . os Padres da Companhia de Jesus, edited by A. Viega, Coimbra, 1931, Vol. III, p. 70.)

away from the coast during the advance. A recent study of the Kissi and Sherbro languages has shown that their class system of nouns is closely related, so that the two peoples cannot have been long separated. We know that some of the leaders—several of whose sons and daughters were baptized by the Jesuit Balthasar Barreira, the first resident Christian missionary here, about 1606—settled as chiefs amongst the conquered tribes of Sierra Leone. It is likely therefore that this Mani 'invasion' was rather an advance of an aristocratic cadre of Mande warrior chiefs who, meeting the Temne, Loko and Bullom, imposed themselves as leaders. If this is so it may well be that it was the right
wing of this advance which, settling inland after their defeat on the Scarcies and intermarrying with the local population, became the Kissi nation and occupied much of what is now Mende country. Such places as Langrama and Peje in Mendeland suggest the Kissi lang, mountain, pey, river.

The Sapi mentioned by d’Almada, sometimes spelt by the Portuguese Çapez but later, because people omitted the cedilla, turned into Kapez, have caused some unnecessary confusion; they were a confederation taking their name from one of their members, the Tyapi tribe, who were not, as it happens, the dominant element. Today the Fulani use the word for the Landuma people.

The next big movement of tribes in Sierra Leone was partly completed when the Frenchman Barbot, then in the sixteenth and seventies and was brought about by the anarchy following the defeat of the great Songhai empire in 1590 by troops of the Sultan of Morocco. Skilfully marched across the desert from Marrakech. The Kono and Vai, already a nation in decline and lying to the east of modern Sierra Leone, were attacked by Foniherri, a Kru chief recently subjugated by the Defero, once part of the Mandé empire of Songhai and called by Europeans at that time Folgias. Then Manimassah, brother of Mendino king of the Manow, overcame Foniherri’s people with the aid of Flansire, chief of the Defero, and together they all attacked the Gola. As a reward of success, Foniherri was permitted to overrun the Cape Mount area when the Vai became separated from the Kono, who remained behind, though driven somewhat westwards into Sierra Leone. Foniherri’s nephew, Flansire, continued the rout by subduing the coast as far as Sierra Leone and appointing viceroys in his new territories including one Selbore from whom, says Barbot, Sherbro took its name. To this day the Sherbro call a great man Songe.

Soon the flourishing European trade in the Gallinas area attracted the attention of the emperor of Manow who lived to the north of modern Liberia and he summoned his warboys to clear him a path to this lucrative trade. Consequently the Kru were driven to the east and the Sherbro towards the west. The subjects of this emperor, says Dapper, were called Mende; this is, lords. This is the first mention of the word ‘Mende’. In general the tribes were still pagan and used the same words for their gods and images. But Barbot—who copied almost verbatim the account of the Dutchman Dapper—gives us the words sova, pili, belly, and sande. Taken in conjunction with his mende these are very significant because today they are Mende society words. Sova is used in the Bundu and Sande societies for the headdress official. Sande is found amongst the Gola, Kono, Vai, and Mende, Bundu amongst the Sherbro and Temne; sova is used by the Kono and Vai as well as the Mende. Pili in Mende means ‘one who throws a charm’; bili is a word used for circumcision amongst the Mende but not by the Sherbro or Vai. Barbot, who was writing principally of the Sherbro area, speaks too of an ‘old matron Sogwilli’; this is presumably the modern sogbini; today there is a chieftain and though it is not a Sherbro word it is in the Bonthe district. In Mende it means ‘one so powerful in medicine that any person can be turned ghini, ‘to turn’ at will to do as desired.’ About 1650, therefore, the Mende must have begun to move into Sierra Leone and Dapper acquired, it seems, our first recorded Mende vocabulary. Kissi tradition says that coming from the upper Niger (before 1600) when they drove the Limba westward, they were later attacked by the Koranko descending across the same river, so that presently the whole of the eastern part of the country was at war.

The last great immigration of our times was that of the Islamic Alpha Ba of Koranko. In 1725 he declared a jejah against the pagans of Futa, mainly Susu and Yalunka. His successor, the theologian and soldier Karamoko Alpha, continued the work. The traditional story of this jejah says:

... Karamoko Alpha... reigned for eighteen years; during his reign he waged war against the neighbouring heathen tribes, whom he conquered, and the whole country was converted to a Muslim country. After his death the crown was given to Alimany Sorie, his younger brother. This chief was a famous warrior... first he set out against the Sankarah people, Kuranko, Kissie, Warsolinie, and on to the Red Water. He was succeeded by Alimany Saliem... He was succeeded by Alimany Bardambah... He fought a fierce battle against the Jallonkas and was victorious... he fought with the Susu and Limbas, the Sulima and Falabs countries and... over to the Niger. ...

FIG. 3. ROUTES OF MAIN INVASIONS INTO SIERRA LEONE: c. 1800

This fighting in the headwaters of the Niger brought the Koranko as well as the Mende into Sierra Leone, but in the seventeen-fifties the Mende were still only on the frontier. Owen, an Irish trader who worked on the River Jong at that time, did not know them:

To the eastward of the Bulums lies the nation of the Timnes or Timines, which seems by their quantity of slaves to be a
people; they wear a language of their own far different from the Buluns, but I am not able to give any account, as they lie so far inland and as we have no trading among them. Next to these inland is the Banta, next the Cono and Tene, all these lies eastward of the Kingdom of Sherbro and well inhabited, but by reason of thier barbarous customs its not safe to go among them.10

In 1803 Thomas Winterbottom said that the Temne occupied the river territories from Freetown to Port Loko and Rokel, running inland for a considerable distance where they subdivided into Temne, Loko and Koranko. Major Laing, later massacred in Timbuktu, in his map of 1824 clearly marks the area at present occupied by the northern Mende as Koranko country.11 However, by about 1790 the Mende were in the Yama district, and in 1825 Governor Sir Charles Turner was concerned about the 'cruel and destructive war' which had 'for several years raged between certain tribes of the Kussu nation and the inhabitants of the country bordering on the Sherbro Bollons.'12

By about 1830, after prolonged fighting, the tribes settled down more or less in their present positions. Robert Clarke, Assistant Surgeon to the Colony, writing in 1843, is the first to give us the exact location of the Kossoh, or Mende; he says:

The Kossoh country appears to lie between the parallels of 7° and 8° 15' north latitude and in a south-east direction between the degrees of 10° 30' and 12° west longitude.

Clarke continues:

This country is said to be divided ... into several principalities or states, or head towns; it is bounded on the north by the Timneh, on the east and south by tribes of which I have not yet got any account, except that one on the east is said to be the Konah nation; on the west by the Sherbro, Krim, or Kittum, and the Fye or Vye nations. ... The Sherbro country, commencing at the Ribbie ... river on the north, and ending at the sea bar on the south, runs east to the Kussuh. ... The ... Kittam, is a small tribe between the Fye and Sherbro, on the banks of the Boom and Kittam rivers. ... The ... Vye country, commences at Gallinas, and extends to the south-east, to about Cape Mount.13

Notes
1 Today the Limba use ghande for a Loko man.
2 A Susu chief who led the migration.
4 Description de la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique, edited by Th. Monod, A. Teixeira da Mota and R. Mauny, Bissau, 1951, p. 89.
5 Esmeiraldo de Situ Orbis, edited by R. Mauny, Bissau, 1936, p. 85. Fernandes' benthine is possibly the Temne word for lightning, nakathane (see Summer, Handbook of the Temne Language, Freetown, 1922); contubera is perhaps a corruption of some form of the devil poca and anyna of the Temne yena, 'to lie.' Catell, which the Portuguese knew as a small town, is modern Temne for a small rice farm.
7 Barbot, A Description of the Coast of North and South Guinea, London, 1746, pp. 111, 122. Cf. O. Dapper, Description de l' Afrique, Amsterdam, 1686.
8 Certain Mende today call the Vai Karo—Barbot wrote Karow and it is possible that these 'Kru' were another branch of the Vai.
9 Sierra Leone Studies, O.S. No. 3, p. 30.
10 N. Owen, Journal of a Slave Dealer, London, 1930, p. 53. Today the Banta, a small group of Temne stock, have been separated from the Temne by the Mendes.
12 Sierra Leone Government Archives, Treaty, 24 September, 1825. Kossoh is another name for the Mendes.

SOME DENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIDDLE MINOANS*

by
H. GRAHAM CARR, L.D.S.R.C.S.ENG.

From the Duckworth Laboratory of Physical Anthropology, University of Cambridge

157 In the course of the excavation of a cemetery of the Middle Minoan III period (roughly 1750–1550 B.C.) on the Aylios hill, Knossos, previous to and during 1955 by members of the British School of Archaeology at Athens under its Director, Mr. Sinclair Hood, a fairly substantial series of human remains was recovered. The crania and principal long bones were studied by Cambridge anthropologists in Crete, but the pelvis, mandibles, and a large number of loose teeth are at present on loan to the Duckworth Laboratory for further investigation pending their return to the Archaeological Museum in Herakleon, where the rest of the skeletons are preserved.

* With five tables and a text figure

The material treated in this paper consists of about 1500 teeth of which some 900 are isolated and nearly 600 embedded in 140 jaw fragments, mainly mandibular. The loose teeth and those in the mandibles were examined in the Duckworth Laboratory and the maxillary specimens in the Herakleon Archaeological Museum through courtesy of the Director, Dr. N. Platon. It is hoped that the data here recorded will eventually form part of a broader study of the odontology of ancient and modern populations. The purpose of the present investigation of the Minoan sample is to collect information about (1) the morphology of the teeth, (2) the incidence of dental disease and (3) the degree of attrition, in Middle Minoan times. Although it would have been of interest to compare
some of the features according to sex, so many loose teeth were involved that it was necessary to pool the recordings and consider them together. This is, of course, particularly disadvantageous in computing means of dental measurements, and such metrical comparisons as are possible between various populations must therefore be regarded as tentative.

**MORPHOLOGY**

(a) Descriptive. The teeth show, subject to post mortem damage and degeneration, a consistently high standard of enamel calcification and development. The maxillary incisors have long narrow crowns, and the centrals have a very characteristic shape noted in all specimens not too worn to be recognizable. This consists of a marked convexity of the labial surface, and a palatal surface of what Hrdlička has called the ‘shovel shape,’ with the distal edge almost straight and, mesially, a small concavity near the cervical margin.

Twenty-six first maxillary incisors were examined and classified according to Hrdlička’s three grades of shovel-shaped teeth. For the most outstanding he suggested the term ‘shovel’; for the less well developed the term ‘semi-shovel;’ and for slight but distinct indications of the shovel form the term ‘trace shovel.’ The Middle Minoan teeth present the following frequencies: shovel (7), 27 per cent.; semi-shovel (12), 46 per cent.; trace shovel (5), 19 per cent.; no trace of shovel (2), 8 per cent. Most maxillary first premolars have two separate roots and two of the mandibular canines two roots.

(b) Metrical. Only teeth slightly worn and in good condition were measured. The error which the measurements of worn teeth must show renders the figures for them totally unreliable. Measurements used in this study were those employed and defined by Middleton Shaw. The measurements made on the teeth are as follows: (i) root length, (ii) crown length, (iii) total length, (iv) mesio-distal diameter of crown, (v) labio-lingual (or bucco-lingual) diameter of crown. The mean measurements, in millimetres, are given in Table I. These were taken with

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table I. Mean Measurements of Middle Minoan Teeth in Millimetres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Upper Teeth</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesio-distal diameter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st incisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd incisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st premolar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd premolar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st molar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd molar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Lower Teeth**                                               |
| Mesio-distal diameter | Bucco-lingual diameter | Ocluso-cervical length | Root length | Total length |
| 1st incisor         | 5.7                      | 6.0                         | 8.9           | 14.5          |
| 2nd incisor         | 6.5                      | 6.5                         | 10.3          | 24.0          |
| Canine              | 7.8                      | 8.0                         | 13.4          | 24.2          |
| 1st premolar        | 6.8                      | 7.6                         | 12.9          | 19.5          |
| 2nd premolar        | 7.1                      | 7.1                         | 14.6          | 21.5          |
| 1st molar           | 11.3                     | 10.4                        | 13.0          | 20.0          |
| 2nd molar           | 11.0                     | 9.7                         | 7.3           | 19.9          |

FIG. 1. Distances of Certain Peoples from the Middle Minoans

Based on four mesio-distal measurements

INCIDENCE OF DENTAL DISEASE

(a) Dental caries. A tooth was recorded as carious wherever a definite cavity was visible. The normal clinical method of using a sharp probe was inappropriate because of the softened nature of the enamel due to post mortem erosion. Table II shows the actual teeth affected together with the equivalent percentages. Table III compares the incidence of dental caries in the Middle Minoans with that of some other earlier populations. The figures shown for comparison are from a study of ancient Greek teeth by J. Lawrence Angel and unpublished data recently collected by D. R. Brothwell.

120
Table II. Incidence of dental caries among Middle Minoans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. carious</th>
<th>No. of teeth examined</th>
<th>Per cent. carious</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UPPER TEETH (Totals)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st incisor</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canine</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st premolar</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st molar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOWER TEETH (Totals)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st incisor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canine</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st premolar</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st molar</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III. Comparative incidence of dental caries among some ancient populations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. carious</th>
<th>No. of teeth examined</th>
<th>Per cent. carious</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Minoan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian (Ancient)</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>1498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Neolithic</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Bronze Age</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Iron Age</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>1113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London 17th and 18th cent.</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>892</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Loss of teeth before death. It was found that 183 teeth out of a possible 1352 (i.e. 13-7 per cent.) had been lost before death. There is a possibility that extractions were known to these people since some specimens have spaces in the dentition which have healed completely, whereas loss of teeth by natural processes is usually obvious, since the alveolar bone shows signs of the septic process. However, the evidence is not sufficient to make this completely certain. There is no evidence of any form of artificial interference such as tooth mutilation or any attempt to relieve the effect of dental disease.

(c) Sepsis (abscesses). Chronic apical infection was noted when visible in the bony fragments. Table IV shows the teeth or sockets involved. The percentages of sepsis in jaw fragments and the percentages of teeth infected are given.

(d) Parodontal disease. An attempt to judge the degree of parodontal disease was made from the degree of alveolar resorption and pocketing. It was found that 20 per cent. showed no evidence of parodontal disease; 26 per cent. showed slight loss of alveolar bone; 26 per cent. showed pocketing; 28 per cent. showed advanced bone loss and deep pocketing.

ATTRITION

The amount of attrition to which the teeth had been subjected was recorded, using the classification of Broca.

Table IV. Incidence of sepsis among Middle Minoans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of infected apical areas</th>
<th>No. examined</th>
<th>Per cent. septic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper jaws</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower jaws</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPPER TEETH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st incisor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canine</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st premolar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st molar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ALL UPPER TEETH | Total 10 | Total 273 | Total 3-7 |

LOWER TEETH | | |
| 1st incisor | 1 | 140 | 0-7 |
| Canine | 3 | 147 | 0-7 |
| 1st premolar | 5 | 149 | 3-4 |
| 2nd | 150 | 6-7 |
| 1st molar | 18 | 149 | 12-1 |
| 2nd | 148 | 6-8 |
| 3rd | 10 | 94 | 10-6 |

ALL LOWER TEETH | Total 58 | Total 1127 | Total 5-1 |

ALL TEETH | 68 | 1400 | 4-9 |

Table V. Degree of attrition of teeth among Middle Minoans according to Broca's scheme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teeth in situ</th>
<th>1 Per cent.</th>
<th>2 Per cent.</th>
<th>1 Per cent.</th>
<th>4 Per cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>130 jaw fragments</td>
<td>3 2-3</td>
<td>15 11-5</td>
<td>76 58-5</td>
<td>36 27-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>831 separate teeth</td>
<td>231 27-8</td>
<td>272 32-7</td>
<td>272 32-7</td>
<td>56 6-7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

as adapted by Middleton Shaw, viz. (1) abrasion of enamel without disappearance of cusps or exposure of dentine; (2) obliteration of cusps and partial exposure of dentine; (3) complete exposure of dentine; (4) extension of wear to neck with almost entire disappearance of crown; Broca's category 0 denotes no wear. Table V shows the degree of attrition of the teeth in the jaw fragments and also of the separate teeth distinguished according to Broca's classification, together with the appropriate percentages. It is of interest to note that the two bony fragments in which the eruption of the teeth showed that the age at death was between ten and 13 years of age could be classified under Broca's category 3, i.e. complete dentine exposure.

DISCUSSION

The measurements show the Middle Minoans to have had rather small teeth compared with other populations. They also had a high percentage of shovel-shaped incisors. The incidence of dental caries among them was slightly
greater than in the groups with which comparison has been made, and perhaps this is due to the fact that Minoan Crete enjoyed a relatively advanced standard of living. There was an almost complete lack of caries in the upper first molars. There was a high incidence of apical infection. The quality of the enamel appears to contrast noticeably with early British specimens, in which, according to Brothwell, 58 per cent, showed some degree of enamel hypoplasia. However, in both Britain and Crete some degree of periodontal disease was common, its frequency being over 70 per cent.

Acknowledgment

The author is grateful to Dr. J. C. Trevor, Director of the Duckworth Laboratory and University Lecturer in Anthropology, Cambridge, for his help and advice.

SHORTER NOTES


With two text figures

Among the numerous masquerade cults found in West Africa, the Egungun of the Yoruba-speaking peoples is probably the largest and most popular. This cult extends into Dahomey, Western Nigeria and parts of Ilorin and Kassa provinces of Northern Nigeria. Writers generally continue to make the mistake of identifying Egungun with the Yoruba for 'bones' or 'skeleton' (Pattrinder, 1938, p. 18). Bascom (1944, p. 57) appears to have been the first to call attention to the fact that egungun, the name for the priest en masque, is not the same word as the Yoruba for bone or skeleton (egungun). A classical example is here provided of the difference made by tones. Verger follows Bascom in this observation (Verger, 1954, p. 192).

While doing field studies of the Egungun cult, I travelled to Ado, principal town in the Ekiti division of Ondo Province, Western Nigeria, on 20 September, 1959. The annual Egungun festival had begun two days previously. This date constitutes a notable variation from the times given in previous literature (May–June–July). Among the Egungun observed at Ado on this occasion were several who are known as Eshishe. This type is reported in both Ekiti and Kassa territory. One who has seen Egungun in other parts of Western Nigeria, whose masks usually consist of woven or knitted mesh decorated with cowries, is impressed by his first view of the 'walking haystack' appearance of Eshishe. Actually, Eshishe's costume is made not of grass but from finely split palm leaves. (See fig. 1.)

We were told that Eshishe is the oldest of the different Egungun in Ekitiland. Unlike Egungun in other areas, Eshishe does not talk, even in the usual disguised voice. But he sings and whistles and has an odd way of calling 'Frr-rh—rhr! Ho! Ho! Ho! Ho! . . . Hii—a, hii—a, hii—a!' He often carries a long, slender whip (ator). Sometimes he uses an irritative shrub (euisin) to strike individuals who show disrespect. He is very athletic, running from house to house, jumping ditches and walls, and brandishing his whip. No particular evidence of fear was shown by those who stood by and watched Eshishe at Ado.

As the process of making Eshishe's costume has not been pre-

* In accordance with the usual practice of MAN, tones and special characters are used only where they are necessary to the argument.—Ed.

FIG. 1. ESHISHE AT ADO-EKITI

Photograph: W. M. Gilliland, 1959
women. Palm leaves are cut before they are fully developed, and the fibres are separated and shredded with a metal comb. These fibres are tough and not easily broken. Weaving frames are made by sticking lengths of poles (sticks) into the ground. Three sticks are used for weaving arm and leg covers, while four or five sticks are used for holding the torso cover. Covering for the head is woven on a frame made in the form of a tepee. Vine is cut and the bark (ofere) is stripped off and twisted into a ‘rope’ to hold the palm fibres. This rope is placed around the upright sticks and the fibres inserted. The accompanying drawings (fig. 2) illustrate the way in which the torso and arm covers are held in place by braces running over the shoulders and around the neck of the wearer, while leg covers are like a pair of trousers and are held by a belt. The fibres are so attached to the carrier rope that they do not show how they are held. There is the belief that if the ofere is seen by a female during the construction process, the costume will fall apart when Eshishe appears in public, and great will be his embarrassment!

The fingers and feet, sometimes legs, of Eshishe are uncovered (see fig. 1), which is contrary to the complete body covering required of most Egungun. One Eshishe was observed at Ado wearing white canvas shoes—an example of culture contact!

References

Horniman Museum Lectures and Concerts, Oct.-Dec., 1960

159

Among lectures of anthropological interest in the autumn series at the Horniman Museum, London, S.E.23 (on Saturdays at 3.30 p.m.), are the following:
22 October, A. H. Christie on 'The Bronze Drums of South-East Asia'; 29 October, R. Morley-Pegge on 'History of the Horn';
12 November, D. Botting on 'Forgotten Island (film of the Oxford Expedition to the Island of Socotra)'; 19 November, J. Hanbury-Tracy on 'Eastern Tibet'; 26 November, A. J. Cain on 'The Oxford University Expedition to British Guiana'; 10 December, J. A. Forgie on 'Art and Society in New Guinea.'

Concerts of interest (on Wednesday evenings, 7.45-9 p.m.) include: 9 November, Desmond Tay on 'The Indigenous Musical Drama of West Africa'; 16 November, Anura and company on 'Dances and Music of Ceylon.'

CORRESPONDENCE

Prehistoric Idols from Gran Canarias. C.f. MAN, 1960, 50

Sir,—In the course of his description of various idols from the Canary Islands, Professor Zeuner suggests a parallel with figurines from the Mediterranean Neolithic. He points to the similarity in posture of a Canarian figurine and a figurine from Kato Ierapetra, and at the same time states that the features of the figurine from Kato Ierapetra are 'unmistakably Cretan, with large straight nose and almond-shaped lateral eyes,' in this way differing from the Canary Islands examples.

Apart from the question of methodology involved here—comparison of isolated characteristics of a figurine with isolated characteristics of another figurine separated in time and space by thousands of miles and years—it must be remembered that the figurine from Kato Ierapetra is unrepresentative for neolithic Crete in all the characteristics isolated by Professor Zeuner. Out of the 68 known neolithic Cretan figurines there is only one other, said to be from Knossos and published by Weinberg (1941), with crossed legs. The figurine from Kato Ierapetra is the only one of these 68 figurines to have the hands on the hips or the 'small topped head.' Nor can one speak of 'unmistakable Cretan' features—there are altogether 12 neolithic Cretan figurines, excluding the one from Kato Ierapetra, with heads intact. Nine of these are mere stumps, with no indication of features; one has small holes for eyes, a pinched nose, and incised mouth; another has slit eyes and modelled nose and mouth: the final example alone has almond-shaped eyes, combined with modelled nose and a hole for the mouth.

If the comparison of isolated features of figurines is at all valid, it is surely worth mentioning that the backward inclination of the Canary figurine No. 629 of the Museo Canario, though quite unknown in either neolithic Greece or Crete, is quite commonly found among Predynastic Egyptian figurines.

Institute of Archaeology, University of London

PETER UCKO

REVIEWS

GENERAL


Paru en 1940, réédité plusieurs fois en anglais, on ne peut que se féliciter de voir aujourd'hui accessible au public français le seul ouvrage d'ensemble sur l'art primitif rédigé par un professionnel. La date du livre n'en est pas moins significante: 1940. Qui songerait aujourd'hui à embrasser un tel sujet en 300 pages, traitant successivement des caractéristiques de l'art primitif, de ses rapports avec la religion et la psychanalyse, de ses aspects sociaux, pour étudier ensuite les dessins d'enfants, les gravures de la préhistoire, les arts d'Afrique, d'Océanie, d'Australie, d'Amérique;
terminer en énumérant les principaux musées, sans même omettre le chapitre des faux?

Dans un excellent compte-rendu paru dans MAN (1957, 86), Miss Bennet Clark a, sur le fond du livre, porté un jugement sage et nuancé aux termes duquel je ne puis que renvoyer le lecteur. Ses remarques sur le chapitre que le Dr. Adam consacre à l’art nègre apparaissent encore aujourd’hui où l’attention des uns, jointe à la cupidité des autres, révèle l’existence de sculptures insoupçonnées, telle la grande sculpture senoufo, et fait apparaître des styles nouveaux qui échappent totalement aux canons de l’art occidental.

La traduction aura été effectuée à partir du texte de la 3e édition, que porte le millésime de 1954. On regrettera que la bibliographie n’ait pu être mise à jour, qu’il ne soit fait mention d’aucune recherche postérieure à 1955. Quelques fautes de traduction: ‘repûse-tête’ pour ‘appui-tête’ (p. 118); ‘cubique’ pour ‘cubiste’ (légende de la pl. 27); les légendes des planches 14 et 15 ont été inversées; la planche 50 figure un masque iroquois du British Museum. Encrage des planches trop noir. Couverture pénible.

On excusera ces remarques pointilleuses et l’agacement du critique devant la présentation défectueuse d’un livre qu’il estime trop pour ne pas souffrir de le voir offert au grand public français sous un aspect aussi négligé.

DENISE PAULME


Utopia and Experiment is an introduction to a subject called by the author ‘the sociology of cooperation.’ This is described as the study of co-operative communities, and of the extent of identification by its members with the co-operative or equalitarian systems. We learn how much this system of values is ‘superimposed’ by authority external to the co-operative group or is a spontaneous expression by the members of the group themselves. We receive an indication of the place of the family within co-operative communities. We learn that in some of the religious co-operative settlements the co-operative element is understood as emanating from the religious; in others, the two exist side by side without any attempt to formulate a synthesis; whilst in others a re-interpreted religious emerges from this proximity.

One would like to hear more than the author tells us about the political system within co-operative society. Co-operation lends a large degree of social homogeneity. It would be of interest to discover the kind of social stratification which crystallizes within partially ‘classless’ communities, and to investigate the formation of sub-groups within the wider co-operative group which, in theory, is designed to be the smallest social unit. Likewise, insufficient attention is paid to the manner in which division of labour cuts across the co-operative group, and to the relative importance of the different ruling strata, e.g. bureaucratic (the holders of key public offices), economic (those responsible for the main branches of the co-operative’s production) and managerial (those responsible for the consumption and public services of the co-operative). Not only the political system from within but also the relationship between the co-operative and the wider national framework merits investigation. We refer specifically to the kolhokh, ejido and kibbutz possessing certain microcosmic features of Russian, Mexican and Israeli society respectively.

Utopia and Experiment is of an exploratory nature. The author himself describes it as ‘a primer to a more systematic treatment of

The subject of the future.’ People in Ejidos (co-operative farms in Mexico) is therefore the more disappointing because, instead of an intensive study of a specific co-operative society, we receive a travelogue—complete with interpreter, government guide and camera—of a number of ejidos.

The author’s ideal of a systematic ‘sociology of cooperation’ can only prefigure a framework for the method of intensive field work. The immensity of the subject can only be approached if the material is broken up into workable units. For this purpose, more than one ejido might prove too unmanageable an object for scientific observation.

DAVID MILLER


The author of this book is well known for his own paleontological studies, for his discoveries in North and South America, and for recent pioneer investigations in Australia. As director of a museum and professor of paleontology he is admirably qualified to expound the elements that the student must learn to become a paleontologist. These are frequently interpreted as abilities in identifying fossils, and while identification is of course essential, it is more important that the student should see the remains of a fossil as parts of a whole animal, and the animal as a living and integral part of an environment.

Some of the book is thus wisely devoted to the finding, collection, preservation, and methods of study of fossils. Much of the rest covers systematic descriptive systems of animal and plant groups. The survey of the geological ages, their faunas and floras, follows, and there are chapters on foraminifera and oil; or highlights in the evolution of plants; and on the more spectacular events in vertebrate evolution.

A wide field is thus covered, most of it directed towards students, though clearly on a level to interest many more general readers. There is a short and fascinating chapter on the history of paleontology so that the book is a veritable compendium on the science, in which the seeker will find something on nearly everything but not too much about anything.

The final chapters are, however, more authoritative and extensive and the author is to be congratulated on his histories of birds and of horses. The story of man’s evolution is short but includes many of the important historical details that are often overlooked. Throughout he is meticulous in giving credit to individual workers.

There are minor errors and misspellings and the plural of pelvis is not ordinarily rendered as pelvis, as appears here, but the book is valuable and gives a wide geographical as well as historical survey. The student of man and his ancestry cannot neglect the long sweep of vertebrate evolution and the physiological and environmental conditions that have been involved. Much of it is here and made as simple as such things can be.

The illustrations are clear but rather diagrammatic. There is a helpful bibliography and a good index.

W. E. SWINTON


These three volumes, all published in one year, bear witness to the popularity of the series 'The Face of the Peoples.' The titles are alluring, the bindings attractive, the illustrations striking, the notes competent and benevolent; the language is intelligible and unassuming—but beyond all this there must be some special appeal for the general German reader: a nostalgic call from far-away countries?

In the 'Elephant Game,' Professor Kohl-Larsen describes his meetings with the 350 surviving Tindiga and Wahli, East African hunters and food-gatherers, during his expeditions before the last war. The leader of a large group told the myths, creation stories and tribal legends, as well as the peculiar giant stories, to a Nyasa-
lander, for he firmly believed that he would bring on misfortune if he were to reveal his world to a white man. The Nyasalander retold the stories in fluent German to the editor.

Professor Neumann edited ‘The Town of the Thousand Dragons’ (stories from Cambodia) and ‘Voice of the Water Buffalos’ (Malayan folksongs) in an exemplary manner. His literal translations of the Malayan folksongs seem to be extremely good. Modern practice is certainly on his side and against translations into rhymed verse, which often depart far from the original.

E. ETTLINGER

AMERICA


This is the catalogue of an exhibition recently held in the Museum, containing 106 aboriginal American objects of various ages, of which the greater number were Pre-Columbian. It is preceded by a brief, thoughtful introduction by the compiler of the catalogue, Dr. Donald Collier, who knows the field as well as anyone. It is always useful to have good illustrations of this sort of material, and the catalogue illustrates 64 of the objects shown. A good number of them are remarkable for their quality or their rarity, and among these, by exercising some restraint, I would single out the Crow War Shield No. 14, the two Hopewell figurines Nos. 17 and 18, the outstandingly graceful painted vessel’s Vera Cruz No. 30, the three Chavin Copper objects Nos. 62, 63, 65, the unusual Chimú jar No. 82, and the wooden figure from Jamaica No. 103.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL


This community study was designed 'to describe relations between Mexican-American people and Anglo public health personnel.' It was initiated because of the desire of several public health agencies and foundations to find ways of improving public health practices among lower-class Mexicans in California. The Department of Anthropology at the University of California lent its assistance to the project in the form of a number of committees made up of anthropologists, public-health officials, etc. The study must be judged as an attempt on the part of anthropologists to make themselves useful to the sponsors of their research.

In reading the book, I tried, so far as this is possible, to respond to it as might a public-health worker in a Mexican community. Looked at in this way, there is no doubt that it makes a valuable contribution in the application of anthropology. Miss Clark is obviously sensitive to all the problems, contradictions, difficulties, misunderstandings and tragedy that accompany the drama of trying to reduce the health risks in a group of Mexican immigrants. Because she was able to enter into a sympathetic identification with her Mexican subjects, she was able to see things that a health worker for reasons of self-defence would never be able to see. The study is obviously valuable to anyone interested in the practical problems of public health amongst Mexican immigrants.

However, the book pays a price for its excellence as a study in applied anthropology. This price, simply put, is that no contribution is made to the anthropological tradition of community studies. Dr. Clark's only purpose in describing the community is to provide a backdrop for her public-health interests. That is, she is less interested in understanding the social life of the community than she is in finding a way to improve the efficiency of public-health agencies. In this sense it is clear that anthropology is being used to further the interests of administration and welfare. There is nothing wrong with this so long as it is clearly remembered that in the long run anthropology will cease to exist if it lets its sponsors and benefactors define its interests and problems.

ARTHUR J. VIDICH

ASIA

Traditional Cultures in South-East Asia. Bombay, etc. (Orient Longmans), 1959. Pp. x, 270. Price 12s. 6d.

Imagine a collection of town-born intellectuals sitting in a seminar worrying themselves sick about the fate of peasant arts, crafts, and spirituality. A large part of this book seems to be the product of such a genius. I say 'seems,' because I am not at all sure that I have understood what the book is about. U.N.E.S.C.O. fathered it (its mother is the Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras) and presented it to the world, but I am not sufficiently impressed by its parentage to give it an uncritical welcome.

There are three unknowns in the title; they remain unknowns to the end. Culture is often arts and crafts, but it is also that integrated Whole whose praises are sung in American textbooks of anthropology. The traditional slides from the immediately pre-modern period (or sub-modern) to the antique. As for South-East Asia, one flounders, for the atlas appears to have been reconstituted. In his recast, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri distinguishes India from South East Asia, yet all but two of the essays making up the main body of the book deal more or less directly with the Indian sub-continent (with the implication that South-East Asia begins at Baluchistan).

The only contribution likely to impress an anthropological audience by its shrewdness and scholarship is Mr. Ralph Pierson's paper on the effect of community development work in Ceylon. For the rest, one is in a daunting atmosphere of vindicated values. (Mr. V. R. Narla in 'The New Culture of the Technological Age' goes so far as to call the caste system 'a thinly veiled, but not less cruel, form of slavery,' but he is gently patted into line by an editorial footnote which reads: 'A rather exaggerated statement, intelligible in the context.') Professor Nilakanta Sastri's Introduc-

MAURICE FREEDMAN


The history of the emancipation of Indonesian women, though not a subject likely to be of the widest interest among readers of MAN, has been recounted in this monograph with most impressive thoroughness. A version of a doctoral thesis presented at the University of Paris, it is based upon the author's long residence in Java as well as an extensive acquaintance with Dutch and Indonesian literary sources. It discusses Islamic, Dutch colonial, and modern Indonesian law concerning marriage and the status of women, the reflection of social forces in Indonesian novels, and the formation of a feminine professional class, and it includes a bibliography, indexes, and some useful appendices. The work is a very solid achievement as the study of one aspect of the emergence of Indonesia as a modern independent state.

RODNEY NEEDHAM
EUROPE


The symposia of the Ciba Foundation, devoted primarily to medical and chemical research, are well known for their quality and interest. To mark the fiftieth symposium it was decided to choose a subject outside the range of previous conferences and to bring together students of the humanities as well as of science. These aims were met by the titles selected. "The recent contributions of medical biology to ethnology, with special reference to the origin of the Etruscans," which served to focus the attention of representatives from a wide variety of subjects on a problem to which so much time has been devoted by students of antiquity. The problem was stated by Mr. R. M. Cook in his opening address: Was the Etruscan culture, with its rapid flowering, its superiority over the other cultures of Italy apart from the Greek colonies, its strong artistic concomitantly with the East Mediterranean, and its un-Italic language, developed by a people long established in Etruria, perhaps in response to contact with foreign traders at a period of economic prosperity? Was it brought by immigrants or invaders and if so from where? Or was it the creation of a small and traditionally inconspicuous invading aristocracy who imposed it on natives possessing a less advanced culture?

In the first half of the book appear the non-biological papers. After a description of the geographical setting of the ancient cities of Etruria, the archaeological papers tell a convincing story. An exposition of the evidence, especially of the distribution of particular traits, by Dr. Hencken demonstrates a long and complex cultural development within Etruria with elements from different parts of Europe entering at different periods, as postulated by Pallottino, while Dr. Bloch shows the continuity of successive cultures in inner Etruria. By contrast, Dr. Piganol shows a close relationship between the Etruscan religion and that of Mesopotamia, and the almost complete absence of a link with the other religions of Italy. Dr. Modena reviews the activities of the Institute of Etruscan and Italic Studies in Florence with special reference to Etruscan metallurgy. Dr. Banti poses a succession of as yet unanswered questions on details to show how uncertain any theory is, how contradictory the sources, while Mr. Ward Perkins points out that the problem of Etruscan origins is essentially artificial, being due to the confusion of the distinct problems of the origin of the Etruscan language, the people, their political entity, etc. Mr. Bullough traces the large-scale population movements which, in the millennium before the seventh century A.D., may have changed the population of ancient Etruria to show that, of the invaders, only the Ostrogoths and Lombards established real settlements, albeit numerically so small as hardly to affect the composition of the population, while the settlement of slaves predominantly from the East Mediterranean in the second and first centuries B.C. was shared with other areas of central and southern Italy. Professor Boeije suggests that the distribution of phonetic aspiration in modern Italy indicates areas of Etruscan influence.

The biological papers tend to be more general, aiming to show what the possibilities are with modern methods rather than to discuss the Etruscan problem in particular. Drs. Barnicot and Brothwell discuss osteometric work generally, demonstrate metrical similarity between skulls from north and south Etruria, and cautiously point out some resemblance between the Etruscan series and those of several other populations including some from modern Italy, indicating that the ancient Etruscans were not a highly differentiated intrusive local group, while the modern population shows little evidence of divergence from its neighbours. The way in which blood groups may be used in the study of anthropological problems is outlined by Dr. Mournier, while Professor Ceresa stresses from studies of thalassemia in Italy and Sardinia the need for caution when considering those genetically determined traits which may be subject to rapid environmental modification of frequency. The geographical distribution of blood-group frequencies in Italy is described by Professor Morgan, the modern population of Tuscany again—though the data are limited—fitting into the general pattern. An effect of thalassemia on weight and stature is demonstrated by Dr. Siniscalco, while in the final paper Dr. Harris presents data on the frequency of the X-linked thalassemia type in Italy, showing similarity between four widely different areas.

Nearly one-third of the book is taken up by the discussion, reported in extenso, and an extremely important part it is. Sources of disagreement are aired, supplementary information is provided by the participants, e.g. Oakley and Smith discuss the requirements for sampling and preservation of bone samples to be tested for blood groups at the British Museum. There may have been something to be gained by condensation of the discussion but this would have entailed losing the spirit of the meeting which is conveyed remarkably well. From it it is clear that the various specialists succeeded in showing each other something of the methods, limitations, objectives and relevance of their particular speciality; and it is not of great consequence if, in so doing, one or two at times drifted rather far from the Etruscans.

This book indeed merits the attention of a wide circle of readers, outside those directly concerned with Etruscology. To others interested in problems of origin of any population, ancient or modern, it will be of use as indicating the nature of the contributions that may be expected from a variety of lines of study. Several of the biological papers incorporate the results of original investigations which will be of interest to students of physical anthropology. One hopes that the Ciba Foundation will not wait for another fifty symposia to take place before venturing again outside its customary field.

D. F. ROBERTS


170

After a chapter on the history of Etruscology, Professor Bloch discusses theories of the origin of the Etruscans, and thinks it probable that they were colonists from Anatolia who about 700 B.C. imposed themselves as an aristocracy upon the earlier inhabitants of Etruria. It is interesting to compare this theory with that of Professor Pallottino, in the Pelican The Etruscans, that they were native Italians who took to the sea and became civilized through the contacts of their merchants and seamen with the Greeks and Carthaginians. The question depends largely on linguistics, and while Pallottino speaks of the undoubted affinities between Etruscan and other very ancient Italian dialects such as "Retic," Bloch explains the similarity between Etruscan and Retic by a movement of Etruscan refugees into Rhaetia not earlier than the third century B.C.

He deals less fully than Pallottino with the Etruscan language, but has interesting chapters on history and institutions, and in the chapter on religion he deals at length with the Haruspices and their methods of divination, of which he has made a special study. His chapter on art is admirably illustrated by plates and drawings.

The book has been translated from the French, and the fact that it is a translation is apparent throughout.

RAGLAN


171

In folk-life research the most valuable record of all is the photograph, for it provides the student with readily available source material for his studies. This handbook, produced by the
International Secretariat for Research on the History of Agricultural Implements, is a well illustrated catalogue of wheel ploughs in Danish museums. The nine pages of text merely serve as an introduction to the 192 photographic plates of excellent quality. No attempt has been made to draw any conclusions or to comment on the ploughs but the Secretariat are to be congratulated on making the information on Danish plough collections available to those unable to visit their museums.

The technique of production could well be adopted for the study of other material in other countries for the difficulty of obtaining comparative source material is a problem constantly facing the ethnographer. A similar catalogue of ploughs in museums in Britain, for example, would be invaluable and would serve as a starting point for an intensive study of ploughs and ploughing techniques in this country.

J. GERAIN T JENKINS

The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren. By Iona and Peter Opie. Oxford (Clarendon P.) (O.U.P.), 1959. Pp. xix, 417, maps. Price £1.15. The authors of The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes have spent eight years in collecting the materials for this book from all parts of Great Britain, with items from other parts of the world, and in particular from some 70 schools which they list, including one in Dublin. No private or fee-paying schools were included, which is perhaps a pity.

They discuss the lore under 18 headings, such as Guile (tricks and traps), Riddles, Topical Rhymes, Jeers and Torments, Children's Calendar and Friendship and Fortune.

A chapter begins with a reference to Norman Douglas's London Street Games (1916) and point out that its defects were due largely to his belief that the street lore was largely prompt, and therefore transient and merely local. In fact there is little or none which is merely local in a narrow sense; there is much that is national, but the regions for different items seldom coincide.

There are a number of distribution maps. Four of these are concerned with true terms. The most widespread is 'barley' ('barley' in Gavaine and the Green Knight, which covers most of Wales, the west midlands and north-west of England and the eastern half of Scotland. After that comes 'fair' or 'faintes,' used in most of southern England.

A child when questioning the veracity of a statement will demand 'Sprit your death.' This is most common in Lancashire, but its region extends from Dumfriesshire to Welsbpool. Egg-rolling at Easter, common in Scotland and the north, is south of the Wash reported only from Pontypool.

Most of the lore is general and ancient, but the authors cite ribald rhymes which have gone round the country with astonishing rapidity. What must be a modern practice is fortune-telling by means of bus tickets. It is agreed in Brighton, Swansea, Aberdeen and elsewhere that if the figures add up to 21 it means luck.

Some of the customs cited are observed by adults as well as by children, but it seems probable that there are many items of lore which have for centuries been passed on from child to child without adult intervention.

The authors are to be congratulated on a very interesting and valuable book.

RAGLAN

White and Coloured: The Behaviour of British Peoples Towards Coloured Immigrants. By Michael Banton. London (Cape), 1959. Pp. 184. Price £1 1 guineas. Dr. Banton has written a clear, sensible and shapely book. He writes in plain and avoids jargon; he thinks clearly and takes the trouble to communicate his thought; he avoids tressise detail and is constantly prepared to test his judgement against what he sees about him. He looks at the answers to questionnaires with a healthy and scholarly scepticism; he is particularly perceptive about the English desire to avoid becoming involved in a relationship which may involve too many demands and about the difficulty to a foreigner of understanding the English system of communication by silences, understatement and double talk. He writes as a sociologist but makes no dogmatic pretensions for his own approach, perceiving that the same action may be regarded in different lights by persons with different sets of assumptions and different angles of vision.

It is in the same spirit and on this very score that I would criticise his work. His general contention may be stated in his own words: having stated more than once (e. g. pp. 9, 210) that the 'fast majority of individual Britons are favourably disposed towards coloured people,' he concludes (p. 184) that: 'Britons' behaviour towards coloured people is ambiguous. Their avoidance of them is a natural response to social situations in which colour means . . . strangeness, unreliability, involvement in unfamiliar problems, raised eyebrows on the neighbours' part and a repeatd disregard for sexual inhibitions . . . ' All these points he analyses with subtlety and common sense but he says virtually nothing of the minority (which there are grounds for supposing may be as high as 7 to 9 per cent.) whose intolerance is extreme. Surely this minority is influenced largely by personal psychological factors, which are no doubt accentuated and brought to the surface by social and economic considerations, but which are there in any case and would be directed at some other minority if coloured people were not available? And surely in most people whose attitudes are tolerant the impulses which are strong in the small minority are present though vestigial?

Dr. Banton recognizes in general that personal and psychological factors have a place in explaining the phenomena which he examines but in his own analysis seriously under-estimates them. Most enquirers have found more prejudice that he recognizes even in the great central majority—possibly 80 per cent.—who are sometimes described as mildly prejudiced; he gives the impression of taking the statements of many people at something too near their face value and even of ignoring the psychological aspect of opinions which he actually quotes, for example the views of women students on pp. 140ff. Dr. Banton says so much that is wise, so much that needed saying, that it is a pity that he has not paid more attention to the really ugly aspects of the Notting Hill affair, which was surely a symptom about which it is unwise to be complacent. He ends with a chapter headed 'Quod erat demonstrandum' and believes that he has demonstrated that 'the pattern of collective behaviour on the part of Britons cannot be understood as a response to the biological characteristics of coloured men nor as the acting out of the sentiments of individual Britons.' He has not convinced me of either proposition stated absolutely; it may well be that they are neither of them the sort of proposition to which such terms as 'demonstration' or 'proof' in the geometrical sense can be applied.

PHILIP MASON

The Avar Period Mongoloids in Hungary. By P. Liptak. Acta Archaiol. Acad. Sci. Hungarice, 10, Budapest, 1959. Pp. 251-79. This is an illustrated article dealing primarily with some 20 skulls (including some skeletons as well) from Hungarian Avar graves, but also considering other skulls from similar graves previously published. Some groups are Europoid predominantly, others have larger Palaeo-Siberian and Mongoloid elements, the last chiefly in the area between Danube and Tisza. H. J. FLEURE

Studies in Irish and Scandinavian Folktales. By R. Th. Christiansen. Copenhagen (Rosendiele & Bagger), 1959. Pp. vii, 249. Price 30 Danish crowns. This is a book which can be commended to all students of folktales. The author has made a careful analysis of the folktales of Ireland and Scandinavia, and has found a large number of features which are apparently peculiar to these two areas. He explains that he uses the term 'Irish' and not 'Celtic' because there is no special affinity between Irish and Breton stories, and 'Welsh folktales are almost non-existent,' but he includes the Gaelic-speaking parts of Scotland with Ireland. Scandinavia includes Finland and Lapland (p. 6).

The features which he mentions have clearly been diffused within
Ireland and within Scandinavia, but how are the similarities between the two areas to be explained? The obvious possibility is that the tales were learnt by Vikings during the long centuries of their raids and settlements in Ireland, but objections are the language difficulty, and the fact that 'in northern popular tradition there is not a single trace or reminiscence of the Vikings, nor of Ireland' (p. 217). Other possible explanations, such as derivation from a common European stock and casual contacts by sea since the Viking period present even greater difficulties. There is one possibility that the author has not considered. Recent blood-group studies suggest that the Icelanders are predominantly of Irish stock, and after the Norse conquest they may have translated some of the stories while they were bilingual.

While the Irish and Norse have the matter of their stories in common, there are differences in the manner in which they are told. 'Irish, like Icelandic story-tellers, were acutely aware of an ancient literary tradition, and they were more interested in the ornaments and technique of storytelling than in the mere plot' (p. 64), whereas in Scandinavia there is 'the lack of a conscious literary manner.' There are many conventional passages used to link the incidents in Irish folks tales. These are called rams, and 'the remarkable stability of such passages suggests a literary tradition of long standing' (p. 16). These are absent in Scandinavia.

Another feature peculiar to Ireland is the geasa, an obligation placed upon the hero to do or refrain from doing something. The author says that 'these geasa are of exactly the same type as the taboos regulating the life of a Polynesian chieftain' (p. 17), but this surely is not so. The taboos are general and permanent, whereas the geasa are often individual and temporary.

There are other points that one would like to mention, but it must suffice to say that the book is well written except that the author persists in writing 'this particular' when he just means 'this'; that it is a comfort to have the footnotes in their proper place, and that there is no index.

### OCEANIA


The book deals mainly with art, and the examples of art, in the form of reproductions of Melville Island bark paintings, are the most important contribution to our so far very limited knowledge of the culture of the Melville Islanders. By being able to add to most of the bark paintings explanations given by the aboriginal Mr. Mountford is able to give a considerable insight into this art. In addition to the chapter on the art (63 plates) he gives a survey on mythology, the creation period, the Pukamani and Kulama ceremonies and the ideas about the spirit people.

By the enormous amount of material which it gives, and which certainly will be the base for further studies, the book raises many questions which cannot yet be answered. Every reader will at once try to probe the position of the Melville Island culture in relation to the cultures of the Australian continent. Father Worms, in reviewing this book in *Anthropos* (Vol. LIV, Parts 3-4, 1959, pp. 641-3), rightly points out that some features can be connected with an older stratum of the north-west, that is the Kimberley region of Australia. Certainly the Melville Island culture has been preserved in isolation for a long time. If we remember that constant contact from tribe to tribe, exchange of not only ceremonial objects, but songs, dances and whole ceremonies as well is typical of Australian culture, then we may be able to imagine what isolation may do to a culture which is kept away from all such contacts. In his conclusion Mr. Mountford clearly points out what the Melville Island culture is lacking compared with the culture of the main island. Here we may well remember that use of the spearthrower is not universal in Australia but lacking in several parts, that is not only on Melville Island, but also in Tasmania and parts of eastern Queensland and northern New South Wales as D. S. Davidson has shown ('The Spearthrower in Australia,' reprinted from *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 4, 1926, pp. 445-53). Mountford's remark that the Tiwi lack the knowledge of any form of basketry or netting techniques is corroborated by Davidson and puts the Melville Islanders in an even more isolated position than the Tasmanians, who knew twined baskets. On the other hand, regarding the Pukamani ceremony and the so-called burial poles we certainly cannot dismiss external influences on the island, but they may be not one from the mainland. Massola's convincing evidence of the derivation of these poles from Papua should not be overlooked (D. A. Casey and also Massola, The Derivation of the Mustang Bathurst Islands Burial Poles, *Anthrop. Ser.* No. 4, Nat. Mus. of Victoria Memoirs, No. 22, Part 9). Mountford himself points out that 'similar poles' are only found in New Ireland, but comparable and less distant poles may sometimes be found in Timor, or even India (examples in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich, and in the Museum für Völkerkunde und Schweizerisches Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel). Here we have burial poles with naturalistic forms, and big carved holes in the poles which may easily be transformed into the Melville Island poles if only the typical Australian gift for abstraction is taken into account. In the aboriginal camp near Wyndham burial poles are erected today and covered with old tins turned upside-down. Whether this custom is old and an example of an old stratum of culture, common to the north-west coast of Australia and to Melville Island, or a new invention or even due to influence from Melville Island customs, I do not know.

Anyway, Mr. Mountford's well presented material clearly seems to show that in the case of the Melville Islands we are dealing with an isolated and we may say fossilized stratum of the culture of the mainland. There must have been influences or contacts from elsewhere at some time. But it seems that these influences more often came from surrounding regions, perhaps eastern Indonesia or New Guinea, and not from the mainland. Further research may distinguish those influences more clearly, but certainly Mr. Mountford's book provides a base to start from for further research.

A. L. CRANSTON

---


Professor Guiau undertook this survey of the pagan 'bushmen' of Santo with the aid, and one gathers on behalf, of the Condominium authorities. About a third of the book is taken up by an account of his several journeys in the interior. The rest consists of introductory matter covering the environment, history, physical anthropology, mode de vie (technology and material culture, 35 pages), notes de sociologie (45 pages), a survey of the last half century, and conclusions.

The author is concerned primarily with conditions today, though he often glances back to those recorded by Speiser and to the factors that have been at work in the interval. One gains the impression of a culture from which much of the colour—the grade ceremonies, for example—has disappeared, but which is still more distinctively Melanesian than might be expected. The influences of the Presbyterian mission and of the Christian N.C.O.'s of the native police appear to be pervasive and not wholly beneficial. The former persuaded the villagers of Wus to stop making pottery, regarding it as a link with paganism, the latter proselytize by threats and seem to appoint chiefs. One hears surprisingly little of British or French officials. However, Professor Guiau sees hope that the bushmen will come to terms with the outside world before it is too late. After some false starts, such as the 'Naked Cult,' which was not an anti-European cult of the same short-lived type but a movement of purification, conscious effort in this direction by a number of notable men among them seems likely to bear fruit.

This valuable account, conceived from an administrative rather than an academic point of view, is an admirable example of applied anthropology. There is a comprehensive bibliography but no index.

B. A. L. CRANSTON
THE MORIENHUR: A MONGOLIAN FIDDLE*

by

MRS. JEAN LYNN JENKINS

Horniman Museum, London

The Mongolian fiddle in the Cambridge University Museum of Archeology and Ethnology is almost unique in the western world.

Dr. Ethel John Lindgren, who lent it to the museum in 1939, and has supplied the colour plate for this article, acquired it in Ulan Bator, the capital city of the Mongolian People's Republic, between October, 1928, and February, 1929.

The fiddle is called morienhur or morinthur. Hur or khur (the h or kh is pronounced as in the Scottish 'loch') is the generic term for any musical instrument; mo means horse, and rieh or rin is head. Thus the name signifies 'the instrument with a horse's head.' In Eastern Mongolia the Sunit Mongols call the instrument khil-khur; in Khalka Mongolia, it is khil, while the Burjat Mongols refer to it simply as khur.1

The horse's head occurs also on the staff used by Mongol shamans; this may indicate that the Mongol fiddles were at one time shaman instruments. It is definitely known in the case of the Kazakh fiddle, the kobuz, and the Kirghiz fiddle, the kyjak, that the instrument was used by shamans.

While the morienhur originated, and is most widely distributed, in Mongolia, a similar fiddle exists in China2 where it is called matouqin3 (ma signifying horse). (The Chinese acknowledge the matouqin to be Mongolian, as they acknowledge their dulcimer to be Persian.)

The horse-head scroll reflects the culture of the people who make and play the instrument. The Mongols, like the Kazakh and Kirghiz, are 'born in the saddle.' But in addition to the fact that they ride while herding, hunting, and moving their encampments, the horse provides a staple food. This is kounsir or fermented mare's milk, which is the basic drink of the nomadic Mongols. Horse-meat sausage is another national food.

The horse's head is regarded as a talisman, and great care is taken in carving it. Some are very beautifully finished.4 Even today the scroll is elaborate.5 One modern specimen in the Leningrad Museum of Musical Instruments has three heads—possibly indicating prosperity! The head may occasionally be covered with wool, showing that the owner also grazes sheep.

The body of the instrument is in the form of a trapezoid with wooden sides and back and hide front. The face is brightly painted in typical Mongolian patterns. The specimen in the Cambridge Museum is predominantly salmon, orange and yellow, while green with dark blue are the colours of those in the Leningrad Museum. The neck passes completely through the body. There are two strings, made of braided horsehair, which are controlled by tuning pegs, and these pegs to which the strings are fastened are called chikhe (the ears of the horse).6

The horsehair of the bow passes between the two strings (as in such Chinese fiddles as erhu)7. The strings are tuned in fourths, thus:

[Diagram of the string tuning]

Dr. Emshheimer, writing of the instruments collected by the Sven Hedin Expedition,8 states that the tuning of the two strings always occurs in fifths. Mr. Ahlender9 gives the tuning as a fourth, and Mongolians from Ulan Bator whom I have recently met in Kazakhstan also have said that the instrument is tuned in a fourth. It seems possible that in Eastern Mongolia tuning is in fifths, while in Western Mongolia the fourth is used. The lower string is called budung (thick string), and the higher one narin uga (thin string). To the end of the strings a thicker horsehair string or a leather cord is added to strengthen the horsehair at the place where it is most likely to break or fray.10

The bow of the instrument, called datnur, is also strung with horsehair which is rubbed with rosin.

The instrument rests on the ground with the player kneeling behind it and slightly supporting it with his thigh. The left hand is not used to press the string firmly against the neck of the instrument, as is customary in fiddle-playing, but instead the finger at the base of the nail is used to give a light pressure against the side of the string. The resultant tones are powerful and the timbre is reminiscent of the cello.11

The morienhur is used by the singer to accompany himself; more rarely it is used as a solo instrument. Some of the songs are traditional, with permanent words, while others are improvised. Like the nearby Kazakh and Kirghiz, both of whom use a fiddle with two horsehair strings (although quite differently shaped), the Mongols have a highly developed sense of music and epic poetry. Songs are part of the daily life of all three peoples, and in addition all three have wandering professional or semi-professional bards.12 In Mongolia these Yurolich (bards) are greatly honoured, and often receive costly gifts to reward their fine singing, improvisation and playing.

Music with fixed texts is sung at weddings and funerals; mourning songs and farewell songs also have permanent words. But perhaps the most important songs with fixed words are the epic tales. These tend to be connected with actual historical events. They may be sung on one note, with no steady rhythm; the fiddle provides the musical quality. On the other hand Emshheimer gives transcriptions of several songs collected by the late Hennig Haslund-Christensen for man's voice and fiddle13 in which the singing is by no means monotone. Of the four instruments, flute, fiddle, guitar and zither, which exist among

* With Plate L. The Hon. Editor records his thanks to Dr. E. J. Lindgren for lending Miss Edith King's watercolour drawing from which the colour plate has been made.
the Mongols, the fiddle morienhur is the most important and the only one definitely known to have originated in Mongolia.

The morienhur is not only used to accompany legends; the Mongols have a legend about the instrument itself. Within the sacred mountain of Jasaktu Ul are fine peaks and valleys, and in these graze eight precious horses. Seven of the stallions are splendid, but the eighth is thin and miserable-looking but is swifter than any of the others and it is called Jonung Khara Mori. On certain nights 28 twinkling stars fall down to the earth to absorb its fertility. As shooting stars they fall through the dark night, but when they reach the earth they are transformed to young warriors clad in sparkling gold coats of mail. Twenty of them are mounted on horseback, but eight sink down on the Jasaktu Mountain, for the eight horses belong to them. And here they mount the sacred horses, after which they join their 20 brothers out on the steppe. Now all together gallop about on the earth as long as the night lasts, and wherever their horses set their hooves beauty and exuberance grow up.

Before dawn they ascend to their places in the night sky, sparkle for a short while as morning stars, then wait until the night comes again.

But the leader of the 28 riders, who is mounted upon the thin but swift horse, falls in love with a young shepherdess. All the hours before dawn he spends in the tent of his beloved. But this lay far from the Jasaktu Mountain, and it was the extra riding that this entailed that caused his horse, Jonung Khara Mori, to become thinner and thinner without, however, losing any of his swiftness. Every night the star prince and his Mongol maid slept in each other's arms; but each morning when the girl awoke she found herself alone and not even the marks of the horse's hooves were visible in the sand.

This astonished the shepherdess, who was accustomed both to awake at the slightest noise and to track horses, so she tried to stay awake, and had her best horse in readiness to be able to follow the prince. But the prince and his horse vanished with such speed that no mortal horse could follow them.

The next time the Mongol maid was visited by her prince she waited until he had gone to sleep, and then went out to examine his mysterious horse. She discovered that the thin horse had small wings, that lay folded behind each of his legs. Hoping that if she robbed him of his wings she might be able to keep her lover, she cut them off.

But when she awoke the next morning she was alone again,—

and her star prince never returned.

After the flying prince had been rushing through space on his marvellous horse for a time, on the way to his star, he discovered that his steed was beginning to show signs of exhaustion. And finally, in a great desert he sank to the ground and died. In despair over the loss of his marvellous steed, and persuaded that he would now never again be able to reach either his star or his beloved, both of whom were far away that he could not reach them on an ordinary horse, he began to caress his dead steed. And between his stroking hands, while the tears fell from his eyes, a miracle took place. The dead horse was transformed into the first morienhur, an instrument that was ornamented on top with the horse's head; and the horse's mane and the hairs of his tail, which he had been holding crushed in his hands, were changed into sounding strings.

Just at that moment the sun was rising over the distant horizon of sand. It was the first sunrise the star prince beheld on earth, and his home star was eclipsed in the light of the new day. Moved by the beauty of the hour, he touched the strings of his instrument, and upon his lips words were born, that followed the strange vibrations of the strings—and this was the first of the Mongols' songs. Thereafter he wandered over the Mongolian steppes, over the mountains and deserts, and everywhere he sang and played about his dead horse, his distant star and his lost love. And wherever he roamed the Mongols flocked to listen to him; and so entranced were they that after his disappearance they made copies of his morienhur, and upon these they played his songs, and quite new songs, that were inspired by what they had heard him sing.

This, say the Mongols, was the origin of the morienhur, and of their epic songs—and both continue to flourish today.

Notes

1 Ernst Emsheimer, 'Music of the Mongols,' in Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin, Vol. VIII, Ethnography 4, Stockholm, 1943, p. 82.
3 Matouqin is the Chinese spelling according to the Latin alphabet formally adopted by China in 1958.
6 Emsheimer, op. cit., p. 85.
7 Ablender, op. cit., p. 27.
8 Emsheimer, op. cit., p. 87.
10 Emsheimer, op. cit., p. 84.
11 Emsheimer, op. cit., p. 87, and my own observations.
12 Owen Lattimore, Pivot of Asia (Appendix on 'Literature and Oral Art'), Boston, 1950, p. 254.
14 Ibid., pp. 35–7, quoted with the kind permission of Dr. Emsheimer, Musikhistoriska Museet, Stockholm, to whom I am also indebted for reading this article in draft.

Kohler's Chimpanzees—How Did They Perform?*

by

M. R. A. CHANCE

Ethology Laboratory, Uffalune Clinic, Birmingham

Kohler's book The Mentality of Apes has had world-wide fame, and yet the more it is read the more difficult it is to reconcile this with a clear definition of what has been achieved. Apart from the originality of the study, which makes it fascinating, could it be consid-
possible, even if there is something in the conception that Kohler has made a start on the study of the behaviour of chimpanzees.

Apart from chimpanzees, the gorilla, the orang-utan, the cebus and the macaque monkeys (Warden et al., 1940) show similar, though in some instances a less readily ability at problem-solving of the type under discussion, but our present purpose is best served by sticking to the study of chimpanzees' performance.

Kohler undertook his work 'to gain knowledge of the nature of intelligent acts' as he put it, but when he elaborates upon his intention he says that he wants to find out whether his chimps behave 'with intelligence and insight under conditions which require such behaviour.'

Kohler does not clearly define what he means by 'intelligence or insight' in the context of his studies, but it is nevertheless possible to give definition to these terms from much of what he has written and I shall return to this point later. Consider the part in the passage above where he mentions the requirements of the task. No sooner does he specifically state that he is going to try to find out the nature of their intelligence than he brings in the notion of the requirements of a task, which introduces an element describing the physical set-up of the problem and which is, therefore, not itself a part of the way in which the chimp behaves, but is really a way of assessing the functional adequacy of behaviour. Because these two elements—the way the chimp actually behaves and the functional achievements—have nowhere been clearly separated, he arrives at a position from which it is impossible for him to take note of an act unless it is part of a direct sequence which can be seen to have functional significance.

Now such a criticism needs justifying, so I shall quote a passage from Kohler's book:

When a man or an animal takes a roundabout way (in the ordinary sense of the word) to his objective, the beginning, considered by itself only and regardless of the future course of the experiment, contains at least one component which must seem irrelevant. In very indirect routes there are usually some parts of the way which, when considered alone, seem in contradiction to the purpose of the task, because they lead away from the goal. If the sub-division in thought be dropped, the whole detour, and each part of it considered as a part of the whole becomes full of meaning in that experiment.

'Meaning' here refers to the relationship of the parts to the whole and, in particular, that part which is singled out in thought as irrelevant, but careful consideration of the nature of the irrelevancy as construed in this passage shows it to be made up of two parts: (1) A directional component ('in very indirect routes') which must be dealt with as a separate issue and, (2) those parts which seem in contradiction to the purpose of the task.

In contradiction to the purpose of the task' and 'meaningless in relation to the task' are thus synonymous and clearly imply that the behaviour is seen always in relation to the function it performs. The implications go deeper since 'meaningless in relation to the task' implies that a single part and thus all the separately distinguished parts are related, not one to another as may be ascertained by discovering the pattern of their relationship in time, but their relation one to another is not recognized unless they contribute to the execution of a function defined by the task or the properties of the tool. Only if the function becomes apparent are the parts of the behaviour assumed to have any meaningful inter-relationship.

This shows how, when the structure of the behaviour is not considered separate from the function, an element of selection enters which can go unnoticed. The separation of these two is essential for an understanding of the way in which the material will be considered by us. This rigid exclusion of functional considerations of behaviour at the start of the study distinguishes ethological method from most other ways of studying behaviour, and enables patient observation of the movements to be made so that their relation one to another in time may be considered first of all without necessarily any reference to external events once these have been standardized. A picture can then be built up of the structure of the behaviour as it is at any moment or in any phase of the life of an animal. This procedure means that precedence is given to a knowledge of the internal factors which to a large extent determine what acts are available, and in what proportion, when an animal is roused. This we shall have to try to do for the problem-solving behaviour of Kohler's chimps and it is an eloquent vindication of his powers of observation, despite his heavy selection of material by the approach which we

have just noticed, that his records enable us to distinguish some structural elements. Let us take an example (fig. 1).

'A long thin string is tied to the handle of a little open basket containing fruit—the basket hangs six feet from the ground on the string, which passes through an iron ring on the roof of a large cage. The end of the string is tied in a wide loop and put over a stump on the branch of a tree. A chimpanzee by name of Sultan, who has been fed from the basket many times before, is led into the cage and left alone. After some time he suddenly makes for the tree and climbs quickly up to the looped end of the string, stops a moment, then, watching the basket, pulls the string till the basket bumps against the ring, let's it go again, pulls a second time more vigorously so that the basket turns over and a banana falls out. He comes down, takes the fruit and gets up again, and now pulls so violently that the string breaks and the whole basket falls.
He clammers down, takes the basket and goes off to eat the fruit.

The chimp Sultan saw the basket, string and tree and then went to the point where the string was connected to the tree, but his subsequent behaviour was difficult to interpret since 'the best solution of the problem, which could be expected, would be that the animal should take the loop ... off the branch ... and simply let it drop.' Sultan's persistence in pulling the string—rather than taking the loop off the branch—remained not very clear to Kohler even at the end of his investigations.

As I am as much concerned to find out how to investigate the behaviour of chimps and thereby to highlight, if possible, the distinctive contribution of ethology, we will look at the range of functional competence shown by the group of nine chimpanzees available to Kohler. As you probably know, most of the tasks which they were set involved obtaining a lure not immediately accessible by hand or by going to the spot. The lure could only be obtained indirectly by means such as stacking of boxes, use of a stick or pole, fitting together of sticks, pulling-in of string, the removal of an obstruction or making a detour. For our purposes, however, the distinction between these different problems is immaterial as very much the same range of performance was evident between the individual chimps performing any one of these types of task.

Let us look back at the example I have quoted. Although the action was smooth and direct, a criterion essential for what Kohler regards as an intelligent solution, the behaviour contained a singular rigid and stereotyped element, the persistent pulling of the string until the food dropped or the string broke. These stereotypes are much more evident in other examples of the problem-solving behaviour, as when Grande tries to balance one box on its point on top of another repeatedly over a period as long as two years, or when Chica tries to combine her stick with a box by placing it on the upturned edge of the box, again repeatedly, or when Rana repeatedly tries to jump up sticks which are too short even to take her off the ground. More intelligent near solutions are achieved by placing one box on another just as Grande did. Then, however, the chimp learns that they will not stay there if lifted on their point, but only if laid flat on the other box. Even chimps which show this advance show no great interest in the goodness of fit or the ways of building a stable structure.

From these examples, what Kohler curiously calls 'good errors' because they appear to have, so to speak, got the idea, he describes every gradation of performance up to the following example which appears to show great competence.

Tschego made her first experiments with a stick, pulling fruit with it towards the bars of her den. Now the lower part of the bars are covered with fine-meshed wire netting, and the animal cannot get hold of the fruit which she has drawn towards her, although it lies so close, either through the tight meshes, or over the netting, which is too high for her arm to reach over it to the ground. About one metre further along, the net is lower; after Tschego has once reached down in vain, she seizes the stick again, pushes the fruit with one clear, continuous movement sideways to where the net is lower (that is, away from where she is sitting), quickly goes to the place, and seizes the fruit without further ado.

The solution, let us note, was achieved in two parts. First, the drawing-in of the food towards the cage and then as a separate act, after trying to reach it with its hand, taking the stick and sweeping it to the side where the wire netting was low. In effect, therefore, the problem appears to have been tackled in two parts: the first act having failed, it was immediately followed by a second of a different kind. Assuming that the acts immediately follow the awareness of the different features constituting obstacles in the way, they appear to arise directly out of that awareness.

This second example, therefore, supplies all the requisites of the solution which appears to be, and could be, the result of an awareness of the essential geometric relations. It occurs without previous experience, is deliberate in the sense that it arises without delay, is continuous, but is not quite the simplest of the actions required in a situation where the solution requires more than a direct movement. This would have been to sweep the fruit in an arc to one side and towards where the wire netting was low.

Evidence, therefore, exists which is compatible with the assumption that the chimpanzee becomes aware of the necessary features and that these features and the relationship of the different parts do guide the series of acts with which he obtains his objective. As we shall see, however, these are not frequent, but in most of the examples the
Kohler’s findings have been the subject of three subsequent studies, one by Harold Bingham, which, mainly I think because he was satisfied with insight as an explanatory concept, did no more than demonstrate in greater detail how chimps solved problems by box-stacking, the movement of objects or detour behaviour. On close examination one must admit, I think, that neither Kohler nor Bingham actually formulated a precise working hypothesis. In the nature of things, therefore, it is not surprising that they did not reach any definite conclusions, but Bingham was perhaps more modest in his claims when he stated that he is disposed to accept as ideational the behaviour of his chimpanzees!

Birch, working with young naive chimpanzees, made an inconclusive, but suggestive, attempt to find out if experience played a part in the solving of problems which involve the use of a stick.

The third person to enter this field was Paul Schiller and here we move into very different territory. Schiller asked himself ‘Are the unlearned motor patterns of a chimpanzee conducive to instrumental behaviour?’ He approached this from the developmental angle, and, as a

sequence of behaviour does not meet these criteria; nevertheless, they often lead to a solution.

We have, therefore, a wide variety of performances between different individuals, with prominent amongst the elements of actual behaviour stereotyped acts which in all instances, but especially in the less intelligent solutions, appear to conflict with the assumption that the chimp was acting on the basis of full comprehension. Is this so?

—

FIG. 3. BOX-STACKING

—

FIG. 4. FITTING TWO STICKS TOGETHER

—

FIG. 5. SCHILLER’S LADDER OF PROGRESS IN PROBLEM-SOLVING

means of investigating this aspect, he worked out a stepwise series of tests by which he could compare the problem-solving abilities of chimpanzees of different ages. From this he discovered that there was a large maturational component in the ease with which animals solved a given type of problem, e.g. five chimps of one to two years old could not learn to solve problems higher than stage E, whereas six youngsters of three to four years old learnt up to G. Those of five to eight years old could start at D and proceed more rapidly onwards from there to the most difficult—K.

Prior experience was, however, necessary before the use of the various instruments, particularly the sticks, was developed and with this experience the older animals advanced more rapidly to higher levels of complexity than the younger ones.

Schiller, however, paid very close attention to the exact
way in which the chimpanzees used their tools and he
became intrigued at the way all the animals handled the
sticks before they began to use them. He was aware of the
approach to behaviour which Conrad Lorenz was the first
to make known in this country and so he was quite pre-
pared to believe that such careful observation might reveal
important indicators of the processes underlying the way
the chimps used their sticks.

The oldest animals all started to use the stick in the same
way and without reference to the lure. They drew in the
stick, then licked, smelt and chewed the end. He at once
recognized the similarity of this behaviour to that recorded
for the chimpanzee Sultan, one of Kohler's chimps. This
six-year-old chimp solved the drawing-in problem by
putting together two bamboo sticks that fitted together at
either end. Sultan's performance was first produced in play,
but was utilized immediately afterwards. In the description
given by Kohler he pulled out the stopper which prevented
the joining of the sticks and before he attempted to insert
one into the other, he bit off the head of one of them to
'make it match the hole,' as Kohler had put it. Schiller
noticed the inconsistency in this description, for the sticks
were designed so that they fitted into each other; the
biting-off of the end was, therefore, irrelevant to the
purpose of the task and suggested that even in this example
the biting was another stereotyped element. Schiller
comments on this incongruity as follows:

None of these activities need be regarded as having any refer-
ence to the problem situation. The manipulation of sticks by
older animals that have had no prior opportunity of handling
jointed sticks when there is no food to be reached shows all of
these varieties of activity. Licking, chewing, stroking and
splitting the stick, banging, poking, hammering with it, and
thrusting the end into any available openings are responses that
occur frequently and constitute the basis of complex motor
patterns of utilizing sticks as tools.

Therefore his next step was to give two fitting sticks to
48 new chimps without any problem to solve. Of these 32
fitted the sticks together within the hour. Of 20 adults in
the group 19 fitted them together within five minutes and
repeated the performance several times (the single exception
was a pregnant female). Of 16 between five and ten years
old 11 fitted the sticks together within five minutes and of
12 less than five years old only one joined them within the
hour (and this had had previous experience).

The infants played almost exclusively with one stick at a time.
Those of the bigger animals who did not join them showed,
nevertheless, elements of this pattern by inserting a finger into
the hole, putting the point of the peg into some crack in the
floor or fence. Those who connected the sticks usually chewed
the end of the peg before inserting it into the hole and after this
they took the peg out and licked it. The hole was often filled
with food, water, or dirt, and these substances were then sucked
out of it. Some active chimpanzees repeatedly poked through
the fence, shaking the sticks in the face of the experimenter or
other animals. As the experimenter approached, the chimp-
anzee withdrew suddenly as if chased, or prepared to attack
with the other hand or both hands, if the stick were offered in
the mouth.

The dramatic construction of a tower by piling boxes or cases
'in order to' climb on top and jump for food suspended high
above is most likely based on naturally preferred playforms
also. I tested 12 chimpanzees of 6-10 years of age in two 15-
minute periods with two of the smallest standardized boxes
used by Yerkes and associates. All of them dragged the boxes
along the floor, sat and stood on them, rolled them over,
carried them carefully balanced to some preferred corner, and
used them as pillows. Six of the animals actually stacked them
and climbed on the tower jumping upward from the top
repeatedly, with arms lifted above the head and stretched
toward the ceiling. For the human observer it was hard to
believe that there was no food above them to be reached.
Needless to say none of these animals had ever been tested in
box-stacking problem situations.

Complex responses are, therefore, not based on perceptual
organizations, but on innate constituents which are
motor patterns. This is true not only of the chimpanzee,
but also the macaque (Mason et al., 1959). Once avoidance,
grasping, banging, waving, poking, chewing, etc., are
established any familiar surroundings which fit dimension-
ally to these activities will elicit them in a way which can
appear insightful. All that is required in the simplest
instance is that these activities should be brought into juxta-
position to a lure and a solution will soon be hit upon.
A suitable arrangement and condensation will then take place
and be all that is necessary to produce a set of acts which
could be taken to indicate that the chimpanzee has insight
into the overall relationship of the situation. So far we
have only considered examples which do not fit this inter-
pretation as well as they fit the type suggested by Schiller,
but I myself am not convinced, despite the obvious part
played by innate motor patterns in determining the form
of a solution to a problem, that we are yet able to exclude
insightful solutions.

What is clear, however, is that an analysis of the innate
forms is required before any further progress can be made
into this problem. We need to examine the arousal patterns
just as much in examining 'intelligence' as in social
behaviour where the elements are more complex sequences
or postures, but where experience has shown that the
underlying structure may be revealed by more detailed
observation. Then, and only then, does analysis begin.
Then we should ask how large and of what kind are the
units? One twitch, a whole sweep of the arm, an oriented
posture; which are the basic elements? What changes and
re-combinations take place in development and in different
states of motivation?

Just as is now familiar from the work of many ethologists
studying the social behaviour of lower vertebrates, arousal
in particular conditions is found to lead to an interaction
between a complex of innate components, so here we have
a varied bag of tricks, so to say, laid down by hereditary
factors and requiring only the opportunity for play in
order to perfect the operational competence with sticks
and—we may note—the same motor patterns are displayed
towards sticks and boxes alike.

What this means for the insight we may gain into the
evolutionary history of a species of primate once we know
its innate patterns is considerable, for the method is in
essence applicable to man, despite the preponderance of
cultural influences.

If we accept Schiller's hypothesis, then the 'intelligent'
chimpanzees are as much under the influence of the predetermined motor elements as are the 'stupid' chimps which are more obviously so because of the repetitive way in which they employ the same element time after time. The difference is simply that the so-called 'intelligent' ones had a greater repertoire available to them. In the early phases of attempts to solve a problem they search in a sequence which has no apparent relationship, not only to external stimuli, but also to the order of acts which eventually go to make up a smooth effective sequence. As Schiller comments about the play, 'since no external stimulus is definitely associated with the response it is fair to replace the term "response" with that of "emittance" of patterns determined more by the internal state of the organism than by the external stimuli.' Thus the ability to search through a repertoire and try out many types of 'emittance' in succession provides the wherewithal of success. We are used to the idea of animals searching through external objects, but perhaps till now it has not been clear that much successful behaviour depends on searching through a repertoire which we may have acquired by the luck of our birth, from experience, or the two combined.

Do we need to assume, as Schiller does, that the solutions are only the result of serialization and condensation and that, as he says, 'whichever components are reinforced by the responses of the outside world, those will be produced in the proper sequence, omitting repetitions, and develop into a unified pattern that the human observer calls a problem solution'? This may, in itself, be as facile an interpretation as the alternative hypothesis that a 'correct solution is the result of an awareness of the requirements of the simplest solution to the exclusion of other possible, but less appropriate, alternatives.'

In both instances we are dealing with a complete solution and one which, because of its completeness, does not allow for much variability on repeated occasions, either because it is the terminal form of a reinforced series or because, on the other hand, of a functional adequacy which has distracted attention so far from the fact that it was largely preformed.

Quite clearly these motor patterns, as long as they are unmodified, determine the form and, by this very fact, will prevent the expression of insight if and when it is present. Thus, the possibility of demonstrating solutions based on insight must depend upon the extent to which the original motor patterns can be modified.

In many instances of what Kohler calls 'good errors' it is possible to see that the attention of the chimpanzee is severely restricted, often to the manipulative aspects of tool-using and not to any aspect of the set-up other than the lure. This restriction of attention may itself be a product of the predominant place which motor patterns occupy in the behaviour of the less capable chimp. Therefore, a ready ability to switch from one type of emittance to another may go hand in hand with a corresponding diversity of attention which brings within the chimp's comprehension many more relevant aspects of the environment.

Pulsating through this work of Kohler's is a vibrant sense of the marvellous performance of these creatures and he imparts it to everyone who reads his book. The genuineness of the solutions is not in question; but for Kohler, one of his main obsessions was that people would not believe that they solved problems and he set out to convince them that these were solutions and not mere fortuitous occurrences. When his feelings burst forth he says:

For one who has actually watched the experiments discussions like the above have something comic about them. To secure these facts against misinterpretation seems almost pedantic.

In such passages his propagandizing zeal on behalf of the chimps' abilities prevents him from seeing that much critical enquiry arises from interest and not disbelief. Certainly no-one now would maintain that chimps do not solve problems. His achievement has been to bring forward into the light of day this remarkable feature of ape behaviour.

In conclusion, may I make a plea for the great apes who are now in danger of extinction? Surely their preservation is a matter of major concern for all interested in the behaviour of man and his near relatives.

References

Kohler, W., Mentality of Apes (in English translation), London (Methuen), 1927.
ON SOME CRUCIBLES AND ASSOCIATED FINDS FROM THE COAST OF TANGANYIKA*

by

MISS J. R. HARDING

Formerly of the King George V Memorial Museum, Dar es Salaam

The first crucibles of the kind described in this article I found on the beach near the Arab fort at Kilwa Kisiwani in 1937, and as far as I am aware this is the first record of such objects from the East African coast. Curious to learn whether crucibles, as such, were already known on the island I asked some of the inhabitants what my finds were. The reply (which was immediate) was that they were 'purses'! On further enquiry I was told that they were 'old-fashioned purses' in which people used to keep coins. This is interesting, for the idea could possibly be a folk memory, distorted though it may be, of the times under the Sultans when the island operated its own mint; the link between the idea of these objects as receptacles for coins and the crucibles that produced the metal out of which these were made is not hard to see.

During 1939 Mrs. E. Organ and Mr. R. Moore found similar crucibles at Kisiju, about 56 miles down the coast south of Dar es Salaam, and I have since had the opportunity of collecting several more from the same locality. Most of the Kisiju crucibles were found buried in mangrove swamp from one to three inches below the surface, and they usually occurred in groups of six or more together. Others were found singly on the sandy surface fringing the swamp. A search for the possible remains of a furnace or other evidence of fire in the vicinity of the principal finds was unsuccessful, though rare fragments of metalliferous slag were noted in one or two places. A small structure built of rough limestone blocks and situated against the low cliff in the same vicinity was cleared of bush and earth, but turned out to be the remains of what was once, probably, a well.

Both the Kilwa and the Kisiju crucibles (some of the latter are seen in fig. 1) are cone-shaped and though small are variable in size. Those shown in the figure range in diameter across the rim from 4.5 cm. to 7.5 cm., and in length from 6.5 cm. to 9.5 cm. All are vitrified, the glaze appearing on the rims, the upper part of the inside surfaces and unevenly on the outside surfaces. Sometimes the coned base is also glazed, but this appears to have been caused by molten material having run down from the rim. The glazing varies in colour: pale to dark green, maroon red to brick red, mauve, grey and black. The cavities show metallic and other incrustations. Small patches of incrustation sometimes appear on the outside surfaces also. All the crucibles have been made out of a sandy clay in which quartz grains are present, and firing has given the body of the finished article a stony-like texture.

A single specimen from Kisiju was submitted to the Government Chemist at Dar es Salaam for analysis; he reported copper, iron and arsenic, and was of the opinion that this particular crucible had been used for melting copper. The spectrotype showed in addition to the above tin, silver, lead and calcium, and of the non-metallic elements silicon and carbon. I am much indebted to the Government Chemist for this information.

As far as is at present known, the nearest occurrences of copper minerals to Kisiju are in the Mpwapwa-Kilosa area and at Matalaka in the Southern Province, both areas about 200 miles distant from Kisiju. The Geological Survey Department which provided this information has no knowledge of any ancient copper workings and suggests that while unknown sources of copper may possibly exist closer to Kisiju, it is unlikely that these could be nearer than about 100 miles, 'the distance of the nearest Precambrian basement rocks in which copper minerals usually occur.' Alternatively, of course, already prepared copper could have been brought by sea from a source outside Tanganyika. It is known, for example, that there were copper mines in the interior behind Sofala in very early times. A small, roughly made and slightly curved rod of corroded copper (see fig. 2, 9) 2-6 inches long and 6-7 mm. in diameter (variable), which I picked up near the main finds of crucibles may lend support to this suggestion.

I recently had the opportunity of comparing some of the Kisiju crucibles with those housed in the Bulawayo and Cape Town museums from Zimbabwe, where copper and gold are known to have been worked. The Zimbabwe examples are entirely different in form: the small ones are roughly square or rectangular in shape, while the larger ones are somewhat boat-shaped. All are shallow and all have flat bases. They do compare with the Kisiju specimens, however, in the green glazing seen on the rims and the upper portions of the cavities, which seems to indicate that in both cases melting was carried out with the aid of an overhead blast of air.

Although at this stage definite conclusions regarding the cone-shaped crucibles of Kilwa and Kisiju are not possible, it is tempting, in the present absence of any evidence to the contrary, to connect the Kilwa specimens with the Kilwa mint, and, since the Kisiju specimens are identical, to connect these, if not also with the mint at Kilwa, then with another—possibly at Mafia, where so many coins of the Kilwa type have been found. This is suggested for two reasons: (1) at the time of writing I am not aware that any coins have ever been found at Kisiju itself, and (2) Mafia Island is very much nearer Kisiju than is Kilwa Kisiwani (see map, fig. 3).

Finally, there is no evidence that these crucibles are modern. At Kisiju, certainly, associated remains (see below) range from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries A.D. Nothing later has yet been found.
FIG. 1. CRUCIBLES AND GLASS FROM KISIJU, SOUTH OF DAR ES SALAAM

with fragments of thin green and white glass, and fragments of Chinese celadon and Islamic glazed earthenware (s’graffito). The absence of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain in all cases was noticeable. Sherds belonging to locally made pottery vessels were abundant.

The Beads. The Indian glass beads recovered are described in Table I. 8

J. S. Kirkman dates these beads between A.D. 1200 and 1400 (The Arab City of Gedi, 1954). Most if not all of the types (except (1) 9) have been found in the bed-rock levels at Zimbabwe in Southern Rhodesia and have been dated from about the ninth to tenth centuries A.D. by Beck (see The Zimbabwe Culture by G. Caton-Thompson, 1931). In addition to the above I recovered two other beads which I have not seen before: both are grass-green in colour with a wax-like lustre.

Two beads of outstanding interest are Nos. 1 and 2 of fig. 2. The first (1) was found by Mrs. Organ and was so totally unlike anything else recovered by us that, with her permission, I sent it to the Department of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum for identification. Mr. B. Gray, Keeper of that Department, kindly informed me that it is a ‘millefiori’ bead ‘closely similar to one found in
bead, while not at the present time committing himself finally, Mr. Gray favours an eighth-to-tenth-century date, which would fit in well with the dating of the earlier Indian beads.

The second bead (2), also found in swamp, is a black truncated bicone decorated with flush waved strands of yellow (hatched in the figure) and white glass. Dr. Dikshit of the Archaeological Survey of India, to whom I had the opportunity of showing this bead, assured me that it is not an Indian bead. He considers it to be a Frankish bead of fourth-to-sixth-century date. This opinion is shared by Mr. D. M. Wilson of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities, British Museum. Similar beads found in Anglo-Saxon graves are preserved in the Department.

So far, only one stone bead has been found at Kisiju. This is the small globular in clear quartz shown in fig. 2, 5. Possibly from Egypt, it is well finished and has a straight perforation.

The fragment of glass, shown in fig. 1, 7, is very similar to glass found in Anglo-Saxon graves. The glass is thin, clear, and full of minute drawn-out air spaces. It is cobalt blue in colour and has a slightly raised ribbon-like pattern in white opaque glass. It was recovered from the swamp in association with the Frankish bead described above and with the earliest Indian beads.10

The celadon and Islamic wares.11 All the s‘graffito ware found at Kisiju is of fourteenth-century date and probably of Egyptian origin. The Chinese celadon fragments so far recovered are mostly of the Ming period, but rare Sung fragments also occur. The description of the sherds shown in fig. 2 is as follows:

No. 6 A rim fragment of a bowl; diameter, 4½ inches; glaze, blue-green; body, grey-white. Sung, early thirteenth century.

7 A rim fragment; glaze, jade green; carved or moulded pattern under glaze on both sides, the 'ribs' of the pattern showing lighter through the glaze covering; body, grey-white. Yuan or early Ming, fourteenth century.

8 A rim fragment; glaze, light warm brown, crackled carved or moulded design under glaze on outside; body, light grey. Ming?

Other remains

A short distance inland from the swamp site which has been under discussion, and at the highest point of the adjacent rising ground, the remains of a stone wall (probably only a foundation, since none of it stands above ground level) were found. On the swampy ground below there was, also, evidence of one-time wattle-and-daub structures in the form of scattered lumps of baked clay showing the 'wattle' (mangrove) impressions.

Old 'Persian town'

Finally, and in connexion with the finds described in this article, an 'old Persian town' was known at Kisiju in German East African times.12 Today it seems that all that remains of this 'town' (whether Persian or not) are, perhaps, the fragments of walling noted above and lying north-east of the present village of Kisiju, and other vestiges.
of foundations which were discovered (or re-discovered) earlier in the year by Mr. R. L. Paterson between the village and the Government Rest House. In the vicinity of the latter remains, which according to local information have been much reduced by the search for lime in former times, occur fragments of thin, green tinted glass and fragments of celadon and Islamic ware. Pits, the result of lime-digging in the same area, apparently sometime after 1900, may also mark the positions of former ancient buildings since these, also, are associated with fragments of similar ceramic and glass wares.

Notes

1 This is fairly extensive and fringes the coast. The area in which the crucibles were found is about two miles inland from the beach, and is well hidden. Much of this coastline is now being 'drowned' by blown sand.

Differences in Limb Proportions between Modern American and Earlier British Skeletal Material. By Professor Lawrence H. Wells, Department of Anatomy, University of Cape Town. With a table

Both for the neolithic remains from West Kennet long barrow, Wilts., and for a group of Dark Age skeletons from southeastern Scotland, the stature estimation formulae of Trotter and Gleser (1952) have been found to give widely discrepant estimates from different bones of the same skeleton; in both groups the femur most often yields the lowest estimate and the radius the highest. Pearson’s formulae, and also the ‘general formulae’ of Dupertuis and Hadden usually give more consistent results. With the revised male formulae of Trotter and Gleser (1958) the discrepancies are somewhat smaller, but still exceed those with the Pearson and Dupertuis-Hadden formulae. In a local group such as that from West Kennet, a distinctive pattern in relative limb-bone lengths might be only a family trait, but in the Scottish Dark Age group, which is derived from a wider area, something more than this is to be inferred.

If the mean bone lengths for a sufficiently large series are considered, individual variations in proportions should be nullified. Comparing the stature estimates from the humerus, radius, femur and tibia of Hunter’s (1936) Anglo-Saxon male series (Table I), the range of variation with Pearson’s formulae is only 5.3 to 6.4 centimetres; with the Dupertuis-Hadden formula it is 7.9 to 11.4 centimetres, the humerus giving the most discrepant estimate. With the original Trotter-Gleser formulae, the femur gives an estimate an inch less than those obtained from the other three bones; their revised formula bring the tibia into approximate agreement with the femur, but the upper limb bones still give appreciably higher estimates. Although all the discrepancies are well within the standard errors of estimate of the Trotter-Gleser formulae, it seems justifiable to conclude that Anglo-Saxons as a group had appreciably longer arms than modern White Americans, but were identical in mean limb proportions with the nineteenth-century French series upon which the Pearson formulae were based.

In the Iron Age series from Maiden Castle (Goodman and Morant, 1939), with Pearson’s formulae the estimates from humerus and femur agree, while those from radius and tibia are nearly an inch greater; thus the distal segments of both limbs were longer in the Iron Age than in the Anglo-Saxon group. The

The interior is lined with plaster and sherds belonging to earthenware vessels lie in its vicinity.

2 Other weights to the nearest ounce are: 1, 7 oz.; 2, 6 oz.; 3, 6 oz.; 4, 5 oz.; 5, 4 oz.; 6, 3 oz.

3 Weights were submitted to the Iron and Steel Institute in London, but a full report has not yet come to hand.

4 Submitted to the Iron and Steel Institute for analysis.

5 The Sultanate of Kilwa is reputed to have been founded about the middle of the tenth century A.D.

6 MAN, 1956, 27.

7 All recovered from swamp.

8 See fig. 3, Nos. 3 and 4. A bead similar to 3 was found at Zimbabwe in Southern Rhodesia.

9 Dr. B. D. Harden considers this is an Arabic glass of the sixth-to-eleventh-century date. Dr. Arkell, who also saw it, informs me that similar glass is found at Idhab on the Red Sea. He dates it not later than the thirteenth century A.D.

10 Examinations by Mr. B. Gray of the British Museum, to whom I am indebted for identification and dating.

11 Report on German East Africa for the Year 1900 (Foreign Office, London, 1901).

SHORTER NOTE

Dupertuis-Hadden formulae bring the humeral estimate into agreement with those from radius and tibia, that from the femur remaining an inch shorter. With the original Trotter-Gleser formulae, these discrepancies are considerably accentuated, the femoral estimate being lowered and the radial raised; their revised formulae raise the humeral and femoral estimates, but leave the latter still considerably the lowest. By American White standards these Southern English Iron Age people had short thighs and long forearms, a pattern also commonly found among both Southern English neolithic and Scottish Dark Age remains.

It is arguable that conditions of life in Anglo-Saxon and earlier times caused for more vigorous use of the upper limbs than is required under modern conditions. It must then be presumed that the nineteenth-century French group studied by Pearson was more comparable in this respect to Anglo-Saxons than to modern Americans. The greater length of the distal segments of both limbs in the Iron Age series and in some neolithic and Dark Age individuals must be due to another factor. Goodman and Morant, noting the difference in humero-radial ratio between the Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon series, refer to the possibility that the arm proportions of the Iron Age group were influenced by continual practice in the use of the sling, which is known to have been one of their principal weapons; it is not however established that all the early British groups with a tendency to a long forearm were sling-users.

Trotter and Gleser (1958) conclude that the relation of stature to limb-bone lengths in the modern American population is in a state of flux, the tendency being towards greater stature with given bone lengths; this may be related to a prolongation of the growth period from about 18 years to 21 years or more. This tendency for trunk length to increase relatively to limb length may be due at least in part to improvement in nutrition.

Studies on growth in relation to nutrition in domestic animals (Hammond, 1958) suggest that variations in nutrition during the growth period could modify limb proportions in other ways. Postnatal growth proceeds more rapidly in the caudal half of the body (pelvis and lower limbs); under sub-optimal nutrition full growth in the caudal half of the body is not attained. If this holds also in man, a higher nutritional level in the growth period should result in relatively longer legs and shorter arms, as in the present day American White as contrasted with the Anglo-Saxon and
200,000 were China-born. The first list of ‘leaders’ who were made the subject of this study consisted of 285 selected from over 4,000 names derived from newspapers, lists of association officers, etc. The assumption was made that a study of these leaders would represent the nature of leadership among the remaining 446,000 odd. In support of this belief a group of about 90 ‘judges’ were selected which included ‘primarily shop proprietors and managers of the office staffs of firms and associations’ (p. 29). These judges then ranked the ‘leaders’ (including any other names which they wished to include), and the top 135 leaders so ranked were interviewed by Skinner and his research staff in their local dialect (other than Hainanese) or English or Mandarin. They thus obtained information about the associations of which they were members, their political affiliations, their wealth, their upbringing, etc.

Skinner has shown that, among this top leadership, power within the Chinese community rests on the ability of the member of the elite to ‘deliver the goods.’ This ability is, first, one of negotiating with the politically powerful among the Thai elite to protect the Chinese community as a whole; and, secondly, the ability of the powerful Chinese to assist other Chinese poorer than themselves through common membership of numerous associations and through individual donations to worthy causes. The most important qualification for doing this was wealth. Skinner makes it clear that it is to the advantage of ‘leaders’ to join certain associations, to make donations to worthy causes and to fraternize with Thai elite as their influence will be correspondingly strengthened. Immediately it becomes dangerous or unprofitable for the leader to undertake tasks, the Chinese community loses confidence in this leader. In time, right-wing politics, for example, one elects a right-wing ‘leader,’ and the middle-of-the-roaders and left-wingers abstain from opposition. But they will do this only as long as the right-wing works for the whole community which elected him. This method is illustrated from examples.

It seems clear that, as far as this, Skinner has made his main point about the type of qualities required for leadership among the Chinese in Bangkok. But these men are not ‘leaders’ in the sense that they are free to carry out their own wishes. There is a steady and unrelenting pressure by the Thai government against the Chinese community as such—the compulsory closing of Chinese schools, poll tax and the registration of businesses with the idea of excluding Chinese from certain trades. Thus the so-called ‘leaders’ of the Chinese community are more in the nature of negotiators than anything else and their strength as negotiators is all the better, the more important and extensive the associations or clubs to which they belong. Skinner has shown in a very systematic way the extent to which the different important associations are linked by common directorates. The strongest of these surround the Teochiu speech-group association (as over half the Chinese in Bangkok are Teochiu) but all the speech-group associations (with the possible exception of the Hainanese) are related together in certain enterprises. On p. 111 Skinner lists all the associations of primary importance to the community.

‘Aside from the Chamber of Commerce, the list consists of five speech-group associations, four benevolent societies, seven business associations, four kian associations, two social clubs, one political organization, six school boards and an alumni association. It is notable that no surname associations, religious or trade guilds are among the associations of greatest structural importance to the community’ (p. 110). There is no mention in the book of the existence of any associations such as trade unions in which the dialect group of the member might be less important than a workman’s occupation although he states that ‘the interethnic labor movement has gained momentum since 1954.’ One reason for this lack is that certain trades are dominated by certain speech groups (97 per cent. of rice-millers and 100 per cent. of pawnbrokers are Teochiu, 50 per cent. of Camanchee shop proprietors, 90 per cent. of Hakka are tailors) when the speech-group would represent the trade concerned. But there may also be another reason which may result from the method of sampling leaders which Skinner uses.

To Chinese, all those within a certain association are linked together not only by common interests but by common feelings of friendship (gaanckhiong, kan ch’ing). This feeling of solidarity extends not only to those people who know each other personally but also to those within associations of which one’s friends are members also. Thus ‘leaders’ in the Chinese community who are members of other associations link members of both their associations together. Hence the importance of alumni associations and such societies as the Bangkok Friendship Society, a gambling club for millionaires.

With the development of such associations as trade unions based on the economic opposition of employers and employees or the development of political parties based on the opposing interest of the Communists and the Communists, members of one could not easily be also members of the other. The concept of gaanckhiong would prevent opposition between them. Thus the method which Skinner adopts of classifying the importance in terms of common office-holders who are important in the leadership scale would not adequately reflect those types of associations, membership of which prohibits membership of others. The more Bangkok Chinese society adjusts its associations to a cash economy political and trade union type of society, the less important speech-group and benevolent associations will be as representative of the Chinese. A change of this type will not be adequately reflected in the method of analysis that Skinner has used. Secret societies for obvious reasons were not classified.

Skinner gives the percentages of ethnic Chinese in Bangkok as Teochiu 60, Hakka 16, Hainanese 11, Cantonese 7, Hokkien 4 and Taiwanes and mandarin speakers 2. Teochiu Chinese are the most important speech group among the Bangkok Chinese. None of the most important inter-community benevolent associations lack Teochiu on the governing bodies and it is clear that no action on behalf of all Chinese in Bangkok would be effective without Teochiu support. Skinner gives two examples of united action on behalf of the Chinese community, the reduction of the alien registration fee demanded by the Thai government in 1931 and the relief of victims of a fire which broke out in Bangkok on 9 March, 1952. In both cases the efforts of the Chinese ‘leaders’ proved less effective than might otherwise have been the case owing to Chinese internal divisions, both political and between speech groups. In the past the Teochiu have taken advantage of their dominant position over the other speech groups to force some members of other speech groups out of that particular business. It is only wi-a wi-a the Thai government that the Teochiu leaders unite with other speech groups. Today this struggle is beginning to take a political form in which the most powerful Teochiu speech-group association is politically to the left with the result that other speech-associations are either to the right or ‘neutralize.’ One of the most hotly debated questions in Bangkok among Chinese at the time when Skinner was working there was whether politics should be brought into social affairs or not and, as one might expect, the weaker the association the more non-political or conservative they tried to become.

The various associations which Skinner classifies are all based on identity of interest. As the Chinese leaders become more and more identified with the upper-class bureaucratic Thai, so do they cease to represent their junior followers and it will only be a matter of time either for inter-ethnic and inter-speech group associations to develop among the lower-class Chinese community or for the lower class Chinese community deprived of an effective upper-class leadership to develop seditious working-class societies. The uncertainty of the ‘leaders’ in the Bangkok Chinese society stems from their inability to perform their traditional roles as leaders of benevolent and speech-group associations. Since they have few political rights in the Thai political system, political associations are difficult in developing. This stage is not yet as important in Bangkok as in Singapore, but in Singapore the writing is clearly on the wall. The rise of the political Peoples’ Action Party led by a Straits Chinese but with China-born followers, and the industrial disputes which commenced several years ago with the Hock Lee Bus Company are important fingerprints towards a modern type of association formation although it may be many years before the speech-group associations lose all their traditional importance. The Chinese in Singapore have political powers denied to the Chinese in Bangkok. Thai control their own government.

W. H. NEWELL

In this 'Survey of World Cultures,' of which Poland, Jordan and Iraq have already appeared, we welcome this serious study on Saudi Arabia. This book serves as an excellent presentation of many facets of the way of life of the inhabitants and the operations of the governments in the central core of the Arabian Peninsula.

Within a short generation, the gush of oil has transformed the Kingdom created by Ibn Saud from a vast, isolated Arab State into the backbone of power politics.

The general arrangement provides a clear presentation with emphasis on the dynamics of the culture—the presence and impact of forces for change, the constants of attitude and behaviour, the abiding values.

I feel that a few paragraphs should have mentioned the recent evidence regarding evidence for the antiquity of man in the Arabian Peninsula, in both paleolithic and neolithic times, together with possible lines of migration connecting the Horn of Africa, Sinai and the Persian Gulf.

It is unfortunate that the myth of the Sulubba (Sleyb) being descendants of the Crusaders should be recapitulated; this group comes close to the Proto-Mediterraneans in racial type. The fact that the Sulubba tattoo a cross on the wrist or forearm has added some weight to the myth.

The sections dealing with the family and social organization provide a clear presentation, although the tribal map (p. 69) contains too few names for this vast area. A topographical map of the Arabian Peninsula would have been helpful.

The lack of sources and citations forms a definite lacuna in this volume. However, the list of recommended reading and the Index provide valuable additions to the text.

This monograph will serve temporarily as a source book on the little-known Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

HENRY FIELD


This is a well organized study based on fieldwork in three types of residential areas. The main fields were a Malay fishing village, and an urban area where local Malays and Malaysian immigrants lived together with Chinese and Indians. A short time was also spent in a Malay suburb. Data were gathered during a two-year period extending to late 1959 and Malay was used throughout as a language of medium.

The Malay system of kinship in Singapore is bilateral. There are no large corporate groups but every individual belongs to several 'ego-centred' groupings composed of various kinsmen (sambandu).
The author names and defines these categories and discusses in various parts of the monograph the functional relationships between their members. Between certain kindreds are economic obligations of the kind one is accustomed to reading about for the Chinese.

Although the father's kindred are thought 'stronger'—an attitude deriving from Islam—in practice there is a bias in favour of maternal kin. The author discusses reasons for this, particularly in the realm of marital instability. Later in the book we are given some comparative data from working-class East London where, as among the Malays, ties between women, their married children and children's children were strengthened by unstable marriages. A chapter on divorce (each year for every hundred marriages there are about fifty divorces) includes discussion of the problem in the light of anthropological theories about marital instability, and material from other Islamic areas is introduced for comparison. The whole question of Malay marriage instability is one which interests the author particularly and we now have for the first time a comprehensive account of the situation and how it ties in with other institutions, especially adoption.

This new material provides a valuable addition to our knowledge of the Malay society, hitherto confined as far as systematic analysis is concerned to the Chinese who are the majority group on the island. We are given also some important insights into the kind of values prompting Malay action in various spheres. Contrasting vividly with those of the Chinese, particularly in regard to economic life, these values indicate why the Malays have been an economically depressed minority in Singapore.

MARJORIE TOPLEY


This book is one of the Human Relations Area Files Country Series. It presents a picture of the Kingdom of Thailand, pieced together by a team of scholars. The various chapters (24 in all) deal respectively with the Thai, their country, society, ethnic groups and languages, religion, government, economics and history. There is a more detailed Table of Contents at the end, but no alphabetical Index, which should be de rigueur in a handbook. The Bibliography lists some 250 titles.

'Too little space is given to 'History' (16 pages only, to cover the five major periods), and to 'Artistic and Intellectual Achievement' (16 pages). The paragraph on 'Sculpture' is one page and 12 lines, the one on 'Architecture' one page and 23 lines, the one on 'Painting' just over one page. 'Dance and Drama,' 'Music,' 'Lesser Arts and Crafts,' 'Literature' have all been dealt with in 73 pages. The chapter 'Artistic and Intellectual Achievement' is thus the least satisfactory. K. S. Döhrling Buddhistsche Tempelbauten in Siam and Benjamin Rowland The Art and Architecture of India, which contains a chapter on Siam, are not included in the Bibliography.

Le May's An Asian Arcady: The Land and Peoples of Northern Siam and the same author's Siamese Tales, Old and New, The Four Riddles and Other Stories are listed, but not his Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam.

These, however, are minor points, seeing that the book is obviously intended to provide information about modern Thailand, particularly the way of life of its people and the many and complex problems which it is facing in these times of transition in Southeast Asia. The survey does give a realistic picture of the sociological, political and economic aspects of Thai society.

Of a total population of 23, 184 million are Thai, but, as in other countries in Southeast Asia, there is a strong Chinese ethnic minority. The three million Chinese in Thailand have remained an assimilated element. They speak their own language, marry mainly within their own group and follow their own ways of life. As in neighbouring Cambodia and Malaya they are dominant in finance and industry. In Thailand they operate 80 per cent of the rice mills, and own and run most of the banking and insurance, export and import, wholesale and retail establishments. The majority of the Thai, on the other hand, are farmers. Their passive outlook on life, best reflected by the widely used phrase mai pen rai ('never mind'), contrasts sharply with the dynamism of the Chinese. Some thirty years ago the government embarked on an anti-Chinese course and has curtailed Chinese immigration. Will it achieve its purpose?

To anyone interested in Southeast Asian affairs the book under review will be of very great use.

PRINCE JOHN LOEWESTEIN


Sir Cyril Fox has arranged chronologically the reports of a sample of his many Bronze Age barrow excavations, mostly from Wales, and for completeness has added one, by Mr. D. M. Waterman, from Yorkshire. The result is a history of the evolving culture of the British Bronze Age which takes the reader back to the basic evidence, and leads him through every stage of discovery, reconstruction and interpretation. Though no longer than a formal history would be, this is infinitely more memorable and more convincing. Only a presentation of this sort could properly convey the multitude of important local variations among customs which were broadly similar over wide areas.

Until the second quarter of this century practically all anthropological field work in the African and Asiatic countries was carried out by research workers from abroad, mostly from Western Europe and the U.S.A.

In the years following the Second World War, however, this fieldwork was increasingly done by trained research workers native to the country in which this research was done. We need only mention the names of Dr. K. A. Busia, Mrs. Irawati Karve, the late Dr. Majumdar and Lin Yuel Hwa. To these names could be added several others of African and Asiatic sociologists who have made valuable contributions to our knowledge of their own particular societies.

At the present time we are able to witness an even more gratifying phenomenon, namely the fact that anthropological research is now also moving in a reverse direction: sociologists from non-European countries have come to study our Western societies. By doing this they will reveal our own culture to us more fully than can be done by our own observations. For they bring to the study of our society the fresh view of an outsider who notices particular social traits which we fail to record, because we are so familiar with them.

The first sociography of a Netherlands community prepared by an Asiatic sociologist was that of an Indonesian, Dr. Sam Udin, describing the municipality of Huisen, a social-geographical analysis, accepted as a doctoral thesis by the School of Agriculture of Wageningen in 1946.

This project of research (which acquired for its author the title of 'honorary citizen of Huisen') was based on research carried out during the years of the war. This book, however good of its kind, hardly presents us with a fuller description of the phenomenon of a community than a Netherlands sociographer could give us. The author did not bring to his project the fresh view of a researcher from abroad, who for the first time meets a society which was hitherto entirely unknown to him. When he started his field research Dr. Sam Udin had already spent several years in the Netherlands as a student and from childhood on he had been acquainted with the Netherlands language and culture.

Of a very different quality is Dr. Ishwaran's Family Life in the Netherlands. The author obtained his doctorate in the University of Karnataka and after this he taught the ancient and modern languages of India in the same University. As a mature man he came to Oxford, where he read social anthropology in 1954-56. Following this he attended a course in the social sciences in the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague.

Fascinated by the life of the Netherlands family, he started upon a two years' project of research among well over 400 students of Leiden University.

All too often the so-called individualistic family system of what in popular parlance is called 'the West' has been opposed to the collective kinship systems of 'the East.' Instead of following this view and placing 'Eastern and Western' society as two separate entities in contrast to each other, Dr. Ishwaran has succeeded in connecting both systems by his sensitive and able study. 'From books I had gathered the impression' he writes in his preface, 'that the modern Western family was, if not completely disintegrated, at least well on the road to decay and disintegration... The above impressions from literature seemed to me (or else how could society survive?) to be exaggerated and unconvincing... In the light of my experience, I most thoroughly repudiate this point of view as being both false and dangerous.'

First of all Dr. Ishwaran offers a survey of the work of a number of Dutch sociologists on the family, accepting their statements of problems as a starting point for his study. His first chapter is devoted to the theory and method that he proposes to follow. He then describes the general cultural background of the Netherlands family. Next he considers the familial system in the network of kinship is a description of their organization and activities, their social roles and focus of authority, their youth and its expectations. He arrives at the conclusion that the Netherlands family life has retained its essential characteristics during a period of far-reaching social changes. The structure and function of the family are highly influenced by religious convictions and opinions. This is proved by an inductive study which yields a large store of material about which so far much had been said, but all too few facts had been collected.

Of special interest to the anthropologist is the chapter on the kinship network (pp. 96-108) which even in the urban family appears to be closely knit. It is interesting to note that the study of kinship systems, which was inaugurated by social anthropologists, starting with L. H. Morgan and carried on by Rivers, Kroeber, Murdock and others is now being applied to Western society, particularly in England.

As to the Netherlands, the rural extended family has been described by Dr. G. A. Koooy and by two American sociologists John Y. Kears and Dorothy Kears, The Deeply Rooted: A Study of a Drente Community in the Netherlands. What we are still looking for is Dr. Ishwaran's synthesis, and we have the impression that a description of the system of name-giving of newly born babies, especially the naming of children after grandparents, brothers and sisters of father and mother, as this might be revealing for the whole kinship system. Also, as far as Catholic families are concerned, the choice of a godfather and godmother among relatives and friends of the parents, the religious and social role of the godparents and the relationship which they maintain with the godchild throughout its life would be of interest. Additional information might be obtained from the circulars sent round to relatives and friends announcing a birth, wedding or passing away of near relatives, memorial cards—prayer cards as they are called—to commemorate a deceased parent, spouse or child, from the placing of relatives at a wedding banquet, and the arrangement of a funeral procession in rural areas.

Among the list of Tables—44 in all—all those relative to family and religion are the most prominent, followed by those concerning the number of children per household and related subjects. Each chapter is preceded by a summary and the whole book by a Retrospect, which makes it easy for reference. There is a good bibliography at the end.

We gladly recommend this book to first-year students in anthropology, not only because it gives a careful description of the Netherlands middle-class family, but also because it may serve as an introduction to the study of African and Asiatic kinship systems.
(a) Rock Engraving Site at Ewaninga (for numbering see text and figures)

(b) Types of Rock Engravings

ROCK ENGRAVINGS AT EWANINGA, CENTRAL AUSTRALIA
SIMPLE ROCK ENGRAVINGS IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

by

CHARLES P. MOUNTFORD
Honorary Associate in Ethnology, South Australian Museum

Existing records show that simple rock engravings, made up of a number of indentations in the rock surface, are sporadically but widely distributed over much of eastern Australia, in Queensland, Northern Australia, the north-eastern districts of New South Wales, north-eastern South Australia and in Tasmania. More complex designs, employing similar techniques, exist in north-western Australia. With these, however, I will not deal.

Distribution

It is a puzzling fact that, although no rock engravings have been found along the southern and south-eastern coasts of Australia, they are widely but sparsely distributed throughout Tasmania. Equally puzzling is the fact that wherever these simple engravings exist the motifs are similar. For instance, there is a general resemblance between the designs on the rocks of the Burnett River, north-western Queensland (Matthews, 1910, pp. 498f.); Pigeon Creek, central Queensland (Tyron, 1885, pp. 45–7); Mootwingee (Pulline, 1926, pp. 101–5); and Sturt Meadows (Black, 1943, pp. 16–25), both of north-eastern New South Wales; Delemere, in Northern Australia (Davidson, 1936, p. 58); Panaramitee and other localities in South Australia (Mountford, 1929, pp. 337–66); Mount Cameron west in Tasmania (Meston, 1934, pp. 36–40), and central Australian groups which I have investigated in more recent years (fig. 1).

Origin and Meanings

From the statements of the aborigines, it would appear that the simple rock markings discussed in this paper belong to an extinct art. During 1937, accompanied by a group of aged local aborigines, I visited Deception Gorge, northern South Australia, to photograph rock engravings previously recorded by Basedow (1914, p. 208). To my surprise, the aborigines did not recognize those rock engravings as human handiwork, even though they must have passed through that gorge many times on their hunting journeys. But when I started to photograph, my aboriginal companions quickly recognized the engravings of human and animal footprints, and suggested meanings for the more complex designs as readily as my European companions.

Some years later (1942), I found rock engravings at the Kooropiliya and Iromba waterholes in central Australia (fig. 1). On that occasion, my aboriginal companions knew of the existence of the engravings, but were definite that they had not been cut in the rock by human hands, but by some mythical hero during the creation period. Similarly, in more recent years, the aborigines at Kamalba, Watelbring and Ngama (fig. 1) attributed a mythical origin to the rock markings at these places.

Meanings of the Designs

Except for the engravings of human, bird or animal tracks, and, in some localities, those of the creatures, it is not possible to ascertain the meaning of the non-representational engravings. Even when dealing with the living art, particularly of Central Australia, only the aboriginal who produced the design can explain its meanings.

Fig. 1. Sites of Rock Engravings in Central Australia

Techniques

Because this rock art is no longer a part of the living culture, we have no first-hand information about either the tools used or the methods employed to produce these rock engravings. As it is possible, however, to cut identical markings by striking the rock surface with a sharp-edged boulder of hard stone, it appears likely that those who made the ancient rock markings used similar tools.

Rock Engravings in Central Australia

Rock markings have been known in central Australia for more than a quarter of a century. During 1934, Miss Helen Teague photographed and made rough sketches of a number of rock engravings at the 79-mile gap on the Glen Helen station (fig. 1). Miss Teague gave me these sketches in 1937.

In a geological paper Tindale (1931, p. 37) made a particularly short reference to rock markings near McDonald
Downs, central Australia. The description, however, was too short to distinguish the type of marking to which he referred.¹

**The Ewaninga Engravings**

These engravings were found on a much weathered and collapsed outcrop of horizontally bedded rocks (Plate Ma) situated on the edge of a claypan which would hold water for several months of the year. The level surfaces of this outcrop, some of the vertical faces and those underneath the tumbled boulders were covered with a maze of simple rock engravings. I was able to record all of the engravings on the level surfaces, but time did not allow me to trace more than a few (fig. 3) on the more inaccessible faces.

**Fig. 5. Rock Engravings at Ewaninga**

So that I might record more accurately this maze of designs, I marked the level surfaces with a series of two-foot squares. Then, when the sun was nearing the horizon, which brought the engravings into strong relief, the whole area was photographed. From these photographs, all of the same scale, I constructed a photomosaic, from which figs. 2–4 were traced. Some of the more inaccessible engravings (fig. 5) were prepared from tracings made on transparent paper.

**Fig. 6. Cup-Shaped Depressions at Ewaninga**

To facilitate description, I have numbered the individual rock faces on the photograph (Plate Ma). These agree with figs. 2–4.

**Description**

Fig. 2 illustrates the engraved designs on the largest rock face at Ewaninga (Plate Ma, face 1). Meandering lines, AA, etc., extend the whole length of the stone; other designs are circles, concentric circles, a barred circle at C, a few bird tracks at D, and a curious rake-like design at E. The remainder of the engravings are indiscernible.

During August, 1959, the kindness of Mr. Leo Corbett, of Alice Springs, enabled me to investigate a remarkable group of rock engravings at Ewaninga, a few miles south of the Ewaninga railway station. These engravings form

—

¹

The main subject of this paper; the other groups await preparation for publication.
Fig. 3, A, illustrates an adjacent level surface (Plate Ma, face 2), on which the engraved designs are similar to those on fig. 2. The designs on fig. 3, B (Plate Ma, face 3), except for a few circles, are indiscernible.

On fig. 3, C (Plate Ma, face 3), the engravings consist of a long meandering line terminating in a barred circle and several well defined groups of circles.

Fig. 1, D, E, are two isolated groups of markings on the top of the outcrop. These consist of spirals, barred circles, bird tracks and designs with no apparent meaning.

Fig. 4 (Plate Ma, face 4) is a long narrow stone covered with circles, meandering lines and abstract patterns.

FIG. 7. ROCK ENGRAVINGS AT EWANINGA

Plate Mb and figs. 6 and 7 are photographs of different types of rock markings at Ewaninga. On Plate Mb are five different types of engravings; type 1 is an example of the familiar cup-and-ring carving, a design which has a wide distribution, both in Australia and in other parts of the world. I recorded similar markings at Hildersmoine, South Australia (1929, pp. 358f.), and have also found similar markings at Kamalba and Watelbrin, in central Australia (fig. 1). Type 2 is a line of crude marks that has been cut into the rock surface with a chisel-shaped point; type 3, a series of indentations made by a pointed tool; type 4, a pair of kangaroo or wallaby tracks, in which the whole surface of the rock has been removed by repeated blows, forming a true intaglio, and type 5, a series of lines cut into the rock by a series of closely spaced indentations. Fig. 6 illustrates a series of deep cup-shaped depressions on a level surface on the top of the outcrop. These bear some resemblance to a level surface which I have seen in the cliffs at Oemppel, western Arnhem Land, and at Thompson’s rockhole in central Australia. Fig. 7 is a photograph of incisions in the rock surface which I have previously called straight-line marks (Mountford, 1929, p. 60). These curious incisions, like the cup-and-ring markings, are present in widely separated places in Australia as well as in other parts of the world.

In South Australia, similar straight-line markings have been recorded by a number of investigators. Basedow (1914, pp. 195-211) describes a group at Mallett; Tindale and Mountford (1926, pp. 156-9) at Morowrie and Mountford (1929, p. 60), at Winmimine and other places in South Australia; Davidson (1936, fig. 22) illustrates a series at Delemere, in the Northern Territory. In addition to these, I have seen straight-line marks at Iromba (fig. 1), and in the photograph of a cave at Blackall, central Queensland.

Although, as with the rock engravings, we have no first-hand knowledge of the techniques employed to produce these straight-line marks, it is possible to make identical marks with an aboriginal stone axe, without blunting the tool.

Summary

This paper records an extensive group of rock engravings at Ewaninga, central Australia. The designs are figured, distribution of simple rock engravings in Australia discussed and attention drawn to the wide distribution of specialized forms, both at this locality and elsewhere.

Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge first of all my indebtedness to Mr. Leo Corbett, for taking me to Ewaninga group and assisting in the research, and to Messrs. Rex Batterbee, Eric Miller, H. L. Rydall and the late Roy Vysé, for photographs of existing rock engravings which I have not, as yet, been able to investigate.

References

Adam, L., letter to the Editor, MAN, 1959, 312.


Black, L., Aboriginal Art Galleries of Western New South Wales (1943).


Notes

1 As I have recorded (1955, pp. 345), rock-pounding, a related technique to that of the simple rock engravings, is a living art in central Australia. It is possible that the markings referred to by Tindale are of this type.

2 Some of these markings have been described by Pringle and Kollosoche (1958, pp. 131-9).

3 These are almost certainly the same group as those mentioned by Dr. Adam in a letter to the Hon. Editor of MAN (1959, 312). For that reason, they are not included on the map (fig. 1).
A VIKING SETTLEMENT IN LITTLE ENGLAND BEYOND WALES: ABO BLOOD-GROUP EVIDENCE*

by

I. MORGAN WATKIN, PH.D., M.SC., M.B.

County Health Department, Aberystwyth, formerly of the National Blood Transfusion Service, Wales

INTRODUCTION

'Little England beyond Wales' is the name given to the southern part of Pembrokeshire where the inhabitants have for centuries been non-Welsh-speaking. Measuring approximately 36 x 24 miles, it is bounded on three sides by the sea and on its northern perimeter by the Welsh-speaking part of the county. No part of the region, as Bryan points out, is more than four miles from tidal water. The linguistic divide which has altered relatively little during the last 800 years extends from the vicinity of Newgale in St. Bride's Bay along a curve convex to the north to the neighbourhood of Crunwern on the Carmarthen border and the towns of Haverfordwest, Milford Haven, Narberth, Tenby and Pembroke lie within the confines of Little England. There is a profusion of non-Welsh place names particularly in the old hundred of Rhos. The comparatively high frequency of blonde colouring and tall stature in association with long to medium heads found in this maritime projection indicates, according to Cleure and Davies, a relationship with seaborne immigrants.

Historians agree that part of Little England was colonized by the Flemings but considerable controversy exists as to the origins of the inhabitants of the south-eastern portion. In the belief that new light might be thrown upon the problem, it was decided to carry out an investigation into the serological composition of the population, for it is known that blood-group genes in rural populations tend to remain stable over very long periods of time. The ABO gene frequencies were compared with those observed in adjacent parts of Wales and along the opposite shore of the Bristol Channel as well as in England generally. Countries from which emigration to Pembrokeshire is claimed to have occurred were subjected to similar examination. Before presentation of the blood-group results, a summary is given of the current views on the ethnology of Little England.

Early Inhabitants

The earliest evidence of human habitation in Little England dates back to paleolithic times. Traces of mesolithic people have also been found whilst the distribution of megalithic monuments shows that the region was familiar to neolithic people. Bronze Age invaders have left their mark in the area but the remains of the Early Iron Age Folk are extremely scanty.

On the eve of the Roman Conquest, Little England appears to have been in the possession of the Demetæ—a tribe apparently related to the swarthy-visaged Silures of South-East Wales. Whilst the Roman occupation of Wales differed from that of South-East Britain in being essentially military in character, far western Pembrokeshire, like Cornwall, seems to have lain even beyond the military zone and became, as a consequence, the object of repeated attacks, the most notable of which was undertaken by the Désì tribe which is believed to have settled in the hundred of Rhos in the third century A.D.

The fifth-century invasions of Cunedda which swept southward from North-West Britain to most of Wales halted short of Pembrokeshire. In the main, the Anglo-Saxons did not settle to the west of Offa's Dyke. Nor is credence nowadays given to the view that the natives of South-East Britain when driven from their homes by the English invader, found refuge in large numbers in Wales and became ancestors of the Welsh people. After the departure of the Romans, Irish influence in Pembrokeshire persisted as the Ogham inscriptions testify but there is no historical record of further invasions until the arrival of the Vikings in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The Vikings

That the Scandinavians were responsible for the names of islands such as Gateholm, Grasholm, Skokholm, Caldey and Skomer, of rocks by the name of Emsger, Goscar and Tusker and of a village called Hasguard is extremely probable but whether these names imply settlement is a crucial question. Lloyd goes as far as to state that 'the salient fact remains that nowhere on Welsh soil was there any permanent Scandinavian settlement.' Collingwood, however, expresses the view that 'the story adds to the evidence of a definite settlement' and Kendrick is of the opinion that Wales, in the half-century following the death of Hywel Dda, must have witnessed something more than mere raid after raid. Charles believes that it was almost inevitable that Norse traders should seek new homes along the coast of South Wales in places as inviting as Milford Haven. Peredur Jones holds a similar view. Rhys and Brynmor Jones think that the Vikings may have left small coastal settlements in places such as Angle but Taylor is convinced that there was a permanent Scandinavian settlement around the shores of Milford Haven. Laws stresses 'the importance and persistence' of Norse settlements in Little England and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments has concluded that the old hundreds of Castle-martin, Rhos and part of Narberth were included in the Norse areas of settlement. Henry Owen summed up the object of the present investigation when he wrote 'it would be interesting to know how far the Norse who had left so strong a mark on the map of Pembrokeshire had survived...'.

* With a map and a table
The Normans

The Normans reached Little England from Central Wales in the last decade of the eleventh century and, in due course, established themselves in castles such as Pembroke, Manorbier, Carew, Tenby, Narberth and Haverfordwest. Pembroke held the distinction of being the only Norman castle never captured by the Welsh. The composition of the invading army was not exclusively Norman. Knights from other parts of France—Brittany, Poitou and the districts around Boulogne and Ponthieu—had also enlisted. Flemish elements—the Brabançons—who were considered the best infantry in Europe formed part of the auxiliary troops together with a number of Englishmen weary of their own subjection.

The extent to which Little England received an infusion of Norman blood appears to have varied. It is known that during the twelfth century few Welsh noble families were not connected to the Normans by ties of blood. On the other hand the Welsh peasantry, according to Thierry, never made peace with the foreigner how long soever he remained there, how firmly fixed soever in castle, village or town.

The Flemings

About 1108 Henry I transferred large numbers of Flemings who were already in England to South Pembrokeshire where it was thought that they would form a useful bastion against the Welsh. Most of the Flemings came from the banks of the Tweed where for about four years they had served a similar purpose against the Scots. It is believed by some that this initial settlement in Pembrokeshire was followed by a second in 1113 and by a further one in 1155. One of the conditions laid down in Magna Carta was that the Flemings should be expelled from England and it is possible that the South Pembrokeshire colony was again reinforced in 1215.

There is a divergence of view on the extent of the area colonized by the Flemings. Lloyd states that the hundreds of Rhos and Deugleddyf were taken over by the newcomers, but William Rees, in his map, shows the Flemings as occupying the north-western portion of Penfro, the whole of Deugleddyf but only a portion of Rhos. Laws quoting a contemporary writer mentions that the Flemings settled not only in Rhos but also in the towns of Pembroke and Tenby whilst Giraldus Cambrensis refers to the resistance offered to the payment of tithes by the Flemish flockmasters of Angle as well as those of Rhos and Deugleddyf.

The Flemish settlers were not left in peace. In 1137, for example, the hundred of Rhos was overrun by a Welsh army but in 1195 there is mention of a Flemish army re-capturing Deugleddyf. In 1220 Rhos was again ravaged by the Welsh. During this period a number of Flemings who left to take part in the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland settled in County Wexford. At no period, however, is there found any historical reference to the extermination of the Flemings, but at the time of the Edwardian Conquest 'the curtain drops,' to quote Chotzen, and when George Owen refers to the area in the sixteenth century, the Flemish tongue has disappeared and the region is described as exclusively English-speaking—a state in which it has remained to the present day.

Later Immigrants

Two sea-borne landings in Little England in the fifteenth century seem worthy of mention. In 1405 Charles VI of France, having concluded a treaty with Owain Glyndwr, despatched a force of about 2,500 men which landed at Milford. In 1485 Henry landed with an army largely composed of French mercenaries on the shores of Milford Haven near Dale and started a movement which, a fortnight later at Bosworth, gave England the first of the Tudor dynasty.

The continuous trickle of Irishmen into parts of Little England such as Rhos and Castlemartin increased in volume in the early part of the sixteenth century and reached such proportions during the reign of Elizabeth that in some parts, according to George Owen, the clergyman was the only inhabitant who was not Irish. The Irish came mainly from Westport but claimed kinship with the people of Little England. Laws states that they had very little if any Gaelic blood in their veins as they were the descendants of the South Pembrokeshire Flemings who had invaded Ireland in the twelfth century. A century later, however, the 'Hibernian Swarm' in Little England had departed.

The opportunity for employment which arose following the passing of the Milford Docks Act in 1878 would tend to act as a magnet to a number of North Pembrokeshire men and the establishment of the Royal Naval dockyard at Pembroke Dock probably had a similar though more limited effect. That Little England was a reception area during the last war accounted for the presence of considerable numbers who were not natives of the locality. The Armed Forces also had powerful contingents in the area but neither of these factors is considered to have had any significant effect on the anthropology of Little England.

Material and Technique

The blood-group data were acquired under the aegis of the National Blood Transfusion Service, Wales, which held clinics in various parts of Pembrokeshire. Blood-grouping was carried out on both cells and serum and a person's blood group was re-checked each time blood was donated. In view of the association now known to exist between ABO blood groups and certain diseases, it is stressed that no record of hospital patients is included.

Members of the Armed Forces stationed in the area were bled at special clinics and their records are excluded. The wives of servicemen, on the other hand, attended civilian clinics and together with holiday-makers and other temporary residents almost equalled in number those coming forward from the local population. It thus became necessary to question each donor regarding his place of birth and only those born in the locality and possessing a surname drawn from the ensuing list are included in the present survey. In the case of married females, the name taken into consideration was the maiden one.
Surnames

Wales differs from all the countries of Western Europe in that it possesses very few local surnames, a mere sprinkling of trade names and hardly any nicknames. About 95 per cent. of present-day Welsh surnames are derived from Christian or baptismal names and they came into general use in the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Although about 600 Welsh surnames, excluding variants, exist—only a fifth of the number of English family names found in the London Directory—fewer than 50 are in common use; hence the great difficulty of identification in the Principality. Little England has adopted, in the main, the Welsh surname pattern—a pattern which Coleridge describes as 'One mark of a country either not yet or only recently unfeudalized.' The following list consists of surnames which are far commoner in Wales and the Marches than in England and which nowadays are taken as Welsh.

Bevan Gwynn
Bowen Harries
Davies Hopkins
Edwards Howell
Evans Hughes
Francis Humphreys
Griffiths James
Gronow Jenkins

John Owen
Jones Price
Lewis Pritchard
Llewellyn Proser
Lloyd Prothero
Matthias Pugh
Meredith Rees
Morgan Richards

Roberts
Rowlands
Thomas
Tudor
Vaughan
Walters
Watkin
Williams

ABO Blood Groups

If Little England is divided into a north-western and a south-eastern part by the Eastern Cleddau river, the Daugleddau and the Milford Haven, the ABO gene frequencies in the two halves are found to differ significantly from one another. This leads one to conclude that Little England is inhabited by two rather different groups of people; see Table 1. In view of this difference the two parts are considered separately. Brief reference is also made to certain features in North Pembrokeshire which suggest a link with Little England.

South-East Little England

Judged by the frequencies found in Britain, the outstanding feature of this region is the exceptionally high A gene frequency. There is a corresponding fall in O. The B gene frequency is higher than that noted in Southern England but closely resembles values observed by Fraser Roberts (1955) in Cumberland and Northumberland.

![Figure 1: 'A' Gene Frequency in Pembrokeshire](image)

Adjacent North Pembrokeshire and West Carmarthenshire do not display a relatively high A frequency. In England generally the A frequency falls as one proceeds northward and it is in the south that one would expect a search for A frequencies similar to those of South-East

Table 1. The ABO Frequencies in Little England and Adjacent Areas*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
<th>Group Frequencies</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Gene Frequencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>AB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-East Little England</td>
<td>431</td>
<td></td>
<td>33-9</td>
<td>50-1</td>
<td>9-7</td>
<td>6-3</td>
<td>5-3</td>
<td>0-52</td>
<td>58-5</td>
<td>33-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-West Little England</td>
<td>505</td>
<td></td>
<td>41-4</td>
<td>44-4</td>
<td>10-7</td>
<td>3-6</td>
<td>4-4</td>
<td>0-56</td>
<td>64-1</td>
<td>28-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Pembrokeshire and the lower Teify valley</td>
<td>876</td>
<td></td>
<td>46-5</td>
<td>38-8</td>
<td>10-5</td>
<td>4-2</td>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>0-82</td>
<td>68-3</td>
<td>24-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Carmarthenshire</td>
<td>599</td>
<td></td>
<td>47-1</td>
<td>42-9</td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>2-2</td>
<td>2-9</td>
<td>0-74</td>
<td>68-4</td>
<td>26-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A number of comparisons between the proportions of O and A in various areas have been made. The results obtained by means of a fourfold table show the existence of statistically significant differences.

(1) S.E. Little England versus N.-W. Little England yields $\chi^2 = 5.02$. For one degree of freedom $P < 0.05$.

(2) S.E. Little England versus North Pembrokeshire $\chi^2 = 19.33$. For one degree of freedom $P < 0.001$.

(3) S.E. Little England versus West Carmarthenshire $\chi^2 = 12.48$. For one degree of freedom $P < 0.001$.

(4) N.-W. Little England versus North Pembrokeshire $\chi^2 = 4.24$. For one degree of freedom $P < 0.05$. 

150
Little England to be most rewarding. They were not discovered by Fisher and Taylor in Southern England nor were they encountered by Fraser Roberts (1948) in a survey extending from Gloucestershire to Cornwall. Tovey did not record them in the Scilly Isles. No mention of a similar frequency is made by Kopeć in her analysis of data covering most English counties from the Midlands to Surrey and Hampshire. The figures which approach those of South-East Little England most closely, however, were recorded among mental defectives in East Anglia and Essex by Penrose and Penrose. In view of the association now known to exist between ABO blood groups and diseases such as cancer of the stomach and peptic ulcer the results should be treated with reserve until it is established whether there is also an association between ABO blood groups and mental deficiency. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that Kopeć's figures for healthy donors drawn from a rather larger area in Eastern England show a trend very similar to that found by Penrose and Penrose.

An island of raised A gene frequency has been found in and around Chester—a town where, according to historians, there was strong Viking influence.

Kopeć's Sussex records have a higher A gene frequency than those from Kent and Hampshire. It was in this county that the Normans first set foot on English soil and Beddoes comments that the French immigration was large enough to produce a definite ethological effect in some parts of Southern England.

Ireland, according to Hackett and Dawson, a country of low A gene frequencies—the average for Eire is 19 per cent. —and on the eastern seaboard there is a fall from 20–1 per cent. at Dublin to 14–6 per cent. in County Cork. The counties nearest Little England, Wexford, Kilkenny, Waterford and Cork, differ from it very appreciably.

The rather meagre ABO blood-group data from Belgium bear no resemblance to those of South-East Little England. Nijenhuis's comprehensive observations in the Netherlands also differ from the latter but similarities exist between parts of Holland and North-West Little England which will be referred to later.

Although men from further afield had enlisted in the Norman army which invaded Britain, the main body hailed from Normandy and it is in the modern départements of Seine Maritime, Eure, Orne, Calvados and Manche that their descendants are most likely to be encountered. Neither Khérúmnor nor Vallois has reported an A gene frequency as high as that found in South-East Little England.

In parts of Norway and Sweden, on the other hand, A gene frequencies almost identical with those found in South-East Little England have been recorded. Hartmann and Lundekvåa observed this type of frequency in the Norwegian counties of Oppland, Hedmark, Buskerud, Akershus, Telemark, Vestfold, and Ostfold and in the towns of the Skaggerak coast. Their presence in Oslo was confirmed by Heisto. In Beckman's comprehensive treatise on the physical anthropology and population genetics of Sweden reference is made to the existence of the very same type of A gene frequency around Lakes Vänern and Vätter, in most of Södermanland and in much of Dalarna. In Denmark, Andersen has recorded an A gene frequency of the same order. His material consisted of paternity cases and prisoners in Copenhagen gaol but he claims that they were a random sample of the population. As other post-war investigators have not reported such a high A frequency in Denmark, one wonders whether Andersen's figures were, in fact, heavily weighted with natives from a particular area. If so, the precise location of this area would be of considerable interest.

Even if the disputed historical claims are added to the more generally accepted ones, the number of countries from which people may have migrated to Little England is nevertheless extremely limited. Of these countries, Norway and Sweden and possibly Denmark stand out as being the only ones which display A gene frequencies of the same order as those found among the natives of present-day South-East Little England. Bearing in mind Mournant's statement: 'In general it may be said that where history shows populations to have a common origin they do have similar blood-group frequencies', one draws the conclusion that the Vikings did establish a permanent settlement in Little England and that it extended over most of the southeastern part from Narberth along the Castlemartin peninsula to Angle. Furthermore, the survival in Pembrokeshire of A gene frequencies so akin to those of parts of Scandinavia suggests that the Vikings came to these parts not as warriors who married into native families but as settlers accompanied by their wives. Had the Scandinavians married Welshwomen to any appreciable degree, the resulting population would have been much lower in A. Beddoe mentions that in some expeditions the Vikings brought not only their wives and children with them but their thralls also—a point which is brought out in Alfred's treaty with Guthrum.

North-West Little England

In ABO gene frequencies the North-West differs significantly from the South-East and from Welsh-speaking Pembrokeshire to the north. It bears no close relationship to West Carmarthenshire nor to Devon and Cornwall. The divergence between it and Ireland is even greater.

Historians agree that the Flemings settled in much of the region and the A and O gene frequencies are consistent with the presence of a people very similar to those who inhabit certain parts of the Netherlands. The old chronicles relate that the Flemings had been driven from their homeland by a tremendous inundation which had covered much of their land with sand and seaweed but Freeman suspected that it was 'a legendary story' and Deit proved, after a study of coastal erosion, that the tale was without substance. Nijenhuis' figures for North Brabant, part of Limburg near Venlo and the south-western shore of the Zuidern Zee as far inland as Alkmar resemble the North-West Little England values closely. The blood-group evidence is not, however, as decisive as it is in the South-East for it admits of other possibilities consistent with history. The North-West frequencies could, for example, arise from a mixture of North Pembrokeshire stock with a people similar to those living in the South-East. Although the numbers are
too small to draw statistically sound conclusions, the inhabitants of Marloes and Dale are as high in A as those of the South-East and it is possible that a similar type of people once inhabited the Milford area. The actual site upon which the town of Milford lies was vacant in the seventeenth century, as J. F. Rees points out.

If English elements accompanied the Flemings in large numbers, the serological evidence is against their having come from the banks of the Tweed—the area occupied by the Flemings immediately prior to their removal to Wales. Northumberland is a region of low A frequency as is also South-Eastern Scotland. An East Anglian or Lincolnshire origin is more likely than one from the North country, the Midlands or the West of England.

Of the five départements which make up modern Normandy, Seine Maritime has a higher A gene frequency than the others. This frequency, however, is almost identical with that recorded in the French capital. Vidal de la Blache wrote of Normandy that the ancient cumulative forces of the interior have reacted against the sea and one wonders whether this applies in special measure to the ports of Le Havre and Rouen. If so, they cannot be regarded as representative of the Normans. On the other hand, if one accepts that those who live in Upper Normandy differ genetically from their compatriots in the lower part, there is a case for claiming that Normans from the Seine valley made an ethnic contribution to North-West Little England.

The B gene frequency in the eastern half of Wales is only a trifle higher than that found in England generally but in the western half there is a small but statistically significant rise. On the Welsh moorlands where physical anthropologists claim the persistence of very early human stocks, the proportions of O and A genes may vary but the B gene frequency is consistently higher than on lower ground. The existence in Little England of a B gene frequency in harmony with that of Western Wales suggests that traces of an ancient stock, probably akin to the Welsh moorland folk, have not been completely effaced by the later waves of immigrants.

North Pembrokeshire

Serologically, North Pembrokeshire folk differ significantly from the inhabitants of South-Eastern and North-Western Little England. There are, however, some parts of North Pembrokeshire which bear a resemblance to Little England. The village of Letterston and the surrounding countryside which yielded 53 donors were found to display an A gene frequency as high as South-Eastern Little England—a situation which contrasts markedly with that found, barely a dozen miles away, on the eastern slopes of the Prescelly Mountains at Maenclochog, Mynachlogddu and Crymmych where A genes are as scarce as in North Wales.

The town of Fishguard which bears a name of Norse origin does not display the Scandinavian type of raised A gene frequency but the township of Goodwick overlooking Fishguard Bay and the village of Llanwnda have both inherited a greater number of A genes, whatever their source.

Conclusion

As the vast majority of written documents have almost certainly been found, it is unlikely that historians will be able to throw much additional light on the history of human settlement in Pembrokeshire. Blood-group genetics, on the other hand, has produced evidence which should assist in terminating a long-standing historical controversy regarding Norse settlements in Little England. In due course, it is hoped that a study of the many other blood-group systems will add to our knowledge of the anthropology of Wales's premier county.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Dr. R. J. Drummond, Medical Director of the National Blood Transfusion Service, Wales, for allowing me to examine the blood-group records under his jurisdiction. Dr. A. E. Mourant of the Medical Research Council's Blood Group Reference Unit kindly drew my attention to a number of recent Scandinavian blood-group publications and Dr. Ada Kopeć of the Nuffield Blood Group Centre was good enough to assist with the translation of Danish works. Lastly, I express my gratitude to Professor E. G. Bowen of the Department of Geography and Anthropology, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, for placing map-making facilities at my disposal.

Bibliography


Charles, B. G., Old Norse Relations with Wales, 1934.


Hartmann, O., and J. U. Lundevall, 'Bloodgroup Distribution in Norway,' Arch. voor Volkenkunde, 1944.


Diagnosis of the ‘Wild Man’ according to Buddhist Literary Sources from Tibet, Mongolia and China. By Emanuel Vlček, M.D., Archeological Institute, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, with Josef Kolmaš, Ph.D., and Pavel Pouha, Ph.D., Oriental Institute, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. With two text figures.

I (E.V.) reported in the August issue of MAN, 1959, 203, on some interesting old literary evidence for the existence of wild man in Mongolia, Tibet and the adjacent regions. The material was obtained by the Czechoslovak-Mongolian Archeological Expedition in 1938. For the transliteration and transcription, free translations by Mongolian monks from Ulanbator (Urga) were used in the article. Since according to the response these materials appeared to be very important, I asked our oriental linguists who have only recently returned from abroad to make a precise transliteration and translation of the texts according to international usage (a slight modification of the Chinese Professor Yu Tao-ch’uan’s system of transliteration of Tibetan was employed) in order that the texts might also serve as important research sources for linguists.

The Tibetan and the Chinese texts were translated by J. Kolmaš, the Mongolian and the Manchurian ones by P. Pouha, both from the Oriental Institute, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague. Appended to these two sources is an extract relating to this subject and discovered only recently by J. Kolmaš in a collection of sacred Tibetan books called Kanjur.

The texts accompanying the illustrations were subjected to a new precise study and read as follows:

**Peking Edition**

**Title (transliteration):**

Dri med shel phreng nas bshad pavi sman gyi vkhrungs dpe mdes mtsar mig rgyan ces bya ba bzhus so.

**Free translation:**

‘Gorgeousy decorated book on the origin of medicinals interpreted by Dri-med Shel-phreng.’

**Cut-out from p. 244 (fig. 1):**

First illustration (left), uprighb figure on a rock with upraised arm:

- Tibetan: mi rgyud = wild man
- Chinese: p’i = bear
- Mongolian: kiimii gregesi = wild man, man-animal.

Second illustration (centre), monkey on a branch:

- Tibetan: spreuv = small monkey
- Chinese: hou = little monkey
- Mongolian: samii = monkey.

Third illustration (right), sitting monkey:

- Tibetan: spre = large monkey
- Chinese: yian = monkey
- Mongolian: becii = monkey.

**Urga Edition**

**Title (transliteration):**

Gsi byed bshad rtzivi vkhrul med rges vdshin bzo rig me long du nam par shad pa mdes mtsar mig rgyan zhes bya ba bzhus so.¹

**Translation:**

Mi-rgud ni, ri gnyan du sgas pavi dom rigs dbyigs mi dang mtsungs, yang rtsal stobs sa can ché bavo. Devi sha gdon la phan pa dang tshon thabs las mkhri pa mtsang pa sel ba gdungs so.

**Text related to the illustration of monkeys (right):**

Transliteration:

Spreuv ni, spreuv skad yin par (ba’i smon las byung) zhang yang gnyer gdong, yan lag gi duug os pa ri vi mivi rgyis yin te, khyeu yi ter ser smug pa ring gshang la spu med cing vgar tuul yang mi dang vdra ba, shing tog la vldod che zhing meber ba med de, de las che spu ring mjaig ring la spre, chung bar spreuv yin, (rgyud las, spreuvu rts pas bu vbyin byed. Ces gaungs.)²

**Illustration of a monkey on a branch (centre):**

- Tibetan: spreuv = little monkey
- Chinese: hou = monkey
- Mongolian: samii = monkey.

**Illustration of a sitting monkey (right):**

- Tibetan: spre = monkey
- Chinese: yian = monkey
- Mongolian: becii = monkey.

Only on the basis of this precise reading and translation of the texts from the Peking and Urga editions of the pharmaceautical book it is to a certain extent possible to try to take up an attitude towards the dilemma of the ‘wild man’ even from the point of view of their meaning.

After reading not only the texts and names relating to the illustrations of the ‘wild man,’ but also those belonging to the

---

¹ Numbers in the original text.

² Numbers in the original text.
Fig. 1. Peking edition, p. 244, left

Fig. 2. Urga edition, p. 119b, third, fourth and fifth figures from left
neighbouring animals, it is possible to reach conclusions even on the zoological position of the 'wild man' in the natural system of the Tibetans. In both editions of these Buddhist textbooks the 'wild man' is always placed consistently between a group of bears which precedes him and a group of monkeys following. Already this localization in itself suggests where the 'wild man' should actually be placed in the system.

This placing by localization in the text is even emphasized by the different meanings of the translations of the names of the 'wild man' in all the languages used here. While the Tibetan and the Mongol texts speak about a 'wild man' in the proper meaning of the word or about 'man-animal' or both, the Chinese and the Manchurian names hint at another connexion with the bear. Besides, the text gives on the right hand of the wild man in the Urga edition directly says: 'Mi-rgod is a creature of the bear family which ... resembles man.'

Finally, the fact that this 'wild man' belongs neither among the monkeys nor to man may be judged from the last sentence of the text relating to the illustration of monkeys in the Urga edition. The text in free translation runs: 'The Tantras say that people (sons) arose from the monkey family (bone). This sentence can only mean that in the natural system of the Tibetans man is also placed at the highest point, following after the monkey.'

On the basis of the above two literary documents it is possible to try to include the 'wild man' in the following zoological system: bears — wild man — monkeys — man. The Chinese and the Manchurian texts seem to sound more probable.

The illustration of the 'wild man' may even represent a certain being of no actual zoological basis, or may mean that the name of the being is reserved for a certain kind of people, such as thieves, robbers, as shown by one passage in the Kanjur.

In the Kanjur which together with the Tanjur forms the Tibetan Buddhist canon, in a section called 'Gzungs vdu' (Collection of Dhāraṇī), in a volume bearing the Tibetan name 'wai,' there appears on pp. 36b-37a a magic formula (dharma in Sanskrit, gzungs in Tibetan) whose Tibetan name is:

\[ \text{Vprags pa mi rgod mnam pa zvons pa zhes bya bavi gzungs} \]

Its Sanskrit model runs:

\[ \text{Arya-cauravaradhanasa-nama-dharaṇī} \]

The magic formula may be translated into English as follows: 'The magic sentence that secures a complete defeat of the thief.' It may thus be seen that in this case the Tibetan word 'mi rgod' was used in the sense of 'robber, thief,' 'caura' in Sanskrit. This turns the entire question of the determination of the 'wild man' in a somewhat different direction.

By these three literary sources on the existence of the wild man, Czecho-Solovak science contributes to the solution of this very interesting dilemma of the existence and diagnosis of the snow man. Is he a myth or a living creature?

A final evaluation will still require not only further linguistic and natural historical study, but also a good piece of luck, in order that sound and unambiguous proofs of the true nature of the at present sensation-enveloped 'snow man' may successfully be presented.

Notes

1. The translation does not make logical sense.—J.K.
2. The text marked \{\} is not quite clear, or the translation does not make logical sense.—J.K.
3. The Tibetans' conception of the development of man from the ape is very clearly formulated for example in a historical book called Clear Mirror of the Royal Genealogies (report by J. Kolmaš in his article entitled 'How the Tibetans came on Earth,' New Orient Bimonthly, 1950, No. 3, p. 10).

Absence of Abnormal Hemoglobin in 274 Children in South Slovakia (Including 63 Gypsies). By Professor J. A. Val...
which perhaps led him to make the somewhat naïve statements in his last paragraph. Had he read my note more carefully he would have known that 'I intend to publish another paper in the near future describing them [the stone tools from Morhana Pahar and other sites] in detail.' Let me assure him that this is still my intention, and that I hope that my forthcoming publications will clear up some of the problems that are worrying him.

Finally, at the risk of repeating myself, I want to say that it was familiarity with these very collections and the obvious discrepancy between their importance and the inadequacy of their publication by Vincent Smith and others that were the motivating factors in carrying out the research in the field which led to the rediscovery of the sites. Both my husband and I have long been familiar with these and other large collections of Indian prehistoric material in the British Museum, which have formed the basis of much of our research—no one could be more aware of their unique value and interest. I sincerely hope that Mr. Sieveking will continue his investigations into their history. However I am not yet in my dotage, either to the extent of being 'gratified,' as Mr. Sieveking seems to expect me to be, at being told facts which I already know, or to the extent of being totally unaware of the significance of my discoveries.

Barrington, Cambridge

BRIDGET ALLCHIN

Cypro-Mycenean. Cf. MAN, 1960, 53, 182. Mr. Sim. Since the appearance of my note on the decipherment of Cypro-Mycenean, the following points have occurred to me.

First let me apologize for the unpardonable spelling of Idalium, as 'Edalium,' and for the absent-minded entitlement of the Enkomii tablet as 'the Edalium Tablet,' instead of 'the Enkomii Tablet.' For the misprint spgr in line 2 of the translation read spgrw.

Miss Taylor, of the Institute of Archeology, was actually on the spot when the tablet was unearthed by a boy while he was sweeping up the chamber floor. She assures me that some nine-tenths of the Enkomii site remains to be dug. Thus there is every hope that more tablets will be found, even if, as with the present one, they were broken up to make new foundations.

S. E. MANN

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores and Morals. 198


This comprehensive study of the folkways and mores, of the customs and conventions of primitive and civilized peoples in various states of culture and disciplines, is of interest for social anthropologists not least because it was first published in 1906. It represents, therefore, an approach to human behaviour which was less familiar 50 years ago than it is today. To this extent the Professor of Political and Social Science at Yale was anticipating the method that has now been so widely adopted in this country, if not so conspicuously in America.

By what he calls 'folkways' is meant the habits, routine and skill acquired in primitive society in the struggle to maintain existence in human groups, each member of which has profited by the experience of the rest of the community. When all at last have adopted the same way for the same purpose, the ways have been turned into customs and become the mass phenomena. In connexion with them instincts have been developed giving rise to 'folkways' by tradition, imitation and authority, providing the needs of life. In course of time these folkways, it is contended, have given rise to inferences and developed into new forms which have exercised a constructive influence over men and society. The term 'mores' has been coined to describe 'the popular usages and traditions when they include a judgment that they are conducive to societal welfare, and when they exert a coercion on the individual to conform to them although they are not coordinated by any authority.'

The author then proceeds to an investigation and exposition of the folkways and mores in society to determine their bearing on human character, conduct and code of life. An enormous field is covered which includes the social, sexual and religious customs and beliefs among primitive peoples in Africa, Australia, and Melanesia, in the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome, China, Japan and India, in Judaism and Islam and in modern western civilization in Europe and America. Among the subjects discussed are labour, wealth, and slavery, kinship, blood revenge and cannibalism, marriage institutions, social codes, incert, child sacrifice, popular sports, exhibitions and drama, asceticism, education and history. The main purpose throughout the inquiry is to show how the so-called mores function to give stability to society, usually unconsciously as 'the masses never know any reason why the mores are what they are.' It is only when they are subjected to organization, leadership and discipline that they become capable of any beneficial action. Moreover, every civilized society, it is maintained, has to carry below the lowest sections of the masses a dead weight of ignorance, poverty, crime and disease,' together with a central section which is 'neutral in all the policy of society,' living by routine and tradition, narrow-minded, shallow and prejudiced. But because of the numerical strength of this middle group representing the 'common man,' it has to be humoured by the popular press, art, legislation and advertisements, as it constitutes 'the great popular jury at last and, by adoption or rejection, decides the fate of all proposed changes in the mores.'

Among the upper classes Humanism and classical learning are dismissed as useless fads which have strongly influenced the mores and become a 'caste mark' and affectation. Popular education is a superstition making people all on one pattern, the taught in their turn creating folkways for themselves which become stereotyped and authoritative. Again, 'no historian,' it is affirmed, 'ever gets out of the mores of his own society or origin,' his standpoint being always determined by his social, political or religious allegiance. Where anthropologists stand in this category is not stated, but this highly controversial and provocative book at least deserves the critical attention of those who are concerned with the social implications of human behaviour comprehended in the term folkways.'

E. O. JAMES


In the current discussions on the evolution of man, special attention has been focused on the importance of culture in providing a kind of ecological niche, adaptation to which, it is said, has given human evolution its unique quality. It is generally assumed that culture was made possible through the interplay of certain developments: notably, the assumption of erect posture, the freedom of the hand, released from locomotory responsibility, the establishment of toolmaking and the expansion of the brain. The effect of speech and language in this dynamic process, which is not yet fully understood in its details, has suffered some neglect even though acknowledgments of their possible significance have not been altogether absent.

Perhaps the very ephemerality of spoken language may account in part for this. Heretofore it has been impossible to determine precisely when primitive hominids acquired speech and the ability to create and use symbolic language. Therefore it has been uncertain whether language took an initiatory part or merely a subsequent and reinforcing one.

Although a precise answer to this problem is still far from realization, Professor DuBrul's analysis of the evolution of the
The section which concerns the ancient scripts of the eastern Mediterranean basin may be taken to illustrate some general weaknesses of the first part of the book. The important question of the affinity between the hieroglyphic signs of Egypt, Crete and the Hittite realm is not raised; nor is the degree of contiguity between the different Cretan scripts properly debated. Complete signories of these writing systems, set side by side for comparison, would have contributed greatly to such studies. But these are not given; nor is the Phaestos Disc, of such outstanding importance, fully reproduced, and the best and most analytical edition of it, by Evans in Scripta Minoa I, is not mentioned in the notes. The old theory of its importation into Crete is mentioned, though the discovery of the hieroglyphic scripts of Mallia has now made it appear much more likely that the Disc was an indigenous creation. In short, the chapter is orthodox but not fully up-to-date, and it bears the stamp of painstaking and intelligent, but generally unimaginative and sometimes incomplete compilation.

The first part of the book closes with an account of the earliest alphabetic scripts. Since Semitic languages can be understood if written with consonants and long vowels alone, it is probable that a replacement of syllabic by consonantal signs in a tongue of this group may have been the first step towards the devising of an alphabet.

The second part of the work begins with a history of the spread of alphabetic writing in different regions of the world, and traces the various lines of cultural contact which were involved; for instance, that linking south Arabian writing with the Brahmi script of India. There follow accounts of the orthographic conventions by which alphabetic scripts were adapted to the expression of different languages, of the evolution of various cursive styles, and of divers methods of numerical and musical notation. Finally, there is a brief chapter on the techniques of writing, printing and recording, and a résumé of the argument of the entire work. The general thesis about the evolution and spread of writing is convincing, though somewhat orthodox, but the real value of these volumes is as an ambitious work of reference.

W. C. BRICE


Modern evolutionary theory is expanded here for general readers, and is based on work of Dobzhansky, Fisher, Haldane, Huxley, Jennings, Wright and others. The author castigates Lysenko and Marxist intrusions as well as the literary effusions of Bernard Shaw and other writers. Does the recent rehabilitation of the memory of Vavilov in Russia presage an attempt to return to truth from past wanderings in the deserts of dogma?

The author might have paid more attention to Dobzhansky’s warnings against assumptions with particular developments, and to the possible modifications that the electron microscope may bring. Modern thought follows Gulick in recognizing that diverse accumulations of mutations (= heritable variations) may occur in isolated groups, especially if small and inbred, and not all such mutations need be direct adaptations. Natural selection is seen, more than ever, as a very important factor. If some character is not kept up by the mark by natural selection (our teeth for example) it may decline through diminutional variations. May we descendents some day look upon dentures (perhaps spectacles too) as marks of high status? The pages dealing with Mutation Pressure could be clarified.

H. J. FLEURE


'Shamanism' is the general and vague collective appellation of the original religious conceptions of arctic and subarctic peoples. It is based on the fact that the person of the shaman represents the priesthood of this religion and plays a very important role in it. He has to help the living through being able to contact—in a kind of ecstasy or trance—the spiritual world, above all the deceased.
relatives. There seems to be clear evidence for a very great age for such practices—the author would date them back into the Stone Age—and they were obviously known among the historical peoples too; the Cuman Sibyl in Vergil, Aen., VI, 452 ff., is no doubt a shamanistic.

This handy little book by Professor Findeisen is meant to be a general and not too learned introduction to the main problem of shamanhood: how the shaman contacts the spirits. But it is by no means a mere compilation of results of previous investigations, being based largely on the author's own researches, and it thus suggests a new explanation of the problem. Many scholars (e.g. Verbitskiy, Radloff, Harva) have noted that the special ability of a shaman is something like a sickness, in certain cases like the epilepsy. Professor Findeisen, however, questions this 'psychiatric' explanation. He has been experimenting with spiritualistic mediums, which in his opinion show a close parallelism with the main function of the shaman. There is, I believe, another point too, which should be elucidated experimentally. According to many tales shamans used to eat toadstool (Agaricus muscaria) in order to attain the trance. I have, however, never seen any scientific explanation as to the physical and mental effects of the toxic or narcotic ingredients of that plant. On the other hand, the parallelism with spiritualistic mediumism does not explain much, since the true character of the latter has not yet been scientifically established, as is shown for example by the controversial opinions quoted by the author in Chapter XVI.

In so far as a parapsychological approach can really help us towards a better understanding of shamanistic practices it must of course be welcomed.

PENTTI AALTO


A temperate yet unsparring criticism of all prescriptions for ending war that have been made to date. The evil in us, the evil in social systems, the rivalry of social systems all contribute. A leader's decision is a rare free one, everyone's plans depend on everyone else's. Wars come because, as J. J. Rousseau put it, there is nothing to prevent this. Perhaps fear of the H. bomb may for a little while be a deterrent as well as a danger. The effort to make our partial values absolute is the final sin and results in the most bloody conflicts, and yet we are far from humbly recognizing all opinions and beliefs as tentative. The one constant that we know is the Process of change, and so adjustment is perpetually needed and yet risky.

Politicians' need to consider full-employment for increasing numbers is one of the problems of peace. Anatole France's Penguin Island is a reminder of the risks of war in trade that Cobden and Bright soft-peddled.

It would have enriched the book if the author had done more to consider the diversities of motivation among the peoples of diverse regions but that would have made the book too large.

H. J. FLEURE


This is Vol. II of a series having the general title La Cultura, and treating of a wide variety of matters, including social anthropology. The author sets out to examine those rites which may be, if somewhat loosely, styled New Year festivals, i.e. ceremonies which take place at some natural division of time, such as the end of the dry season, the gathering of harvest, or the like. He begins with the Trobrianders, and goes on to review a number of cultures, including those of food-gatherers (especially in Australia) and rising as high as the comparatively advanced agriculture of some American peoples. Throughout, he insists, quite rightly, on the principle that not everything in such cultures can be derived from magico-religious practices or ideas, early man being already capable of perceiving something of the economic laws to which his life was subject and adapting himself thereto in a more or less competent manner. Thus, the digging stick was from the first simply a stick for digging, a wholly practical implement, not, for instance, a phallic symbol belonging to the well-known equation earth = woman. The economic and the magico-religious factors co-exist always and everywhere.

As to why magico-religious practices do exist and are connected with the natural breaks in the routine of a savage or barbarian community, he is of opinion that anxiety is at the bottom of them. Having had a poor harvest or hunting season, men are naturally anxious for their food supply; having had a good one, they tend to fear that they may not succeed the next time. In either case, the weather conditions compel a pause, perhaps one which lasts for some weeks, in their usual occupations, and around this gather ideas unconceived with the routine of finding or producing food, particularly the belief that at such times the dead revisit their old homes, and precautions must be taken accordingly. All this is abundantly illustrated by instances from the most approved authorities, which on occasion are elaborately analysed, and diversified with theoretical discussions.

Printing, paper, and reproduction of illustrations are all excellent.

H. J. ROSE


This reprint of the abridgment of the Life and Letters, originally issued by Darwin's son, Francis, in 1892, follows closely on the centenary of the Origin of Species. The banares of the battles of a century ago now seem somewhat tattered and faded. But there is a sincerity in Darwin's revelations about himself which makes an immediate appeal. Even his hypochondria appears pathetic; while his agnosticism is halting and tentative, and accompanied by a warm sympathy and respect for his opponents. The constant and even exaggerated concern with contrary evidence, which marks all his scientific work, accords with the humility and generosity of his general character.

W. C. BRICE

ASIA

The Criminal Tribes, The Changing Canvas of Tribal Life, Primary Religion, Anthropology and Society, and Anthropology and Primitive Medicine. These chapters are followed by Notes on Racial Types, a Bibliography and an Index.

The work is rather uneven, some chapters, three on caste for instance, being excellent whereas others, such as that on Primary Religion, are less satisfactory. But this like the rest of the book has to be read in the light of the author's purpose as stated in his introduction, which is to provide 'a book of orientation for those who want to specialize in anthropology, and to those whose interest . . . seeks moorings in basic knowledge of the threshold of Indian culture.' It is in fact an introductory textbook for students and amateurs interested in anthropology with special reference to India, an assessment which perhaps accounts for the inclusion in the bibliography of a number of general and theoretical works which

158
have no specific reference to Indian material. From this point of view it has many merits: the author indicates the main authorities in the fields of which he treats, and discusses their views without bias, though rightly not hesitating to express his own. He is probably best where he relies on his own fieldwork, as in his accounts of the polyandrous Khasas or his description of the caste system at work in the village of Dhanavra. In his useful account of the village dormitory institution he might have pointed out that the institution of the Long House as a dwelling for the extended family has had an important part in the development of the village dormitory, as by the division of its centre into cubicles for the privacy of married couples the adolescent are relegated to the front and reserve bays. When the house splits up into a row of separate buildings, or into two rows one facing anther, the veranda at the end becomes the young men’s dormitory and continues in many tribes to face down the street.

Where the volume is open to criticism is in its paucity of specific references and in the large number of minor errors. It is true that most of these errors do not affect the author’s argument or invalidate his exposition, but they do cause a reader with intimate knowledge of some particular field traversed by the author to wonder whether the parts on which he lacks expert knowledge are not equally faulty in detail. For example the E. Gait appears as Gates both in text and index; the Khai language is classified (p. 135) as Tibetan-Chinese, whereas it really belongs to the Austro-Asiatic family; the table showing the economic status of tribes (p. 141) needs much revision; the Thado Kukis appear consistently as Thadan, and Darlung is not the name of a clan but of a mountain in the Lushai Hills, nor have the Kukis a dual organization; the figures given for Angami Nagas on p. 384 are completely at sea and so forth and so on. One is led to the irresistible conclusion that Professor Majumdar’s book was written from his lecture notes without verification at the sources from which his material was originally drawn.

There is a good index, an index also of authors referred to, and a bibliography; the omission of a map is regrettable.

J. H. HUTTON


This unpretentious little volume Professor Bassaignet gives a brief account of the tribal peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in East Pakistan, an area first effectively administered in the eighteen-sixties by T. H. Lewin, the immortal Thanglina, and except for occasional interludes neglected until administered to the end of the British régime. Nor is one’s hope for the future inclined to optimism when Professor Bassaignet tells us of the scheme now going forward to flood the best low and irrigated land in the area for a power scheme which will turn 90,000 tribemen from their homes. For the new industries already created on the Kamalpuri river employ very few tailors indeed—0.4 per cent. in the Kamalpuri paper mill—but are already responsible for the importation of some 30,000 foreigners from the plains.

The author gives a very useful bibliography, but repeats without comment a statement that ‘very little is known’ about the Shendu or Lakher tribe and fails to mention not only Fryer’s note in the J. Asiatic Soc. Bengal for 1875 ‘On the Khoyeng People of Sandoway’, but even N. E. Parry’s admirable and informative monograph on The Lakners (Macmillan, 1932). He says too little about the southernmost and probably the most interesting part of the area, the Bomong’s circle. He would find some extremely valuable and interesting material on this, and indeed on the whole area, in J. P. Mills’s long report on the Chittagong Hill Tracts submitted to the Bengal Government of the latter nineteen-twenties. Professor Bassaignet finds no confirmation of the tradition of a Talang origin for the Maghs (there seems little point in altering the spelling to Mogh, as the neutral vowel is always pronounced o in Bengali and transliterated ə), but does not mention the fact that Grierson considered the old Chakma script to be of Khmer family. The Bomong himself is a descendant of the ancient Burmese kings of Pegu, but many of his subjects are traditionally Talangs of that kingdom deported to Arakan in the sixteenth century. One wonders incidentally if the Tanyabi mentioned on p. 191 is the Manipuri heroine Thoibi reappearing in a different environment.

Professor Bassaignet states (p. 36) that ‘as a rule tribal people have no actual concept of land ownership.' If this is really the case the people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts must be very different in their outlook on land from the tribesmen of the North Cachar and Naga Hills to the north of them. The jews’ harp is referred to on Lewin’s authority as a modern introduction; he probably meant the metal version sold in most bazaars; the indigenous bamboo variety is widespread in South East Asia and most unlikely to be recent in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The scenes of gili described as played with wooden discs is no doubt that equally widespread game generally associated with the great flat beans of Entada scandens, though ivory discs are also used in Manipur where it is a seasonal game played in the spring. In the references added by Miss Niblett, daughter of the first post-British-Deputy Commissioner, is a reference to a hillman who wished to be buried with a bamboo pipe left in his grave down which rice liquor was to be poured daily. She says that this wish ‘was a joke, of course,’ but the bamboo tube left in the grave, apparently for the egress and ingress of the soul, or for communication with the dead, is a Thado Kuki custom shared by the Kacharis of Assam and practised also in Bornéo and Madagascar. Miss Niblett also recounts, in a version slightly different from that given by Lewin himself in The Fly on the Wheel, the well-known story of Lewin’s demonstration of his imperviousness to leaden bullets.

There are unfortunately many misprints—Sensus, for instance, frequently, for 'Census,’ Bura Baru’ for ‘Bura Boma,’ etc., and the illustrations are very poor. On the other hand the plans and descriptions of the family dwellings are good and the volume as a whole justifies itself as an addition to a poorly documented area of primitive life now swept into a vortex of rapid change.

J. H. HUTTON


This volume is the fifth in the Human Relations Area Files Survey of World Cultures. It opens with a statement by the Survey editor: 'The focus of this book is a society as it functions. Emphasis is on the dynamics of the society—the presence and impact of forces for change, the constants of attitude and behavior, the abiding values.' The concluding paragraph reads: 'Americans are not well known in Cambodia. Until the recent spate of government missions, very few Americans had been there. A peasant is apt to assume that anyone of western origin is French. In general, marvel about the United States among educated Cambodians is combined with a feeling of skepticism generated by American government policies that affect Cambodia. Interestingly Filipinos are regarded as more American than Asian.'

Between these two statements, Mr. Steinberg, with some seven collaborators (revised for 1959 by Herbert H. Vreeeland), has collected material of varying value in some 22 chapters, ranging from The Culture and the Society, through Dynamics of Political Behavior, Theory and Structure of Government, Basic Features of the Economy, Art and Intellectual Expression, to National Attitudes. The book is completed by 16 tables giving information on demographic data, newspapers, 'Status of Rural Credit Cooperatives,' Present Sixty-Year Cycle with Corresponding Buddhist, and Western Dates,' etc., and a section entitled Recommended Reading. (This is described, as recommended on the basis of quality and general availability. Some particulars of the culture can be assessed from the complete omission of any reference to the work of George Credés, or any mention of the Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, a fondness for citations from Sud-Est Asiatique (Saigon), three references to Time and two to Newsweek. It is perhaps too easy to make fun of a compilation of this kind: it has many entries of value, though one cannot help feeling that the text owes too much to over-enthusiastic perusal of every reference to Cambodia on the Files. In this context the terms
that is both integral to the history of a great civilization and relevant to the problem of the interrelations of cultures in our time.' (Paper-back publishers please note.)

The extent of Professor Wright's achievement is remarkable. It is not just that he has succeeded in distilling from this vast, amorphous body of matter a study which is both coherent and convincing (and readable!) but also that China in a period of such evident disintegration invites to disapprobation. He has illustrated this text not merely with apt and elegant quotations but also with material from the plastic arts which further his arguments compellingly and with felicity. After a discussion of thought and society in Han China, he discusses the period A.D. 65-317, his period of preparation, and shows how the breakdown of Chinese institutions, the lessening certainty among the Chinese about their ideas and values, prepared the way for the adoption of alien religion and one, moreover, which seemed singularly ill suited to its new milieu. China favoured ethical particularism; the Indian ideal was towards ethical universalism. Yet, as Wright shows, in the period when China fell to the Huns, both those who fled to the south and the foreign rulers who exercised power in the north found that Buddhism served their needs. This is the period of domestication. The next stage, the period of independent growth, demonstrates the function of Buddhism as a unifying force first for the Sui and then for the T'ang dynasties. Yang Chien, the founder of the Sui dynasty, proclaimed for his campaigns which resulted in the re-unification of China a Buddhist ideology: 'We regard the weapons of war as having become like the offerings of Buddhism and flowers presented to Buddha, and the fields of this world as becoming forever identical with the Buddhahland.' It was during this period that Buddhism developed in Chinese schools, Ch'an (Zen in Japan) being but one of these. Towards the end of the T'ang dynasty, Confucianism, under state patronage and influenced to a considerable degree by Buddhist ideas, revived as a movement for the revival of Chinese institutions whose breakdown had led to the spread of Buddhism with which 'people had been drunk for a thousand years,' as an eleventh-century scholar expressed it. This phase forms the subject of the next chapter, the period of appropriation. Here attention is properly drawn to the process of sinicization of the Buddhist pantheon during the Sung dynasty. The book concludes with a chapter 'The Legacy of Buddhism in China' and 'A Selection of Further Reading.'

Throughout the book Professor Wright deals lucidly and in a manner which even the non-specialist reader can follow with the complex interactions of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. He relates this complexity to historical, social and economic developments and shows how inseparable was the reference to Volker von eigenen Stillstandes. His discussion of the processes by which Buddhism was made acceptable to China and how it was possible to transform the husband of India becomes 'the wife reveres the husband' in China; the device of ko-i, matching concepts, was used to explain Indian ideas; the neo-Taoist dialogue, ch'ing-tan, was adopted for the discussion of Buddhist ideas. The importance of the struggle to translate Indian ideas, linguistically, grammatically and in content alien to those of the Chinese, is discussed not only in its relation to the spread of Buddhism in China but also for its importance for the introduction of new foreign ideas and terminologies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. (It is ironical to reflect that the labours of Kumārajiva and Hsian-tsong played their part in making possible the skill with which Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi handle the concept of Marx, Engels and Lenin.) Inevitably there are points with which the specialist will not agree, yet it is difficult to believe that any other scholar could produce a better book, or one better able to stimulate and provoke the professional or inform the broad segment of the educated public to whom Professor Wright has addressed himself. It may be that a re-brief chronological table would be of assistance to the latter: education and a knowledge of Chinese history and geography are not yet synonymous. But Professor Wright has made a major contribution to the discovery of 'an Empire of learning, hitherto only fabulously described.' He has, in his preface, expressed his debt to Professor Tsukamoto and Demiéville: his gurus have an admirable chela.

ANTHONY CHRISTIE
THE EXCAVATIONS AT IGBO-Ukwu, NIGERIA, 1960

(a) The 'Igbo Vase,' from Isaiah Anozie’s Compound. H. c. 13 inches. (b) Bronze potstand, from Isaiah Anozie’s Compound; side showing male (?) figure (cf. fig. 1). H. c. 12 inches. (c) Isaiah Anozie’s Compound; view of deposit under wall, looking north. Scale 1 foot long. (d) Richard Anozie’s Compound; general view of burial deposit. Scale marked in inches
210 Some 20 years ago the finding of a number of interesting bronze vessels and ornaments was reported from Igbo in Eastern Nigeria. Igbo (or Igbo-Ukwu, ‘Great Igbo’, as it is now usually called, to distinguish it from other Igbos) is in the Awka Division, between Agualawbia and Nnewi, about 25 miles south-east of Onitsha.

The water table at Igbo-Ukwu lies at a depth of some 800 feet, and water is stored in bottle-shaped cisterns which have an opening at ground level less than three feet in diameter. (This type of cistern is always referred to by English-speaking inhabitants as a ‘native well’.) The cisterns are dug to a depth of up to 20 feet in the Benin sand, and have their sides well rammed at the lower levels to help make them hold water; surface rainwater is drained into them during the wet season, and this lasts during the greater part of the dry season.

It was in digging such a cistern in his compound in 1919 that a man called Isaiah Anozie struck a number of bronze objects. He dug them out of the ground and piled them against the wall of his house; with his consent some of his neighbours helped themselves, believing these objects to be ‘good medicine’. Some months later the Assistant District Officer in the area, Mr. J. O. Field (now Commissioner for the Cameroons), heard of the bronzes, purchased them from the finder, and reported the find in MAN. (He later presented them to the Nigerian Government; except for (two or three specimens in the Jos Museum, they are now all exhibited or stored in the Nigerian Museum in Lagos.) The District Officer in the area at the beginning of the war collected most of the pieces which Isaiah Anozie’s neighbours had taken; some of these pieces are now in the British Museum, and some in the Nigerian Museum, Lagos. One or two pieces were subsequently recovered from Igbo by Mr. Kenneth Murray when he was Surveyor of Antiquities, and these are in Nigerian museums.

The bronze objects recovered in this way consist of:

1. ‘Brazier,’ or bowl on its own openwork stand
2. Large bowls (over 12 inches diameter), round or oval
3. Medium-size bowls (under 12 inches diameter), round or oval
4. ‘Crescent-shaped’ bowls, resembling ‘pinched’ calabashes
5. Small pear-shaped bowl
6. Pot ring
7. Vessels in the shape of shells
8. ‘Cylindrical ornaments’
9. Pendant ornaments, consisting of animal or human heads
10. Small circular pendant ornament
11. Coiled snakes on spikes
12. Spiral ‘handle’
13. Sword hilt
14. Sword scabbards
15. Staff heads
16. Large chain

24 Pieces of small chain
20 Small conical spiral bosses
4 Small lattice-work ornaments
120 Rings, diameter about 4½ inches
100 Small ‘bell-shaped’ ornaments
8 Small plaques
3 ‘Aro knot’ manillas
1 Manilla
2 ‘D-shaped’ ornaments
1 Small conical bell (not certainly from Isaiah Anozie’s compound)

All the large objects, and many of the smaller as well, are characterized by elaborate and ornate decoration, often showing representations of insects, such as crickets and flies. They are cast by the cire perdue technique and show a very high standard of craftsmanship. In style they are unlike the work of Ife or Benin. Mr. Field suggested, because of the presence of cloth with some of the bronzes, that they might not be more than a hundred years old, but Mr. Jones pointed out that this could not necessarily be inferred, since the preservation of the textiles could be due to their close proximity to the bronze.
Ever since the original discovery, Mr. Field and Mr. Kenneth Murray hoped to dig at the site, but the opportunity never presented itself. In 1958 the Director of the Nigerian Federal Department of Antiquities, Mr. Bernard Fagg, asked me if I would excavate the site on behalf of the Department. This I did, with the assistance of Mallam Liman Cirioma, and resources provided by the Antiquities Department, in the dry season of 1959-60, being resident on the spot from 8 November, 1959, to 15 February, 1960. All finds from the excavation remained the property of the Nigerian Government.

During this period I made efforts to see if I could recover any more of the bronze objects which had become scattered after the initial find, giving it out that I was interested in 'old metal objects,' and that I was prepared to pay for what I wanted. The net was cast wide, and in the course of three months brought up a curious assemblage of objects, from trade manillas to pieces of carburettor; but in addition to a number of 'Aro knot' manillas from different find places, it did bring in one pendant ornament of the kind familiar from the 1939 finds from Isaiah Anozie's compound, and which was stated to have come from that source. It is different from all the others recovered, however, in that it represents a leopard's head. This is now in the collections of the Nigerian Antiquities Department. I also saw what appeared to be a 'spiral handle'; this was in the possession of Isaiah Anozie, and, as far as I know, still is, since he was unwilling to part with it. There were persistent reports of a bronze 'table,' which appeared to have been obtained by a European, but I have been unable to trace this.

The first task on arrival at Igbo-Ukwu was to obtain permission to excavate and to arrange terms of compensation. The ten days' negotiation that this involved is a story in itself, but it gave rise to one important event. When it appeared at one point that arrangements to dig in Isaiah Anozie's compound were likely to fall through in spite of promises made before my arrival, another member of the family, Richard Anozie, who lived not far away, announced that 'things had been found' in digging a cistern in his compound; would we like to dig there? Mr. Kenneth Murray had also heard about this on a previous visit to Igbo and had made a note of it. Richard Anozie indicated the spot, underneath many tons of building sand. His information later proved to be correct, and perhaps it is worth recording that whenever we had the opportunity to check information given us by actual excavation, it always proved accurate. Eventually we reached agreement to dig in both compounds.

Isaiah Anozie's Compound

The spot that Isaiah Anozie showed us as the place from which the 1939 finds had come was a small depression about 24 feet in diameter, between his mud-built goat house and his pan-roofed dwelling house, adjacent to his existing cistern. It looked as if he had dug quite a small area, and that the adjoining areas had been protected by the goat house and the dwelling house. In fact, however, this small depression was not the result of his digging up the bronzes 20 years ago, but was a water-catchment basin, known as 'the daughter of the well.' Furthermore I later discovered that in 1939 neither the goat house nor the pan-roofed dwelling house had been there. It seems that when he came upon the bronzes, Isaiah Anozie dug around for all he could find, and for this reason I do not think that any of the deposit is sealed underneath the pan-roofed house. Naturally Isaiah Anozie did not dig underneath or too close to existing compound walls, and it was under or near these that we found the deposit untouched.

Mr. Field had reported the bronzes as having been found at a depth of 'eight or nine feet,' but when questioned on the subject, Isaiah Anozie maintained that he had found them at a depth of two feet, and nothing would shake him from this. It was in fact the approximate average depth from which we later recovered the bronze objects in excavating the area which had not been disturbed. Mr. Field's estimate of the depth appears to have been based on a reconstruction of the circumstances of the finding, made from reports given some months later.

In order to make an area to excavate, it was necessary to take down two compound walls, fell two trees and fill in the existing cistern. This then gave us an area rather more than 50 feet long, and varying in width from 15 to 25 feet. Fortunately we were able to find within this area the limits of the deposit containing the bronzes. Part of the area had been disturbed by the previous digging, but under or near the old compound wall it was undisturbed (Plate Nc).

The bronze objects excavated consisted of:

1. Vase', approx. 13 inches high, consisting of a pot standing on its own pot stand or pedestal, and the whole enclosed in a knotted ropework pattern, attached below the rim of the pot and to the base, but free-standing away from the middle of the vessel (Plate Na).
2. Pot stand, approx. 12 inches high, consisting of a hollow open-work cylinder terminating at top and at base in a wide flange; on one side there is a male, on the other a female, human figure, with negroid features (Plate Nb, and fig. 1).
3. A large bowl
4. Medium-size bowl
5. Vessel in the shape of a shell
6. Staff head
7. Sword hilt
8. Sword scabbard
9. Coiled snake on spike (fig. 2)
10. Pendant ornaments of animal heads
   A number of rings, diameter approximately 14 inches, 'D-shaped' ornaments, small plaques and conical spiral bosses.
   A large number of 'bell-shaped' ornaments and pieces of small chain.

In addition to these objects of bronze, there were a number of pottery vessels, a heap of iron knives or razors, the iron sword lying in situ by the scabbard, and a large number of beads: these appear to be of yellow and blue glass, and of chalcedony or carnelian. Some of these were lying as strung, some were still threaded on copper wire. Many of them appeared to have been associated with the pendant ornament representing an elephant's head and with the bell-shaped ornaments, as part of the decorative trappings of the sword-scabbard. The 'D-shaped' ornaments and the conical spiral bosses were in some cases attached to what appears to be leather, and may have been...
part of a highly decorated head-dress. Alternatively, they may represent handles attached to calabashes.

The fact that all the larger bronze objects had traces of cloth adhering to them prompts the idea that they were wrapped up before being buried for safe keeping, in the way that is still practised by some of the priests at Ife with ritual objects used in ceremonies at certain shrines. However, there were a number of indications, including the way some of the objects were lying in the ground, which suggest that they were in some sort of low hut, which was abandoned for some reason, and subsequently collapsed. This gave the impression of a store-house rather than of a shrine. It may have had an area of about 10 feet square.

The modern half-dug cistern soon became apparent, with its brown infilling of recent rubbish contrasting strongly with the red Benin sand. At this stage we managed to get hold of the man who had originally dug it, and who had been away in Port Harcourt when we began excavating. He said that he had come across some 'pieces of iron,' 'black boards,' and 'like cement.' We could not think what this latter meant at first, but it turned out to be the yellow sand of the burial area; it was because the cistern-digger had feared that this might cave in on him that he had abandoned his project.

The hearth or cooking place, at a depth between one and two feet below the surface, consisted of a small area of sticky carbonaceous soil, underlain in places by a thin layer of white clay. Embedded in this area were three curious bronze implements: one appears to be a fleshhook about 18 inches long; one consists of a bar of bronze just over a foot long in which one end is a handle end and the other end apparently had something bound to it, as traces of the binding were preserved; the third object is a contraption just over a foot long consisting of three longitudinal rods bound round at each end with copper or bronze strapping, and apparently originally enclosing wood (fig. 3).

Some 10 feet to the south were two clearly marked postholes, five to six inches in diameter, and three feet apart, of which the posts appeared to have been burnt (instead of being eaten by white ants) since they were filled with charcoal and carbonaceous material. No others were encountered to the north of these two, and none within six feet to the west or south. Because of the presence of buildings and the limits of our 'concession' it was not possible to explore more widely, or on the east side. It is possible that two such postholes would be the only surviving indications of the former presence of the traditional type of hut in this area, in which the roof timbers are supported on the earth walls except on the open or verandah side, where two or three posts perform this function. A brazier type of pot, and a large iron knife, also came from this area.

Richard Anozie's Compound

Richard Anozie's compound lies some 50 yards to the south-west of that of Isaiah Anozie, and it was here that a man was reported to have been digging a cistern, to have come across some 'things,' to have become frightened and to have filled the whole thing in again. To get at this spot a large quantity of building sand which had been dumped on it first had to be removed, and it was also necessary to take down two compound walls, in order to give a reasonable area to excavate. On this site were found: a hearth or cooking place with bronze implements in it; a shrine; an ancient cistern of whose existence the present inhabitants were quite unaware; and a burial.

The shrine, about five feet to the south of the hearth, and extending from nine inches from the surface to a depth of four feet, contained a heap of pots piled up on top of each other. In addition there was a large number of small pottery 'pegs.' At first sight one of these might appear to be an ordinary potsherd, but when many are seen together, it is clear that they have been made by rubbing down broken pieces of pottery. About ¼ inch wide at one end and tapering to a slightly narrower width at the other, they average 1¼ inches in length. They do not resemble the rubbed-down potsherds used for pavements at Ife, and were perhaps more in the nature of votive offerings, or records of such.

Less than four feet to the west of the shrine was an ancient well-shaped cistern, containing pottery in the infilling. The bottom of this cistern was 23 feet below the present surface of the ground.
The most interesting finds from this site came from the cutting in the south-eastern corner. It became noticeable, as we proceeded in this area, that the sand was yellower than elsewhere. Apart from some beads and some human teeth, there were very few finds above a depth of seven feet. Then a heavy bronze bangle or anklet appeared, associated with a type of striped bead not encountered in Isaiah Anozie's compound. Below this we began encountering bones in a very soft and fragmentary condition. Below this again we found a regular tangle of bronze and iron objects, bones and tusks softer than the ground they were in, and vast quantities of beads. In places there were traces of wood. After many days of slowly excavating this deposit, I came to the conclusion that we were dealing with the contents of a burial chamber, probably originally lined with wood, which had collapsed (Plate N4). The floor of this chamber was a little over 11 feet below the present surface. I had expected the yellow sand to make a clear demarcation of the pit dug for the burial, but in this I was disappointed, as this colouring spread beyond and below the immediate burial area, and with the vague possible outlines. What I think happened was that this yellow staining was caused by decaying organic matter in the tomb leaching out in the process of drainage into the surrounding red sand.

It is not possible yet to be definitive about the contents of the burial chamber, as much of what was recovered is still undergoing processes of cleaning and preservation. It was possible to recover most of a human skull, with the jaw articulated and two rows of teeth present but the rest of the facial area missing. The skull was so surrounded with beads that it seems the head at burial must have been wearing a bead headress. There were four elephant tusks but in too bad a state of preservation to know whether they were carved or used as horns.

Of objects in bronze, there were two brackets supported on rods; a leopard's skull surmounted a long rod; two remarkable wristlets or anklets consisting of a bronze framework the intervening panels of which were entirely filled in with blue beads; a number of flat metal plates and roundels; a number of rings about 4½ inches in diameter; a flat sceptre-like object with a tang for hafting and an 'Aro knot' design above it; a sword or dagger handle surrounded by a mounted human figure; and a large double circle, one above the other, of bronze bosses set in the remains of wood—perhaps some kind of coronet.

Interpretation

What is the significance of the finds from these two compounds? It seems likely that both sites are to be connected with a former Eze Nri—the priest-king of the Umueri clan, which appears to have brought an intrusive culture into Iboland, probably from the region of Idah. For I discovered that the sites which we excavated used formerly to be in Oneri, not in Igbo; informants both in Igbo-Ukwu and Oneri were agreed on this, but I was not able, in the time that I had available, to ascertain at all accurately how long ago this was. Oneri is one of the villages of the Umueri clan and one of the two which has an Eze Nri, the other being Aguku. Both Oneri and Aguku claim seniority to the other, and it is possible that it is only in comparatively recent times that Aguku has been more successful in maintaining its claim. The last Eze Nri at Oneri died in 1944, and there is now an interregnum. (As formerly there was always supposed to be at Aguku for at least seven years, to allow it to be revealed who had been chosen to succeed. This custom has now been abandoned at Aguku, where one Eze Nri now succeeds another—in the contemptuous words of an Oneri elder—'just like an ordinary chief.' However, the eldest surviving son of the late Eze Nri at Oneri looks after the regalia, including a Benin-type pectoral mask, which I was able to see and photograph.)

The finds in Isaiah Anozie's compound probably represent the sacred vessels and regalia of a former day as kept in storage between ceremonies, while the burial in Richard Anozie's compound looks like that of an actual former Eze Nri of Oneri.

A good deal of uncertainty at present remains with regard to the date to be assigned to these finds; more light may be thrown on this when all the evidence has been examined, but it is probably too recent for carbon-14 to be much help. Perhaps the date lies somewhere in the seventeenth century. The two sites do not appear to be exactly contemporary, although they may not be widely separated in date. The bronze work from the burial seems to be different in style and less developed than that from the storehouse; there can be little doubt that both are of indigenous African workmanship. What the relationship is with the other manifestations of the West African brass-casting tradition is not yet clear, although there are hints in a number of directions.

Notes

1 Or brass: none have yet been analysed, although it is hoped that all will be in connexion with the full excavation report. 'Bronze' is used hereafter in a generic sense.

2 J. O. Field, MAN, 1940, 1; G. I. Jones, Nigerian Field, Vol. VIII, No. 4, October, 1939.

3 MAN, loc. cit.

4 Nigerian Field, loc. cit.

5 MAN, loc. cit.

6 In correspondence with me, Mr. Field says: 'It is, of course, impossible to say for certain at what depth the bronzes were found but I think eight feet is about the right depth from what the people told me at the time. They said that when the bronzes were struck the man who was digging shouted with surprise from the bottom of the hole which suggests that it must have been considerably deeper than two or four feet; in fact, if my memory serves me correctly they definitely stated that the surface of the ground was a yard above the man's head when he was standing up in the hole and it was this which made me assume the depth to be about eight feet. However, as you have already appreciated, distances in Igbo are somewhat elastic.'

7 Information from Mr. Frank Willett.

8 This may have affinities with those from Andoni country; see Cyril Aldred, 'A Bronze Cult Object from Southern Nigeria,' MAN, 1949, 47.


10 Assignable, according to Mr. William Fagg, to the early period of Benin art history, probably about the early sixteenth century; related examples are two in the possession of the Amapatkan of Mahin and the well-known mask in the regalia of the Ata of Idah.
A PAPUAN LUNAR ‘CALENDER’: THE RECKONING OF MOONS AND SEASONS BY THE MARIND-ANIM OF NETHERLANDS NEW GUINEA

by

DR. S. KOOIJMAN

Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

2II The Marind-anim live mainly along the south coast of Netherlands New Guinea from Frederik Hendrik Island in the west to about 30 miles east of Merauke. Small scattered groups live inland. The Marind country is therefore situated in the extreme eastern part of the monsoon area between Asia and Australia, and climatically it has two markedly different seasons dominated by the N.W. and S.E. monsoons respectively.

The influence of the S.E. monsoon blowing from nearby Australia is the more strongly felt. This accounts for the greater length of the dry season, which covers a period of approximately six months, i.e. June- November (cf. table

Table I. The annual distribution of rainfall at Merauke†

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Rainfall in mm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† These data, representing the average of the period 1902-1957, were kindly issued by the Bureau of Meteorology and Geophysics (Meteorologisch en Geofysisch Bureau) at Hollanda, Netherlands New Guinea.

there is more dry land. Hunting by means of communal drives (ohan) is then particularly profitable because the land animals’ range is restricted.

During the dry season the coastal people used to take to the dried-out plains where they lived as semi-nomadic hunters for months at a stretch. Ohan were organized, the grass of the plains being fired to drive the game. Yams and bananas were then grown and harvested. In the inland country fishing is profitable at the beginning of the dry season. The water level is gradually dropping and in the small rivers and rivulets draining the marshes are set the itip, conical fishtraps of bamboo and rattan. Fishing becomes impossible, however, when towards the end of the season the inland country is practically waterless. Communal hunting cannot then be practised either, as the game can easily escape in the extensive forests. Individual hunting is unprofitable and people subsist mainly on vegetable food; i.e. sago and bamboo shoots.

The alternating seasons with their different modes of life mark the main division of the time-reckoning system which is based on the sequence of the lunar months. The system is concretely expressed in the balé tang, spatula-like wooden objects the handles of which have a regularly undulating outline, the prominences indicating the moons.

The Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde at Leiden possesses one of these specimens (fig. 1a), another is in the collections of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen in Amsterdam (fig. 16). They were both collected recently in the Marind area.

These ‘calendars’ are symmetrical, showing six moons on each side and one on top. It is open to doubt, however, whether they can be regarded as really traditional balé tang, as these should have five prominences at one side, seven at the other, and one on top, thus clearly marking the distinction between the two seasons with their different lengths (fig. 2, central figure).

The names of the moons appear to vary a great deal (fig. 2). On the other hand, several of them are more or less generally used either to indicate one particular moon, or, less exactly, as names of various moons of one season or period. In addition there is a fairly high percentage of terms which are mentioned once only, as well as a considerable amount of what we tend to consider as inconsistency.

Pig is the general name for the dry season alternating with wep,4 Wep together with its compounds heiti wep (hetu wep) and samb wep often designate particular moons of the dry season (I; I, I, III, IVa, IVb; II, III, IVa, IVb). According to Father Heurtjens M.S.C. heiti has been derived from ai-ti, ‘in the beginning.’ This is in accordance

* With two text figures and a table

165
with the sequence of the moons at IVA and IVB, where samb wep, the 'large dry period,' is preceded by heiti wep. At I hetu wep, which is probably synonymous with heiti wep, is followed by wep which is here equivalent to jaba pig having the same meaning as samb wep, i.e. 'large dry season.' However, heiti wep and samb wep are given in a reversed sequence by P. Wirz (III). Heiti wep may even be the last moon of the pig (II).

The term doga pig for the last moon (IVA) has been taken from a fruit tree called doga (Semitarcurus anacardium) which is then blossoming. Towards the end of the rainy season, however, when the fruits of the tree are ripening, there is another doga moon (II, III). No explanation can be offered either of the occurrence of the names doga and isi doga at the beginning of the rainy season (I) or of the giving of the name isi doga to the third moon of the pig (II).

The first moons of the pig are indicated by the following names: samani (I), aukau (I, II), haruwojan (III), nareg or naleg (IVA, IVB), itip (II), rujam (III), bakembaku (IVA), and haru (IVB). According to some people the samani moon marks the transition from the wet season to the pig as well as the very beginning of the latter. So it is equivalent to the ngopa moon which is described as the 'border between the two seasons.' The name samani is said to be derived from a skin disease called samani (Tinea imbricata) which often occurs at this time of year. Sometimes, however, the samani moon is put in the middle or at the end of the bor am bor or wet season (IVA, IVB).

Haruwojan (haluwojan) also occurs at the beginning of the dry season as well as at the close of the rainy period (IVA). It also indicates a moon about the middle of this season (IVB). Aukau is probably essentially the same word as hakuau (IVB), a similar term apparently being used to designate different moons round the solstices of June. So the giving of similar names to ensuing moons is particularly typical of one period of monsoon change, and also of the other as will be seen hereafter.

With regard to the term nareg (naleg) no unanimity appears to exist either. In addition to being used to indicate the first moon of the dry season it also denotes the moon between the middle and the end of the pig (III) when the coast dwellers still live in temporary settlements on the plains. According to P. Wirz's informants bananas and yams were then ripening in the gardens, to be consumed in large quantities during the great ceremonies which were celebrated at this time.

The name itip undoubtedly refers to the making of itip or fishtrips by the inland Marind at the beginning of the dry season.

The terms haru and rujam each occur once only and cannot be commented on. The same holds good for Malea, a name of the third moon of the pig (I).

The name bakembaku is certainly synonymous with bakumbaku, a moon of the beginning of the bor am bor (III) and probably also with dakeembaku marking the change between the dry and the wet seasons (IVB). Its occurrence at the beginning of the pig seems to be another inconsistency.

Ko-ahip mandaun and ové mandaun (mandaun = moon) both fall within the jaba pig, the 'large dry season.' The former term is undoubtedly related to ahip, to burn, to singe, to crack from heat, referring to the blistering heat on the dried-out plains in the hinterland 'which causes the bamboo stalks to crack.' Ové mandaun refers to the ové, the big clouds of smoke often to be seen on the plains at this time of the year when the people fire the dry grass.

Four different words denote the moon marking the

FIG. 1. LUNAR CALENDARS ('BALÉ TANG') FROM MARIND-ANIM
(a) From Wayau, Kimbe area. Made of palm wood with lime-rubbed incisions at one side and with cord and feathers attached. Colours, black and white. The undulating sides each have a row of seven prominences. Each of these represents one moon except the two opposite to each other at the top which together represent one, the total number of moons represented being therefore thirteen. L. 39.5 centimetres. Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, No. 3532–14. (b) Made of palm wood with lime-rubbed incisions at one side. Colours, black and white. L. 39.5 centimetres. Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam, No. 2563–57

The last moon is thrice called kemopa or kimopa (I, III, IVB). This term may also indicate the last moon but one (II). According to P. Wirz kimopa, the last moon of the dry season is characterized by calm weather and a quiet sea for weeks. The coastal Marind are then returning to the beach, and fish and small lobsters are caught in great numbers.

The name ko-anigib for the last moon of the pig (II) may have been derived from angip which means, in a figurative sense, 'shoot of a coconut,' and which may also more generally refer to the young bamboo shoots abundantly growing then in the inland country.
FIG. 2. VERSIONS OF THE NAMES OF THE MoONS IN MARIND-ANIM

1. according to Upe of Wayau village, Kumbe area, in answer to questions by Father J. Verschueren, M.S.C., who kindly forwarded the information to the author by letter dated 26 November, 1957. II. according to Father Verschueren (Rapport, 1958, pp. 58f); though these data refer to the Marind area in general they have probably also been taken from the Kumbe (inland) Marind. The number of moons mentioned is 12 and for each month of the solar calendar roughly corresponding is given. III. according to P. Wirz (1925, Vol. IV, pp. 83f), who does not state the areas where the data were collected. Here too 12 moons are mentioned; by taking account of the descriptions accompanying them they could be compared with the 13 moons of I and arranged accordingly, IVa, according to Father J. A. van de Kollen, M.S.C., and Father P. Verteven, M.S.C. (1922, s.v. maanda), who collected the names in the eastern coastal area around Merauke. The nine moons given were identified by means of the corresponding solar months which were also given. IVb, according to the same two Fathers (ibidem), who collected the terms among coast-dwelling Marind around Okaba, further to the west. The 12 moons are given together with the 12 months of our calendar to which they more or less correspond.

period of change between the pig and the bor am bor, viz. adagu (I), wakaruba (II), hamkuku (III, IVa), and dakembu (IVb). The last name has already been commented upon. A moon named hamkuku also occurs at the beginning of the wet season (II, IVb). The winds then blow from various directions and thunder storms are frequent. The houses on the beach are repaired to withstand the ensuing rain and high winds of the N.W. monsoon. This is the period of the nho adaka, the ‘new water’ by which the adagu moon is characterized.

As in the case of hamkuku the name adagu also denotes a moon at the beginning of the bor am bor (II). The same holds for the wakaruba of the monsoon change, which alternates with the wakalbuba moon in which the rains have already started (IVb).

The application of several of these names to various moons near both periods of monsoon change seems to be accounted for by the fact that the distribution of rainfall in one particular year may greatly deviate from the average. Sometimes heavy rain is already falling before the end of the year; on the other hand the period of monsoon change may last for months, the true rainy season not starting before February or March. Similar variations frequently occur in relation to the pig. The hypothesis is therefore offered that the oscillation of several moon names between the time generally marking the end of either the pig or the

bor am bor, and that at which as a rule the rains have either already started to fall or have already stopped altogether, is to be explained as a reflection of the yearly variations in rainfall.

Most of the names of the bor am bor moons have already been mentioned and discussed. Apart from these the names karguban and abkuku each occur once (III, I). In the karguban moon much rain is already falling, filling up the dried-out marshes and river beds while the lowlands are beginning to be flooded.

The giving of the name hara to two ensuing moons (I, II, III) is another example of the shifting of moon names mentioned and explained above. As the fourth moon of the bor am bor (I) it was said to be the period in which the whole lowland area is flooded up to the para or higher parts. As the moon at the close of the rainy season it marks the time at which the water begins to fall and the monsoon starts to change. The name has been taken from the hara (Terminalia catappa), a tree the fruits of which are then ripening.

The moon ngopa, which is mentioned once only, has already been referred to in connexion with the samani moon. It is said to be the moon marking the ezen or border between the bor am bor and the pig, being indicated therefore by the central extension on the upper side of the balé tang separating the longitudinal row of 'wet' promi-
nences from those indicating the 'dry' moons and the ensuing transitional period.

The balé tang were probably used for predicting the changing of the seasons. The arrangement of their prominences can only have indicated an average pattern from which the actual situation might deviate considerably. This may explain the fact that a number of moons round the solstices of June and December have been given identical or analogous names.

In the yearly cycle of Marind life the important social events, particularly the great ceremonies, were mainly determined by the course and the changing of the monsoons. On these depend all natural events and human actions which are connected with a particular moon, for instance the blossoming and setting of certain plants, the making of the conical fishtraps (litip) and the burning of the grass on the plains. These last have no fixed place in the solar calendar, however. Intercalation has therefore probably not been possible; that is to say the Marind-anim did not know spectacular phenomena or events occurring at a fixed calendrical date enabling them, for example, to extend a moon for another month every three years, thus periodically obtaining a lunar year of 13 moons.\(^3\)

The wooden lunar calendars have made possible the counting of 13 moons. However, three out of the five cycles of fig. 2 show only twelve lunations. In case the latter were used in relation to the balé tang one had to disregard one of the prominences. The problem of the number of moons of either a complete lunar cycle or one particular season not corresponding with the number of prominences must have presented itself so often, however, that it will not have upset the people very much.

The balé tang indicates the average number of moons in both seasons. Deviations—even when they were of considerable size and significance—cannot possibly have been considered as abnormal. One could imagine that in certain cases such deviations may have led to the extending of the name of a moon to the next one, thus in fact adding one lunation to the existing cycle of 12. This could by no means be called intercalation, however, since the people took their bearings on the variable monsoon system instead of on some fixed date in the solar cycle.

Notes

1 Rapport, 1958, p. 60.
2 The Leiden balé tang was made in November, 1957, at Wayaw on the Kumbe River, in the inland Marind area. The piece in Amsterdam, which has no exact provenance, was collected in January, 1957.
3 Personal letter to the author by Father J. Verschueren M.S.C., dated 26 November, 1957.
4 P. Wirz, 1925, Vol. IV, p. 84.
5 1932, s.v. hap, p. 137.
6 J. Verschueren's letter and H. Geurjens, 1932, s.v. jaba, p. 163.
8 H. Geurjens, 1932, s.v. angip, p. 63.
9 Rapport, 1958, p. 60.
10 H. Geurjens, 1932, s.v. doga, pp. 107f.
12 The word isi preceding the main word in isi doga has a repetitive significance (H. Geurjens, 1932, s.v. isi, p. 158).
13 J. Verschueren's letter.
15 Cf. also J. Verschueren's letter.
16 The differences in spelling—jalowojam or halowojam—do not seem to be significant.
17 P. Wirz, 1925, Vol. IV, p. 84.
18 Dakembahue alternates with baku-baku (H. Geurjens, 1932, s.v. bakoe-bakoe, p. 83).
19 J. Verschueren's letter.
20 H. Geurjens, 1932, s.v. ahip, p. 53.
21 P. Wirz, 1925, Vol. IV, p. 84.
22 H. Geurjens, 1932, s.v. ové, p. 272.
23 P. Wirz, 1925, Vol. IV, p. 83. According to H. Geurjens (1932, s.v. hajem, p. 131, and s.v. hankeoke, p. 132) hankeoke is connected with the verb kuhuw, to sprout. The word possibly refers to the ripening of fruits, particularly those of the hajem or beach chestnut (Inocarpus edulis).
24 J. Verschueren's letter.
25 In 1952, for instance, the rainfall in November and December respectively amounted to 245 mm. and 308 mm., whereas, in 1954, January and February were relatively very dry (162 mm. and 117 mm.).
27 J. Verschueren's letter.
29 J. Verschueren's letter.
30 This was probably the case with the Trobiand Islanders who unconsciously practised intercalation by taking account of the important event of the appearance of the palomo worm on the surface of the sea for spawning, which happens every year at the full moon falling between 15 October and 15 November (E. R. Leach, 1950, p. 255).

References

Baal, J. van, Godsdienst en samenleving in Nederlandsch-Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea, Amsterdam, 1934.

OBITUARY

Dhirendra Nath Majumdar: 1901–1960

The death of Professor Dhirendra Nath Majumdar, M.A. (Calcutta), Ph.D. (Cantab.), on 31 May, 1960, leaves a gap in the ranks of Indian anthropologists which will be felt and regretted far beyond the frontiers of his own country. His vision, wide experience of all branches of anthropology, and remarkable energy had made him into a focal point of anthropological studies in India, and his department in the University of Lucknow, the foundation and development of which he always regarded as the core of his life work, has for
many years been the most active department of anthropology in the whole of South Asia.

Professor Majumdar belonged to a prominent zamindar family of East Bengal, and he often spoke of his parents' dismay when after a brilliant university career he decided to devote himself to academic work in the field of anthropology instead of seeking the prestige and more tangible rewards of government service. In the twenties Indian public opinion viewed anthropology with considerable suspicion, and even otherwise enlightened intellectuals associated anthropological studies with a 'colonial' attitude to Australian aborigines and primitive Africans, and resented the fact that Indians should be the subject of such research. It is largely due to the efforts of D. N. Majumdar and a few of his equally dedicated colleagues that in independent India anthropology has become respectable and the Central Government now frequently seeks the advice of anthropologists on the problems of the development of backward areas.

To achieve this recognition for anthropology on the part of Indian administrators and politicians was an uphill task, and though D. N. Majumdar joined the University of Lucknow as a lecturer as early as 1928 it was not until 22 years later, when he had reached the age of 47 and had long been internationally known, that the university created for him a chair of anthropology. In 1951 he at last achieved his ultimate aim of establishing an independent department of anthropology, and his initial training as a general anthropologist familiar with the methods of social as well as of physical anthropology enabled him to develop teaching and research in both these branches of the discipline.

D. N. Majumdar's original contributions to Indian anthropology cover a wide field. His first book A Tribe in Transition (London, 1939) reflected his early interest in acculturation problems, and an enlarged edition of this excellent study of the Hos of Chota Nagpur appeared in 1950 under the title The Affairs of a Tribe. Fieldwork among the Khasas, Korwas and Tharus formed the basis of The Fortunes of Primitive Tribes (1944), and in his more recent books The Matrix of Indian Culture (1947) and Races and Cultures of India (1958) he surveyed the entire field of Indian anthropology. These two books as well as An Introduction to Indian Anthropology (1956), which he wrote jointly with T. N. Madan, became textbooks indispensable to the students of Indian universities. The last two books published in his lifetime, Castes and Communication in an Indian Village (1958) and Social Contours of an Industrial City (1960), deal in a novel and stimulating way with contemporary problems of vital importance. They show the breadth of the author's interests and are representative of much of the research carried on in Lucknow under his guidance. It is symptomatic of the extraordinary energy which he developed in the last years of his life, that at the time of his death two further books, Himalayan Polyandry and A Village on the Fringe, were ready for the printer. All anthropologists interested in India will hope for their early publication.

A list of D. N. Majumdar's articles would fill several pages, but mention must be made of his fruitful work as editor of The Eastern Anthropologist, which he founded in 1947. During the last decade of his life Professor Majumdar held visiting appointments at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and at Cornell University. He also lectured on many occasions in universities and learned societies of the continent of Europe and the U.S.A. His foreign colleagues and his numerous students, now scattered all over India, will remember him as a scholar passionately devoted to his subject and as a stimulating personality, who was often controversial but never indifferent.

Those who have had the privilege of seeing him in action among his colleagues and students in Lucknow will realize the seriousness of the loss suffered by the university which he served right up to his last day not only as Head of the Department of Anthropology but also as Dean of the Faculty of Arts.

C. von FüRER-HAIMENDORF

SHORTER NOTES

Zande Clans and Settlements. By Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, M.A., Ph.D., Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford

I have recently published (MAN, 1939, 24) an article listing 188 Zande clans and showing the distribution of their members in the Sudanese part of Zandeland. There are many more than 188 clans, those listed being the clans represented by a minimum of 25 adult male members in my census registers. The census demonstrated that while some clans are restricted to some areas, in every area there were a large number of clans represented. The conclusions reached had some historical value. However, the areas into which Zandeland was divided for the purpose of marking clan distributions were so large that it was possible for there to be much localization of clan members without this appearing in the figures given. I feel, therefore, that it is desirable to go a step further by demonstrating that there is very great admixture of clans on the neighbourhood level. It is important to establish this point because it illustrates strikingly how unimportant, by comparison with many primitive societies, kinship ties beyond those of the closest kin can be in politically more developed societies, and especially in one in which wars of conquest have led to widespread dispersal and great ethnic admixture and social and cultural assimilation; and how tenuous and more or less nominal clan relationship can be in such societies. This being the case with the Azande, I found, after taking down a few genealogies at the commencement of my studies, that, except in the royal clan, genealogical relationships between clansmen were very seldom known and usually quite untraceable, and that even first and second cousins were so widely dispersed that the relationships could have little significance for conduct. Consequently I took down no more of them.

What I now present are the clan affiliations of 12 Zande settlements. Before sleeping-sickness regulations forced them into settlements the Azande of the Sudan, as those elsewhere, lived in dispersed homesteads. However, when they were forced to live in settlements they were able to live in which settlements they preferred and, in fact, the people who in the dispersed state lived in the same neighbourhood generally continued their neighbourhood relationship in the settlements. Further, the admixture of clans in the settlements was no more, as observation established, than in the districts where the people were still living in the traditional dispersed manner. To make this inquiry as representative as possible three settlements have been chosen from each of the four areas shown in the sketch map (fig. 1). The selection was a random one, but since making it I have taken the precaution of examining the clan representation in a large number of other districts to make sure that the examples are typical.

In the lists which follow 1 to 3 were in the old kingdom of Obudwe (A) and in the areas ruled in 1930 by Princes Ngindo (headman, Badindo of the Agbuts clan), Gangura (headman, Kasia of the Agiti clan), and Zegi (headman, Debu of the Abanibga clan); 4 to 6 were in the old kingdom of Ezor (B) and ruled by Princes Iriwo (headman, Bapi of the Avubanga clan), Bakindo (headman, Tikimo of the Akpomboro clan), and Rikita (headman,
(1) 263 individuals and 63 clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abawoli</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agiti</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akowe</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agbunduku</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abangbara</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenga</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ameti</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abakundo</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambata</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abanduo</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akalingo</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abamburo</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agbutu</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abaiwo</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abadara</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abangombo</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abandiko</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amiandi</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angbadiro</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abisaka</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abapia</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) 106 individuals and 32 clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ameteli</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agiti</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akulongbo</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abamburo</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akpura</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angbadiro</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akowe</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angali</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avunduo</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abakpoto</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abangombe</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) 54 individuals and 26 clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambare</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenga</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abanbenga</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abagbte</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avundukro</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abalingi</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angbapiyo</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akulongbo</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abamburo</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) 126 individuals and 28 clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avubanga</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amegburu</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abandogo</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abangani</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anguli</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avuguro</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abiri</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abasiri</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abakia</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avodokpo</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) 111 individuals and 51 clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agiti</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abandogo</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angbga</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abadara</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akulongo</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abangbte</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abaiko</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abasiri</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abakia</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) 126 individuals and 41 clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amegburi</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abangbara</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abakpuro</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abaknra</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababara</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abangbara</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abagbte</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abaisa</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) 129 individuals and 48 clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avuzuko</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abadugu</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abuboli</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abelanganya</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abajna</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababara</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abajna</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) 130 individuals and 53 clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababiko</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

170
(9) 169 individuals and 63 clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angbadimo</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Abakowe 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agiti</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Akalingo 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angbaga</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Abambaragba 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akulongbo</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Avunzage 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akowe</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Abalingi 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absirii</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Abara 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avugioro</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Abangana 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avodi</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Akparandii 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abawoyo</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Abandia 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abakii</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Avokagba 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avumai</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Avombili 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avuruna</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Avondanga 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abanginda</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Abavurui 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avunduu</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Afitu 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abadugu</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Abaza 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abire</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Akpongboro 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abakudo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aakakili 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avudima</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abakpa 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abgambi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abungo 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andugu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abakuma 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auboli</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Amogba 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) 99 individuals and 37 clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abaningo</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Amabenge 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abanangaa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Avundoo 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abadigo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Angbadimo 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababito</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Babada 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abangbandili</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Abawoyo 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abagioso</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Abambiti 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababaza</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Abuda 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abamuniga</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Angunaga 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angali</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Abalungu 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abakangba</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Akulongbo 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abakpana</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abapia 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angumbe</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Angbapi 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agberenya</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abandagburu 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) 62 individuals and 21 clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abananga</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Akangani 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abakupa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Abamuniga 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababino</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ababiro 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abanggu</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Abagai 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abangambii</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Abiugo 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abayali</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Abagali 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abima</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Akowe 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12) 128 individuals and 36 clans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abayali</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ababali 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abangbree</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Agilibi 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abangbaya</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ababayo 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abapi</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Abagbaya 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abaturu</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Abarunzo 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abawoyo</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Abadibga 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abagende</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Abangombi 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababaduo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Amundu 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ababaza</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Abanguru 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amorongono</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Abaya 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abakaya</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ambata 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abamage</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Abandaga 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On one point these figures speak for themselves: patrilineal ties beyond the family relationships of brothers and sons play little part in determining who lives where. What counts for more are maternal links, affinity, blood-brotherhood, personal friendship, a headman's reputation for generosity and good sense, and so forth. In Zandeland local groupings are not, except in the case of a few close neighbours, associated with clans or sections of clans, nor are they spoken about by any kinship reference. They are political and administrative units. What gives the group unity and distinctness is the common allegiance of its members to a king or prince through his representative in their community appointed by him to look after his affairs in that neighbourhood. It is only in this political sense that one can properly speak of local groups at all for they are not otherwise distinct groups. The fact that in some cases the headman's clan is well represented in a community might suggest that his clansman have settled near him on account of common clanship, but it may be chance, for it can equally interpret the fact that there is a clan numerically prominent in the area the likelihood of a headman being appointed from it is greater.

It is of further interest to inquire what proportion of the men of the various settlements are true Azande (Ambomu) and what proportion are of foreign stock. To anyone acquainted with the Azande it is at once evident that a number of foreigners are listed, for some men, instead of giving their clan name, have given a tribal name, e.g. Absirii, Abar, Auma, Ababua, Amandu, Abanginda, etc.; and had these tribal names been broken down into subclans the total number of those who would have been greater than those listed. Sometimes a tribal name appears to have become a clan name, the original clan being submerged, or even forgotten. Many of the clan names also at once by their unco shocking forms suggest a non-Zande origin. Nevertheless, it is a rather involved, and sometimes slightly embarrassing matter to determine with regard to other clans whether they are to be reckoned as being of original Zande (Ambomu) stock or of foreign origin. Azande tend to class their clans as (1) Akulongbo or Avangara, the ruling clan; (2) Abomu, the original Zande clans who followed the Avangara in their conquests; (3) named foreign stocks, Adio, Ababambo or Amiangba, Amadi, and Abanginda, all considerable peoples now assimilated to the Ambomu; and (4) Auro, a heterogeneous collection of clans of unspecified foreign peoples, also when found in the present-day ethnic amalgam, assimilated to the Ambomu, but regarded by them as more foreign than any of the named stocks. Whilst there is no doubt who are Auro there is not always agreement whether a clan belongs to the Ambomu cluster or to one of the four named peoples. Sixteen clans, including the Akulongbo, I regard as undoubtedly Ambomu and I include also in this category five others with which there was a difference of opinion. This is an ethnic classification. A social classification would be somewhat different, since some of the Adio cluster are now regarded as being equivalent to Ambomu, and some of the Amadi, Ababambo and Abanginda as being more or less so. However, accepting the dubious cases as Ambomu and excluding on ethnic grounds those who are now socially in, or almost in, the Ambomu category, we have the following approximate percentages of Ambomu for each of the 12 settlements: (1) 30, (2) 41, (3) 17, (4) 4, (5) 32, (6) 27, (7) 12, (8) 18, (9) 35, (10) 13, (11) 0, (12) 10.

It was established in my earlier paper, referred to above, that the Ambomu are most numerous in area (A), then in area (B) and least numerous in areas (C) and (D). The percentages for the 12 settlements are not, being a very small random sample, an entirely adequate representation of the situation in the areas as a whole. Using the same classification of clans, the approximate percentages of Ambomu in the four regions in which the census was conducted are: (A) 39, (B) 27, (C) 19 and (D) 17; and for all four areas 29. It remains to determine from the information recorded the degree of ethnic admixture on a provincial, as distinct from a kingdom or a district (settlement) level, and in particular the correctness of the Zande statements that the Ambomu are most strongly represented in the province ruled directly by a king in person rather than in provinces ruled by royal
representatives. This task will be undertaken later, as, perhaps, also the more difficult task of attempting to break down the category of foreigners into its different ethnic elements and to compute their numerical contribution to the Zande amalgam.

What has been attempted and shown here and in my previous article in MAN is that both in kingdoms and on the small-neighborhood level there has come about a most remarkable assimilation of different foreign peoples in Zande society, a product of conquest and of its political institutions. It has been, on a smaller scale, as considerable an achievement as can be claimed by, shall we say, the United States or Israel.

Notes
3. I do not enter here into a complicated, and perhaps insoluble problem. Some individuals and groups of foreign origin have attached themselves to Mbomu clans and claim membership of them and when this has happened it cannot always be determined who is a true member and who is not.

CORRESPONDENCE

'SThe Mankind Quarterly'

Str,—I should be grateful if you would publish in MAN the text of a letter which I wrote more than two months ago, on 10 August, 1960, to Dr. R. Gayre of Gayre, Editor of The Mankind Quarterly, 1 Darnaway Street, Edinburgh, 3, Scotland, because of what I consider to be the unsatisfactory nature of the replies which I have had to it from him and from his Honorary Associate Editor, Professor R. Ruggles Gates, F.R.S. The text of my letter is as follows:

'As a member of the Honorary Advisory Board of The Mankind Quarterly I feel at least partly responsible for the views expressed in contributions to it. Some of those views appearing in the first issue, which has just reached me, seem to show such little concern for facts and to be so distorted by racial prejudice that I cannot allow them to stand without the most vigorous protest.

'They are quite incompatible with my conscience as a scientist and an affront to the bitter memories which I have of the anguish suffered during World War II by the peoples of Europe and of my own country in particular—not to mention what I personally saw and experienced while a prisoner in Dachau—as a result of the abuse, for political motives, of the noble and dispassionate aims of anthropology.

'I must therefore ask you to accept at once my resignation from the Board. Since you have given my name a certain measure of publicity in print, I should welcome an immediate assurance that you will also be fair-minded enough to publish this letter, as it is written, at the earliest possible moment in the organ you edit. Otherwise I shall have no alternative to seeking its publication elsewhere in the United Kingdom, whose scientific and humanitarian traditions I continue to respect.'
sulted about the Board's policy, and I should be glad to discover, from the correspondence columns of MAN or privately, whether other members of it were either. No policy should be imposed from above on a body which, judging by the names of several distinguished colleagues of mine whom it includes, I am convinced would dissent most strongly from that of the Editors of The Mankind Quarterly. (3) Since the widely circulated association of my own name and status with this editorial policy could, as I see it, reflect in an adverse way on my personal and professional integrity, I much resent Professor Gates' condescending remark that the 'harrowing experience' which I underwent has affected my 'mental outlook,' which I regard as adding gratuitous insult to already sustained injury.

For the reasons which I have mentioned, Sir, I believe that I am entitled to demand that what I wrote in my letter of resignation and protest should be published in The Mankind Quarterly. The evident reluctance of the Editors to accede to this suggests to me that they might not relish its possible consequences. I am, no doubt, a cuckoo in their nest, but if it is claimed that such a nest embodies the opinions of anthropological science I can only ask my fellow anthropologists to decide which may be the ill bird, or birds, intent on fouling it.

I sign myself as I did when writing to Dr. R. Gayre of Gayre.

BOŽO ŠKERLJ
Redževa 13,
Ljubljana,
Yugoslavia
Professor of Anthropology in the University of Ljubljana; Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

Correction: MAN, 1960, 179

Dr. M. R. A. Chance has drawn the Hon. Editor's attention to a bibliographical error in his article in the September issue, 'Kohler's Chimpanzees—How Did They Perform?' where he referred to Kohler's book, Mentality of Ape, as having been published by Methuen, whereas it was in fact published by Routledge & Kegan Paul.

REVIEWS

GENERAL


The belated appearance of English translations of these classics of French comparative sociology is thoroughly welcome. Les Rites de Passage first appeared in 1909 and has long been out of print. The two Hertz essays—Contribution a une etude sur la representation collective de la mort and 'La preminence de la main droite: etude sur la polarite religieuse'—were first published in 1907 and 1909 respectively. They last appeared in print as part of a collection of Hertz's writings issued in 1928.

Although the American translators of the first of these volumes offer the alarming comment that 'Van Gennep wrote without the benefit of much of our social science jargon' I find the English of both books entirely satisfactory. In both cases the translators are professional anthropologists thoroughly alert to the difficulty of combining readability and accuracy in the translation of a work of academic scholarship 50 years old. The Van Gennep volume has only a slovenly index and the Hertz none at all but in both cases a commendable amount of work has been devoted to checking the voluminous though sometimes sketchy footnote references contained in the original works.

The two Introductions are of very unequal merit. Professor Kimball offers Van Gennep to American College students as an almost unknown author and his comments upon the general climate of anthropological opinion in England and France during the first decade of this century are both naive and misleading. In contrast, Professor Evans-Pritchard's preface to the Hertz volume is a model of what such introductions should be. It includes a most valuable summary of the framework of ideas through which the writers of the Année Sociologique school approached their data. Of these writers Hertz—who was killed in action in 1915—was one of the most brilliant junior members.

Of the three works under review the Van Gennep has the greatest renown, but in fact, although Van Gennep himself only mentions Hertz very briefly (and rather scornfully) at p. 190, Les Rites de Passage was really only an elaboration, on a wider canvas, of the ideas contained in Hertz's essay on Death. Although Hertz was explicitly a Durkheimian while Van Gennep was not, both authors purveyed their arguments in the same way by the techniques of the Frazerian comparative method. Their common thesis hinges upon a metaphysical proposition—the notion that it is in some way a natural and universal characteristic of primitive thought to make a category opposition between the sacred and the profane,' but instead of analysing this proposition they illustrate it with comparative evidence drawn from here, there and everywhere. Hertz, it is true, is in this respect somewhat less irritating than Van Gennep but, even so, the fact that he is primarily concerned with the mortuary rituals of Borneo Dayaks does not detract from dragging in Kaffirs, Australian Aborigines, Andaman Islanders, Plains Indians and peoples of the Orinoco whenever the occasion seems appropriate.

In this essay Hertz repudiates the Tyrolian thesis that mortuary rites originate in a 'natural' horror of death. He argues instead that mortuary rites—which among Borneo tribes conveniently fall into two distinct series—are concerned with the transition of the individual from the social status of living member of the society to that of deceased ancestor by way of an intermediate phase during which the individual has the social status of isolated but much feared ghost. 'In the eyes of primitives death is an initiation.' The relation of this three-stage schema to Van Gennep's triad of rites de separation, rites de marge and rites d'agregation is obvious. Sociological thinking on these matters has gained considerably in precision since 1909 but of the two essays it is that of Hertz which now seems the more sophisticated.

Hertz's essay on the right hand embodies a less familiar and perhaps less acceptable thesis which again derives from the initial assumption that category oppositions are fundamental to human thought. That the ordinary languages of human beings should discriminate between the right side and the left is scarcely surprising but that this discrimination should be biased is remarkable. Almost invariably the right hand is deemed 'right' (correct), 'dextrous' (clever), clean, strong, honest, etc. In contrast the left hand is 'sinister,' awkward ('gauche'), cursed, weak, unclean. This is a social not a biological distinction for in terms of natural (genetic) aptitude the human being is very nearly symmetrical. We teach our children to write with their right hand and to think it right and proper that this should be so, but there is no intrinsic inclination to behave in this way.

Hertz's theme seems to be that in the field of metaphysical (i.e. socioreligious) ideas certain kinds of category polarity are fundamental—e.g. good/bad, sacred/profane, clean/dirty. But ordinary human beings cannot readily operate with metaphysical concepts and so, in practice, these metaphysical polarities come to be associated with polarities which exist in the physical world and with which we are familiar in everyday experience, e.g. male/female. Of these 'natural' polarities (to which social and religious categories are attached by association) the right-hand/left-hand opposition is among the most important for it is an opposition of which the individual is himself directly aware—my right hand and my left hand are opposites, yet both are part of me. Or, to put the argument the other way round, 'the obligatory differentiation between the sides of the body is a
particular case and consequence of the dualism which is inherent in primitive thought."

The inherent dualism of primitive thought is a theme on which Professor Lévi-Strauss and his followers have recently had much to say. Some may think that it is a notion from which exaggerated inference has been drawn. I have no hesitation in recommending readers of MAN to pay close attention to Hertz's essay but they should not forget that it is right in England to drive on the left of the road or that parties of the Left have sometimes been known to forget their internecine quarrels and form a Government.

E. R. LEACH


Price: DM 36

This is the third edition of a work first issued in 1927 under the editorship of the late K. T. Pruss and reviewed in MAN 1939, 178. About half of the original contributors figure also among the authors of the present edition, but their contributions are largely rewritten with the obvious exception of those of the late Professor Richard Thurnwald. Entirely new are the chapters on 'The Aims and Methods of Anthropology' by H. Trimborn, on 'Religion' by Josef Haackel, on 'Primitive Poetry' by F. Herrmann, on 'Art' by Leonhard Adam, and on 'Economics' by Kunz Dittmer, while the chapter on 'The Future of Primitive Peoples' by the late Professor Diedrich Westermann, L. Adam and U. Oberem is almost completely rewritten.

In a joint effort of this type a certain uneasiness is almost inevitable and the editors explicitly state that they have not tried to eliminate differences in the approach and views of the various contributors. Yet there are no striking contradictions, and most of the authors have succeeded extremely well in fitting their contributions into the general framework of a book which does not claim to be more than an introduction to anthropology for the use of the student. The one contribution which appears as definitely dated is that by the late Professor Thurnwald entitled 'Das Gesellschaftsleben der Naturvölker.' As this is a chapter of central importance, it is somewhat unfortunate that it cannot be rewritten in the light of the developments of social anthropology in the past 20 years. In its present form it contains sweeping generalizations which convey an over-simplified picture of primitive society, and may mislead the student by giving the impression that it is possible to make sociological statements about 'primitive man' in general.

Very much in contrast to this chapter is J. Haackel's excellent treatment of the difficult subject of religion. Here the author confines himself to a comprehensive catalogue of the various religious phenomena met among the preliterate societies, and refers the reader for all detail to the original sources. In addition he provides a concise and balanced survey of the various theories on primitive religion. This, and an extensive bibliography, will be invaluable for students who want to orient themselves in the confusing welter of contradictory hypotheses on primitive religion. L. Adam's chapter on primitive law provides a similar service for those interested in juridical problems. The author has almost completely rewritten his contribution to the first edition, and the chapter now represents one of the best introductions to the field of primitive law.

Differently organized are the chapters on 'Economics' by K. Dittmer and on 'Ergology and Technology' by H. Nevermann. In these the authors aim at a general survey of primitive economic patterns and technological processes, and concentrate on an integrated presentation of ethnographical data, without entering into a discussion of the applicability of economic theories to primitive conditions. There are some generalizations based on data from specific areas which seem rather questionable when extended to 'primitive peoples' (Naturvölker) in general, but in a chapter of only 20 pages on 'Die Wirtschaft der Naturvölker' such over-simplifications are probably inevitable. This brings us to the question for whom such a Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde is really intended. For the student of anthropology contributions like those of J. Haackel and L. Adam are valuable guides to problems and further reading, but the chapters by Thurnwald and Dittmer are not sufficiently problem-oriented to stimulate the student of anthropology to a critical analysis of original sources and yet too technical to appeal to the more general reader interested in primitive societies and civilizations. Only the chapter 'Die Zukunft der Naturvölker' can be considered suitable for the general reader, and here we find some interesting demographic information particularly on the indigenous populations of Australia and the drawing of some interesting conclusions as to why there are special sections on Africa, Oceania and America, but no reference to any of the numerous tribal populations of Asia.

However, it is easier to criticize such an introduction to anthropology than to devise a more satisfactory pattern, and the volume under review has so many positive features, that the editors must be congratulated on achieving its reissue in a form which represents a considerable improvement on the first edition.

C. von FÜRER-HAIMENDORF


Dr. Hogbin did pioneering work as a student of social change in the Western Pacific and his Experiments in Civilization is still one of the best descriptions that we have of culture contact in any area of the world. This present work is based on the Josiah Mason lectures which Dr. Hogbin delivered at Birmingham University, and it is apparently an attempt to explain the factors generally instrumental in the production of social change. I say 'apparently' because Dr. Hogbin plunges straight into an examination of the theoretical implications of this subject without explicitly stating his purpose. Also, although he uses a number of interesting illustrations from our own civilization and other literate cultures, the argument is mostly in terms of primitive society, particularly Melanesia.

Hogbin sets himself the task of explaining why some innovations are eagerly adopted while others, seemingly as attractive, are rejected, and why, when a government applies force to eradicate customs of which it disapproves, dependent peoples should so often offer resistance. His suggestion is that change begins when an individual sees the chance of realizing an accepted value in a new way. It may be one of the general values of the community or one peculiar to a section, such as an age, sex, or class group. This readily happens with material objects and improved tools and other items reducing the amount of work, which diffuse more rapidly than a modification of the social system. The appeal of Christianity, particularly when it offers security, is another factor, and there is the desire for comfort and for status and prestige. Change may also be enforced as when, for example, the United States government assumed direct control of the Makah Indians, made them send their children to a central boarding school teaching in English; prohibited them from celebrating pagan ceremonies and feasts and ordered them to live in separate family dwellings instead of large communal houses.

This particular central chapter, however, is rather less concerned with enforcement than with the indigenous reaction and opposition to Western innovations such as medicine, sanitation, and the scientific view of magic and sorcery. It provides a somewhat rambling discussion of these matters and goes on to consider the notion of 'cultural drift' in terms of a chain reaction of events. Something new appears: if the device is in line with accepted values at once an unfamiliar situation is created and values must now be balanced one against the other for the establishment of a fresh set of preferences. After the choice is made the group finds itself for a second time in an unaccustomed predicament with still further possibilities of action opening up. Hogbin illustrates this process by noting the events, including the decline in traditional values and in the prestige of the older men, following on the introduction of the steel axe to the Yirrkun aborigines of Cape York Peninsula.

The most valuable part of this book is its introductory discussion of social-change field data and of various authors' methods of handling them. This is critically and helpfully done. Hogbin also brings the non-specialist usefully up to date with a case study of Melanesia itself, but without throwing much new light upon the phenomenon of social change as such. This, as already implied, is the disappointing feature of the book. It is mercifully free of jargon, contains many fresh and interesting descriptions of Western and other forms
of cultural contact, but does not offer any systematic method of studying them as a social process. In this field, seems content to take the
individual as a starting point. This may be one way out of a difficult
problem. But it is an abortive approach and suggests that social
anthropologists have made very little progress if their principal
method of studying society dynamically is by being psychological.
KENNETH LITTLE

AFRICA

Price £5. When rioting broke out in Leopoldville in January,
1959, the public had little background information for under-
standing the crisis which developed so rapidly. Although events
have moved fast since this brochure was prepared, it is still valuable
as an excellent popular introduction to the post-war history of the
Congo. One might attribute its one defect to the need for simplification,
were it not common to most colonial studies—that is, excessive
compartmentalism in handling political problems. The subject is
presented as a simple dialogue between Belgian officials and the
Congolese public, ending in the latter's rejection of Belgian
paternalism. It is appropriate for an outsider to make a comparative
approach, so let us hope that Dr. Slade's forthcoming book will
analyse some of the significant differences in the Belgian colonial
system (e.g., parliamentary, financial, demographic), for the differ-
ences in colonial experiences are more instructive for the future
than the similarities.
M. DOUGLAS

Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-
Marokkos. By Ernst Rackouer. Wiesbaden (Harrassowitz),
This is the scholarly record of a detailed investigation
in north-west Morocco. The author contributes many finely
executed line drawings, to which his fellow worker Dr. Hellwig
adds an excellent series of photographs. Together, drawings and
photographs form nearly one-half of the work.
The text, of some 50 quarto-size pages, is presented in two parts,
concerned respectively with the urban conditions in the towns of
Tetuan, and with the countryside conditions in the territories of
the Beni Hozmar, Beni Said, and Hit tribe.
The whole forms a most valuable study of the intricate details
and related nomenclature of men's and women's clothing, of house
furnishings, effects and utensils, of dwelling structures, and of river
rafts; in the distinctively Jbala part of Morocco, where local and
tribal differentiation is very pronounced.
Not the least valuable part of the work is the naming, in local
Arabic dialects, of all items illustrated in the drawings and photo-
graphs and described in the text, in both Arabic script and
transliterated forms, with the nearest translation in German.
The work, which includes a valuable bibliography, will be
greatly appreciated by all students of native culture in north-west
Morocco.
W. FOGG

Lesotho: Basutoland Notes and Records, Vol. I. Morija,
Price 7s.
Thanks to the support of the Basutoland government
the Basutoland Scientific Association has at last been able to
produce a journal of the same quality as the Nigerian Field. It is to
be hoped that it will receive the support of all those interested in
Basutoland and particularly of the Basuto themselves.
Considering the wealth of unpublished historical records in
government and Mission archives it is gratifying to see that three
out of the four articles are historical. One reproduces Thomas
Keman's notes of a journey round Basutoland in 1880, another by
J. Walton gives the history of Moshe's original village capital of
Butha Buthe, a third by R. Dove, in a series designed to give the
history of Basutoland camps, deals with Leribe (Hlote). The fourth
by Amy Jacob-Guillerm is the first of a series on the flora of
Basutoland and describes the ecological background.
The volume is magnificently produced by the Morija Press and
it can be obtained from the Secretary, P.O. Box 47, Maseru,
Basutoland.
G. I. JONES

In this 'case study in cultural anthropology' Dr.
Beattie has chapters dealing with myth, history, the
king, the chiefs, relatives, neighbours and the supernatural. In the
last he notes that in spite of the spread of Christianity and literacy
the belief in sorcery and the power of ghosts is still prevalent.
In his introduction he says that 'history may be important not as
a record of past events leading up to the present, but rather as a body
of contemporary ideas about these past events' (p. 7). This implies
that these ideas are history, but what he tells us later shows that they
are often myth. Thus he describes as mythical the account given of
the first Chwezi king, and in fact it combines features of the myths
of the Antu and the Akyayi.
It is a pity that in his chapter on kinship he uses 'father'
and 'mother' to translate terms which obviously mean something very
different; 'male mother' (p. 54) is a contradiction in terms.
In general, however, the book is very well and clearly written,
and Dr. Beattie takes care to define anthropological terms which are
not in general use.
RAGLAN

OCEANIA

Anthropological Research in New Guinea since
1950. By the Bureau for Native Affairs, Hollandia,
(reprinted from Oceania, December, 1958, Vol. XXIX,
No. 2), Sydney, N.S.W., 1959. Pp. 33
This report was presented by Dr. J. V. de Brujin, Head of the
Bureau for Native Affairs, to the Ninth Pacific Science Congress
held in Bangkok in 1957. In his foreword Dr. de Brujin credits
Dr. J. Pouwer, an anthropological fieldworker attached to the
Bureau, with most of the compiling and editing, but it will be
clear to anyone who is familiar with Dr. Pouwer's work that the
latter is also largely responsible for the discussion and evaluation of
the preliminary conclusions drawn from the research in cultural
anthropology recently carried out in the Western part of the island.
The most important publications are mentioned, i.e. monograph
studies on particular cultures (Mimika, Sarmi, Humboldt Bay, and
Mjiu) as well as books, articles and reports in the fields of sociology,
archeology, history, vital statistics, linguistics, religion and physical
anthropology. An appendix gives a full and systematically arranged
list of 177 relevant publications and reports.

The extremely variegated pattern which appears as a preliminary
result of these investigations is illustrated by a general survey of the
ecological, social and religious aspects of the cultures of Western
New Guinea. It is also pointed out that in these cultures the picture
of social structure is so variable that a representation of the material
according to the standard method of rule-with-exception must be
rejected as an euphemism' (p. 16).

A number of factors are then discussed which may to some extent
explain New Guinea's diversity of cultures as well as the structural
' looseness' of the latter. It is demonstrated first that an interplay of
 technological, environmental, demographic and more strictly
'cultural factors had a limiting effect on the size of the local groups
and was, moreover, responsible for the wide dispersal of settle-
ments. Some general trends, which spring from the preponderance of
the small local group and their being spread out over a large
area, are then discussed. Most of these strongly influence the real
pattern of kinship relations and social structure. So the latter's
'looseness' should be considered and interpreted in close relation to
the character of the local group. The strong ingroup-outgroup
feeling in the small widely scattered communities over the cen-
The work gives a clearly written synopsis of the most important European discoveries in the South Seas, and a summary of the geography and the climate of the area, as well as its vegetation and animal life. It contains a very instructive chapter on the peopling of Oceania, refuting Heyerdahl’s arguments. Current knowledge of the physical anthropology and languages is concisely presented.

Very useful is the part of the book dealing with various material aspects of the Oceanic cultures, such as hunting and fishing, agriculture, the preparation of food, types of houses and their functions, body-decoration, clothing, tattooing, technology, trade and money, navigation and transport, war and weapons (pp. 33–112). An integral part of the text is here formed by the description and interpretation of Hamburg Museum specimens, drawings of which decorate many pages.

In the last part of the book (pp. 113–50) a number of subjects with socio-religious implications are discussed, such as cannibalism, head-hunting, initiation, animism, ancestor worship. Contrary to the thorough way in which material culture has been dealt with, the treatment of this section is too superficial to justify the book’s subtitle, ‘Introduction to the ethnology of Oceania.’ For instance, the statement that animism is considered to be the kind of religion typical of Oceania (p. 116) could not be maintained in the light of modern ethnological literature. Animism, i.e. the belief in the Kempestoele, is also mentioned as the basic factor in the interpretation of head-hunting (p. 122), which is too one-sided a view to explain so intricate a problem.

There are a few inaccuracies. It is not true, for instance, that suspension bridges made of rattan are to be found only in the upper Sepik (p. 101). They also occur in large parts of the highlands of New Guinea. It is also mentioned as the basic factor in the interpretation of head-hunting (p. 122), which is too one-sided a view to explain so intricate a problem.

Despite its shortcomings the book will certainly fulfil its main purpose of giving the Oceanic collections on display in the Hamburg Museum the kind of background information which most ethnographical museums badly need.

The 84 drawings—66 of them excellent representations of museum pieces—have been made by Dascha Detering. The 24 photographs at the back, which have been very well reproduced, are significant in regard to various aspects of life in the South Seas about the beginning of this century. The map is clear and easily used.

Nouvelle-Calédonie: Documents iconographiques anciens.


This last volume in a series marking the centenary of French New Caledonia consists mainly of nearly 100 pages of illustrations from sources earlier than 1900, about half not previously published, mostly showing aspects of indigenous culture but covering also missionary, commercial and administrative activities. These are valuable because New Caledonian culture degenerated particularly rapidly and was poorly recorded, and early materials of this sort are scarce.

The 16-page introduction is mostly devoted to an analysis of the bases of New Caledonian culture, which could hardly be improved upon with so limited a space. The discussion of the social significance of the layout of houses and village of the functions of the great festivals is particularly interesting. There is a short critical bibliography. It seems that the final stages of preparation for the press were somewhat hurried. The references in the text to illustrations consistently give the wrong page numbers, though the right pages are easily found by reference to the table of contents; and the bibliography incorporates a line of gibberish.

This is a useful and valuable addition to the literature of New Caledonia.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE
(a) Sandal, ngalyiba balka, made by men of the Bindibu tribe of the desert of Central Western Australia from the bark of a leguminous shrub, Crotalaria cunninghamii, R. Br., that grows on the crests of the sand dunes. This sandal represents the first actual footwear described among the Australian aborigines. It is worn for the protection of the feet, chiefly against the rocky 'gibber' country. In the foreground the second sandal of the pair is laid out in readiness to be lashed on the other foot.

(b) Bindibu tribesman on a sand hill near Labbi Labbi making sandal from bark, freshly stripped and still supple. The big toe serves as an anchor for the parallel strands of bark that form the framework on which the sole of the sandal is woven. The other ends are passed around the man's body and tied behind his back enabling tension to be maintained and leaving the operator's hands free.

THE BINDIBU BARK SANDEL

Photographs: D. F. Thomson, 1937
A BARK SANDAL FROM THE DESERT OF CENTRAL WESTERN AUSTRALIA

by

DONALD F. THOMSON, O.B.E., D.SC., PH.D.

Department of Anthropology, University of Melbourne

228 During an expedition to the Bindibbu country in the interior of Western Australia, north-west of Lake Mackay, carried out in 1957 under the auspices of the University of Melbourne and the Royal Geographical Society, a sandal made from the bark of a leguminous shrub, Crotalaria cunninghamii, R. Br., that grows on the crests of the sand dunes, was seen in use among the Bindibbu nomads. This sandal was first discovered at Labbi Labbi, a deep rock hole on the eastern face of a rocky escarpment near Red Cliff Pound overlooking Hidden Basin, a wide sunken valley in which lie the three salt lakes, Lakes Hazlett, Wills and White. The rock hole at Labbi Labbi and the fresh-water springs at Tunganga in the valley below Red Cliff Pound are important camping places of the desert nomads, affording refuge from the harsh sands. In this region, outcrops of rough, broken rock and gibber flats replace the loose, hot, red sands of the desert, where the dunes stretch in parallel lines east and west for hundreds of miles.

The sandal described in this paper appears to be the first record of the use of true footwear by the Australian aborigines. The only article of this kind previously recorded is the so-called kurdaitja ‘shoe’ which consists of a matrix of emu feathers cemented together with human blood and said to have been worn by the kurdaitja men or avengers, among the Arunta, Luritja and neighbouring tribes of Central Australia. The kurdaitja shoe was described in 1896 by Dr. E. C. Stirling, who quoted an earlier description by P. M. Byrne in 1895 (published in the following year). This shoe was not worn as an article of footwear for protection of the feet, like the sandal of the Bindibbu, but served only a ceremonial or magical role. The accounts given by the aborigines of the kurdaitja men and the use of the kurdaitja shoe is tinged by mystical beliefs and by the personal ideas of the informants, and so are often conflicting.

In 1896, the explorer Carnegie, on a journey northward from Coolgardie on the West Australian goldfields to Halls Creek in the Kimberleys, traversed the arid desert country in the interior of Central Western Australia, east of the Great Sandy Desert, and followed a route that took him to the westward of Hidden Basin. On this expedition, Carnegie appears to have seen a sandal of the type now described, to which he refers in the following terms: ‘... close by I found two rough sandals made of strips of bark. One I kept, the other was too nearly worn out.’ Carnegie did not see these sandals in use nor did he give a description of them. Instead, he quoted the note from the Reports of the Horn Expedition referring to the kurdaitja shoes which are used for magical purposes, to which I have referred. But a remark which was made by an aborigine named Warri, who accompanied Carnegie, suggests that this man did not consider the sandals to be of the kurdaitja type.

The Bindibbu tribe are a desert-dwelling people who still lead the nomadic life of their ancestors in the arid interior of central Western Australia. They occupy a vast territory that extends from Lake Mackay on the Northern Territory—Western Australia border east to the Great Sandy Desert, and southward to a depth of more than 100 miles. Most of this country is almost unknown and in 1957 a vast area still remained unexplored. In 1955 and 1956, reports that aborigines were still living in their ancestral hunting grounds in this remote desert territory filtered through with increasing frequency, and in 1957 I organized an expedition to reconnoitre the territory and to investigate the reports that aborigines still survived there.

On the first journey, which was carried out in Army jeeps in May, 1957, and extended west to the eastern fringe of Warburton’s Great Sandy Desert, the reports of the existence of very primitive aborigines living under tribal conditions were confirmed. A base was established at Labbi Labbi and contact made with the aborigines of the Bindibbu tribe, who were hunting in small groups as far afield as the Canning and Sandy Deserts. Warburton and Carnegie had reported frequent encounters with nomadic aborigines in the desert of Western Australia, in country so arid that the explorers experienced difficulty in finding enough water to keep men and camels alive, but neither recorded anything of importance about these people, and nothing has been published about their numbers or their culture. Both the explorers mentioned above antagonized the natives whom they met, and who might have helped them, by endeavouring to compel them to lead the white men and their camels to water.

The first journey, made in 1957, into Bindibbu territory was in the nature of a survey and extended to a distance of about 500 miles west of Alice Springs. It yielded much valuable information about this desolate desert terrain. In June of that year the area was in the grip of a severe drought. Even the infrequent, sporadic showers of rain characteristic of the desert had failed, and the spinifex plains and dune country north and west of Lake Mackay presented a barren, forbidding appearance. This terrain, which is intersected by long sand dunes lying east and west, had been denuded by drought and fire of the blanket of binding ‘spinifex’ or ‘porcupine’ bush (Triodia spp.) that normally provides a considerable amount of protection against wind erosion. For long distances the country presented a picture of utter desolation that bore out the descriptions in the journals of Warburton and Carnegie.

* With Plate O and two text figures
The grim, arid appearance of the desert in the hottest months of the year supports the view that the Bindibu country, west of Red Cliff Pound, is today the most inhospitable inhabited territory in the world.

By day, the sand, bare now of its protective covering of spinifex, was so hot that even the lizards that provided the staple animal protein in the diet of the Bindibu were driven to seek refuge in burrows three or four feet deep in the sand.

Good fresh water was discovered at Labbi Labbi, a fine rock hole on the south-eastern escarpment of Hidden Valley, and here a number of very primitive camps were discovered scattered about on the rocky, boulder-strewn slopes close to the rock hole. These showed signs of recent occupation and proved that the country was still inhabited, at least by a few families. Each camp consisted merely of a low barrier of stone that served as a breakwind, supplemented by brushwood and clumps of spinifex set in crescentic form on the windward side. At one of these deserted camps at Labbi Labbi, the first bark sandal of the type described in this paper was discovered. A few weeks later, several family units of the Bindibu tribe which had been hunting in the desert came into our camp close to the rock hole. These people wore no clothes and none of them spoke any English. They possessed no iron tools, but still used implements of stone and bone. For protection against the rocky terrain and gibber plains, after long travel in the desert sands when their feet became soft, they made sandals of the type described and illustrated in this paper.

The shrub, *Crotalaria cunninghamii*, known popularly as the West Australian, or Dwarf, Bird Flower, grew abundantly on the crests of the dunes, where it attained a height of four feet six inches to five feet. It had a characteristic silvery-grey foliage and a green, pea-like flower that marked it at once as one of the *Leguminose*. The natives would break off young branches of this plant, strip the bark and sit down at once on the dune to make sandals before the fibre dried, rather than carry it back to camp as they did with the same bark that was intended for the manufacture of rope. In contrast with the bark used for making the sandal, the material for the manufacture of plaited rope was wound into a neat bundle and carried back to camp. Again, like the bark for the making of sandals, this was used as it was stripped from the bush, complete with outer layer, in contrast with the practice of aborigines in most other parts of Australia who remove the cork cambium from the bast and then separate the fibres by hammering the bast with a wooden mallet or by chewing it.

The name, *ngalyibi balka*, applied to the sandal by the Bindibu, is derived from *ngalyibi*, the name of the plant and also of the bark stripped from it, and *balka*, the sandal itself. Bark of the *Crotalaria* shrub was also used by the women for the strong plaited ropes used as slings for carrying heavy loads and to support the children slung at their sides on long journeys in the desert. The rope, which took much longer to prepare than the sandals, was made by the women as they sat in camp in the meagre shade. Under the hot conditions, the bark dried rapidly when stripped and had to be immersed in water to render it supple enough to work. This was possible only when the people were camped on abundant water like the rock hole at Labbi Labbi.

As shown in the photographs and line drawings, the sandals described in this paper are extremely simple in construction and are light and serviceable. Most of the long
journeys undertaken by the Bindibub, including those for hunting and food-gathering, take place in the early morning or late in the afternoon and the people avoid travel or active hunting in the heat of the day. Hunting is an important adjunct to the journeys of all nomadic people and in this arid region this is more effective in the early part of the day before the heat of the sun and the wind obscure tracks in the sand.

The actual making of the sandal is carried out as described below. After stripping the bark, the sandal-maker squats on the sand with one of his legs extended at full length in front of his body. He selects a single long strand of bast fibre, or if none of sufficient length is available, he ties on an additional strand. This strand is then looped over the big toe of the foot that is stretched forward, and the other ends carried back, passed round each side of his body and tied at the back. Tension is thus maintained on the parallel strands on which the sole of the shoe is woven, leaving the maker’s hands free (see Plate O). The end of the sole nearest the toe is necessarily narrower than the one near the body and so forms the heel, while the wider end takes the ball of the foot. The loop that was passed behind the big toe during the process of manufacture later serves as a strap for the instep, and the two loose ends, untied from the body, are passed between the toes and serve as lashings to secure the sandal, thus eliminating the need of any additional thongs. In lashing the sandal on the foot, as the photograph shows, one of the strings is passed between big and second toes, the other between fourth and little toes, thence carried back to the instep strap and secured in the simple and ingenious way shown in the line drawing (fig. 3).

Measurements of the sandal illustrated in the accompanying figures are: length of sole, 216 mm.; maximum breadth of sole (ball of foot), 82 mm.; minimum breadth of sole (heel), 62 mm.

Notes
4 Loc. cit.
5 Colonel Egerton Warburton, Journey Across the Western Interior of Australia, 1875.
6 Loc. cit.
OBITUARY

Leonhard Adam: 1891–1960

Dr. Leonhard Adam, who died suddenly at Bonn in September, 1960, while on a visit to Europe, was probably best known through his 'Pelican' book, Primitive Art, first published in 1940, and subsequently reissued in revised and enlarged editions in 1949 and 1954, the last as a 'Penguin' book. It was also published in Portuguese (1943) and French (1955) translations. This slim volume gives a wide and scholarly survey in remarkably compact form of the whole range of primitive art with penetrating analyses of aesthetic principles and an admirable selection of illustrations. It probably remains the best short English work of its kind.

Adam was born in Berlin in 1891, and studied ethnology, law and sociology at the University and Oriental Seminaries of Berlin, where he made a special study for many years of primitive material culture and art at the Museum für Völkerkunde, during the directorships of F. von Luschan and K. Th. Preuss. He had taken his degree as a doctor of laws, and was called to the bar, rising to the position of a judge. Primitive and comparative law were originally his particular fields of interest, and for many years he continued to make valuable and authoritative contributions to this subject, both as editor of the Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, and as the author of many original articles in journals. He was a Reader in Primitive Law at the Institute of Foreign Laws at Berlin University, and a member of the board of experts at the Ethnographical Museum. He also published articles on tribal organization and other ethnological subjects, as well as on American, Indian and Chinese art.

Owing to his partly Jewish ancestry Adam's position in Berlin became difficult after the rise of the Hitler regime, and he began to pay frequent visits to England, to lecture and pursue his ethnological studies. The chapter on primitive law in K. Th. Preuss's Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde (1937) was originally written by Adam, but soon after its publication the Nazi authorities suppressed the first edition, and a new edition was issued in which Adam's chapter was replaced by another written by Thurnwald. At the outbreak of the war in 1939 Adam was in England, lecturing and preparing his book on primitive art. As an 'enemy alien' he was soon afterwards sent to the Isle of Man, and subsequently transferred with others to a camp in Australia. It was largely through the good offices of his friend, the late Dr. R. R. Maret, that he obtained his release and was permitted to continue his work in Australia. He was appointed to the research staff and a lectureship in Cultural Anthropology in the Department of History of the University of Melbourne, where he also founded and took charge of an ethnographical museum at the University. He married in Australia, and is survived by his wife and daughter.

Adam had an attractive and vivacious personality, and was an interesting talker and lecturer. He had a good command of English, and his intellectual grasp of his chosen subjects and the lucidity with which he expressed his ideas combined to render his writings extremely readable and informative.

H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ

Some Articles Published by L. Adam

Buddhastatuen, Ursprung und Formen der Buddhagestalt, Stuttgart, 1925.
'Sitte und Recht in Nepal,' Zeits. für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1934.
'Inheritance Law in Primitive Cultures,' Iowa Law Review, 1935.
'Recht im Werden,' in Custom is King: Essays Presented to R. R. Maret, 1936.
The Bark Paintings of Groote Eylandt, Gulf of Carpentaria, in the Melbourne University Collection, Basle, 1951.

Eric Voce: 1902–1960

By the sudden and untimely death on 26 October, 1960, of Dr. E. Voce the Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute has suffered irreparable loss. Dr. Voce was one of the founder members of the Committee, and indeed contributed to their preliminary report in MAN, 1948, 17. From the inauguration of the Committee to the present day, Dr. Voce gave constant support, and practically all reports of the Committee bear evidence of his work. He exhibited that rare combination of the busy practical metallurgist who could yet find time to advance the study of metallurgy in an entirely different field from his own, and one quite remote from the metallurgical problems of today. How much Dr. Voce has advanced our knowledge of the metallurgy of the non-ferrous metals in pre-history will be known to all who have followed his masterly reports upon this subject in MAN and elsewhere. To me, and indeed to my colleague H. J. Case, his passing means the loss of a personal friend as well as of that of an eminent scientist. In the interests of the Committee he was always ready to discuss the many problems of prehistoric metallurgy, and he would always patiently listen to the views of others and guide them from his deep store of metallurgical knowledge. Finally, he would demonstrate the problem by the aid of practical metallography. His loss will indeed long be felt.

It is good to know that Dr. Voce's two last works, a metallographic report upon some Danubian copper axe-hammers, and an account of the scientific evidence about metal-working techniques, are shortly to be published, the one in Archaologia Austriaca, and the other in MAN.

H. H. COGHAN

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
PROCEEDINGS

Two Exorcist Priests in Bali. By Dr. C. Hooykaas, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Summary of a communication to the Institute, 18 February, 1960.

Amongst Bali's numerous categories of priests the brahmin sorcerer of holy water and his ritual have become known fairly well since the studies made by the civil servant P. de Kat Angelino, the philologist R. Goris and the Sanskritist Sylvain Lévi. The temple priest (panangka) has been studied by Jane Belo under the guidance of Margaret Mead, the trance priest (balyan) by the doctor of medicine Wolfgang Weck. The social anthropologist W. H. Rassers has published his theory of the strongly related Javanese shadow theatre with hide puppets (wayang kulit) and the function of its performer, the dalang, but the musicologist Colin...
MacPhee hitherto is the only person who has written on the Balinese wayang kulit. Dalang mostly perform during the night before large audiences, as much for their pleasure as for their benefit, in order to exorcise evil spirits and forestall their activities. They must have studied a metaphysical treatise, the Dharma Pauwiyangan, after which they become panangkul dalang. This enables them to avert disaster at cremations, on birthdays of children born on an unlucky day, or in some 30 different wrong sequences in the number of sex, or both, of a family’s children (5 boys, 5 girls, etc.). A dalang does, however, perform during daylight without screen and lamp, for one hour only, at the same time as a brahmin priest or the specialist in exorcism. This last-mentioned category of non-brahmin priest, belonging to the family of the sengkuh, calls himself rai bhu mangga. He purifies a village, when a fourth-caste woman has given birth to twins of different sex, from the sin of incest. He chases away the bad spirits from the whole island at the yearly nyepi (silence and rest), participates in some ten smaller and larger kinds of purifications of the soil, and assists in the ceremony of the installation of a king. His position and seat are higher than the dalang’s, but lower than the brahmin padanda’s. Though starting his ritual by that of the padanda, he adds his own incantations (Pura Bhumi) at its end. Whereas the dalang is clad arbitrarily, the panangkul and the padanda are in white, and at more important ceremonies the latter adorns himself with rosary and ring, bracelets made of big beads and a huge mitre; the sengkuh uses these same ornaments. We never saw him use the padanda’s staff, but he is proud of the cult objects that he alone handles; bhuja ute (bell producing after-sound like the Tibetan two-yard-long pipes), s. sangka (conch), b. katipale (hand drum, as in Tibet), b. genta orag (5 bells in cruciform position).

Notes


Land and Settlement in Zanzibar. By Dr. J. F. M. Middleton, Department of Anthropology, University College, London.

Summary of a communication to the Institute, 17 November, 1960.

The population of Zanzibar Protectorate numbers 300,000; 166,000 live on Zanzibar Island (60,000 of them in Zanzibar City), and the remainder on Pemba Island; 53 per cent. of the population are Shirazi, 20 per cent. African immigrants from the African mainland, 17 per cent. Arabs and 7 per cent. Indians. Zanzibar is an Arab state, the present dynasty having come from Muscat in the early nineteenth century. Shirazi consist of three ‘tribes’: Hadimis of southern Zanzibar, Tumbatu of northern Zanzibar and Pemba of Pemba Island. Although formerly distinct political entities, today their populations are largely interspersed.

On Zanzibar Island there are four categories of settlement: the indigenous Hadimu and Tumbatu ‘towns,’ set on patches of fertile soil, mostly near the coast, in the coral land which covers the north, east and south of the island; the settlements in the clove plantation areas, in the west of the island; the marginal settlements on the edges of the clove plantation areas; and Zanzibar City itself.

The indigenous settlements are large and permanent, and few of them have room for much more building. Each town is a dense cluster of houses, with a single ‘Friday’ mosque and its traditional form of government consisting of the Watu Wanne or ‘Four Men.’ Gardens are cultivated among the houses, and coconut palms and other trees planted. A town is divided into separate villages, and these into wards. The main residential area of a village is known as kiambo and that of a ward as kiamo: rights in these units of settlements are held jointly in perpetuity by the members of kin groups, and are inalienable by traditional custom.

A town is set in the midst of bushland on which there is shifting cultivation. Members of a settlement include both ‘proprietors’ (members of the ‘owning’ kin groups) and tenants.

The widest kin group is the uko, a dispersed group consisting of the descendants through both men and women from a common great-great-grandfather. Certain mutual obligations are recognized over wide distances between members of an uko. A smaller group is the tumbo, consisting of descendants through both men and women of an ancestor or ancestress two or three generations ago. The tumbo, although dispersed, is the group in which rights in a ward’s land are vested. The mlango is a small patrilineal descent group whose members usually actually reside together.

In the clove plantation areas, which originally included much unused forest land and which were allocated by early Sultans to their Arab followers only, there is a form of freehold tenure of plantations, mostly by Arabs. These were originally tilled by slave labour, but since the abolition of slavery they have been maintained by squatters. These are men who may open plots and build temporary houses on a plantation in return for weeding the land beneath clove and other trees; squatters are not allowed to plant cloves for themselves. Today landowners wish to evict squatters in order to use the land for cash crops, and squatters tend to grow cash crops themselves and to neglect their obligations; they also tend to plant bananas which may kill young clove trees. There has been considerable political trouble over the rights and duties of squatters in recent years.

Ideas of individually held plots of land are spreading into the areas on the margins of the clove plantations, and also into the indigenous ‘towns,’ even though freehold is counter to traditional land tenure.

SHORTER NOTES

A Brief Note on the Role of Cross-Cutting Alliances in Segmentary Political Systems. By A. Béteille, Department of Sociology, University of Delhi, Delhi

The first detailed account of a segmentary political system was set forth by Evans-Pritchard in his book on the Nuer (Oxford, 1940). In this work he was concerned mainly with explaining the principle of segmentary opposition. He showed how smaller segments fused to form larger ones and then again broke apart, according to context and situation. The pivot, so to say, around which the processes of fusion and fission took place was
the feud. The feud was given an important place in Evans-Pritchard's analysis, and he showed how it was effective in both uniting and dividing groups.

Working on the data of Evans-Pritchard, Gluckman carried the analysis one step further forward. In explaining what he calls 'the peace in the feud,' he showed how the structure contained built-in resources to resolve the feud and to make for cohesion over 'longer periods of time and wider ranges of society.' The mechanism by which this was done has been described as the system of cross-cutting alliances. The analysis of cross-cutting alliances was also brought to the forefront in Gluckman's discussion of segmentary political systems in The Institutions of Primitive Society (Evans-Pritchard, ed., 1954).

Although Evans-Pritchard himself did not go into the analysis of cross-cutting alliances in his contribution to African Political Systems (Oxford, 1940), this was done by Fortes and, more particularly, by Günter Wagner. Fortes showed how among the Tallensi the ties of clanship cut across agnatic descent groups. Wagner devoted greater attention to the system of cross-cutting alliances, and showed how affinal and uterine ties help to breach the cleavages between lineages and clans.

As Gluckman himself pointed out, the general principles described above have long been recognized by many scholars. The credit for having brought to light their full significance for the study of social organization has, however, gone to the anthropologists who first analysed the segmentary systems of Africa. They showed how particular human societies, lacking the institution of government, had alternative provisions for maintaining an ordered existence. The publication of African Political Systems in 1940 is rightly considered a landmark in British social anthropology, for it was in this book that segmentary political systems were for the first time described as such.

On re-reading Gregory Bateson's Naven (first edition, 1936), one might feel surprised to note that this author had shown a remarkable insight into the working of a system of social control in the absence of a centralized governmental machinery. Bateson did not give any name to the system, nor did he devote much space to describing how it worked. But there cannot be any doubt that he clearly understood the nature of its significance. He clearly recognized the importance of cross-cutting alliances and discussed them in Chapter VII which is entitled 'The Sociology of Naven.'

The Iatmul village had no centralized political machinery, 'no established authority which might impose sanctions ex officio or in the name of the community as a whole' (p. 98). Further, the village community, which was usually of considerable size, revealed sharp cleavages along the lines of patrilineal descent groups. In the absence of any established authority, Bateson argued that there must exist mechanisms for resolving these cleavages and maintaining 'solidarity' within the community. The Naven rites, by dramatically affirming ties of marriage and uterine kinship acted as such mechanisms, and arrested the process of fission with which the community was perpetually threatened.

The author clearly explained the cleavages along the line of patrilineal groups (p. 97), and emphasized the need for affirming ties by marriage under such circumstances. Under these circumstances the importance of any factor which strengthens the affinal links becomes apparent and we are justified in saying that the villages could not be as big as they are if it were not for naven ceremonies or some analogous phenomenon (p. 97). Again, the relevance of the stressing of the affinal links to the integration of the community is once evident. These links form a network which runs across the patrilineal system of clans, moieties, and initiatory groups and thereby ties the conflicting groups together (p. 107).

The major features of a segmentary system are the absence of centralized authority, and the presence of cleavages and cross-cutting alliances. It is clear that Bateson brought forward the significance of each of these features, and their inter-relations. It is perhaps due to a certain awkwardness of presentation that Naven has failed to achieve the fame that it deserves. It would be of interest to know if this aspect of Bateson's work had had any influence on the authors of African Political Systems.

Note
All chapter and page references are to the 2nd edition of Naven, published 1958.

Social Anthropology at Edinburgh: An Honours Degree.

Communicated by Dr. K. L. Little, Head of Department

Teachers of Social Anthropology may be interested in the development at Edinburgh of an M.A. degree with Honours in this subject. This is a graduating degree and includes a supporting subject which must also be read to an Honours level. In addition candidates are required to pass examinations in two outside subjects.

The social anthropology studied comprises alternative curricula termed respectively A and B. In the A curriculum, for which the supporting subject is Geography, the stress is mainly on traditional non-literate societies and the Honours examination includes papers in: Anthropological Theory, including the history of Ethnological and Social Thought; Social Organization (two papers covering Kinship, Law, Politics, Religion, and Economies); Methods of Social Research; Ethnography of a Special Area; Problems of Social Change; General Linguistics.

In the B curriculum the supporting subject is Economics. More emphasis is laid on the study of modern society and the Honours examination includes papers in: Anthropological Theory, including the history of Ethnological and Social Thought; Social Organization A, institutions of pre-industrial society; Social Organization B, the family and social stratification in advanced societies; Methods of Social Research; Social Ecology; Occupational Institutions; Special subject—Race Relations or Problems of Social Change. In both curricula candidates are also required to submit a dissertation.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Azande

Sir.—In a paper 'The Ethnic Composition of the Azande' (Anthropological Quarterly, Vol. XXX, No. 4, 1960), so that the same mistake appears there also. The Abanginda are a Bantu people and should have been listed as such (A, de Calonde-Beaufait (A. F. Bertrand), Azande, 1921, p. x; A. Hutereau, Histoire des Peuples de l'Uélé et de l'Ubangi, n.d., p. 19; A. N. Tucker, The Eastern Sudanic Languages, Vol. 1, 1940, p. 28: M. A. Bryan, The Bantu Languages of Africa, 1959, p. 87).

E. E. EVANS-Pritchard

The Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford
Phallic Objects from Australia and Wales. Cf. MAN, 1960, 118, 126

SIR,—In his paper on 'Phallic Objects of the Australian Aborigines' (MAN, 1960, 118), C. P. Mountford says that 'at present there is little evidence to suggest the use of these curious objects.' I have come across a piece of information that may throw some light on their usage. It occurs in a short work entitled Nature Worship published in 1891 by an anonymous writer who, unfortunately, does not quote the source of his information. The relevant passage reads: 'The widows of the aborigines of Australia are in the habit of wearing the dead husband's phallic ring round their necks and the significance of the custom is the same as in Egypt...' (i.e. the resurrection), p. 23. Perhaps the stone phalli described by Mountford have a similar usage, being substitutes for the anatomical organ. If this is their actual function, then the ring at the base of the specimen illustrated in Plate Hr, d—for which no explanation is given—may serve to hold the suspending string and thus prevent it from slipping.

With regard to the other contribution in the same issue of MAN, (1960, 126), entitled 'A Phallic Object from North Wales,' I think that far from being the work of some eccentric, droll or dirty-minded plasterer,' as is suggested by D. B. Hague, the phallic illustrated was set up originally as a 'fascinum' by someone who held the primitive belief in the power of the phallic and its emblems to ward off the effects of the evil eye or other malignant influences. This belief was common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in some southern European countries bordering the Mediterranean and residues of it can still be traced today.

The Royal University of Malta

Paul Cassar

REVIEWS

GENERAL


Briffault's original three-volume monograph published in 1927 contained at least 1,500,000 words and even though Briffault himself produced a one-volume version as long ago as 1931, the present abridgement to a modest 400 pages has, on the face of it, much to commend it. Mr. Rattray Taylor is the author of Sex in History and The Angel Makers in which he put forward a theory of the influence of mother and father figures upon the development of society and this circumstance, we are told, makes him 'peculiarly qualified to make an estimate of the significance of Briffault's earlier treatment of the same subject'; perhaps a marginal knowledge of the history of anthropology might have been even more useful. On the second page of his Introduction Mr. Taylor includes the following items of information:

'In 1851... the famous jurist, Sir A. Maine, published his Primitive Law in which he asserted that the patriarchal family was the original unit of society. In support of this view he cited chiefly Biblical examples. In the same year... Bachofen was preparing his Das Mutterrecht... J. F. McClellan made the most important restatement of the matriarchal view in 1886... Early in the nineteenth century Westermann—a man without anthropological qualifications—published his History of Human Marriage...'

As a gloss on this rigmarole I may remark that Sir Henry Maine published Ancient Law, a treatise on Roman jurisprudence, in 1861 in the same year as Bachofen published Das Mutterrecht. McClellan's Primitive Marriage appeared in 1865 and he died in 1881. Westermann, who was Professor of Sociology in the University of London, published the first edition of his History of Human Marriage in 1891. His anthropological researches in Morocco extended over 21 years and covered a period of about seven years in all.

Briffault, in the original, built up his book around two separate but interconnected themes. The first of these was an attempt to exemplify on a colossal scale the evolutionist theories of McClellan and Morgan and thereby validate Engels's The Origin of the Family. The end of the story is the simple Marxist thesis that the monogamous family is an expression of bourgeois individualism. But Briffault is very discreet. He does not mention Engels and he leaves the reader to discover just what the book is all about. Mr. Taylor, who has rehashed the earlier chapters of Briffault out of all recognition, is less inhibited. The new book starts off with: 'Our object in this book will be to trace the origin of human society....' a statement which does not appear in Briffault at all. Moreover it is obvious even from Mr. Taylor's Table of Contents that this can only be part of the story.

Briffault's second theme was more interesting though equally remote from verifiable fact. It is speech not reason which differentiates man from the beasts. In the beginning speech had value because words were felt to be endowed with magical power not because they were 'useful' in any simple sense. Even now the magic power of words is the driving force of human (political) society. Since this magic potency is more akin to feminine intuition than to male reason we may infer that in the beginning human society was a matriarchy... No doubt a crazy argument and small wonder that Mr. Taylor has eliminated most of it but it is this theme and not the crude dogma of conventional evolutionist theory which explains the presence (in the original book) of a long discussion on Troubadour poetry and an even longer argument about the ritual symbolism of Middle Eastern mother goddesses.

In the grand manner of Frazer's Golden Bough Briffault assembled an enormous catalogue of improbable facts about the customary role of women in diverse kinds of society throughout the world and throughout recorded history. He backed up the whole with 100 pages of bibliography and a vast apparatus of footnotes—all of which has now disappeared. Since he applied the 'comparative method' in an entirely uncritical fashion his accumulation of 'evidence' has very little value, but since he was a notable linguist unusually alert to the difficulties entailed in translation, some parts of his argument, especially his discussion of kinship terminologies, still merit attention. It may also be remarked that Briffault's sociological understanding was of quite a different order from that of his editor. Mr. Taylor tells us that the essence of Briffault's thesis is an attempt to demonstrate 'the universal existence of a primitive matriarchy in the prehistory of all peoples, and... to show in various ways that marriage was originally matrilocal.' Briffault himself put things differently; he said: 'marriage originated in a contract between kin groups, and only later became a contract between individuals.' Enough said! Anthropologists should stick to the original text.

E. R. Leach

AFRICA


It has recently become the fashion for every writer on the religion past or present of any part of the world to equate that religion with the ancient Egyptian, regardless of the fact that the Egyptian religion died out nearly 2,000 years ago and that every country in the world has in that time changed in its social and religious conditions. In order to get even an approximation between the two, the facts of the Egyptian religion have to be forced or ignored to fit a theory. This is to a great extent the fault of the modern writer on the religion of ancient Egypt who simply repeats
all the mistakes and inaccuracies of his predecessors. And, as all researchers know, if a mistake is once let loose it takes years to run it down and kill it. One of the grossest faults is the utter disregard of chronological sequence. Another factor is that no distinction is made between the beliefs and rituals which arise from our common humanity, and those which are peculiar to a country on account of its physical and climatic conditions. Mrs. Meyerowitz's book is an example of the unfortunate result of copying. What should have been a record of great interest and value, based on personal knowledge and investigation, is spoiled by the attempt to force her facts into a theory. As an example, she copies the account of the Sed festival and equates it with a Ghana festival. Sed, however, in ancient Egyptian means 'Tail', the caudal appendage of an animal, and means nothing else than 'Sed-festival'. The earlier examples of the festival are on the proto-dynastic caryatids and maceheads, which should be studied together with the slate palettes by any writer on the subject of that festival. As I have said above, the book could have been of great value as a contribution of importance to students of African religion, but its value has been greatly reduced by want of first-hand knowledge of ancient Egypt.


The Stone Age of Southern Africa has perhaps been more fully studied than that of any part of the world outside Europe. South Africa's Past on Stone and Paint by M. C. Burkitt, appearing in 1928, brought this extremely rich field to the notice of archaeologists in the outside world, while The Stone Age Cultures of South Africa by Goodwin and Lowe, which appeared almost simultaneously, has formed the basis of all later work in the Union, and in surrounding territories. Since that time enormous advances have been made in prehistoric studies everywhere. In Europe this has taken place both in the more technical and specialized branches of archology and palaeoanthropology, and at the more general synthetic and interpretative level. In Southern Africa a great deal of work has also been done, and a vast amount of material has been published, much of it under the auspices of the South African Archological Society, in the form of excavation reports and regional studies. Conditions are very different in Europe and Southern Africa, so the work has tended to develop along different lines. Among the most outstanding of these differences are the tendency for sites to erode rather than to accumulate, and the vast size and comparatively small number of workers in Africa as compared to Europe. On the other hand, the African Stone Age is only round the corner; far fewer cultural strata intervene between it and the modern archologist than is the case anywhere in Europe except perhaps around the Arctic Circle.

Dr. Desmond Clark has used to the full both the accumulated archaeological data of the past half-century, and the wealth of ethnographical and other interpretative material available to him. At the same time he brings archaeological writing in Southern Africa on to a new level. A general account of the prehistoric culture sequence of the Union and the Rhodesias has long been needed, and he has not only supplied this, but also brought to life past cultures in a manner which is both authoritative and interesting to the general reader. This is no fanciful reconstruction: his account of the life of Early Stone Age Man in Africa, for example, is based entirely upon archaeological and ethnographical evidence, and it is always clear which type of evidence he is using on any particular point, but it is also extremely vivid and convincing. One's only regret is that the scope of the book does not extend both in place and time, to the Portuguese territories which lie to the east and west of the regions with which he deals, and onwards into the African Iron Age. In both cases lack of research is responsible for the absence of information on these topics, and one can only hope that this will be remedied in the near future. As with so many archaeological Pelicans one also regrets that this book is not more fully illustrated.


This book consists of the life histories of four Amba, whose country lies below the Ruzenzi, and a six-month diary by one of them, together with an introductory description and brief concluding comments by Dr. Winter. The life histories were recorded by Dr. Winter and his wife during fieldwork amongst the Amba, which was the basis of his earlier published monograph on their social system. The book is complementary to more academic study and is presented with the aim of giving the reader 'some understanding of what it means to be an Amba analyst', knowledge of the kind of experiences he has and the problems he faces during the course of his life. It is primarily the four Amba themselves who speak—albeit through an interpreter who was used during the recording of the life histories, but who has helped to present them in a plain, unhampered prose.

The four people are related and the book centres on one of them, a somewhat 'modern' Amba, then relatively young, who has
provided the longest (and least interesting) life history, besides the diary; two of his wives and a senior, more traditionally inclined lineage kinsman provide the other three life histories. There are many cross references and by the end of the book one begins to be very familiar with this tiny corner of Bwamba society with its coming and going of wives, its deaths and illnesses, and its intense personal relationships with their accompaniment of accusations and counter-accusations of witchcraft and sorcery. One begins too to appreciate, aided by the greater frankness of the diary, the importance of what is not said, the intentions which are very vaguely stated explicitly but are usually implied in actions or in dramatic dialogue: it is events which count and it is these which are unendingly narrated in matter-of-fact style.

Yet despite its monotone the book gives many insights into the personal side of Amba life: the interplay between Mpuga, the husband, and his tough ‘ring-wife’ Lubangi; the ambivalence of Mpuga’s Christianity; Koke’s (the other wife’s) manipulation of her ties of dependence upon men to achieve her own interests; and many others. These insights do not supplant the generalizations that the anthropologist has to offer, but in a minor way—and perhaps with a slightly different interest—they do complement the anthropologist’s study, and have some independence of their own.

Dr. Winter’s concluding comments draw together and effectively point a number of morals; this section is, however, very brief and a more extended commentary, possibly in place of the more repetitive accounts of Mpuga’s sexual conquests, would have been welcome.

M. J. RUEL


This book is a ‘reader’ compiled for the use of American students following an anthropological course on Africa South of the Sahara. It contains 33 articles or extracts each selected both to illustrate an aspect of African society or culture and to make a point of general theoretical interest. The essays are grouped under the headings: People and Environment; Social Groupings; Authority and Government; Values, Religion and Aesthetics; Culture and Change. It would be difficult to improve on the selection. Most of the extracts are recent, well-known and from widely read journals, but the smaller library and the student will find it useful to possess copies of the less accessible essays such as Forde’s The Cultural Map of West Africa, Maquet’s The Problem of Tsutsi Domination, and William Fagg’s The Study of African Art. The 80-page Introduction is reliable and up-to-date. There are extensive lists of suggestions for further reading. The book is gaily and solidly packed.

The editors have produced a good reader but have failed, despite the wide geographical range and high quality of the extracts, in their other aim which was to illustrate the wide diversity of African cultures. The people and cultures are all there but nevertheless the book, at any rate read right through, leaves an overall impression of Africans always behaving like structured puppets; almost as if there were an African non-personality. This failure, I suggest, follows from the elimination of descriptive ethnography enforced by the very nature of a reader. Further I doubt if several of the papers, for example the three mentioned above, would greatly help the student who had not some previous knowledge of the topics which they discuss. It is true that the aim is to stimulate the student to further reading, but if this is followed over such a wide range of topics and peoples then the course ceases to be introductory and becomes a full degree course in African Studies. Field workers would certainly find this a stimulating anthology to have at hand, but I suggest that an undergraduate would learn more about African society by studying closely two or three monographs on some of the peoples glanced at in the reader, such as the Nyakusa, Tiv, Nuer or Bemba.

P. T. W. BAXTER


This is a cyatically and privately circulated study of the Azande. The author’s name is given as Gero, a Zande nom-de-plume for Fr. Filiberto Giorgetti of the Verona Fathers Mission, who has spent over 30 years among the Azande. It is in three parts, the first treating of witchcraft, the second of magic, and the third of divination. It thus covers the same subjects as my Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande (1937); but, though it covers the same ground, it is an original piece of research. Also, though it does not in any vital matter contradict what is said in that book, it presents, as might be expected, much new material, some of which is of great practical significance. It is much to be hoped that Fr. Giorgetti will continue his researches into Zande custom, for probably no European has ever had so great a command of the Zande language as he.

E. E. EVANS-Pritchard


The office of Mugu was a ritual one belonging to the traditional social and political structure of the Kenya Meru. Most of the sub-tribes, the largest politically co-operating groups of Meru society, have their own independent Mugwe, and in two sub-tribes Agwe represent smaller segments. The work of a Mugwe was essentially that of blessing his people, which he did in times of natural crisis, in prayer for rain, at the formation of a new age class at the sub-tribal ntuko ceremony, or when the warriors were planning a raid; he could also ritually curse recalcitrant wrong-doers. Such a religious office necessarily extended into political spheres and although a Mugwe worked in co-operation with the elders, in whom political authority was primarily vested, his command of these sanctions gave him some political power (and in particular control over the age organization of the society) which could be used especially by a Mugwe of forceful personality.

The relationship of the office to Meru political structure would seem, however, to be less functional than symbolic: in Meru belief it was a Mugwe’s presence as much as his actions which brought order to the sub-tribe. When one Mugwe was removed from his home the disorder of Mau Mau was seen as a natural corollary. A guarantor in his person and in his descent line of sub-tribal prosperity and continuity and the custodian of its insignia, a Mugwe was required to observe a strenuous moral code and he and his household were surrounded by various taboos. A Mugwe’s power of blessing was believed to come from God, between whom and the people the Mugwe was mediator. That this mediation was caught up in political symbolism is apparent in the Meru’s evident frequent assertion that the Muguwes are their king’ (or alternatively, ‘like the Archbishop’): ‘... the Mugue... is for the Meru what the Kabaka is for the Baganda and the King for the British."

Fr. Bernardi defines the Mugwe as a leader and prophet rather than a priest or divine king. He draws some parallels between his office and those of the Masai Laibom and the Abba Boku of the Galla. The Mugwe is a ‘falling’ prophet now as Meru culture loses its traditional integrity.

The account is an interesting one of a previously little-known figure, which gains from the author’s habit of allowing his Meru informants, including the Agwe themselves, to speak for themselves, and from his allowing us to follow him in his discussion with them. It would be good if this book were followed by others, filling in the social structure and religious beliefs of the Meru which are focused in the office but whose extension beyond it is seen here only in a few brief glimpses.

M. J. RUEL


The Bamiléké, a tribe of some half a million inhabiting the highlands of Western Cameroon, have increased rapidly in number and in size and in recent years. As a result about 100,000 of them have migrated to adjacent territories, and this has created problems. The author was commissioned to make a report, and this is the result of his careful investigations. Many of it is concerned with economics, but what he tells us of the social organization of the tribe is very interesting.

The Bamiléké practice ancestor-worship, and all make sacrifices
to their deceased parents and grandparents. Sacrifices to remoter ancestors are made only by those who have inherited their skulls. One chief claims to have the skulls of his ancestors for 36 generations. The chief or fo is of the usual African type, but an unusual feature is that in former times one chief often conquered another and reduced him to the status of a sub-chief or fonte. The fonte had to surrender the skulls of his ancestors to the fo. The fo have many wives and children, and their power depends largely on the marriage system called nkap. They marry their daughters without brideprice to men who become their dependents, and whose own daughters are similarly given away by the fo. There is an aristocracy consisting of the descendants of the so-called founders of the chiefship, and of members of the royal family and certain officials upon whom the fo has conferred hereditary titles. Members of the royal family who do not receive such titles become commoners in the third generation.

RAGLAN


This book is a triumphant example of the combined use of anthropological and historical methods and the most important work of synthesis in the field since Vaillant, Morley, Thompson and Krickeberg. Covering the history of Mexico and Guatemala from the earliest times to the present day, it is remarkable for its style and presentation, its concise accounts of most important issues and, above all, the surprising freshness and novelty which it contrives to bring to a by no means virgin field. It can be wholeheartedly recommended to non-Americans for comparative studies as well as a brief holiday from their own field.

The first part comprises three chapters on ecology, ethnology and linguistics in which the diversity of a difficult environment is shown to favour social cohesion through the exchange of valley, hill and mountain-top products between a variety of distinct socioeconomic units. A middle group of chapters covers 'The Rise of the Seed-Planters'; a theoretical period of 'Villages and Holy Towns'; the emergence of the militaristic societies after the great breakdown of the Classic period in Copan, the Peten and Teotihuacan, culminating in the triumph of the Chichimec tribes as feeders and defenders of the fifth cosmic sun against the ever-threatening powers of darkness and disintegration. A third part studies the Spanish background of the Conquest and Spain's need of gold, subjects and souls in Utopia; the gradual alienation of the Indian within the synthetic but not synthetic society of New Spain; the deterioration of American society and of the mother country and the rise of the 'Power-Seekers,' the mestizos, to national eminence through the gaps left by two introverted systems: the hacienda on the one hand, the Republica de Indios on the other.

One has come to expect from Eric Wolf close attention to the relations between men, land and irrigation and the book is enriched throughout by his knowledge of this subject. As an example one may cite the discussion of food-producing systems supplementary to slash and burn for the support of the first theocratic states (pp. 74-8). While, here and there, the paucity of data is felt to strain the author's control of a difficult discussion of post-theocratic population movements, the analysis of pioneer Toltecs, probably based on Tula, followed by 'epigonal' Toltecs seizing on the myth of Toltec affiliation for the purpose of legitimizing their political claims is marvelously (pp. 120-9). Much closer attention than usual to Spanish history and economics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produces a fresh vision of the Conquistadores and their aims in Mesoamerica. Among other pictures, that of the hacienda, working at low pressure in self-defence against economic depression and political weakness in the mother country, balances well with an equally seminal account of the small Indian communities, shorn of their leaders, yet preserving a moral order by stressing the local group and forbidding within themselves any break in egalitarian poverty.

There is little with which I disagree and I am further disarmed by the author's admission (p. 285) that he has been obliged to neglect some important variations. One might say, that in Aztlan, the one religious service usually follows first political service and not vice versa (p. 218) and feel that Dr. Wolf should have remembered Ruth Bunzel's remarks on Catholocism as an arm of the state at this point. The role of the native priest as custodian of pre-Hispanic customs outside the politico-Catholic cofradia system should perhaps also have been mentioned here. Similarly (p. 223), women do have religious offices in Highland Guatemala as cofradia tilteh and in many villages there men do not have equal opportunity of service to the gods: there is still the problem of a survival in some parts of an aristocracy (p. 231). The woman in the photograph on p. 222 is definitely, not probably, from Santiago Atitlan.

The practice of 'preserving the reader from contact with the dusty, if necessary, world of scientific footnotes' in favour of grouped references at the end of the volume should be more widely followed. Dr. Wolf's wide reading ensures that the latest possible bibliographical references are all to be found here, further adding to the value of this excellent book.

E. MICHAEL MENDELSON


The author of Systems of Consanguinity should above all men command the gratitude of social anthropologists for originating the kinship play, naive as his purpose may now seem. Having studied the classificatory system among the Iroquois, and suspecting it to be common to other tribes, Morgan reasoned that if it were found to exist also in Asia then the Asiatic origin of the American Indian would be indisputably proved. Great numbers of printed questionnaires on kinship terminology were sent out to missionaries, administrators and others in contact with tribal peoples at home and abroad. The Tamil data convinced Morgan that he was right, but meanwhile the American results were slow to come in and between 1859 and 1862 he made four field trips to see for himself, keeping as he went the diaries now under review.

The first two expeditions were to Kansas and Nebraska, still the home of numerous Indian groups both local and displaced. The editors are at pains to remind us that this was also the 'Bleeding Kansas' of North-South feud and massacre, but Morgan records no bloodletting worse than that committed by the mosquitos. 'Schedule' at the ready, ever alert for a new informant, he hurried from one reservation or mission to the next, intent on covering as many tribes as possible, by observation or report. 1861 saw him at the Red River Settlement, and in 1862, on his longest and most interesting journey, he reached Fort Benton at the foot of the Rockies.

The journals show him as an earnest and indefatigable enquirer, pausing occasionally to comment on the progress and potentials of the country visited, and on its characteristics as observable from the deck of a steamboat. He jots down vocabularies (here omitted) and lists of clans, and gives much attention to burial customs ('I have... both skulls in my carpet bag'). He is greatly intrigued by the Indian habit of sleeping nude, which he sees as another trait diagnostic of Asiatic origins. On the last journey in particular he was fortunate in his travelling companion, the Scottish-born fur trader Robert Meldrum supplying him with an accurate description of the Crow sun dance that reads like a textbook account of 50 years later.

Professor White has assiduously indentified almost all of Morgan's contacts, while Mr. Clyde Walton has assembled over 100 relevant and near-relevant illustrations from nineteenth-century sources, 16 of them in colour. Of these latter the most welcome are nine by Carl Bodmer, rarely to be seen other than in black and white.

In the century that has elapsed since Morgan wrote, the ethnological material here touched on has been thoroughly forked over by professionals, while the results of his research on kinship have their own place in the literature. This edition of his field journals, sumptuously produced and steeply priced, will no doubt be prized by collectors of Western Americana. Anthropologists may do worse than borrow it for leisure reading.

GEOFFREY TURNER

In the last few years several general works have appeared on the cultures of Peru before the Spanish conquest. Certainly the most ambitious is the book by J. Alden Mason. After a concise introduction in the first part, he gives in the second part, dealing with the history of Peruvian culture, a detailed account of the present state of archaeological investigations. Part three is dedicated to a description of the Inca culture. Part four, finally, describes the art and crafts found in all the Peruvian cultures.

The archaeological parts, two and four, are by far the best sections of this book. It is a pity, however, that the writer in his ethnological description of the Incas has not exercised the same caution as in the other parts. Thus his conclusion that “Inca restrictions were not so great as among themselves” is difficult to accept, if only because the last emperors were obliged, for reasons of tradition, to marry their full sisters. Still less is one inclined to draw this inference if one knows that in the Inca kinship system a rigorous avoidance existed between brother and sister.

The value of the book as a general survey has been greatly enhanced by the addition of an appendix giving the sources, the spelling of native words and a glossary, as well as by systematic bibliography, and an Index.

R. T. ZUIDEMA

ASIA

The Art of the North-East Frontier of India. By Verrier Elwin. Shillong (North-East Frontier Agency), 1959. Pp. xvi, 211, text figs., plates. Price Rs. 30/-

Not the least of the things for which Mr. Nehru's government can take credit is their willingness to spend money on the tribal areas, which yield no direct economic return. Symptomatic of this is Dr. Verrier Elwin's sumptuous volume on the art of N.E.F.A., with its brilliant illustrations, drawings and photographs, some in colour, by R. Bagchi and a number of other artists, not the least of whom is the author himself, whose photographs, unsurpassed as ever, constitute probably the most important part of the whole. But his letterpress also, though perhaps intended rather for the general public than for the anthropologist, is not without much importance to the latter. Dr. Elwin points out in his introduction the difficulties which beset the artist (and the collector no less) among people who cannot carve a house post without observing taboos or part with a personal possession for fear of putting their soul in peril, however much be offered for it. It may be noted in passing that the development of currency from barter may owe not a little to just this taboo on parting with specific personal possessions.

The arts which Dr. Elwin chiefly deals with are those of weaving and carving, though dancing comes in for notice in the chapter called 'Pilgrimage and Pantomime,' which deals also with the wonderful masks made by the Buddhist tribesmen of the Bhutan-Tibet borderlands. Some of these masks (pp. 72, 91) show a striking and entirely unexpected resemblance to Kwakiutl carvings of British Columbia. The importance of dancing to the Naga mind may be judged from the fact that schools were started with the greatest difficulty in the Konkay country in the early nineteen-twenties until we included traditional dancing in the curriculum. Weaving is dealt with in detail as regards design, and one may remark on the unexpected similarity of some of the Mishmi patterns with those of the Thado Kuki, widely separated from them in habitat, a similarity paralleled in some degree by that between the cotton pile cloths familiar in Upper Assam as Miti rugs, and the cotton pile rugs made by Kukis and Kachha Nagas. Of the technique of weaving however nothing is said. Several legends of the origin of clothing are recorded, but not the Chong Naga account that it started with net bags made to carry the baby in. Not enough is told us about the patterns of tattooing, so likely to be lost with changing customs. Singpho casting in metal, Phom ironwork, Konkay beadwork and their shell ear ornaments mounted with the opercula of snails (and, like some of the wood carving, very suggestive of Melanesia) escape mention, but the carving of wooden figures by Konkay and Wanchu tribesmen is fully described and admirably photographed, generous representation being given to the graveyard effigies of the dead. These when wood are in many villages provided with 'horns' to hold the skull of the deceased in place on the top of the head, or, in the case of the basketwork effigies, with the head placed where the face should be, like a grandfather clock case with the works removed; the skull is put there for the soul to leave it and go down into the substitute body for the time being. After a time these temporary abodes cease to be important and, though Dr. Elwin himself is not explicit on this point, this loss of taboo occurs in fact when once it is certain that the life principle has left them to pass into the growing crops and so continue the cycle of life. The horned figure ending in a yak's tail on p. 159 is a decoration worn by a Konkay warrior on his buttocks, and the so-called 'mithun heads' shown on p. 174 are surely derived from the human skulls mounted with buffalo or mithun horns to be found in many monamins used in dancing.

A point which might have been made is the effective use by Konkay and kindred groups of the commonplace or unorthodox in ornament. A common and far from unattractive ear ornament is made from a spiral of discarded peel from an eaten orange, while a broad white collar, most effective on a dark skin, used often to be made from an enamelled tin wash basin.

Dr. Elwin's epilogue, which he calls 'A Frontier of Hope,' deserves the attention of all practising anthropologists, and his photographs are a possession for posterity. It is to be hoped that he will delay as little as possible before he gives us a companion volume on the art of the Naga Hills and Manipur. The dance forms of the Kacha Nagas are almost a field to themselves, and there is very much else to record which is already in danger of being lost for ever.

J. H. HUTTON


The authors of this small book have certainly been the more records of speedy ethnographical and linguistic fieldwork. For it took them exactly two days in a Khyang village to collect the data on which it is based. While working among the Marma tribe of Chittagong, they once visited one of the Khyang villages, and were stranded there for 48 hours owing to torrential rain. They explain that thanks to an excellent informant and the fact that one could do any other work while the rain lasted, they were able to take a great many notes which on their return to France they related to the older sources on the Khyang. This frank statement discards criticism, and anthropologists with similar experiences but less courage to publish material gathered so rapidly, may wonder whether there might not be a case for putting together ethnographical field notes for what they are worth rather than allowing one's notebooks to gather dust with the vague hope that sooner or later one might be able to complete an unfinished enquiry.

Considering the slightness of its base, this account of a little known Chin tribe is not without merit. 'Khyang' is the Arakanese version of the more familiar tribal name Chin, and the group here described represents a branch of the Chins who emigrated from Burma, some time in the eighteenth century. After a historical sketch the authors give a brief description of the village community in which they stayed. There are notes on the material culture and ecology, followed by a short account of the social structure and an analysis of the kinship terminology. But it is the following chapters which justify the publication of the slim monograph. In these the authors give a vocabulary of the Khyang dialect with extensive comparative material on Burmese, Marma and other Chin dialects. The authors consider that 'le dialecte tibeto-birman [Khyang], dans l'évolution des dialectes tibeto-birmans en général, marque une sorte d'état de transition, alors que le birman représente un stade plus avancé.' While I am not competent to judge the validity of this statement, I am somewhat doubtful whether at this stage of our knowledge of unwritten Tibeto-Burman dialects the direction of such developments can be assessed with such precision. But linguists will welcome the systematic presentation of a Khyang vocabulary, and the
MAN

December, 1960

authors can be congratulated on having recorded so much factual material in so brief a time. C. von FÜRER-HAIMENDORF


The essay concerns the people who live in a part of the Pakhtun-dominated areas of the Swat valley in Pakistan. Ignoring the recently established central authority, the largest political units are two 'blocks,' dispersed through the valley. These blocks consist of a number of political groups formed around leaders, who are in competition with one another. The main part of the book is taken up with an analysis of the relationships which bind the followers to their leaders. Leadership is confined to two castes, the Pakhtuns and the Saints, but, apart from this limitation, leadership is an achieved and not an ascribed status. Many of the relationships binding the follower to the leader are contractual, and, within limits, the follower is free to desert a declining leader and give allegiance to a more powerful man.

The guide through this analysis is the neo-structuralism developed by Firth and others, the essence of which is to see structure as a framework setting a limit to choices in behaviour. Within the 'frameworks' of territorial organization, caste, and descent groups Barth describes the way in which leaders make use of kin, marriage, and neighbourhood relationships, and of various forms of contract (house tenancy, membership of a man's house, and so forth) to build around themselves groups which cut across the three frameworks. Such a pattern of cross-cutting relationships is, of course, familiar from different kinds of analysis—for example some analyses of age sets. But the novelty in Barth's approach is that he directs attention not so much to the structural factors which limit the individual's behaviour, but rather to activity, in the way in which individuals manipulate and make use of relationships. It is also agreeable to find that the long confusion between harmony and integration and the preoccupation with the question of what holds society together are here pushed into the background, and the concentration is upon purposeful competition.

Barth's book is a monograph and not a work of theory: there is a brief statement of the author's approach to his material in the first chapter, but there is none of the mannered theorizing which has marred other recent books, whose authors have found the conventional structural approach unsatisfactory. Barth's analysis speaks for itself and is a quiet testimony to a development in social anthropology which is making conventional structure no longer the central aim of our analysis, but rather, like ecology and demography, an introductory setting for the analysis of questions of a different order.

F. G. BAILEY

EUROPE


This is a preliminary report of a survey on the problems of management in dealing with technical innovation in an industry subject to rapid change.

A final report on this and associated studies is to be published as a book called The Management of Innovation. Anthropologists in more traditional fields of study will find this pamphlet very heavy going but, I think, well worth the effort of reading. The arguments are extremely condensed and occasionally paragraphs have crept in with a technical complexity which overpowers the ordinary reader. One hopes that in the longer book fuller explanation will be provided.

Once this difficulty has been mastered, social anthropologists will recognize many concepts as old friends. For example, the discussion of the role of the managing director on pp. 30-4 follows the same broad lines as many orthodox analyses of African kingship. The possible functions of joking relationships in industry are hinted at on p. 36.

The book, short as it is, is a stimulating one. It raises many problems for more detailed study. How in fact are industrial decisions really taken? How does communication within a firm relate to the stability and type of bureaucracy? What part does informal gossip play in the implementation or otherwise of decisions? (My own experience suggests that it is of the greatest importance.)

I am left with two major doubts. First, despite cultural differences between the firms, might it not have been better to study one firm in depth than look superficially at eight? Or will this be the next step? Secondly, may not the implication that political conflicts within the firm are undesirable be incorrect? I suspect that it is the conflicts and dissension (kept in check by the external sanctions of the market and the desire to keep one's job) which in the last analysis keep the firm going as a social system and enable it to fulfill its function.

RONALD FRANKENBERG


This book, which is based on notes left by the late Professor Vladimir Fekveks, covers the prehistory of Europe from the beginning of the Paleolithic to the Roman period. One is entitled to assume that Fekveks's notes began at Chapter 7 and that the chapters covering the geological background and the Stone Age are the author's own. These early chapters are very inaccurate and muddled and would have been better deleted since the Paleolithic and Mesolithic are clearly not the author's field.

To cover the Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age of Europe requires considerable planning ability and in this the author has clearly failed. The lack of planning has made the developments extremely difficult to follow and a reader without an archaeological background will find only confusion, not helped by poor illustrations and a very inadequate index. The bibliography intended for further reading is badly chosen; Child's New Light on the Most Ancient East is given in the 1935 edition and not in the rewritten fourth edition of 1952. Burkitt's Prehistoric of 1925 has long been superseded and the Stone Age chronology with only Penck and Bruckner cited is hopelessly inadequate. The map of palaeolithic Europe is very inaccurate with the positions of Abbeville and St. Acheul reversed and several sites badly out of position. In both maps covering the Neolithic and Bronze Age, Sicily is covered by the term 'Siculian,' but this term does not occur in the index nor is it defined in the text. Many important sites do not occur in the index at all and in one instance a page reference is given for Sicily in mistake for Silesia.

There are several printing errors, including the heading of Chapter 5, which reads 'Refinements in Metal' instead of 'Refinements in Flint.'

While the book is a gallant attempt, it has failed to provide a lucid and authoritative work in this field, even as an introduction to the subject which, after all, requires a high standard of scholarship. One finishes the book regretting the untimely death of Professor Fekveks.

JOHN WAECHTER


For Dr. Tonnbee the distinguishing feature of Hellenism is whole-hearted man-worship in idolized city-states. The history of Hellenism thus defined is traced in a somewhat disjointed and anecdotal fashion from the second Late Minoan period to the Age of Justinian. The general conclusion is that Hellenism was responsible for its own decline, because the communities which practised it failed to collaborate to the degree that changing economic circumstances required. We are adjured to take the moral to heart, for apparently a revival of the Hellenic worship of idolized local states is today the dominant religion of the West. The book makes heavy reading, possibly because of the loose way in which its thesis is argued; words like 'worship,' 'religion,' 'civilization,' 'West' and even 'Hellenic' are used throughout in vague and often idiiosyncratic sense. It is an ingenious academic exercise, but it conveys hardly a scent of the Graeco-Roman world.

W. C. BRICE
LIBRARY OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Accessions during August and September, 1959 (continued)

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY (continued)


— Serum cholesterol levels in atherosclerotic subjects and in the Australian aborigines.' [Sydney], 1958. 84-6 pp. (Med. J. Aust.)


Wilkinson, G. K. and others. 'Serum proteins of some Central and South Australian aborigines.' [Sydney], 1958. 158-60 pp. (Med. J. Aust.)

AMERICA


Simpson, G. E. 'The Ras Tafari movement in Jamaica.' [Chapel Hill], 1955. 167-79 pp. (Social Forces, 34)

Wilbert, J. Zur Kenntnis der Yabarana. Cologne, 1959. 72 pp. (Antropologica, Caracas, Suppl. 1)

ASIA


Death and The Right Hand

ROBERT HERTZ

Translated by RODNEY and CLAUDIA NEEDHAM

With an Introduction by E. E. EVANS-Pritchard, Professor of Social Anthropology and Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford

Hertz, one of the brilliant French sociologists trained by Durkheim, deals in the first of these essays with concepts of the soul and its fate after death in connection with secondary burial among the Dayaks of Borneo and elsewhere. The second essay discusses the almost universal preeminence of the right hand in every known society, which Hertz explains by reference to a very general dualistic symbolic classification.

Demy 8vo

March

A Spanish Tapestry

TOWN AND COUNTRY IN CASTILE

MICHAEL KENNY

Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

In this book old and new Castile are vividly contrasted in a detailed sociological description of two parish communities: one, an isolated village high among the sierras and holding fast to its traditional way of life; the other, a busy set of citizens in Madrid still essentially following a traditional and peculiarly Castilian pattern. The author explains the complex structure of both rural and urban life, the tightly-knit relationships, the social values, the reactions to temporal and spiritual authority.

Demy 8vo

June

Structure and Function in Primitive Society

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

'... distinction of style and rigour of thought; the art of saying so much with such precision is rare today.'—Economist.

'... these gemlike classics.'—Man.

'The book is one which all social anthropologists should read.'—Times Literary Supplement.

Demy 8vo

Third Impression

COHEN & WEST

30 Percy Street, London W.1
NEW PRIZE

The attention of Africanists is drawn to a New Prize being offered by The Amaury Talbot Fund.

The Trustees invite applications for the Prize being the income on £6701 5s. 11d. 2½% Consolidated Stock less expenses (approximately £120 net) to be awarded to the person performing the most valuable anthropological research work published during 1960 with reference to the peoples inhabiting the continent of Africa, preference being given in the first place to Nigeria, and in the second place to West Africa.

All applications, together with two copies of the book, article or work in question, to be received by the 31st December 1960, by the Trustees, Barclays Bank Limited, Trustee Department, P.O. Box 207, 40 Corn Street, Bristol 1.

THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Vol. 89 Part I

Segmentary Opposition and the Theory of Games: a Study of Pathan Organization

Fredrik Barth

The Nayars and the Definition of Marriage

E. Kathleen Gough

Kathleen M. Kenyon

Colin M. Turnbull

Some Observations on the Beginnings of Settlement in the Near East

Jack Goody

Annette Rosenstiel

Legends of the BaMbuti

Graeme Schofield

The Mother’s Brother and the Sister’s Son in West Africa. The Curl Bequest Prize Essay, 1957

Published by the

Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

21 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

£1

Made and printed in Great Britain by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles
Tikopia Woodworking Ornament
(with Plates C and D and three text figures)
Professor Raymond Firth, F.B.A.

The Mossi 'Poggioure'
Dr. Elliott P. Skinner

Shorter Notes
Studies on the Occipital Bone in Africa, VI
Professor Phillip V. Tobias

Stone Implements from the Rub' al Khali
Dr. Henry Field

The Congress of Czechoslovak Anthropologists
Dr. F. P. Lisowslki

Correspondence

Reviews
Africa : America : Asia : Oceania

Published by
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

Each Issue 2s. 6d. Annual Subscription 30s.
CONTENTS

The numbers refer not to pages but to articles, by which references are normally made to matter published in MAN.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

Tikopia Woodworking Ornament. PROFESSOR R. FERTH, F.R.A. With Plates C and D and three text figures

The Mossi ‘Pogisoure.’ DR. E. P. SKINNER

SHOR TER NOTES

Studies on the Occipital Bone in Africa: VI, The Relative Usefulness of Pearson’s Occipital Index and the Occipital Chord-Arc Index. PROFESSOR P. V. TOBIAS. With two tables

Stone Implements from the Rub’ al Khali. DR. H. FIELD

The Congress of Czechoslovak Anthropologists. DR. F. P. LEOWSKY

Impending Congresses

CORRESPONDENCE

Literary Evidence for the Existence of the ‘Snow Man.’ MRS. M. TOPLEY

Australian Museums. DR. L. ADAM

REVIEWS

AFRICA

Le groupe dit Pahouin (Fang-Boulou-Beti). By P. Alexandre and J. Binet. L. SIEOTO


Les Kongo nord-occidentaux. By M. Sorret. DR. B. SÖDERBERG

La Possession et ses Aspects Théatraux chez les Éthiopiens de Gondar. By M. Leiris. I. M. LEWIS

Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa. By M. Wilson. DR. J. F. M. MIDDLETON


Foods and Feeding Habits of the Pedi. By P. J. Quin. M. W. GRANT

The Dispossessed: A Study of the Sex Life of Bantu Women in and around Johannesburg. By L. Longmore. LORD RAGLAN

Table for General Shape of the Negroes’ Hair. By J. R. dos Santos Junior. PROFESSOR H. J. FLEURE, F.R.S.

Le Magrib central à l’époque des Zirides. By L. COLVIN. W. FOGG

AMERICA


Navajo Art and Culture. By G. Mills. MRS. B. AITKEN and D. WARDLE

Water Witching U.S.A. By E. Z. Vogt and R. Hyman. LORD RAGLAN

ASIA

A Philosophy for NEFA. By V. Elwin. PROFESSOR C. VON FÖRER-HAIMENDORF

OCEANIA

Studies in Maori Rites and Myths. By J. P. JOHANNSEN. DR. K. P. EMBRY

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

President: Miss Audrey I. Richards, M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Secretary: Marian W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D. Hon. Treasurer: Sir George Beresford-Stooke, K.C.M.G.
Hon. Editor of the Journal: G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc. Hon. Editor of MAN: W. B. Fagg, M.A.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS OF THE INSTITUTE

5 May Studies of Growth and Physique in some African Populations. DR. D. F. B. ROBERTS, M.A., D.Phil.
26 May Man and Cattle, final session of a Symposium on Domestication.
2 June Interpretation. ERNEST GELLNER, M.A.
23 June Recent Field Work on Aboriginal Australians (illus. by films). PROFESSOR A. A. ABBE, M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.A.C.P.
30 June Annual General Meeting. DR. AUDREY I. RICHARDS, M.A., Ph.D., Presidential Address
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
CANBERRA

Research Scholarships

Applications are invited from post-graduate students with capacity for research for

Scholarships in
Anthropology and
Sociology
including
Oceanic Linguistics

The scholarships are tenable for an initial period of two years and may be extended for a third year. Scholars will be expected to enrol for a Ph.D. degree. The present value of a scholarship is £925 per annum. Married scholars with dependent children may be granted additional allowances and the University will make a contribution towards a scholar's fares.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the undersigned, to whom applications should be submitted, or from the Secretary, the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 36 Gordon Square, London, W.C.I. The University regularly considers applications in June and November but special consideration may be given to applications at other times. Scholarships may be taken up at any time after award including vacation periods.

* R. A. HOHNEN
Registrar

Box 4, G.P.O.
CANBERRA, A.C.T.

Death and The Right Hand
ROBERT HERTZ
Translated by RODNEY and CLAUDIA NEEDHAM

With an Introduction by E. E. EVANS-Pritchard, Professor of Social Anthropology and Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford

Hertz, one of the brilliant French sociologists trained by Durkheim, deals in the first of these essays with concepts of the soul and its fate after death in connection with secondary burial among the Dayaks of Borneo and elsewhere. The second essay discusses the almost universal prominence of the right hand in every known society, which Hertz explains by reference to a very general dualistic symbolic classification.

Demy 8vo March 18s net

A Spanish Tapestry
TOWN AND COUNTRY IN CASTILE
MICHAEL KENNY
Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

In this book old and new Castile are vividly contrasted in a detailed sociological description of two parish communities: one, an isolated village high among the sierras and holding fast to its traditional way of life; the other, a busy set of citizens in Madrid still essentially following a traditional and peculiarly Castilian pattern. The author explains the complex structure of both rural and urban life, the tightly-knit relationships, the social values, the reactions to temporal and spiritual authority.

Demy 8vo June 25s net

Structure and Function in Primitive Society
A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

'... distinction of style and rigour of thought; the art of saying so much with such precision is rare today.'—Economist.
'... these gemlike classics.'—Man.
The book is one which all social anthropologists should read.'—Times Literary Supplement.

Demy 8vo Third Impression 21s net

COHEN & WEST
30 Percy Street, London W.1
CURL BEQUEST PRIZE, 1960

The Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute announces that subject to the Rules listed below, it will award in 1960 a Curl Bequest Prize. The Prize shall be awarded for the best essay relating to the results or analysis of anthropological work. Original research will not be rejected on that ground alone unless it fails to take account of other work relevant to its theme. “Anthropology” for the purposes of this competition should be taken to cover all areas of anthropology, being the field of interest of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Essays relating to the history of anthropology are also eligible for this competition.

The Rules governing the competition are:—

(1) No restriction shall be placed on age, nationality, or other qualifications of competitors, except that entries shall not be accepted from past winners of the Curl Bequest Prize.

(2) Essays shall be submitted not later than 30th September, 1960.

(3) Essays shall be in typescript in English, and three copies of each essay shall be submitted.

(4) Essays shall be in literary form and not in the form of bibliographies or catalogues.

(5) The length of the essay shall not exceed 20,000 words or be less than 7,500 words.

(6) No essay which has previously been published or accepted for publication shall be eligible for the competition. Copyright of the winning essay shall be vested in the Royal Anthropological Institute.

(7) The winning essay shall be published. The manner of publication is at the discretion of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

The Prize offered for the winning essay in 1960 is fifty guineas. Essays shall be received by the Honorary Secretary, Royal Anthropological Institute, 21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1, to whom all enquiries shall also be addressed.
Prehistoric Idols from Gran Canaria
(with Plate E and two text figures)
Professor F. E. Zeuner, D.Sc., Ph.D.

Field Work among the Bambuti Pygmies, Belgian Congo: A Preliminary Report
(with a text figure)
Colin M. Turnbull

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute
Report of the Archeological Results of the British Ennedi Expedition, 1957
Dr. A. J. Arkell

Shorter Notes
The Decipherment of Cypro-Mycenaean: Brother-Sister Respect in Manihiki and Rakahanga

Correspondence
Reviews
General: Africa: Asia

Published by
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

Each Issue 2s. 6d.
Annual Subscription 30s.
CONTENTS

The numbers refer not to pages but to articles, by which references are normally made to matter published in MAN.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES
Prehistoric Idols from Gran Canaria. Professor F. E. Zierau, With Plate E and two text figures
Field Work among the Bambuti Pygmies, Belgian Congo: A Preliminary Report. C. R. Turnbull. With a text figure

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

SHORTER NOTES
The Decipherment of Cypro-Mycenaean. S. E. Mann. With a text figure
Brother-Sister Respect in Manihiki and Rakahanga. Dr. A. P. Vayda

CORRESPONDENCE
Sociology and Ethnology among the Lodagaa. Dr. J. R. Goody
—— C. E. Joel

REVIEWS

GENERAL
An Introduction to Medical Genetics. By J. A. Fraser Roberts. Dr. H. Lehmann
Blood Groups. Dr. A. C. Allison
Heredity and Evolution in Human Populations. By L. C. Dunn. Dr. A. C. Allison
Abnormal Haemoglobins. Edited by J. H. P. Jouris and J. F. Delafresnaye. Dr. D. F. Robert
Lamarck and Modern Genetics. By H. G. Cannon. Lord Raglan
Social Theories of Fertility and the Malthusian Debate. By D. E. C. Eversley. Lord Raglan
The Sociological Imagination. By C. Wright Mills. D. G. MacRae
The History and Origin of Language. By A. S. Diamond. R. H. Robins

AFRICA
Savannah Nomads: A Study of the Wodaabe Pastoral Fulani of Western Bornu Province, Northern Region, Nigeria. By D. J. Stemming. A. H. Jacobs
Les Instruments de Musique au Bas-Congo, et dans les Régions Avoisinantes. By B. Söderberg. Dr. K. P. Wachsmann

ASIA

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

President: Miss Audrey I. Richards, M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Secretary: Marian W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Treasurer: Sir George Beresford-Stooke, K.C.M.G.
Hon. Editor of the JOURNAL: G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc.
Hon. Editor of MAN: W. B. Fogg, M.A.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS OF THE INSTITUTE

26 May Man and Cattle, final session of a Symposium on Domestication
2 June Interpretation. Ernest Gellner, M.A.
23 June Recent Field Work on Aboriginal Australians (illus. by films). Professor A. A. Abbe, M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.A.C.P.
30 June Annual General Meeting. Dr. Audrey I. Richards, M.A., Ph.D., Presidential Address
LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Accessions during August and September, 1959 (continued)

EAST INDIES OCEANIA AUSTRALASIA


AFRICA

Clark, J. D. 'The natural fracture of pebbles from the Butoka Gorge, Northern Rhodesia ...' [Cambridge], 1958. 64-77 pp. (Proc. prehist. Soc. 24)

- Jeffrey, M. D. W. 'A note on Abangaba town.' [London], 1957. 183-5 pp. (Niger Fld. 22)
- 'When was Ile Ife founded?' [London], 1958. 20-4 pp. (Niger Fld. 23)


EUROPE


Accessions during October, 1959

GENERAL


PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY


AMERICA

Clark, M. Health in the Mexican-American culture ... Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1959. xii, 253 pp.


Pérez de Barradas, J. Orfebería prehispánica de Colombia ... Madrid, 1958. 2 vols.


Swanson, E. H., jr. 'Theory and history in American archaeology.' Albuquerque, 1959. 120-4 pp. (Southw. J. Anthrop. 15)

EUROPE


ASIA


Madras. Institute of Traditional Cultures. Traditional cultures in South-East Asia ... Bombay, Orient Longmans, 1958. xii, 270 pp.


Social Theories of Fertility and the Malthusian Debate

D. E. C. EVERSLEY

'... he helps to clear the air for clearer thinking about problems which now beset us more than ever, and he provides a striking illustration of the subjectivity of supposedly rational theory on matters where our own deepest fears, interests and desires are involved.' NEW STATESMAN

35p net

European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF ART AND IDEAS

BERNARD SMITH

The author considers the work of artists attached to scientific voyages to the Pacific, showing how it was related to the contemporary scientific interests and prevailing ideas. The later chapters discuss the emergence of Australian colonial art.

Illustrated 84p net

Published for the Institute of Race Relations

South Africa : Two Views of Separate Development

S. PIENAAR AND ANTHONY SAMPSON

Two self-contained essays on this controversial subject, each persuasively setting out a different point of view. It is left to the reader to judge which view is the more realistic. Mr Pienaar is Political Correspondent to Die Burger, and Mr Sampson is on the staff of The Observer.

Paper covers 5s net

The Belgian Congo : Some Recent Changes

RUTH SLADE

A short study dealing with the changes in the Belgian Congo since the end of the war, and with the internal and external causes that have influenced them. There is a chapter on the riots of 4 January 1959.

Paper covers 5s net

Racial Problems in Soviet Muslim Asia

GEOFFREY WHEELER

Describes the impact of the Russians and their civilization on the Muslim peoples of the eastern republics of the U.S.S.R. (Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tadjikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan).

Text maps Paper covers 6s net

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Made and printed in Great Britain by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles
The Loyal Address of the Royal Anthropological Institute to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II on the Occasion of the Birth of a Son and the Gracious Reply thereto

Cave Paintings Recently Discovered near Bauchi, Northern Nigeria
(with Plate F and two text figures)
Hamo Sassoon

The Australian Aborigines in a New Setting
Professor R. Ruggles Gates, F.R.S.

Obituary
Guy Atwater Gardner: 1881–1959

Shorter Notes
Ibibio Topical Ballads: A Protractor with a Rotating Cursor

Correspondence
Reviews
General: America

Published by
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

Each Issue 2s. 6d. Annual Subscription 30s.
CONTENTS

The numbers refer not to pages but to articles, by which references are normally made to matter published in MAN.

The Loyal Address of the Royal Anthropological Institute to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II on the Occasion of the Birth of a Son and the Gracious Reply thereto

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

Cave Paintings Recently Discovered near Bautchi, Northern Nigeria. H. Sassoon. With Plate F and two text figures ................................................. 70
The Australian Aborigines in a New Setting. Professor R. R. Gates, F.R.S. .......................... 71

OBITUARY

Guy Atwater Gardiner: 1881–1959. Dr. G. Caton-Thompson ........................................ 72

SHORTER NOTES

Ibibio Topical Ballads. D. C. Simmons ................................................................. 73
A Protractor with a Rotating Cursor. Dr. F. P. Lisowski. With a text figure ................. 74

CORRESPONDENCE

Hominid Nomenclature. Professor J. T. Robinson .................................................. 75
Ædipus and Job in West African Religion. Dr. J. W. Layard .................................. 76
Maize Impressions on Ancient Nigerian Pottery. Dr. M. D. W. Jeffrey ................. 77
Grooved Rocks in Nigeria. R. A. Kennedy ............................................................ 78

REVIEWS

GENERAL

The Psychology of Affiliation: Experimental Studies of the Sources of Gregariousness. By S. Schachter........................................................... 79
SIR FREDERICK BARTLETT, F.R.S.
Anthropology and Ethics. By M. and A. Edel. Professor D. Emmet ................. 80
Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy. By M. Polanyi. Dr. A. MacBeth 81
Man and the Sacred. By R. Callois. Lord Raglan ............................................ 82
A Reader’s Guide to the Social Sciences. Edited by B. F. Hoselitz. Dr. M. Freedman 83
Can People Learn to Learn How to Know Each Other? By B. Chisholm. Lord Raglan 84
True Adventures Great Explorers Told Me. By B. Ross. Lord Raglan .................. 85

AMERICA

Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: The Metropolitan Schools. By D. Robertson. ............................................................... 86
J. E. S. Thompson, F.B.A.
Wesen und Ordnung der altperuanischen Kulturen. By M. Uhle. R. T. Zuidema ....... 87
American Folklore. By R. M. Dorson. Lord Raglan .......................................... 91

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

President: Miss Audrey I. Richards, C.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Secretary: Marian W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D. ............................... Hon. Treasurer: Sir George Beresford-Stooke, K.C.M.G.
Hon. Editor of the JOURNAL: G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc. ............................. Hon. Editor of MAN: W. B. Fagg, M.A.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS OF THE INSTITUTE

9 June Anthropology and Ethics in Common Focus. Professor Abraham M. Edel
23 June Recent Field Work on Aboriginal Australians (illus. by films). Professor A. A. Abbé, M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.A.C.P.
30 June Annual General Meeting. Dr. Audrey I. Richards, M.A., Ph.D., Presidential Address
Aspects of Caste
EDITED BY E. R. LEACH

Articles on aspects of caste, in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan, treated as a feature peculiar to the cultures of the Indian sub-continent. In his Introduction Dr Leach develops the common themes of the contributors and notes the generalizations that emerge. CAMBRIDGE PAPERS IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

18s. 6d. net

The Kuma
MARIE REAY

Subtitled Freedom and Conformity in the New Guinea Highlands, this is the first book-length study of the primitive Kuma tribe. 10 plates, 9 text figures. MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

45s. net

The Content & Style of an Oral Literature
MELVILLE JACOBS

Eight tales of the now extinct Clackamas Chinook Indians are presented and considered in the context of the meaning of their audience. Content, form and style are examined in terms of social relationship, personality traits of characters, comic realization and other features. UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS.

40s. net

Civilization
V. F. LENZEN et al.

A collection of seven essays which investigate the meaning of the word "civilization" from various philosophical stand-points. UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS.

Paper back, 13s. 6d. net
MAKERERE COLLEGE, THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF EAST AFRICA

Applications are invited for

Lectureship in Sociology or Social Anthropology

Salary scale: £1,200 × 51 – £1,557 × 72 – £1,845 p.a., entry point determined by qualifications and experience. F.S.S.U. child allowance £50 p.a. per child (max. £150 p.a.). Passages for appointee and family (up to four adult passages) on appointment, termination and leave (three months every 21 months). Rent (including basic furniture) according to quarters provided £45 – £84 p.a. Duties to be assumed on approximately 1 October 1960. Detailed applications (six copies) naming three referees, as soon as possible, to Secretary, Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas, 29 Woburn Square, London, W.C.1, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Vol. 89 Part I

Segmentary Opposition and the Theory of Games: a Study of Pathan Organization

Fredrik Barth

The Nayar and the Definition of Marriage

E. Kathleen Gough

Kathleen M. Kenyon

Legends of the BaMbuti

Colin M. Turnbull

The Mother’s Brother and the Sister’s Son in West Africa. The Curl Bequest Prize Essay, 1957

Jack Goody

Anthropology and the Missionary

Annette Rosenfeld

Metric and Morphological Features of the Femur of the New Zealand Maori

Graeme Schofield

PUBLISHED BY THE

Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

21 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

£1

Made and printed in Great Britain by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles
African Masks from an Unrecorded Style Province
(with Plate G)
Dr. Douglas Fraser

On Determinants of the Status of Arab Village Women
Dr. Henry Rosenfeld

Obituary
Leslie Armstrong: 1879–1958

Shorter Notes
Maori Women and Maori Cannibalism
Dr. A. P. Vayda

The Origin of the Majimaji Revolt
A. R. W. Crosse-Upcott

Correspondence

Reviews
Africa : Asia

Published by
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

Each Issue 2s. 6d.  
Annual Subscription 30s.
CONTENTS

The numbers refer not to pages but to articles, by which references are normally made to matter published in MAN.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

African Masks from an Unrecorded Style Province. Dr. D. Fraser. With Plate G .......................... 94
On Determinants of the Status of Arab Village Women. Dr. H. Rosenfeld ............................... 95

OBITUARY


SHORTER NOTES

Maori Women and Maori Cannibalism. Dr. A. P. Vayda ................................................................. 97
The Origin of the Majimaji Revolt. A. R. W. Crosse-Uppcott ....................................................... 98

CORRESPONDENCE

The Definition of Marriage. T. Asad ...................................................................................................... 99
Asia and Africa. Lord Raglan ............................................................................................................... 100

REVIEWS

AFRICA

Porto Novo: Les nouvelles générations africaines entre leurs traditions et l’occident. By C. Tardif. Dr. J. Jahn ............................ 102
Political Cohesion in a Stateless Society: The Tallensi of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast (Ghana). By A. Sommerfelt. G. K. Park .................................................. 103
Ethnographic Survey of Africa: The Gisu of Uganda. By J. S. La Fontaine. G. W. B. Huntingford ................................................. 106
Science in the Development of Africa. By E. B. Worthington. Dr. R. Mauny ........................................ 107

ASIA

The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture. By D. H. Gordon. Dr. F. R. Allchin ......................... 110
Dance and Magic Drama in Ceylon. By B. de Zoete. Dr. A. A. Baker .............................................. 112
Die Bodenkultur in Ost-Turkestan: Oasenwirtschaft und Nomadentum. By L. Colomb. The Late Dr. G. Hatt .......................................................... 113
The Bedouins: Manners and Customs. By T. Aikhkenazi. D. Miller ............................................... 114
Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Silvius von Aulock. By H. Henning von der Osten. J. D. Wieseman .............................................................. 115
A Comparative Analysis of the Jajmani System. By T. O. Beidelman. The Late Professor D. N. Majumdar .................................................. 117

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

President: Miss Audrey I. Richards, C.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Secretary: Marian W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D. Hon. Treasurer: Sir George Beresford-Stoike, K.C.M.G.
Hon. Editor of the Journal: G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc. Hon. Editor of MAN: W. B. Fogg, M.A.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

Any person interested in the sciences of anthropology and archaeology may apply for membership either through a Fellow or directly to the Hon. Secretary at 21 Bedford Square, W.C. 1 (tel. Museum 2986), who will gladly supply full details of the Institute's activities and of the rights and obligations of Fellows. Forms of proposal should, in general, be signed by a Fellow who has personal knowledge of the applicant: but when an applicant does not already know a Fellow, the Hon. Secretary may be able to assist by listing Fellows resident near the applicant.

Fellows receive the Journal free, and may subscribe to MAN at twenty-four (instead of thirty) shillings a year; they may borrow up to ten books at a time from the Library (by post, if desired), for a period of a month, or longer by arrangement; and, among other facilities, they may bring guests to lecture meetings.

The annual subscription of three guineas becomes due on election (unless this takes place in November or December), and on the first of every January thereafter. There is an entrance fee of one guinea: payment of fifty guineas entitles a Fellow to membership for life. Associate Membership, including most of the advantages of Fellowship, is open to persons under 26 at a subscription of one guinea, without entrance fee.
LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Accessions during December, 1959 (continued)

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY


Smith, Mrs M. 'Blood groupings of the remains of Swedens.' [London], 1959. 7 pp. (Nature, 184)

AMERICA


EUROPE


ASIA


Malik, S. C. 'Recent exploration in Hoshangabad.' [Baroda], 1959. 27-34 pp. (J. M. S. Univ. Baroda, 8)


OCEANIA AUSTRALASIA


AFRICA


Accessions during January, 1960

GENERAL


Iviii, 333 pp. (Hakluyt Soc. Publ., Ser. 2, 113)

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY


Bunak, V. V. Cherep cheloveka i stadii ego formirovaniya u iskopaemykh lyudey i sovremennykh ras. Moscow, 1959. 284 pp. (Trud. Inst. Etnogr., Mosk. N.S. 49)


Lipták, P. 'Adatok a Duna-Tisza kisízi bronzek antropológiájához.' [Budapest], 1958. 3-16 pp. (Anthrop. Kéz. 1)


AMERICA


Cook, S. F. Santa María Ixcatlán: hábitat, population, subsistence. Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1959. [iv], 75 pp. (Ibero-amer. 41)

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
FACULTY OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Applications are invited for the vacant post of

UNIVERSITY ASSISTANT LECTURER
IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

from 1st October 1960. Maximum tenure five years. Preference to candidates with a knowledge of either East or Central Africa, or the Pacific area. Pensionable stipend (under review) of £800 p.a. rising to £1,000 p.a. (which may be supplemented up to £120 p.a.). Child allowance. These stipends subject to modifications for college residence and recommended seniority. Applications (ten copies) should be sent by 2 July, together with the names and addresses of three referees, to the Secretary of the Appointments Committee, Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, Downing Street, Cambridge, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Vol. 90 Part I

Blood-debts and Clientship among the Lele
Competitive Leadership in Trobriand Political Organization
Some Northern Ibo Masquerades
The Birth of a Religion
The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin in Cyrenaica (Curl Bequest Prize, 1959)
Conflict and Factionalist Dispute
The Pueblos of the South-Western United States
Blood Groups and Haemoglobin Variants in Some Upper Castes of Bengal

PUBLISHED BY THE
Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
21 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1
£1

Made and printed in Great Britain by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles
Phallic Objects of the Australian Aborigines
(with Plate H)
C. P. Mountford

A Note on Social Organization in a Rural Area of Greater Djakarta
Dr. Maurice Freedman

A Metallurgical Study of Four Irish Early Bronze Age Ribbed Halberds in the
Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford
(with six text figures)
T. K. Penniman and I. M. Allen

Obituary
James Philip Mills: 1890–1960
Professor J. H. Hutton, C.I.E.

Shorter Notes
Ancient Preserved Brains: The ABO System of Blood Groups in Khalkha Mongols

Correspondence
Reviews
General: Asia: Europe

Published by
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

Each Issue 2s. 6d.

Annual Subscription 30s.
CONTENTS

The numbers refer not to pages but to articles, by which references are normally made to matter published in MAN.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES
Phallic Objects of the Australian Aborigines. C. P. MOUNTFORD. With Plate H ............... 118
A Note on Social Organization in a Rural Area of Greater Djakarta. Dr. M. H. FREEDMAN .... 119
A Metallurgical Study of Four Irish Early Bronze Age Ribbed Halbers in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. T. K. PENNMAN and I. M. ALLEN. With six text figures .......................... 120

OBITUARY
James Philip Mills: 1890–1960. PROFESSOR J. H. HUTTON, C.I.E. With a portrait ............ 121

SHORTER NOTES
Ancient Preserved Brains. Dr. K. P. OAKLEY, F.B.A. With a text figure ...................... 122
Ancient Preserved Brains: A Further Note. MISS E. POWERS .............................. 123
The ABO System of Blood Groups in Khalkha Mongols. PROFESSOR E. VIČEK. With a table 124

CORRESPONDENCE
Structural Theory and Descent Group Theory in South India. Dr. L. DUMONT ............... 125
A Phallic Object from North Wales. D. B. HAGUE. With a text figure ...................... 126

REVIEWS
GENERAL
Anthropologie structurelle. By C. Lévi-Strauss. PROFESSOR P. GASCUE .......................... 127
The Testing of Negro Intelligence. By A. M. Shley, W. H. H. HOTOFF .......................... 128
On Shame and the Search for Identity. By H. M. Lynd. LORD RACLAN ...................... 130
The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton, 1582–3. Dr. A. P. KUP .................. 131

ASIA
Archeological Researches in the Edsengol Region, Inner Mongolia, Part II. By B. SÖMMARSTROM. Dr. C. R. BAWDEN ........................................... 132
The Eighty-Five Siddhas. By T. SCHMID, H. R. H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE AND DENMARK .... 133
Stone Age Industries of the Bombay and Satara Districts. By S. C. MALIK, Dr. B. ALLCHIN .......... 135
Ancient Populations of Siberia and its Cultures. By A. P. OHLADNIKOV, Dr. T. E. ARMSTRONG ........ 136
Contributions to Indian Sociology, II and III. Edited by L. DUMONT and D. F. POOCOCK, W. MCCORMACK .... 137
Caste and Communication in an Indian Village. By D. N. MAJUMDAR, DR. A. C. MAYER .......... 138

EUROPE
A Minority in Britain: Social Studies of the Anglo-Jewish Community. Edited by M. FREEDMAN. PROFESSOR H. M. GLUCKMAN .... 139

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

President: Miss AUDREY I. RICHARDS, C.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Secretary: Marian W. SMITH, M.A., Ph.D.  Hon. Treasurer: Sir GEORGE BERESFORD-STOOKIE, K.C.M.G.
Hon. Editor of the JOURNAL: G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD, B.Sc.  Hon. Editor of MAN: W. B. Fagg, M.A.

R.A.I. ENDOWMENT FUND CHRISTMAS CARDS, 1960

The Endowment Fund is urgently in need of contributions large or small. Over £700 was collected last year making a total of over £1,400 when matched from the Seligman Trust through the generosity of Mrs. Seligman. Fellows will again this year have an opportunity of benefiting the Fund by making use of the Institute’s Christmas card; the benefit does not become substantial until about 3,000 cards have been sold, but above this figure the additional costs are small and the proceeds large, provided only that orders are placed in good time.

The illustration chosen for this year’s card is Plate Bb (lower picture) in the issue of MAN for January, 1960. It is a four-colour reproduction of a lively rock painting recently discovered at Gungong Panjang near Ipoh in Malaya. Although this is a much more expensive card to produce than last year’s, it is hoped to keep prices down to 11 shillings a dozen for the first three dozen, and 9 shillings for each additional dozen (the incentive to place large orders being thus substantially increased); these prices are reduced by one shilling in the case of orders despatched overseas by the printers. To allow for early printing for the benefit of Fellows overseas, all orders should be placed, on the order form provided, by 15th September. Postage is charged extra, but Fellows may arrange to collect their cards at the Institute if they wish.
LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Accessions during January, 1960 (continued)

AMERICA (continued)


Newman, T. M. Tillamook prehistory and its relation to the Northwest Coast culture area ... [ Eugene, Oregon], 1959. [x], 72 pp.


EUROPE


Gajek, J. Kwestionariusz do badan nad budownictwem wiejskim. Wrocław, 1958. 56 pp. (Lud, 44—SUPPL)


ASIA


Jaspan, M. A. Social stratification and social mobility in Indonesia: a trend report and annotated bibliography. [Djakarta, Penerbit, 1959].


AFRICA


Pacheco de Amorim, F. B. Contribuição para o estudo sociológico da tribo Te Coimbra, 1959. 247-74 pp. (Contr. Antrop. portug. 6:8)


Accessions during February, 1960

GENERAL


Smith, M. W. 'Boas' "natural history" approach to field method.' [Menasha, Wis.], 1959. 46-60 pp. (The anthropology of Franz Boas)

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY


Lebrecht, V. Beschreibung der Skelettreite von Tiszalóker, Budapest, 1957. 69 pp. (Crania hung. 2:2)


Wenger, S. Données ostéométriques sur le matériel anthropologique du cimetière d'Alattayn-Tuli ... Budapest, 1957. 55 pp. (Crania hung. 2:1)
LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Accessions during February, 1960 (continued)

Physical Anthropology (continued)


AMERICA


Dixon, K. A. *Ceramics from two preclassic periods at Chiapa de Corzo, Chiapas, Mexico.* Orinda, California, 1959, viii, 52 pp. (Publ. New World archaeol. Fdn, 4)

Fay, G. E. *Fiesta days in Mexico.* [Dallas, Texas], 1959, 12-20 pp. (Southwest, Lore, 25)

— *A hematite iron deposit in Sonora, Mexico.* [Dallas, Texas], 1958, [1] p. (Southwest, Lore, 24)


Europe


Asia


Deraniyagala, P. E. P. *An open air habitation site of Homo sapiens balangodensis.* [Colombo], 1958, 223-62 pp. (Spolia zeylanica, 28)


Leach, E. R. *An anthropologist's reflections on a social survey.* [Colombo], 1958, 9-20 pp. (Ceylon J. Hist. 1)


— *A possible method in intercalation for the calendar of the Books of Jubilees.* Leiden, 1957, 392-7 pp. (Vetus Testamentum, 7)


— *Stimme des Wasserbüffels: Melanesische Volkslieder.* Kassel, Röth, 1956, 244 pp.


Tokyo. *Tōyō Bunko. Author index to a classified catalogue of books in section... Japan... acquired during the years 1917-1956.* Tokyo, Tōyō Bunko, 1959, 248 pp.

OCEANIA AUSTRALASIA


Emory, K. P. and others. *Fishhooks.* [Honolulu], 1959, xiii, 45 pp. (Spec. Publ. Bishop Mus. 47)

OCCASIONAL PAPERS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

No. 13

The ABO Blood Groups

Comprehensive Tables and Maps of World Distribution

by

A. E. Mourant, Ada C. Kopec
K. Domanewska-Sobczak

Pp. 276, 6 maps, index. Price 42s.

Published by
BLACKWELL SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS
24-25 Broad Street, Oxford

OCCASIONAL PAPERS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

No. 14

The Tomb of the Dated Inscription at Gedi

by

James Kirkman, F.S.A.

Pp. 50, 10 figs., 2 pls. Price 15s.

Published 1960 at the
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Made and printed in Great Britain by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles
A Congratulatory Address Presented by the Royal Anthropological Institute
to the Royal Society on the Occasion of its Tercentenary

Morhana Pahar: or the Mystery of A. C. Carlyle
(with Plate I)
G. de G. Sieveking

The Ethnic Origins of Zande Office-Holders
Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute
Land Tenure and Village Structure among the Luvale
C. M. N. White

Shorter Notes
Massive Acheulian Implements from Thames and Solent Gravels (with three text figures)
A. D. Lacaille

The Hainault Scythe in England (with seven text figures)
G. E. Fussell

A Puzzling Scene from Val Camonica (with a text figure)
Dr. E. Anati

Correspondence

Reviews
General : Africa : America : Asia : Oceania

Published by
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

Each Issue 2s. 6d. Annual Subscription 30s.
CONTENTS

The numbers refer not to pages but to articles, by which references are normally made to matters published in MAN.

A Congratulatory Address Presented by the Royal Anthropological Institute to the Royal Society on the Occasion of its Tercentenary

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

Morhana Pahar: or the Mystery of A. C. Carlyle. G. de G. Scheving. With Plate I .......................... 140
The Ethnic Origins of Zande Office-Holders. Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard .......................... 141

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

Land Tenure and Village Structure among the Luvale Compared with Other Northern Rhodesian Tribes. C. M. N. White ............................................. 142

SHORTEST NOTES

Massive Acheulian Implements from Thames and Solent Gravels. A. D. Lacaille. With three text figures 143
The Hainault Scythe in England. G. E. Fussell. With seven text figures ................................. 144
A Puzzling Scene from Val Camonica. Dr. E. Anati. With a text figure ................................. 145

CORRESPONDENCE

New Guinea Warfare: Correction of a Mistake Previously Published. Dr. R. F. Fortune ........ 146

REVIEWS

GENERAL

The Origin of Civilized Societies. By R. Coulben. Lord Raglan .............................................. 147

AFRICA

Les Populations du Tchad. By A. M.-D. Lebeuf; A. H. M. Kirk-Greene ................................. 149
Eingeborenenkirchen in Süd- und Südwest-Afrika. By K. Schlosser. Dr. L. P. Mair .............. 150

AMERICA

Zwischen Peru und Mexiko. By H. Feriz. Dr. S. H. Wassén ...................................................... 151
Voodoo in Haiti. By A. Métraux. P. Verger ............................................................................... 152

ASIA


OCEANIA

The Art of Lake Sentani. By S. Kooijman. A. Forde ................................................................. 154

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

President: Miss Audrey I. Richards, C.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Secretary: Marion W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D.  Hon. Treasurer: Sir George Beresford-Stooke, K.C.M.G.
Hon. Editor of the JOURNAL: G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc.  Hon. Editor of MAN: W. B. Fagg, M.A.

R.A.I. ENDOWMENT FUND CHRISTMAS CARDS, 1960

The Endowment Fund is urgently in need of contributions large or small. Over £700 was collected last year making a total of over £1,400 when matched from the Seligman Trust through the generosity of Mrs. Seligman. Fellows will again this year have an opportunity of benefiting the Fund by making use of the Institute’s Christmas card; the benefit does not become substantial until about 3,000 cards have been sold, but above this figure the additional costs are small and the proceeds large, provided only that orders are placed in good time.

The illustration chosen for this year’s card is Plate Bb (lower picture) in the issue of MAN for January, 1960. It is a four-colour reproduction of a lively rock painting recently discovered at Gunong Panjang near Ipoh in Malaya. Although this is a much more expensive card to produce than last year’s, the price has been kept down to 11 shillings a dozen for the first three dozen and 9 shillings for each additional dozen (the incentive to place large orders being thus substantially increased by the larger discount); these prices are reduced by one shilling in the case of orders despatched overseas by the printers. To allow for early printing for the benefit of Fellows overseas, all orders should be placed, on the order form provided in the June issue, by 15th September. Postage is charged extra, but Fellows may arrange to collect their cards at the Institute if they wish.
Acquisitions during February, 1960 (continued)

OCEANIA AUSTRALASIA (continued)

Fischer, H. Schallgeräte in Ozeanien... Strasbourg, Baden-Baden, 1958. 180 pp. (Coll. étud. music. 36)

Grace, G. W. The position of the Polynesian languages within the Austroasiatic (Malayo-Polynesian) language family. Baltimore, 1959. v. 77 pp. (Mimeo. Int. J. Amer. Linguist. 16)


Schort, D. Das Floss in Ozeanien... Göttöingen, 1959. [vi], 274 pp. (Völker. Beitr. Ozean. 1)

AFRICA


Wilson, M. Divine kings and the "breath of men". Cambridge, University Press, 1959. 27 pp. (Frazier Lect.)


Acquisitions during March-May, 1960

GENERAL


PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY


- 'Marriage makes history.' [London], 1959. 942-4 pp. (New Sci. 7)


Pons, J. 'El numero de trirradios digitales.' Madrid, 1958. 70-98 pp. (Genet. 1958, 10)

- Quantitative genetics of palm dermatoglyphics. [Baltimore], 1959. 252-6 pp. (Amer. J. Hum. Genet. 11)

- 'Relaciones entre esquizofrenia y lineas dermatopilares.' Madrid, 1959. 12-22 pp. (Genet. 1959, 1)

Skerlj, B. 'Age changes in absolute and relative surface areas of the human body.' [Edinburgh], 1957. 146-52 pp. (J..plast. Surg. 10)

- 'Age changes in fat distribution in the female body.' Basle, 1959. 56-63 pp. (Acta anat. 50)


Steffensen, J. 'Stature as a criterion of the nutritional level of Viking age Icelanders.' [Reykjavik], 1958. 39-51 pp. (Arb. isl. Fornleifsf.)


AMERICA


Horniman Studentships, 1961

The Trustees invite applications from British subjects for Emslie Horniman Anthropological Studentships. Such applications must be received by the Hon. Secretary to the Trustees not later than 30 April, 1961. The conditions on which awards are made are set out below.

The late Mr. Emslie John Horniman placed it 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 people 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 will profit from further training in anthropology. Candidates must be of British nationality, but there are no restrictions as to sex, age, religion or race. Candidates will pursue their studies at a university and those already in possession of a doctorate in anthropology will not normally be eligible. The awards will take the form of Studentships tenable normally for not less than one year, or 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.

All enquiries and correspondence should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Emslie Horniman Anthropological Scholarship Fund, 21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.
The Ritual Stools of Ancient Ife
(with Plates J and K and three text figures)
Bernard Fagg and William Fagg

An Account of the Tribal Distribution of Sierra Leone
(with three maps)
Dr. A. P. Kup

Some Dental Characteristics of the Middle Minoans
H. Graham Carr
(with five tables and a text figure)

Shorter Notes

Correspondence

Reviews
General : America : Asia : Europe : Oceania

Published by
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1
CONTENTS

The numbers refer not to pages but to articles, by which references are normally made to matter published in MAN.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES
An Account of the Tribal Distribution of Sierra Leone. Dr. A. P. Kup. With three maps 156
Some Dental Characteristics of the Middle Minoans. H. G. Carr. With five tables and a text figure 157

SHORTER NOTES
'Egungun Eshie.' W. M. Gilliland. With two text figures 158
Horniman Museum Lectures and Concerts, October-December, 1960 159

CORRESPONDENCE
Prehistoric Idols from Gran Canaria. P. J. Ucko 160

REVIEWS

GENERAL
Art Primitif. By L. Adam. Mme D. Paulme-Schieffer 161
Time, Life and Man: The Fossil Record. By R. A. Stirton. Dr. W. E. Swinton 163

AMERICA
Indian Art of the Americas. By D. Collier. Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell 165
Health in the Mexican-American Culture: A Community Study. By M. Clark. Dr. A. J. Vidich 166

ASIA
Traditional Cultures in South-East Asia. Dr. M. H. Freedman 167
L'émacipation de la femme indonésienne. By C. Vreede-de Stuers. Dr. R. Needham 168

EUROPE
Medical Biology and Etruscan Origins. Edited by G. E. W. Wolstenholme and C. M. O'Connor. Dr. D. F. Roberts 169
The Etruscans. By R. Bloch. Lord Raglan 170
Danish Wheel Ploughs. By P. Michelon. J. Geraint Jenkins 171
The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren. By I. and P. Opie. Lord Raglan 172

The Avar Period in Mongolia. By P. Liptak. Professor H. J. Fleure. F.R.S. 174

OCEANIA
The Tiwi: Their Art, Myth and Ceremony. By C. P. Mountford. Dr. A. Lommel 176
Espiritu Santo (Nouvelles Hébrides). By J. Guiart. B. A. L. Cranstone 177

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

President: Miss Audrey L. Richards, C.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Secretary: Marian W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Treasurer: Sir George Beresford-Stooke, K.C.M.G.
Hon. Editor of the JOURNAL: G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc.
Hon. Editor of MAN: W. B. Fagg, M.A.

R.A.I. ENDOWMENT FUND CHRISTMAS CARDS, 1960

The Endowment Fund is urgently in need of contributions large or small. Over £700 was collected last year making a total of over £1,400 when matched from the Seligman Trust through the generosity of Mrs. Seligman. Fellows will again this year have an opportunity of benefiting the Fund by making use of the Institute's Christmas card; the benefit does not become substantial until about 3,000 cards have been sold, but above this figure the additional costs are small and the proceeds large, provided only that orders are placed in good time.

The illustration chosen for this year's card is Plate Bb (lower picture) in the issue of MAN for January, 1960. It is a four-colour reproduction of a lively rock painting recently discovered at Gunong Panjang near Ipoh in Malaya. Although this is a much more expensive card to produce than last year's, the price has been kept down to 11 shillings a dozen for the first three dozen and 9 shillings for each additional dozen (the incentive to place large orders being thus substantially increased by the larger discount); these prices are reduced by one shilling in the case of orders despatched overseas by the printers. All orders should be placed, preferably on the order form provided in the June issue, as soon as possible. Postage is charged extra, but Fellows may arrange to collect their cards at the Institute if they wish.
Accessions during March-May, 1960 (continued)


Mendelson, E. M. 'De l'Olympe à la Guinée.' Paris, 1958. 541-9 pp. (Criticité, 133)


Europe

Anati, E. 'Prehistoric art in the Alps.' [New York], 1960. 52-9 pp. (Sci. Amer. 202)


Steffensen, J. 'Kumlafundur ad Gilslatrjót i Eldingahág.' [Reykjavik], 1959. 121-6 pp. (Arb. isl. Forlorgsf.)


Asia

Anati, E. 'Les gravures rupestres dans la region du Neguev.' Paris, 1959. 6-14 pp. (Bible Trèe 32)


— 'Konyak Naga-Indien (Assam): Kopfjagdfei.' Göttingen, 1959. 9 pp. (Encyclopedia cinemat.)

Lipsky, G. A. Saudi Arabia: its people, its society, its culture. New Haven, HRAF, 1959. [xvii], 367 pp. (Surv. World Cult. 4)


Miller, R. J. Monasteries and culture change in Inner Mongolia. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1959. xii, 152 pp. (Asiat. Forsch. 2)


Rintchen, B. Les matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol... Sources littéraires. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1959. xii, 124 pp. (Asiat. Forsch. 3)


Oceania East Indies


Africa


Lebeuf, A. M. D. Les populations du Tchad... Paris, 1959. [vii], 130 pp. (Monogr. ethnol. afr.)


OCCASIONAL PAPERS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

No. 13

The ABO Blood Groups
Comprehensive Tables and Maps of World Distribution

by
A. E. Mourant, Ada C. Kopec and K. Domaniewska-Sobczak

Pp. 276, 6 maps, index. Price 42s.

Published by
BLACKWELL SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS
24-25 Broad Street, Oxford

No. 14

The Tomb of the Dated Inscription at Gedi

by
James Kirkman, F.S.A.

Pp. 50, 10 figs., 2 pls. Price 13s.

Published 1960 at the
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE 1960-1961

President: Miss Audrey I. Richards, C.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.

Vice-Presidents (Past Presidents):
H. J. Braubohls, C.B.E., M.A.
Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, M.A., Ph.D.
Professor R. W. Firth, M.A., Ph.D., F.B.A.
Professor H. J. Fliure, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Professor G. D. Ford, Ph.D.
Dr. J. A. Fraser Roberts, M.A., M.D., D.Sc., F.R.C.P.
Professor J. H. Hutton, C.LE., D.Sc.
Lord Raglan, F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents (Elected):
Dr. G. Caton-Thompson, Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A.
Professor M. Fortes, M.A., Ph.D.
I. M. Steff, B.Com.

Hon. Secretary: Marian W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D.

Hon. Treasurer: Sir George Beresford-Stooke, K.C.M.G.

Hon. Editor (Journal): G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc.

Associate Editors of the Journal:
Professor J. H. Hutton, C.LE., D.Sc. (Material Culture)
Miss P. M. Kaberry, M.A., Ph.D. (Social Anthropology)
E. P. Oakley, D.Sc., F.B.A. (Archaeology)

Hon. Editor of Man: W. B. Fagg, M.A.

Council:
J. H. M. Beattie, M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil.
Miss B. M. Blackwood, M.A., B.Sc., F.S.A.
A. H. Christie, M.A.
A. Dibey, M.A.
M. Freedman, M.A., Ph.D.
Professor C. von Führer-Haimendorf, Ph.D.
G. I. Jones, M.A.
Miss F. M. Kaberry, M.A., Ph.D.
Miss E. J. Lindgren, M.A., Ph.D.
Miss L. P. Malr, M.A., Ph.D.
A. E. Mourant, M.A., D.Phil., D.M., F.R.C.P.
K. P. Oakley, D.Sc., F.B.A.
D. F. Pocock, M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil.
D. F. B. Roberts, M.A., D.Phil.
Professor I. Schapera, M.A., D.Sc., F.B.A., F.R.S.S.A.
Mrs. B. Z. Seligman
A. C. Stevenson, M.D., F.R.C.P.
J. E. S. Thompson, F.B.A.
Miss B. E. Ward, M.A.

Administrative Secretary: Miss J. Edwards

Librarian: Miss B. J. Kirkpatrick, F.L.A.


Bankers: Coutts & Co., 32 Lombard Street, E.C.3

Made and printed in Great Britain by William Clovees and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles
The 'Morienhur': A Mongolian Fiddle
(with Plate L, in colour)
Mrs. J. L. Jenkins

Kohler's Chimpanzees—How Did They Perform?
(with five text figures)
Dr. M. R. A. Chance

On Some Crucibles and Associated Finds from the Coast of Tanganyika
(with three text figures and a table)
Miss J. R. Harding

Shorter Note
Differences in Limb Proportions between Modern American and Earlier British Skeletal Material
Professor L. H. Wells

Correspondence

Reviews
Africa : Asia : Europe

Published by
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

Each Issue 2s. 6d.
Annual Subscription 30s.
CONTENTS

The numbers refer to pages but to articles, by which references are normally made to matter published in MAN.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

The 'Morienhur': A Mongolian Fiddle. MRS. J. L. JENKINS. With Plate L ........................................ 178
Kohler's Chimpanzees—How Did They Perform? DR. M. R. A. CHANCE. With five text figures ........... 179
On Some Crucibles and Associated Finds from the Coast of Tanganyika. MISS J. R. HARDING. With three text figures and a table .................................................. 180

SHORTER NOTE

Differences in Limb Proportions between Modern American and Earlier British Skeletal Material. PROFESSOR L. H. WELLS. With a table .................................................. 181

CORRESPONDENCE

Cypro-Mycenaean and Early Agriculture. I. CHIVA .................................................. 182
Caste and 'Varna.' DR. D. F. POCOCK .................................................. 183

REVIEWS

AFRICA

The Ethiopians: An Introduction to Country and People. By E. Ullendorff. G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD .......... 184

ASIA

Malay Kinship and Marriage in Singapore. By J. Djamour. MRS. M. TOPLEY ..................... 188

EUROPE

Life and Death in the Bronze Age. By Sir C. Fox. W. C. BRICE .......... 190

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

President: Miss Audrey I. Richards, C.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Secretary: Marion W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Treasurer: Sir George Beresford-Stooke, K.C.M.G.
Hon. Editor of the Journal: G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc.
Hon. Editor of MAN: W. B. Fogg, M.A.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS OF THE INSTITUTE

17 November Land and Settlement in Zanzibar. J. H. M. MIDDLETON, M.A., Ph.D.
25 November Early Man in South America. HUXLEY MEMORIAL LECTURE (at the rooms of the Royal Society, BURLINGTON HOUSE). DR. S. K. LOTHROP, Ph.D.
1 December The Indian Stone Age Sequence: A Reassessment (illus. by slides). BRIDGET ALLCHIN, M.A., Ph.D.

R.A.I. ENDOWMENT FUND CHRISTMAS CARDS, 1960

The Endowment Fund is urgently in need of contributions large or small. Over £700 was collected last year making a total of over £1,400 when matched from the Seligman Trust through the generosity of Mrs. Seligman. Fellows will again this year have an opportunity of benefiting the Fund by making use of the Institute's Christmas card; the benefit does not become substantial until about 3,000 cards have been sold, but above this figure the additional costs are small and the proceeds large, provided only that orders are placed in good time.

The illustration chosen for this year's card is Plate Bb (lower picture) in the issue of MAN for January, 1960. It is a four-colour reproduction of a lively rock painting recently discovered at Gunong Panjang near Ipoh in Malaya. Although this is a much more expensive card to produce than last year's, the price has been kept down to 11 shillings a dozen for the first three dozen and 9 shillings for each additional dozen (the incentive to place large orders being thus substantially increased by the larger discount); these prices are reduced by one shilling in the case of orders despatched overseas by the printers. All orders should be placed, preferably on the order form provided in the June issue, as soon as possible. Postage is charged extra, but Fellows may arrange to collect their cards at the Institute if they wish.
UNIVERSITY OF KHARTOUM
FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STUDIES

Applications are invited for a
SENIOR LECTURESHP or LECTURESHIP in
SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology

Salary Scales: Senior Lecturer: £S.2052 × 75–£S.2127 p.a.

Entry point according to qualifications and experience.
Cost of living allowance approximately £S.180 per
annum at present. Outfit allowance £S.50. Family
allowance: Wife £S.60 p.a., 1st child – £S.90 p.a., and
2nd and 3rd child – £S.30 p.a. each. (£S1. = £1 6s. 8d.
sterling.) Passages for appointee and family on appoint-
ment, termination and annual leave. There is a super-
annuation scheme, and arrangements can be made to
maintain F.S.S.U. policies. Appointment on contract
for five years with a possibility of renewal. Unfurnished
accommodation provided at rent (excluding rates) up to
74% of salary.

Applications (10 copies) detailing qualifications and
experience and naming three referees by 15th November
1960, to Registrar, University of Khartoum, c/o Inter-
University Council for Higher Education Overseas, 29
Woburn Square, London, W.C.1, from whom further
particulars may be obtained.

Race and Politics

Partnership in the Federation of Rhodesia and
Nyasaland

EDWARD CLEGG

The fundamentals of the racial dilemma in the Rhodesias
are the subject of a study which pays particular attention
to the relationships of the countries with each other, with
the British Government, the Northern Rhodesian
Government, the European settlers, and the African
communities before the creation of the Federation. 30s net

Coloured Immigrants in Britain

J. A. G. GRIFFITH, JUDITH HENDERSON,
MARGARET USBORNE, DONALD WOOD, and
HERMAN H. LONG

With a Foreword by PHILIP MASON

A survey of coloured Commonwealth migrants in Britain,
undertaken with the aid of a grant from the Nuffield
Foundation. 'It is about the attitude of ordinary white
Britons to their coloured neighbours that this report is
most illuminating and some of its contributors most
encouraging.' DAILY TELEGRAPH
(Institute of Race Relations) 25s net

The Discovery of the Pacific Islands

ANDREW SHARP

The author's purpose is to establish the true title to the
discovery of the various islands of Polynesia, Melanesia,
and Micronesia. The book makes a notable contribution
to the history, geography, and ethnology of the Pacific.
Illustrated 45s net

Religion in a Tswana Chiefdom

B. A. PAUW

A study of present-day religion among the Thapans, a
rural Bantu society who were the first among the Tswana
cluster of tribes to come into contact with Europeans.
The religious organization is viewed within the framework
of the people's social structure and economy. (International
African Institute) 38s net

The Secret Adam

A Study of Nasoraeoan Gnosis

E. S. DROWER, D.D. (Uppsala)

Here is set forth the esoteric teaching of an ancient, still
surviving gnostic community, whose priests, generally
known as 'Mandaean', call themselves Nasoraeans and
reserve the inner tenets of their faith for themselves.
Manuscripts in the author's possession indicate connexion
with early Jewish gnosisim. 25s net

MAMBU
A Melanesian Millennium
KENELM BURRIDGE

Mambu is the name of a native of New Guinea
who twenty-five years ago led what has become
to be known as a 'Cargo' movement. These
movements, which are common in Melanesia, are
partly religious, partly political and partly
economic in nature, and resemble the 'Enthusi-
siams' and messianic movements which have
occurred elsewhere at various times. Dr. Burridge
went to live in New Guinea and tried to find out
why these cults occur and how far those who
initiate them succeed. In his book, which he calls
'in the nature of a modified field monograph',
he considers the way of life a New Guinea people
and their reactions to European penetration and
achievement. Illustrated, 42s

METHUEN
36 Essex Street, London WC2

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN SOCIETY AND HISTORY
AN INTERNATIONAL QUARTERLY

Editorial Committee: G. E. von Grunebaum, Everett C. Hughes, Edward A. Kracke, Jr., Max Rheinstein, Edward Shils, Eric R. Wolf, Sylvia L. Thrupp (Editor), with an international board of consulting editors including Raymond Firth

CONTENTS OF VOL. III, NO. 1 (OCTOBER 1960)

Russell H. Fitzgibbon
Maurice Freedman
Edmund Leach
Isidore Dyen
A. N. J. den Hollander
François Bucher
Anthony Garvan
Max Rheinstein

The Process of Constitution Making in Latin America
Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-century Singapore
The Frontiers of "Burma"
Comment on the Frontiers of "Burma"
The Great Hungarian Plain: a Frontier Area
Cistercian Architectural Purism
New England Plain Style
Epistemology and Social Order (Review Article)

Subscription $6.00 (U.S.A.) per year, payable through booksellers or directly to the publisher:
MOUTON & COMPANY, THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS

WESTERN AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM, PERTH, W.A.

Applications are invited for the post of
CURATOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY
at the Western Australian Museum, Perth, Western Australia.

Salary will be within the range—
Curator Grade II £A1550-2050
Curator Grade I £A2150-2500
(Salary scales are subject to basic wage adjustments)

The starting salary of the successful candidate will be fixed according to his qualifications and experience.

Applicants will be expected to possess a University degree with qualifications in General Anthropology and preference will be given to candidates with experience and research qualifications in Archaeology and/or Ethnology.

Applicants should include in their applications a recent photograph, full information as to nationality, date of birth, marital state, particulars of education, degrees, research experience, research interests, and publications; they should also indicate what lecturing experience (academic and public), display experience and experience of ethnological collections they have had.

Each applicant should also nominate as referees three persons competent to give information as to the candidate's character and ability.

Further information can be obtained from the Director, Western Australian Museum, and applications should reach him before 30th November 1960. The appointee should be prepared to take up his position on the 1st March 1961 and not later than 31st May 1961.

Made and printed in Great Britain by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles
Simple Rock Engravings in Central Australia
(with Plate M and seven text figures)
C. P. Mountford

A Viking Settlement in Little England beyond Wales: ABO Blood-Group Evidence
(with a map and a table)
Dr. I. Morgan Watkin

Shorter Notes
Diagnosis of the 'Wild Man' according to Buddhist Literary Sources from Tibet, Mongolia and China:
Absence of Abnormal Haemoglobin in 274 Children in South Slovakia (Including 63 Gypsies)

Correspondence
Reviews
General: Asia

Published by
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1
CONTENTS
The numbers refer not to pages but to articles, by which references are normally made to matter published in MAN.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES
Simple Rock Engravings in Central Australia. C. P. MOUNTFORD. With Plate M and seven text figures. 192
A Viking Settlement in Little England beyond Wales: ABO Blood-Group Evidence. Dr. I. M. WATKIN.
With a map and a table. 193

SHORTER NOTES
Diagnosis of the 'Wild Man' according to Buddhist Literary Sources from Tibet, Mongolia and China.
Dr. E. VlČEK, Dr. J. Kolmaš and Dr. P. Poucha. With two text figures. 194
Absence of Abnormal Haemoglobin in 274 Children in South Slovakia (Including 63 Gypsies). Professor
J. A. Valšík, Dr. H. Lehmann and Miss J. Nichols. 195

CORRESPONDENCE
Central Indian Prehistory: The Carlyle Collections. Dr. B. Allchin. 196
Cypro-Mycenaean. S. E. MANN. 197

REVIEWS

GENERAL
Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores and Morals. By
W. G. Sumner. Professor E. O. JAMES. 198
Evolution of the Speech Apparatus. By E. L. Dahlbu. Dr. H. L. Shapiro. 199
Evolution, Marxism and the Social Scene. By C. Zirkle. Professor H. J. FLEURE, F.R.S. 201
Schamanentum dargestellt am Beispiel der Besessenehrener nordeuropäischer Völker. By H.
Findeisen. Dr. P. AALTO. 202
Man, the State and War. By K. N. Waltz. Professor H. J. FLEURE, F.R.S. 203
La Grande Festa: Storia del Capodanno nelle civiltà primitive. By V. Lanternari. Professor H. J. ROSE.
204

ASIA
Races and Cultures of India. By D. N. Majumdar. Professor J. H. HUTTON, C.I.E. 206
Cambodia. By D. J. Steinberg. A. H. CHRISTIE. 208

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
President: Miss Audrey I. Richards, C.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Secretary: Marian W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D. Hon. Treasurer: Sir George Beresford-Stooke, K.C.M.G.
Hon. Editor of the JOURNAL: G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc. Hon. Editor of MAN: W. B. Fagg, M.A.

R.A.I. ENDOWMENT FUND CHRISTMAS CARDS, 1960
The Endowment Fund is urgently in need of contributions large or small. Over £760 was collected last
year making a total of over £1,400 when matched from the Seligman Trust through the generosity of Mrs.
Seligman. Fellows will again this year have an opportunity of benefiting the Fund by making use of the
Institute's Christmas card; the benefit does not become substantial until about 3,000 cards have been sold, but
above this figure the additional costs are small and the proceeds large, provided only that orders are placed
in good time.

The illustration chosen for this year's card is Plate Bb (lower picture) in the issue of MAN for January,
1960. It is a four-colour reproduction of a lively rock painting recently discovered at Gunong Panjang near
Iphoh in Malaya. Although this is a much more expensive card to produce than last year's, the price has been
kept down to 11 shillings a dozen for the first three dozen and 9 shillings for each additional dozen (the
incentive to place large orders being thus substantially increased by the larger discount); these prices are
reduced by one shilling in the case of orders despatched overseas by the printers. All orders should be placed,
preferably on the order form provided in the June issue, as soon as possible. Postage is charged extra, but
Fellows may arrange to collect their cards at the Institute if they wish.
LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Accessions during March–May, 1960 (continued)

AFRICA (continued)


Accessions during June and July, 1960

GENERAL


PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY


Mario Cigliano, E. Nota sulla circolazione trofica. La Plata, 1959. 371-9 pp. (Notes Mus. La Plata, Antrop. 71)


Sanchez Jurado, J. d. 'Sanguines negros en los perros de Moçambique.' Lisbon, 1958. 405-7 pp. (Rev. Garcia de Orta, 3)


Vignati, M. A. El hombre fossil de Mata-Molle. La Plata, 1959. 367-91 pp. (Notes Mus. La Plata, Antrop. 70)


AMERICA


Casas, J. 'Los datos para la historia de la degradacion canela en Mexico.' Mexico, 1960. 509-20 pp. (Hist. Mex. 36)


Irvine, F. E. Bibliography of wild foods of the United States Indians. Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1959. [iii], 26 pp. (mimeo.)


Mario Cigliano, E. Una pieza novedosa del yacimiento arqueologico de Juella . . . La Plata, 1959. 381-8 pp. (Notes Mus. La Plata, Antrop. 72)


Thompson, R. H. editor. Migrations in new world culture history. Tucson, 1958. [x], 68 pp. (Univ. Arizona Bull. 29:2)

Vignati, M. A. Viajes indigenas del Collahuasi-Patagonia. La Plata, 1959. 267-77 pp. (Notes Mus. La Plata, Antrop. 69)


EUROPE

OCCASIONAL PAPERS OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL
INSTITUTE
No. 14

The Tomb of the Dated
Inscription at Gedi

by
James Kirkman, F.S.A.

Pp. 50, 10 figs., 2 pls. Price 15s.

Published 1960 at the
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

Lectureship in Anthropology

Applications are invited for the above-mentioned position. Candidates should have specialised,
or be prepared to specialise, in the prehistory of South-East Asia and/or Oceania, and be able
to teach elementary physical anthropology.

The salary for a Lecturer is within the range £A1,730 × 105—£2,435 per annum, plus cost
of living adjustments (at present £A13 p.a.), and will be subject to deductions under the State
Superannuation Act. The commencing salary will be fixed according to the qualifications and
experience of the successful applicant.

Under the Staff Members’ Housing Scheme in cases approved by the University and its
Bankers, married men may be assisted by loans to purchase a house.

Further particulars and information as to the method of application may be obtained from
the Secretary, Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, 36 Gordon Square,

Excavations at Igbo-Ukwu, Eastern Nigeria: An Interim Report  
(with Plate N and three text figures)  
Thurstan Shaw

A Papuan Lunar 'Calendar': The Reckoning of Moons and Seasons by the Marind-Anim of Netherlands New Guinea  
(with two text figures and a table)  
Dr. S. Kooijman

Obituary  
Dhirendra Nath Majumdar: 1903–1960  
Professor C. von Führer-Haimendorf

Shorter Notes  
Zande Clans and Settlements  
Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard

Carbon-14 Date for a 'Neolithic' Site in the Rub' al Khali  
Dr. Henry Field

Correspondence  
Reviews  
General: Africa: Oceania

Published by  
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE  
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1  
Annual Subscription 30s.
## CONTENTS

The numbers refer not to pages but to articles, by which references are normally made to matter published in MAN.

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES


A Papuan Lunar 'Calendar': The Reckoning of Moons and Seasons by the Marind-Anim of New Guinea. Dr. S. Kooijman. With two text figures and a table

### OBITUARY


### SHORTER NOTES

Zande Clans and Settlements. Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard
Carbon-14 Date for a 'Neolithic' Site in the Rub' al Khali. Dr. H. Field

### CORRESPONDENCE

'The Mankind Quarterly.' Professor B. Skelij
Correction: MAN, 1960, 179

### REVIEWS

**GENERAL**

The Rites of Passage. By A. van Gennep. Death and The Right Hand. By R. Hertz. Dr. E. R. Leach

Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde. Edited by L. Adam and H. Trimborn. Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf

Social Change. By H. I. Hogbin. Dr. K. L. Little

**AFRICA**

The Belgian Congo: Some Recent Changes. By R. Slade. Dr. M. M. Douglas


Lesotho: Basutoland Notes and Records, Vol. L. G. I. Jones


**OCEANIA**

Anthropological Research in New Guinea since 1950. Dr. S. Kooijman


Kulturen der Südsee: Einführung in die Völkerkunde Ozeaniens. By H. Tischner. Dr. S. Kooijman


### ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

President: Miss Audrey I. Richards, C.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.

Hon. Secretary: Marian W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D.

Hon. Treasurer: Sir George Beresford-Stooke, K.C.M.G.

Hon. Editor of the Journal: G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc.

Hon. Editor of MAN: W. B. Fagg. M.A.

### CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

Any person interested in the sciences of anthropology and archaeology may apply for membership either through a Fellow or directly to the Hon. Secretary at 21 Bedford Square, W.C.1 (tel. Museum 2980), who will gladly supply full details of the Institute's activities and of the rights and obligations of Fellows. Forms of proposal should, in general, be signed by a Fellow who has personal knowledge of the applicant; but when an applicant does not already know a Fellow, the Hon. Secretary may be able to assist by listing Fellows resident near the applicant.

Fellows receive the Journal free, and may subscribe to MAN at twenty-four (instead of thirty) shillings a year; they may borrow up to ten books at a time from the Library (by post, if desired), for a period of a month, or longer by arrangement; and, among other facilities, they may bring guests to lecture meetings.

The annual subscription of three guineas becomes due on election (unless this takes place in November or December), and on the first of every January thereafter. There is an entrance fee of one guinea: payment of fifty guineas entitles a Fellow to membership for life. Associate Membership, including most of the advantages of Fellowship, is open to persons under 26 at a subscription of one guinea, without entrance fee.
Acessions during June and July, 1960 (continued)

EUROPE (continued)


Burns, T. Management in the electronics industry... Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre, 1958, [iv], 47 pp.

Jenkins, D. and others. Welsh rural communities... Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1960, [xvi], 254 pp. (Anthropos, Brno, N.S.3)


ASIA


Barth, F. Political leadership among the Swat Pathans. London, 1959, [viii], 143 pp. (Monogr. social Anthrop. 19)


Gordon, E. I. Sumerian proverb... Philadelphia, 1959, xxvi, 556 pp. (Mus. Monogr. Philad.)


Acessions during August and September, 1960

GENERAL


Gellner, E. The concept of kinship... [Baltimore], 1960, 197-204 pp. (Phil. Sci. 27)

Hertz, R. Death and the right hand... [London], Cohen & West, 1960, 174 pp.

Needham, R. Descent systems and ideal language... [Baltimore], 1960, 96-101 pp. (Phil. Sci. 27)

Oakley, K. P. The life and work of Samuel Hazzledine Warren. [Buckhurst Hill], 1959, 15 pp. (Elzine Nat. 39)


PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Barnicot, N. A. 'Biology and human variation.' [London], 1960, 40-50 pp. (Race, 1)

Accessions during August and September, 1960 (continued)

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY (continued)

Oschinsky, L. 'A reappraisal of recent serological, genetic and morphological research on the taxonomy of the races of Africa and Asia.' [Ottawa, 1939.] 25 pp. (Anthropologia, N.S. 3.)

— and R. Smithurt. 'On certain dental characters of the Eskimo of the eastern Canadian Arctic.' [Ottawa, 1939.] 105-122 pp. (Anthropologia, N.S. 2.)

Skerlj, B. 'Were Neanderthalers the only inhabitants of Krapina?' [Paris, 1958.] 44 pp. (Bull. scient. 4.)


AMERICA


Caso, A. 'Nuevos datos para la correlacion de los anos Aztecas y Cristianos.' Mexico, 1959. 9-25 pp. (Estud. Cult. Nahua, t. 1)

— 'La tenencia de la tierra entre los antiguos mexicanos.' Mexico, 1960. 29-54 pp. (Mem. Coleg. nat. 4)

— 'Valor historico de los codices Mixtecos.' [Mexico, 1960.] 139-47 pp. (Cuadernos)


Social anthropology of middle America. The. Claremont, California, 1960. 65 pp. (Alpha Kappa Delta, 30:1)


EUROPE


ASI


OCEANIA


AFRICA


Zande, J. Death as an enemy: according to ancient Egyptian conceptions. Leiden, Brill, 1960. xxii, 144 pp. (Stud. Hist. Relig. 5)

Accessions during October, 1960

GENERAL


PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY


Kumar, N. 'Taste, middle-plalangeal hair and occipital hair whors among Nokte Nagas.' Calcutta, 1955. 61-7 pp. (Bull. Dep. Anthropol. India, 4)

A Bark Sandal from the Desert of Central Western Australia
(with Plate O and two text figures)
Dr. Donald F. Thomson

Obituary
Leonhard Adam : 1891–1960
Eric Voce : 1902–1960

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute
Two Exorcist Priests in Bali
Dr. C. Hooykaas
Land and Settlement in Zanzibar
Dr. J. F. M. Middleton

Shorter Notes
A Brief Note on the Role of Cross-Cutting Alliances in Segmentary Political Systems
André Béteille

Correspondence

Reviews
General : Africa : America : Asia : Europe

Published by
THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

Each Issue 2s. 6d. Annual Subscription 30s.
# CONTENTS

The numbers refer not to pages but to articles, by which references are normally made to matter published in MAN.

## ORIGINAL ARTICLES

A Bark Sandal from the Desert of Central Western Australia. Dr. D. F. Thomson. With Plate O and two
text figures. .................................................. 228

## OBITUARY


## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

Two Exorcist Priests in Bali. Dr. C. Hooykaas .................................................. 231
Land and Settlement in Zanzibar. Dr. J. F. M. Middleton .................................................. 232

## SHORTER NOTES

A Brief Note on the Role of Cross-Cutting Alliances in Segmentary Political Systems. A. Béthelne .................................................. 233
Social Anthropology at Edinburgh. Dr. K. L. Little .................................................. 234

## CORRESPONDENCE

The Azande. Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard .................................................. 235
Phallic Objects from Australia and Wales. Dr. P. Cassar .................................................. 236

## REVIEWS

GENERAL

The Mothers. By R. Briffault. Dr. E. R. Leach .................................................. 237

AFRICA

The Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt. By E. L. R. Meyerowitz. Dr. M. A. Murray .................................................. 238
The Prehistory of Southern Africa. By J. D. Clark. Dr. B. Allchin .................................................. 239
Cultures and Societies of Africa. Edited by S. and P. Ottenberg. Dr. P. T. W. Baxter .................................................. 242
La Superstitione Zande. By Cero. Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, F.B.A. .................................................. 243
The Mugwe: A Failing Prophet. By B. Bernardi. M. J. Ruel .................................................. 244
Les Bamiléké de l'Ouest Cameroun. By C. Tardits. Lord Raglan .................................................. 245

AMERICA

Sons of the Shaking Earth. By E. R. Wolf. Dr. E. M. Mendelson .................................................. 246
The Ancient Civilizations of Peru. By J. A. Mason. R. T. Zuidema .................................................. 248

ASIA

The Art of the North-East Frontier of India. By V. Elwin. Professor J. H. Hutton, C.I.E. .................................................. 249
Political Leadership among Swat Pathans. By F. Barth. Dr. F. G. Bailey .................................................. 251

EUROPE

Management in the Electronics Industry. By T. Burns. Dr. R. Frankenberg .................................................. 252
Prehistoric Man in Europe. By F. C. Hibben. J. d'A. Waechter .................................................. 253
Hellenism. By A. J. Toynbee. W. C. Brice .................................................. 254

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

President: Miss Audrey I. Richards, C.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.
Hon. Secretary: Marjan W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D.  
Hon. Treasurer: Sir George Beresford-Stooke, K.C.M.G.
Hon. Editor of the JOURNAL: G. W. B. Huntingford, B.Sc.  
Hon. Editor of MAN: W. B. Fagg, M.A.

## CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

Any person interested in the sciences of anthropology and archaeology may apply for membership either through a Fellow or directly to the Hon. Secretary at 21 Bedford Square, W.C.1 (tel. Museum 2980), who will gladly supply full details of the Institute's activities and of the rights and obligations of Fellows. Forms of proposal should, in general, be signed by a Fellow who has personal knowledge of the applicant: but when an applicant does not already know a Fellow, the Hon. Secretary may be able to assist by listing Fellows resident near the applicant.

Fellows receive the Journal free, and may subscribe to MAN at twenty-four (instead of thirty) shillings a year; they may borrow up to ten books at a time from the Library (by post, if desired), for a period of a month, or longer by arrangement; and, among other facilities, they may bring guests to lecture meetings.

The annual subscription of three guineas becomes due on election (unless this takes place in November or December), and on the first of every January thereafter. There is an entrance fee of one guinea: payment of fifty guineas entitles a Fellow to membership for life. Associate Membership, including most of the advantages of Fellowship, is open to persons under 26 at a subscription of one guinea, without entrance fee.
LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Accessions during October, 1960 (continued)

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY (continued)


AMERICA


EUROPE


ASIA

Bostanci, E. Y. *Researches on the Mediterranean coast of Anatolia: a new paleolithic site at Belidibi near Antalya ...* Ankara, 1959. 129-75 (pp. (Anatolia, 4)


Kauflmann, H. E. *Marmar-Osiptakaia ... Festliche Einsetzung eines Hautstulgas*. Göttingen, 1960. 11 pp. (Encyc. cinemat.)


Watanabe, N. *The direction of remanent magnetism of baked earth and its application to chronology for anthropology and archaeology in Japan ...* Tokyo, 1959. 188 pp. (J. Fac. Sci. Univ. Tokyo, Sect. 5, 2:1)

EAST INDIES OCEANIA AUSTRALASIA

Anell, B. *Hunting and trapping methods in Australia and Oceania*. [Uppsala], 1960. xiv, 130 pp. (Stud. ethnom. upsal. 18)


AFRICA


Accessions during November, 1960

GENERAL


LITERAL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Accessions during November, 1960 (continued)

General (continued)


PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY


---


AMERICA


Cook, S. F. Colonial expeditions to the interior of California... Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1960. 239-92 pp. (Anthrop. Rec. 16:6)


Zimmermann, G. Das Geschichtswerk des Domingo de Muñon Chimalpahin Quauhtleumitín... Hamburg, 1960. 79 pp. (Beitr. mittelamer. Völkerk.

EUROPE


Gesztesy, A. Z. Przeglad etnograficzny. Ljubljana, 1960. 91 pp. (Dela Sekr. arheol. Ljublj. 8)


Kastelic, J. Slowanska nekropol na Bledju... Ljubljana, 1960. 48 pp. (Dela Sekr. arheol. Ljublj. 9)


Schott, R. 'Das Geschichtsbild der sowjetischen Ethnographie'. [Freiburg], 1960. 27-63 pp. (Saeulum, 11)


ASIATICA


Lewis, M. B. Moken texts and word-list... Kuala Lumpur, 1960. xii, 102 pp. (Fed. Mus. J. N.S. 4)


Peter, Prince of Greece and Denmark. 'The p'a-s'un of Leh Tehsil in Ladak... ' Rome, 1956. 158-46 pp. (East Asia 3:7)
“A book that is shut is but a block.”

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.

S. S., 148, N. DELHI.