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THE R.A.I. ENDOWMENT FUND AND THE SELIGMAN MEMORIAL TRUST

In January, 1958, Mrs. B. Z. Seligman sold her famous ivory mask from Benin, Nigeria, to the Museum of Primitive Art, New York, with the intention of devoting the whole proceeds of £20,000 to the endowment of the Royal Anthropological Institute, of whose chronic need of funds she had, as Vice-President and member of its Council, been so long and well aware. She established the Seligman Memorial Trust in commemoration of her late husband, Professor Charles Gabriel Seligman, F.R.S., President, 1923-26, and arranged that the Trustees should add equivalent sums from the Trust to all contributions made to the Institute's Endowment Fund, which was thus launched with a real possibility of attaining its target of £50,000 (see Dr. Mariam W. Smith's letter in MAN, 1958, 124). Including the transfers made from the Trust, the Endowment Fund now stands at over £19,000, and the Institute is most grateful to all those who have contributed large sums and small; but much more must be done if the £9,500 so far collected from other sources is to be raised to £20,000 within the five-year term specified by Mrs. Seligman. The President and Council hope that all Fellows and other well-wishers of the R.A.I. will consider at once how they can help in this task of freeing it from its financial anxieties and enable it to do its indispensable work better.

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MAN was founded by the late Sir John Myres, F.B.A., and was first published on the first day of the twentieth century (sense stricto), 1 January, 1901. A detailed account of its origins was given by Sir John in the Golden Jubilee issue which appeared on 1 January, 1951. Its circulation now exceeds 1,600; if this could be further increased, the Institute would be enabled to publish more of the good material submitted to the Hon. Editor. The two devices used on the front cover are explained in MAN, 1951, 4 and 44.
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TO BRENDA ZARA SELIGMAN

whose magnificently creative generosity has inspired—and should increasingly inspire—the Fellows and friends of the Royal Anthropological Institute to larger efforts in aid of its greatly needed endowment this double commemorative issue and MAN’s seventh decade are respectfully dedicated.
THE NZEMA OF SOUTH-WEST GHANA

(a) An ailing boy, Ekebaku; (b) Nzema man with his little daughter; (c) Nzema amonle, for magical protection of a coconut grove; (d) Nzema priest dancing; (e) asongu figurine; (f) Nzema diviner; on the desk, the knotted cords used in divination; (g) Nzema women during funeral obsequies, Ekebaku; (h) Nzema children on the Atlantic beach; (i) Nzema children, Ekebaku. Photographs: V. L. Grottanelli.
THE PREPARATION OF CHEWING TOBACCO BY THE BINDIBU

(a) Bindibu hunters gathering Nicotiana ingulba, J. M. Black, for the preparation of a chewing quid on a plain near the rock hole at Labbi Labbi in central Western Australia. The entire plant, including the tap root, is collected when in flower or setting seed. (b) Nicotiana ingulba, collected by a Bindibu tribesman for the preparation of the quid from which the narcotics, nicotine and nonnicotine, are extracted by chewing. (c) The quid formed by chewing the entire plant of Nicotiana ingulba into a compact fibrous mass, preparatory to rolling it in the white residual ash produced by burning the fresh green leaves of a Grevillea. (d) A further stage in the rather elaborate preparation of the tobacco quid. Bindibu man holds in his hand tobacco moulded into a compact mass by chewing—ready to receive the white wood ash daubed on by the index finger of his assistant.
A SET OF GAMBLING PEGS FROM THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA

Top row, Nos. 1–11; second row, Nos. 12, 13, 15–18, 20, 21, 23–25; third row, Nos. 14, 19; fourth row, Nos. 22, 26; bottom row, Nos. 27, 28
PRE-EXISTENCE AND SURVIVAL IN NZEMA BELIEFS

by

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University of Rome

1. Introductory

I

To Africans no less than to us, man’s destiny before and after the span of earthly life is not merely a matter for abstract philosophical speculation. Some more or less precise representation of the afterworld is a prerequisite for that action of vital social relevance, ancestor-worship. A consistent set of ideas on the prenatal condition and nature of the human being is more rarely met with; but some thought must be given to it in cases when a high rate of infant mortality imperils the demographic stability or the very survival of a given community. Such a situation is a severe challenge to the pride and feelings of the parents, to their understanding as reasoning individuals, as well as to the strength of competing lineages and clans and to society as a whole; as such, it cannot fail to evoke strong emotional reactions, which must find an outlet along culturally determined channels. Now the search for explanations and causes of children’s deaths, and the co-ordinated attempts to ward off this calamity by social and ritual action of an appropriate sort, do not only require a set of accepted techniques and practices to attain these ends, but also involve—and are largely influenced by—the general notions of birth, life, illness and death in the framework of empirical experience, cultural interpretation, and religious belief. I have attempted to examine reactions and solutions of this type among the inhabitants of a Nzema village in south-western Ghana, Ekebaku.  

In the present paper, I am trying to summarize some aspects of Nzema mental attitudes towards these problems which may be termed ‘traditional’; but the implications of this adjective are subject to caution. True, those attitudes—in their twofold aspect, intellectual and practical—are combined into generally accepted patterns at any given time in the life of the group; but they are also exposed to a certain variety of personal interpretation, and to inner and outward processes of culture change. Even in a small community such as the one that I am speaking of, different degrees of education and acculturation, and the influence of various (mainly Christian) creeds, whether directly accepted or not, make for a relatively large range of variation in ideas. Accounts of the life-giving processes, as well as of survival after death, as found in my field notes, show a number of minor discrepancies calling for a great deal of further investigation. The prevalent explanation for premature deaths, which was at the basis of the asongu cult (see section 4 below), was openly declared not to be a traditional one; it was looked upon with scorn and mistrust by the more westernized minority in the village; it was abandoned en masse, allegedly, as the result of the preaching of an outlandish ‘prophet’ at the end of 1934.  

shortly after I had left the area; but on the occasion of another visit to Ghana (though not to Nzema) in June, 1960, I was told that the cult, and all it stood for, had been re-established. At the same time, even the widespread consensus of opinion and action on a vital issue such as this does not imply that the cultural response prevalent at the time must exclude others. Alternative possibilities for the supernatural explanation of death in young age were the infringement of some taboo, sorcery, or the abnormal nature of the child itself at birth, while a more rational knowledge of pathogenic agents was by no means foreign to the literate section of the population.

2. Ebolo, Land of the Dead and of the Unborn

Unborn children are reputed to dwell in ebolo, the afterworld, a subterranean place which is at the same time the abode of the dead. I was unable to obtain from my informants a consistent formulation of this ‘theory of pre-existence,’ which would have required from them some degree of mastery of a philosophical terminology, but the following points were made clear to me: (a) there is a link between life before birth and life after death, in connexion with the belief that the underground world is the place of origin of mankind as a whole; (b) there is no general belief in individual re-incarnation of the deceased in the body of an infant; (c) during its sojourn in Hades, the unborn babe is already subject to influences by supernatural beings, irrespective of its future social and spiritual ties to its father and mother.  

As unborn children do not yet have a fully human personality, little is known about their lot in Hades, except that one often hears it said that so-and-so while in ebolo was ‘attacked’ by asongu or akigiamo (see below) and later brought them to earth with him: the ‘pre-existing’ child is thus obviously thought of as a passive, helpless little creature, already receptive to spiritual influences. Popular beliefs are understandably much more explicit with regard to the destiny of deceased people. Ebolo is supposed to be a land beyond an underground river, which has to be crossed on some boat or ferry, a fee being demanded for the crossing. 2 When you first arrive at the river, you see people on the other bank, and they come and fetch you. Once you are landed on the opposite bank, you will be met and greeted by all the deceased members of your abusua, 3 to the head of which you will have to give full account of your life on earth. Existence in ebolo is in many ways similar to that of living people. The deceased walk about, eat, talk, etc., like people on earth. In the past, as among other Akan, it was customary among the Nzema to sacrifice slaves at the death of an omamhene or other person.
of high rank, so that they might wait on him in afterlife just as they had done in this world.

The question, what part of man's whole personality survives in Hades, is a somewhat complex one. A brief statement on the subject is to be found in a pamphlet by a Nzema author, Nana Anmor Adjaye, who says that 'when a person dies, his soul goes to ebulo (samaniadi), the world of spirits, where it continues its existence in the same manner as during life. The ghost remains on earth and wanders about for some time . . .'

The account which I obtained orally from informants in Nzema, two of whom at least were very well qualified and with whom I discussed the matter at length, is more detailed and points to the need of handling these concepts with greater subtlety. The deceased, mowama, dwell in ebulo first of all with their bodies (funli: the living body is ngomene). As to the 'spiritual' principle of man and its survival after death, the question must be examined bearing in mind that the Nzema have three distinct concepts and terms to indicate such a principle. (a) The term which was adopted by Christian missionaries and converts to translate the European concept of 'soul' is ekela (corresponding to Twi kra or okara), though this term originally just referred to the day of the week in which a person was born (and consequently to the 'soul's name,' ekela duma) rather than to man's personal spirit. Now ekela is said to come from Nyamene (God) at birth and to return to Him at the moment of death: it does not survive in Hades. I happened to raise the point that it was strange, to us at any rate, to think of a deceased person existing without a 'soul': the reply to which was that if people in afterworld did have their ekela they would indeed be alive, rather than dead, and this in Nzema eyes would be contradictory. (b) The dead in ebulo are also deprived of their mora, or 'life principle,' whose nature will be discussed below. (c) The Nzema term indicating 'the soul as it leaves the body' is ngomene, which can approximately be translated by 'spirit' or 'ghost' (Schattenseele); it corresponds to Twi osaman. This is the 'soul' which, connected with the funli and yet well distinct from it, has its main abode in Hades, and a place of honour in religious worship. In fact, though there is a special term for 'ancestor,' angabenzo, the spirits of the departed are invoked as ngomene in solemn prayers, when nza (palm wine) or rum are poured on to the earth, a first time in honour of the gods and a second time in honour of the ancestors. The usual formula of these prayers is the following: Awozonde o nee ngomene mo wo eke la, balie nza benlo na bama yede kpoke dahnu. Saa ye kponde ezukwu a bema yenyia bie na esa ye wo mmale doongo. Bema azinduwe ere la manle ye anu dahnu ('O gods and spirits who are here, come and receive drink and give us more strength always. If we are working for gold (money) help us to get more, and also to beget more children. Let there be peace in this our region always').

3. How the Dead Return to Earth

Though ngomene belong to ebulo, it is also said that they wander away from it and return to earth. Sometimes, rumour has it that some dead person has been seen in a distant part of the country, roving about or even having settled down, married and set up a store. A ngomene may thus look exactly like the normal human being which he used to be, and be mistaken for such a one, but it is believed that he will suddenly vanish if he happens to meet somebody who knew him in his previous life on earth.

But the dead have another way of returning to this world, that is, by incarnating themselves in the body of a child. They do this, according to Nzema beliefs, in order to satisfy their craving for ornaments and clothes. First-hand evidence for this was supplied by one of my Ekebaku informants. The first two children he had by his first wife (two girls) died at a few years' interval from one another, both at the age of four or five. When a third baby was born to them shortly afterwards, also a girl, the parents greatly feared that she would die too, so the father consulted a diviner to find out what should be done. The diviner revealed that the first child was a ngomene who had come from ebulo to look for gold; having failed the child had died, and the spirit had taken its abode in the dead girl's sister; this time it had succeeded in getting what it was after, and had returned to ebulo again, causing the death of the second child, but bringing back to Hades the 'spirit of gold' (ezukwu ne ngomene). Yet the ghost was not satisfied, and had come to earth once more, incarnating itself in the third child. Action had to be taken to prevent this child from dying like its sisters. The diviner asked for a gold nugget, tied a piece of white cloth round it, went to the outskirts of the village at 5 p.m., and placed the little bundle on the ground. He then talked to the ghost (addressing the air, as he didn't know the ghost's name), saying: 'Here is all the gold we have, take it and don't come back.' On the following night, the ngomene came and took 'the spirit of the gold,' as the diviner was later able to demonstrate; the little girl survived and was indeed in good health from then onwards. The parents, however, were advised not to go back for the nugget.

A similar case was reported to me in nearby Atuabo. Another little girl would insist on going to market, and walking up to a certain man there asking him to give her 7d. The child's parents were surprised and upset about this strange behaviour, because they knew their little daughter could not possibly be acquainted with this particular man. A diviner was called, and revealed that the man actually owed 7d. to an old woman who had once sold him kuma keneke (a sort of maize bread) and had died without being paid for it. The diviner instructed the parents to leave the 7d. in a hidden place in their house. They did so, and the following morning the coins had mysteriously disappeared. After that, the little girl forgot about the man in the market, and her behaviour and health were normal.

Cases such as these are remembered and quoted by the Nzema as strange and unusual occurrences, thus confirming that reincarnation, while believed to be possible, is by no means the ordinary process by which human beings come into this world.

4. Prenatal influences

During their prenatal sojourn in ebulo, unborn children are subject to various types of supernatural influences,
which they subsequently bring with them into the world. The most prominent of these influences is (or, at any rate, was in 1954) attributed to the deities called asongu; I have discussed it elsewhere, and it will here suffice to say that it manifests itself mainly in the form of some serious ailment, but may be turned into a positive force in protection of the individual if proper ritual action is taken in time. Two more types are mentioned in a pamphlet in Nzema language, from which most of the information following in this section is drawn. I am using the word ‘influences’ for lack of a more exact term to render the Nzema concept; in the original text, the word amonle is employed, meaning ‘charm,’ in the more general sense of the term.

The influence called anguma (lit. ‘above,’ ‘high up’) is described as a sort of amonle to which no sacrifices are offered, in contrast to asongu, which requires numerous offerings. This would seem to imply a magical, rather than a religious, connotation. The person suffering from it becomes pale and dizzy, his eyes become white as a dead man’s, the eyesight is blurred. If it attacks a child and makes it faint, a charm called anguma amonle is tied round its neck; the child will be placed on the ground just under the eaves, so that rain draining from the roof will drip on it. There is a special medicine for anguma, consisting of vun (shea butter, imported from the Northern Territories), tobacco, and dodo (a variety of honey) in equal proportions, pounded together in a special mortar (duba) and diluted with water. The anguma medicine is prepared by a ninisini (doctor), who will recite an incantation while the patient drinks it. As it is being prepared, all people present must step aside so that no one is behind the doctor as he is touching the mortar; the cup from which the patient drinks the decoction must be held with both hands and emptied in one gulp. This medicine is always prepared on a Tuesday, and has its own kyibadee or taboos: the patient must not take palm soup or palm oil on a Tuesday, and adults who take the medicine on Tuesday must abstain from sexual intercourse on the previous Monday.

A third type of obnoxious influence brought along from ebo is called akiygiamo; this, too, is described as an amonle ‘to which sacrifices are not offered.’ Symptoms are stomach ache for a period of one or two months, accompanied by dysentery and vomiting. A characteristic which it has in common with asongu is that if it attacks an adult it can later be used as a protective taboo on his property. If Kodwo suffers from akiygiamo, and Kofi walking behind him treads on him, Kofi will have to pull at once Kodwo’s index finger (of either hand, it seems), otherwise he will catch akiygiamo too. For a sure diagnosis, the suffering person will have to consult a soothsayer, who will perform the adumy divining science. If akiygiamo is thereby detected, a special medicine will be prepared for the patient, and in the evening a further ceremony will be performed at the outskirts of town. Standing in front of the patient, the celebrant will cry out: ‘Akiygiamo! Akiygiamo! Akiygiamo! So-and-so (name of the patient) is suffering from stomach ache, and it is said to be caused by you. This is your ewuole, come down, stop that stomach ache!’ In so saying, the celebrant will put some ewuole (white clay) in the patient’s mouth, and while the man swallows it he will besmirch his stomach with more clay, repeating three times ‘dau aze o!’ (‘come down!’). The patient will then take his medicine and be cured.

5. Life-giving Agents

The belief in pre-existence, in the limited sense that has been outlined above, does not exclude the recognition of (a) God’s intervention as a soul-giver, and (b) of the natural processes of reproduction. Such as it is reputed to pre-exist in ebo, the unborn child is nothing more than a larva; in order to become a complete human being, it must receive its ekela from Nyamene as well as its physical (and, to a certain extent, its spiritual) substance from both parents. Whether the belief in the coalescence of these different life-giving forces and actions should be judged as a sign of logical inconsistency, is a question that had better be left unasked, if we only stop for a moment to consider the conflicting and yet concomitant convictions held by most people in our own societies. The more relevant question, whether such a coalescence is the result of some syncretistic process in Nzema beliefs, is a problem that only future research may help to solve.

It must be underlined that the action of the father and mother is required not merely in order to bring the child into the world as a living creature, but also and especially after birth, to protect it spiritually as well as materially during its early stages of development against the obnoxious influences of the types mentioned above, though these are determined quite independently of the parents-child relationship. In a society threatened by high infantile death rates, such as that of the Nzema, it is just as vital, and indeed more arduous, to keep a child alive during its first years of life, than to give birth to it.

By virtue of the womb, a child belongs to the maternal clan (abusua); in fact, it is believed to get its flesh and bones from its mother. The permanent link thus established between the individual and his matrikin is thus justified by this physical connexion. As a Nzema informant once put it to me, if a woman dies in labour on account of her child, her abusua suffers a loss, whereas her husband loses nothing, though he himself has ‘spoiled’ his wife’s abusua; hence the claims of the matrikin on the child’s allegiance. But the father’s function in begetting a child is no less important. Not only does the man put his seed into the woman, and thus transmit his own blood (mogya) to the future child, he also transmits his mora to it. Mora is not altogether a pure spiritual essence, though it appears to be closely connected with the ‘soul’ (ekela); it is ‘something in the body,’ a vital force or life principle. A deep exhalation (or, as an old informant once put it to me more precisely, a treble breath) by the man at the end of the intercourse is a sign that the man has imparted his mora to the woman, his ‘power of motion’ and his ‘strength of heart.’ Only if a man’s mora is ‘agreeable’ to the mora of his wife can procreation take place. Occasionally, when a baby is born, it will take a few moments before it can breathe or cry; a basin, kept near by for this purpose, is immediately beaten, and the noise will bring the mora along, but the mora is
really already there, in the infant. It seems to correspond to Twi sụsụm, though the precise nature of the latter is subject to controversy.

This twofold physiological relation to father and mother accounts for a dual descent system. Every Nzema is at the same time a member of a matrilineal descent unit and of a patrilocally residential unit, village or town, and most of his or her religious and social duties and affiliations are derived from this double system of allegiances. This corresponds in several respects to the situation among the more easterly Akan peoples, but there are some important differences. Though there are no recognized ntọ groups or categories among the Nzema, the father's position appears to be stronger among them on the whole. This is possibly due to the belief that the child inherits its blood from the father, not from the mother as is the case among the Twi-speaking peoples. The social implications arising from this situation cannot be discussed here, but one general remark must be made as it has direct bearing upon the subject of this paper. The individual's ties with his maternalkin prevail absolutely in all situations connected with death and succession, such as funeral obsequies, inheritance, connexions of the dead person with the other deceased in Hades, etc.; but during life, or at any rate during the early stages of life when the individual's parents are normally alive, it is the ties with the father that appear to be stronger. This different emphasis is consistent with the fact that the dead reach ẹbọlo with their matrilineally inherited flesh and bones, whereas they are at once deprived of their patrilineally inherited blood circulation and ọmọ.

6. Life-preserving Actions

In accordance with this system of beliefs, the task of protecting the child's life especially from spiritual dangers is essentially part of the father's duties. 'The father's blood is thick in a child,' 'a father's spirit overshadows his child,' 'a child's qualities follow his father's mora,' are some of the frequent sayings by which the Nzema express their conviction in the profound father-child link. If a child is taken away from its father, it is believed that it cannot thrive, and that it will be more exposed to injury through witchcraft. The same may happen when a father leaves his compound—as many do nowadays—to seek employment in the more prosperous provinces of Ghana or of the Ivory Coast; and also when a man remains a widower before having taken a second wife, because in this case children will usually be sent to the deceased wife's kin. In either case, the father will send them money and clothing, so that the children will not forget him, and he will visit them whenever he has an opportunity. Again, if a woman divorces her husband and takes her children away with her according to custom, great care must be taken lest they fall ill and die following separation from their father. If a reckless boy has a row with his mother and beats her, no great importance will be attributed to this misdemeanour, but should he venture to act likewise to his father, he would automatically suffer in health. A constant attitude of respect towards one's father is a strict rule for adults no less than for children; as the proverb says, etela e ze tendenle a, te eti pene ọ, 'even if you are taller than your father, you are not his equal.'

In case of a slight ailment, it may be the mother who will take the child to a medicineman or a diviner and ask for medicine (ayile); but should this be of no avail, it is the father who will take things into his hands. For instance, if the child is seriously sick and ọsọngu trouble is suspected, it is he who will consult the priest (konmẹle) and, according to the latter's diagnosis, ask for the proper earthenware figurines to be provided, have the shrine erected, pay for the required offerings, etc. Indeed, I was told of cases in which the death of one or more children had occurred without the respective families being able to avoid it or account for it merely because the father had happened to be away from the village at the time; only when he had returned from long absence had it become possible to explain the causes, due to ọsọngu action.

Other prerogatives of the father or of relations in the paternal line, such as the naming of the child, which also may play a protective role in the child's interest, cannot be discussed here, but I shall briefly mention one further important aspect of the father-son relationship in this respect. A child must observe a number of prohibitions or taboos, called kyibade, depending on the particular god worshipped by its father—a custom very similar to the egba corrobor cult of the Fanti. In most cases known to me, these gods are not personal tutelary deities, but the great awọzonle worshipped throughout Nzema people and connected with sea, river and lagoon, such as Nyewle, Tanoe, Ade, Amanzule, or Mamaleke (a bosile which appears in the form of fire over the sea between Atuabo and Beyin), or, less frequently, ọsọngu deities.

The prohibitions themselves are mostly sets of joint food taboos, numbering from two to four in each individual case, e.g., kpamene (a variety of monkey), bonze (the monitor lizard) and donle (a river fish). Children must observe their father's kyibade from the age 'when they can tell good from bad,' i.e. as they pass from childhood to adolescence. If later on in life they wish to give up the prohibition, they must inform their father, who will ask permission from the god on their behalf. If the kyibade is infringed unintentionally, it may cause the offender to suffer two or three days later from some slight disease such as sores in the mouth, or a sore throat. If it is repeatedly and intentionally infringed, a serious sickness and possibly death will ensue. A daughter will also inherit her father's kyibade, but she will be expected to observe it only as long as she lives in the paternal compound, and will not pass it on to her children; when she marries, she will observe her husband's interdicts out of respect for him. An infringement of the kyibade should be atoned for by pouring some rum or ọtụ on to the ground, as an offering to the offended deity.

Notes

1 My journey from the Ivory Coast to Ghana, and my subsequent stay in this country in 1954, were made possible by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York, to which grateful acknowledgement is here given.
A NARCOTIC FROM NICOTIANA INGULBA, USED BY THE DESERT BINDIBU

CHEWING OF A TRUE TOBACCO IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA*

by

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In an article on smoking and smoking pipes in North Queensland and Arnhem Land, published in MAN more than 20 years ago, I recorded the fact that the use of tobacco was of long standing among the aborigines of Cape York Peninsula as well as in Arnhem Land. I pointed out that it was always smoked and not chewed, and that I had never seen tobacco chewed by an aborigine despite the precedent that must have been established in the long contacts of these people with seafaring men. In the same article I contrasted this use of tobacco exclusively for smoking with the practice among certain other aborigines of northern Australia, especially in parts of central and western Queensland, of chewing leaves of the pituri, Duboisia hopwoodii, F. Muell., a plant with narcotic properties, now well known as the source of the drug hyoscine.

During the expedition to the Bindibub tribe in the desert of central Western Australia in 1957 which was the subject of a recent article in MAN, the practice of these people of preparing a chewing quid from a true native tobacco, Nicotiana ingulba, J. M. Black, was studied. That this plant

* With Plate C and a text figure
possesses powerful narcotic properties was suggested by observation of the behaviour of a group of Bindiburu men—particularly young men—who were addicted to the chew of *Nicotiana ingulba*, prepared by them as described in this paper.

A preliminary note on the Bindiburu country was incorporated in a previous article on the discovery of a sandal in use by these people in the remote desert west and north of Lake Mackay, where they have survived and retained their primitive culture away from contact with the white man.

In 1957, just over 40 Bindiburu people from the surrounding desert visited Labbi Labbi Rock Hole where the expedition was based, and many of them stayed there for several weeks. As soon as the confidence of these people had been won, I accompanied them on food-gathering expeditions among the sand dunes in the desert, as well as in Hidden Valley below the rocky escarpment of Red Cliff Pound. When the natives were hunting on the sand dunes I noticed that they would pick bunches of the young branches of a species of *Grevillea* that grew on the slopes of the dunes. The purpose for which these fresh leafy branchlets, grey or green in colour, were intended, was not apparent at first, but later the natives were seen to burn the leaves to produce a white ash which they used in preparing the chewing quid. The leaves of only one *Grevillea* appeared to be used for this purpose, but unfortunately, in the absence of the inflorescence, for which I searched in vain, the species of this plant could not be determined.

**FIG. 1. PREPARATION OF TOBACCO IN CAMP**

*Nicotiana ingulba*, called mâmmâgarrâtta by the Bindiburu, in course of preparation in camp at Labbi Labbi. Centre, a smooth slab of sedimentary rock, used to receive the white mineral ash obtained by burning the young green leaves, freshly gathered, of a species of Grevillea. Left centre, entire tobacco plants as they are gathered, and on the right of these, the quid after preliminary chewing, ready to be rolled in the white ash which can be seen in the central foreground. Extreme right, the leaves of the Grevillea from which this ash is obtained.

As we neared camp on return from a hunting expedition, two or three of the younger men would break away and visit a patch of low alluvial ground where the tobacco grew in profusion. The plants were about nine or ten inches tall, and the flowers showed the typical floral character of this genus—white, with long tubular corolla. The men would collect large bunches of these tobacco plants, most of them in full flower or just setting seed, uprooting the entire plant complete with tap root.

**Preparation of Chewing Ball**

The quid or ball, prepared from *Nicotiana ingulba*—called mâmmâgarrâtta by the Bindiburu—for the extraction of the narcotic juices by chewing, was prepared in the following way.

The freshly gathered tobacco was carried back to camp where the men would at once sit down and make a fire. They then swept clean a patch of sand in front of them, smoothing it with their hands, or, if stone was available, they often laid a sheet of flat, stratified stone on the ground and placed the tobacco on this, but sometimes the broad, deeply concave surface of a spear-thrower (lînûngu) would serve as a palette. One of the men would now cram enough of the *Nicotiana* plants into his mouth to fill it, chewing the material until it formed a compact ball or quid. Meanwhile his assistants took the young green branches of the *Grevillea* that they had collected while hunting on the dunes, and lighted these, holding the burning leaves over the smooth patch of sand, the stone, or the concave face of the spear-thrower, to catch the white ash that fell. The man who had been chewing the tobacco now removed the quid from his mouth and rolled it in the white ash produced by burning *Grevillea* leaves, working the ash in until it thoroughly impregnated the tobacco. The last of the precious ash would be collected carefully by mopping it up with one finger so that none was lost. The quid was now chewed in turn by each of the men who had assisted in collecting the material and making the quid, each retaining it in his mouth for a short time, showing by his facial expressions and grimaces that the tobacco was burning his mouth. It is probable that the addition of the alkaline ash serves to accelerate the narcotic action of the nicotine and at the same time irritates the mucous membrane of the mouth. After chewing it for a short time, each man either passed the quid on to another sitting nearby, or tucked it behind his ear, where it was carried when not in use.

On several occasions I had noticed Bindiburu men gathering the branches of the *Grevillea* in the way in which I have described without understanding its purpose until I followed them to the place where they were accustomed to collect the tobacco. It was only after I had watched the little group prepare the quid of tobacco and pass it around to one another that I realized the extent to which some of these people were addicted to the habit of chewing. It was evident, after I had seen the natives gathering the leaves of the *Grevillea*—which they often carried for an hour or more, before making a detour to collect the tobacco itself—that the hunters derived a considerable amount of satisfaction from swallowing the juice produced by chewing the prepared ball of tobacco. Soon after chewing, the men, who had returned tired from their hunting in the hot sands of the desert, would recline in a resting position on their
elbows or roll on the ground in attitudes of relaxation. And, invariably, when they returned to camp with the tobacco and the gleanings from their food quest, they would devote themselves to the preparation of the chewing quid in preference to the less laborious and seemingly more immediate task of cooking food.

In an article published in the *British Medical Journal,* Professor J. H. Burn, of the Chair of Pharmacology in Oxford, discussed the effect of nicotine injected intravenously in man. He concluded that the absorption of nicotine is associated with coronary disease, or at least with the restriction of coronary circulation. Professor Burn also recorded the observation that the power to destroy nicotine after absorption by the human body—either by intravenous injection or by the inhalation of tobacco smoke—became progressively less with advancing age. By coincidence, addiction to the chewing of tobacco among the Bindibu, or among the restricted population that I met in the desert in 1957, appeared to be greater among the younger, more active men, and I do not remember having seen any of the old men chewing.

Professor F. H. Shaw of the Chair of Pharmacology in the University of Melbourne has informed me that the action on the partially chewed quid of *Nicotiana* of the white ash obtained by burning leaves of the *Grevillea* is to convert the alkaloid salt into a base. In addition, the absorption through a mucosal surface, *i.e.* the lining of the mouth, would be aided by the alkalinity of the ash. In its altered form, nicotine is probably more rapidly absorbed into the human body. The practice of using lime in the preparation of green betel nut for chewing is widely known among the natives of New Guinea and the Pacific, but it is of interest to discover a technique such as the use of a specially prepared wood ash by the Bindibu in the remote interior of Australia, to achieve the same purpose and apparently developed independently.

The pattern of chewing the *Nicotiana* plant to extract the juice which was then swallowed, rather than smoking the leaf, was new to me in Australia, and, as I pointed out in the paper on tobacco and smoking pipes on Cape York and in Arnhem Land, in those areas tobacco was always smoked, never chewed. This may appear the more unusual, at least on the southern boundaries of the territories mentioned, since the chewing of *piti* had long been practised there and the pattern of chewing might have been expected to extend to tobacco.

When I first noticed the chewing of tobacco among the Bindibu I was ready to accept this custom as evidence of culture contact with neighbouring tribes. But later experience with these people, supported by the discovery that none of the natives at Labbi Labbi had ever visited a cattle or mission station, and that they possessed no clothing, nor any iron tools, and had no neighbours on the eastern side of their territory, confirmed the belief that they had remained in isolation far out in the desert. On my return from the expedition I found a reference by David Carnegie to the preparation by natives in the western desert of a quid made for chewing from a plant that he did not identify but which can only have been the *Nicotiana* discussed in this paper. Carnegie described the manufacture of the chewing ball and the addition of white ash produced by burning the young silvery leaves of a *Grevillea,* that left no doubt as to its identity.

**Addiction and Ritual Aspects of Chewing and Smoking**

Observation on the behaviour of the tobacco-chewing groups among the Bindibu, with whom I lived in close proximity for some months, led to the conclusion that the chewing of the *Nicotiana* quid described in this paper was practised under a compulsion or craving which appeared to have a physiological rather than social basis. The urge to chew would begin to manifest itself when the hunting party was far out on the dunes and while the men were still engaged in hunting. One or more of the hunters would be seen to gather the green branches of the *Grevillea* from which ash would later be obtained. And these leaves might well have to be carried for hours before the group returned to camp, when two or three men would make a detour to collect the tobacco plants. Invariably, as I have pointed out, the preparation of the chewing quid would take precedence over the preparation of the food—such as reptiles or vegetable food—brought back by the party.

Although two or three men would assist in the actual manufacture of the quid for chewing, and this would later be handed to others, not all the Bindibu men were addicts, and it could not be said that the tobacco was chewed by all those sitting near as would occur if the practice had been of great social value, and as certainly would be the case with a smoking pipe in Arnhem Land. The social or ritual aspect of tobacco-smoking, wherever it occurs among aborigines, is high, apart from the narcotic or stimulant aspect, which, however, is not to be underestimated. I have described the ceremonial presentation of fire as a prelude to re-admission to the social life of a group. This occurs invariably after a long period of separation and may even happen after an absence of only a few days. Even at the time when the paper to which I refer was written and the people of the Edward River were living under tribal conditions, tobacco would be produced and smoked, if any was available, as a ritual adjunct to the presentation of fire. I have stressed the importance of the ritual aspect of the smoking of tobacco in Arnhem Land, notably on the critical occasion of my first approach to the warlike Dal’i-speaking people of Blue Mud Bay in camp on the Koolatong River where I made the first important contact with a big group of natives in terms of the commission with which I had been entrusted by the Commonwealth Government. I have made these references to the importance of the ritual aspect of the smoking of tobacco in Northern Australia to make clear the distinction between the social aspect of smoking and the essentially physiological addiction to the chewing of native tobacco in the desert.

The success of my own contacts with the people of far east Arnhem Land—then uncontrolled—and their acceptance of me, to the extent that I lived and travelled with them, generally unarmed, for years, was in large part due to respect that I showed for their patterns of behaviour and etiquette. The place of tobacco and tobacco pipes in the
prolonged bandingy of kinship terms—a necessary prelude to the sorting-out of behaviour patterns—cannot be over-stressed. Nothing approaching this ritual attitude could be found in the usage by the Bindibbu of tobacco for chewing, where, as I have said, there appears still to be a predominantly physiological basis that contrasted with the social and prestige value of the smoking of tobacco in North Queensland and Arnhem Land.

A SET OF GAMBLING PEGS FROM THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA

by

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The set of gambling pegs here described and illustrated was presented to the Manchester Museum by Mrs. B. Richards at some time before 1941. It was described in the museum register as a ‘skin bag of praying pegs,’ but there can be no doubt that they are in fact gambling pegs of the type described by Stewart Culin in his monograph ‘Games of the North American Indians’; pages 227 to 266 deal with stick games, and he describes the method of playing with this type of peg as follows (p. 227):

The implements for the stick game are of two principal kinds. The first, directly referable to arrow shafts, consists of small wooden cylinders, painted with bands or ribbons of color, similar to those on arrow shafts... The objects are distinguished by marks... of sticks and rushes, entirely unmarked... The marks on the implements of the first sort are understood as referring to various totemic animals, etc., which are actually carved or painted on some of the sets.

The number of sticks... varies from ten to more than a hundred, there being no constant number. The first operation in the game, that of dividing the sticks... into two bundles, is invariably the same. The object is to guess the location of an odd or a particularly marked stick. On the Pacific coast the sticks... are usually hidden in a mass of shredded cedar bark... The count is commonly kept with the sticks... themselves, the players continuing until one of the other has won all.

On the Northwest coast the sets of sticks are almost uniformly contained in a leather pouch... with a broad flap to which a long thong is attached, passing several times around the pouch, and having a pointed strip of bone, horn or ivory at the end. The latter is slipped under the thong as a fastening.

He illustrates (on Plate V) eight sticks from a set of 32, which were collected in 1884 by J. Loomis Gould from the Haida Mission, Jackson, Alaska, and are now in the United States National Museum, Cat. No. 73522. They are 42 inches long and half an inch in diameter, and are comparable to the Manchester Museum set, but they appear to be less well carved. As the Manchester Museum set is in fact the most elaborately carved that I have been able to trace, it is here illustrated in extenso.

* With Plate D and two text figures

As will be seen from Plate D, the pegs are 28 in number, and are cylinders 5½ inches long and approximately three-quarters of an inch in diameter, with ends in the form of a truncated cone. The degree of elaboration varies from piece to piece, several being almost sculptures in the round, whilst in a number the decoration is merely incised. In all the pieces, however, the carving is extremely skilful, and demonstrates the mastery of line which is a characteristic feature even of late carvings from the North-West coast of America. Twenty-one pieces are further decorated with inlays of Haliotis sp. (Venus’ ear or abalone) shell. An impression of the objects is best conveyed by the photograph, but the line drawings of the unrolled patterns are provided to amplify the descriptions. The style of the carving suggests that they were carved by a Haida, probably during the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

The identification of the animals, which are often incompletely represented, is always difficult, frequently ambiguous, and sometimes quite impossible. The following identifications, however, seem probable:

1. A dragonfly. The body is segmented, the wings extend on each side; the tail is shown below the head. Cf. J. R. Swanton, 'Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida,' Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Whole Series, Vol. VIII (New York), 1903, Plate XX, 5. There is a broad band of red paint round the lower end.

2. A fisherman kneeling on the back of a frog. The eyes of the fish on his back are inlaid with black rings. Cf. Swanton, ibid., Plate III, 2, though here the figure is of a woman.

3. A man with his legs flexed and a 'copper' on his back. Haliotis inlays are on his chest and abdomen.

4. A sculpin with Haliotis inlays to nostrils, eyes, backbone and spine. Cf. Swanton, ibid., Plate XX, 15. There is a broad band of red paint round the lower end.

5. Footprints, probably of a bear. Cf. Swanton, ibid., Plate VII, 1, where the bear is represented as well as similar footprints. The other side has three triangular Haliotis inlays. Four fine bands of black and two narrow and one broad band of red paint have been drawn round this peg.

6. A kneeling man holds a club which is inlaid with Haliotis. Cf. Swanton, ibid., Plate III, 2. The head is frog-like. Swanton (ibid., Plate VIII, 2) shows a similar unidentified figure said to come from the Tsimsian. The upper end above the carving is painted black.
Fig. 1. Details of North-West Coast Gambling Pegs
(7) A sculpin with Haliotis inlays in the eyes and between the spines. The lower end of the peg has been painted red.
(8) A bear with Haliotis inlays in the eyes, forepaws and down the front of the body.
(9) This probably represents a man with the hands on the abdomen.
(10) A toothed sea animal, perhaps a sealion, with Haliotis inlays in the eyes and on the back.
(11) A killer whale with eyes inlaid with Haliotis. This peg bears two bands of black paint, one wide and one narrow.
(12) A sea monster, probably a sea bear, with the body, dorsal fin and tail of a killer whale and the head and paws of a bear. The eye and gills are inlaid with Haliotis.
(13) A woman wearing a Haliotis labret in the lower lip. The hands have five fingers, but the feet have only four toes.
(14) This appears to be the head-on view of a dogfish or a clam. Cf. Swanton, ibid., fig. 19. The eyes are inlaid with Haliotis, and the peg has three fine bands of red paint.
(15) Parts of probably two animals. Paws, eyes and ears can be distinguished. One small disc of Haliotis has been inlaid. Cf. No. 24. It is marked with three fine bands of red paint.
(16) A hawk with Haliotis inlays in wing, claw, eye, nostril and head plume.
(18) A raven and a bear. The bear's teeth are Haliotis inlays. The peg is painted with four fine red bands and one broad black.
(19) The identification of this piece is uncertain. It may be a devil fish (cf. Swanton, ibid., fig. 28 (25)) or the moon conceived as a bird (ibid., fig. 12, a). There are Haliotis inlays in the eyes, and two others at the ends. The peg is painted in red with one broad and two narrow bands, and two ovals resembling thumb prints.
(20) Two animals, the upper one with wings; both have paws. There are faint traces of three fine bands of red paint.
(21) Resembles No. 20, but has a small triangular inlay of Haliotis and traces of three fine bands of red paint.
(22) The head of a bird seen both from the front and in profile. Perhaps this is the moon represented as a bird. Cf. Swanton, ibid., fig. 12, a. There are four Haliotis inlays.
(23) A sea mammal. Cf. No. 17, which it resembles also in its painting.
(24) Cf. No. 15. It has a smaller Haliotis inlay, and its three fine bands of paint appear to have been black.
(25) Probably represents a whale. The eyes are inlaid with Haliotis. There are three narrow bands of black paint behind the head and one red and two black broad diagonal strokes on the back.
(26) Perhaps represents the sun. Cf. Swanton, ibid., Plates XIX, 8, and XXXI, 3. There are inlays in the eyes and at each end, and one fine and one broad band of black paint at each end.
(27) Parts of a bird. Traces remain of three fine bands of black paint.
(28) Parts of animals.

In addition to the bands of paint mentioned in the descriptions, which resemble those on uncarved sets of pegs, many of the pegs have had the details of the sculpture picked out in red or black paint. The set is in its original leather case, 8½ inches wide, 6½ inches deep, 2½ inches thick, with an ample flap secured by a thong two feet long, furnished at the end with the claw of a large bird, perhaps an eagle. 5

Notes
1 Registration No. 0.5933.
3 The Manchester Museum also possesses an example of the more common type, a completely undecorated set of 55 pegs in a leather case (No. 0.8580), given by the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum. Of these pegs 44 are five inches long and 0-35 inches in diameter, whilst the remainder are of the same length but only 0-2 inches in diameter.
4 One, however, is lost.
5 I should like to record my thanks to Mr. Adrian Digby and Dr. Marian W. Smith for their advice in the preparation of this account.
SOCIAL SCIENCE, LOGICAL OR PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPOSSIBILITY?

by

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The Study of Man—Art or Science? This is a question whose possible answers have alternated with one another through hundreds of years of Western cultural history, and may well continue to alternate for hundreds to come. Far be it from me to try to arrest a process which is apparently so inexorable. In what follows, however, I hope to show why it is so hard to shelve this question with a final answer. At present, a powerful body of philosophical opinion is inclined to regard the study of man as art. A recent book by the Oxford linguistic philosopher Peter Winch, entitled *The Idea of a Social Science*, is an excellent crystallization of this position; and it thus forms a natural starting point for further controversy on the subject.

The main theme of Winch's book is that 'Peoples' relations to each other exist only through their ideas and their ideas exist only in their relations to each other.' Hence 'Any worthwhile study of society must be philosophical in character and any worthwhile philosophy must be concerned with the nature of human society.' Now the author shows very clearly that the philosopher must give some account of social relations before he can throw light on his subject matter. For him is concerned to elucidate the force of such basic epistemological concepts as 'meaning,' 'thing,' 'identical,' 'rule of reference'; and he shows that all of these concepts implicitly involve the idea of social interaction between men. They cannot be given meaning without it. Thus far, then, his argument is both valid and important.

It is when Winch tries to prove the other half of his thesis that one must take exception to him. For an important part of what he means by saying that the study of society must be 'philosophical' in character is that such a study cannot be conducted through the conceptual framework of science. He takes the method of science to involve description of all data in terms of a system of space-time co-ordinates, use of the concept 'cause' with its implication of regular but not logically necessary conjunction, and prediction of future events by the use of general laws plus statements of antecedent conditions. Exactly what Winch means by 'philosophical' method is not quite so clear. It seems, however, that he thinks that we come to understand the workings of any given society by learning the meaning of every concept and action used by its members. It is then our job to help others understand by teaching them these meanings in turn. From this view of the study of society, it follows that the system of concepts with which we must work is the system which the people whom we are studying use to refer to their own interactions. And here, according to Winch, comes the rub; for the central concepts of this latter system, so he holds, are incompatible with the concepts central to the activity of scientific prediction and research. Hence the issue of whether there can be such a thing as social science is not just a matter of trying to be scientific about society and waiting to see whether or not any results come in. 'The issue is not an empirical one at all: it is conceptual. It is not a question of what empirical research may show to be the case, but of what philosophical analysis reveals about what it makes sense to say. I want to show that the notion of a human society involves a scheme of concepts which is logically incompatible with the kinds of explanation offered in the natural sciences.'

Now there is nothing logically objectionable about Winch's conception of how one sets about understanding social phenomena. True, it is a limited conception which seems to preclude comparative studies and the possibility of understanding irrational action. But as Winch points out, 'understanding' and 'intelligibility' are systematically ambiguous concepts; and to claim that the sense which they have in science is the only valid one would be a distortion of current usage. Such usage certainly supports him in so far as one possible mode of understanding society is concerned. One could of course quarrel with his assertion that the concepts used by people to describe and explain their own social interactions are incompatible with the concepts of science, on the grounds that his examples are drawn solely from Western Culture. But this would be niggling. For concepts such as 'reason,' 'intention,' 'meaning,' 'rule,' etc., have close equivalents in almost every known culture; and Winch demonstrates clearly enough that the conceptual framework to which they belong is indeed incompatible with that of science. He shows that attempts to mingle elements of the two frameworks lead to absurd or meaningless statements. In this connexion, he makes a very important point in his discussion of 'The Internality of Social Relations.' He notes that 'the relation between an idea and its context is an internal one. The idea gets its sense from the role it plays in the system.' And 'if social relations between men exist only in and through their ideas, then, since relations between ideas are internal relations, social relations must be a species of internal relation as well.' In other words, if one works with the conceptual system used by a given people to refer to their own interactions and institutions, any particular concept referring to a given institution will logically imply other concepts referring to other institutions, and will be implied in turn by these others. Now from all this a crucial consequence follows, namely, that causal-scientific interpretations are ruled out from the conceptual framework in question. For the notion of a
causal relation between any two or more variables implies lack of a relation of logical implication between them, and vice versa. Exclusion of causal-scientific interpretation on these grounds is something that has worried a number of anthropologists who have otherwise felt inclined to make use of it. (See for instance Groves, 1954, pp. 88f.)

Winch, then, has abundantly proved his point that the 'philosophical' and 'scientific' conceptual frameworks are mutually incompatible. But he also wishes to prove the distinct and far more dubious point that in the context under dispute, the use of the philosophical framework is inevitable; and it is here that we must part company with him.

Half-way through his book, Winch notes the very viewpoint which I shall urge in this essay. Thus he says: 'Some social scientists have acknowledged the difference in concept between our currently accepted descriptions and explanations of natural and social processes respectively, but have argued that the social scientist need not adhere to this non-scientific conceptual framework; that he is at liberty to frame such concepts as are useful for the kind of investigation he is conducting.' But although he dismisses this view with a promise to expose its fallacies in his next chapter, he never fulfills his promise.

One attractive argument which seems at first to prove the second half of his thesis runs as follows: 'To predict the writing of a piece of poetry or the making of a new invention would involve writing the poem or making the invention oneself. And if one has already done this it is impossible to predict that someone else will make up that poem or discover that invention.' Irrefutable as this argument is in one sense, however, it does not really prove as much as it claims to. Admittedly, prediction of making up a poem or of discovering an invention is impossible if we use 'make up' and 'predict' in the sense that implies an absolute first performance. But the scientist is not in fact concerned with whether an event is happening for the first time or for the umpteenth time. What interests him is unearthing general causal laws from which he can predict that in a given type of antecedent situation, certain consequences will regularly follow. Now if we divest 'make up' and 'discover' of their special implications of absolute temporal primacy, they still retain the more general sense of production out of contact with any prior copy (even though such a copy may exist). And if we use the terms in this sense, there is in principle no reason why a scientist equipped with sufficient knowledge of antecedent circumstances should not be able to predict every poem made up and every invention discovered. To the argument that a given predictor could not forecast the poetic productions that his own activities as a scientist involved, there is the answer that someone else could. Although the conclusion is startling, even perhaps repulsive, this is no excuse for boggling at it. Clearly other arguments than this must be found to prevent the scientist from invading the social domain.

But the only other arguments which we find in Winch's book merely serve to reiterate the incompatibility of the two conceptual frameworks under consideration: they do nothing to demonstrate the inevitability of the 'philosophical' framework. To take a typical example (Winch, pp. 73f.):

We say the cat 'writhes' about. Suppose I describe his very complex movements in purely mechanical terms, using a set of space-time co-ordinates. This is, in a sense, a description of what is going on as much as is the statement that the cat is writhing in pain. But the one statement could not be substituted for the other. The statement which includes the concept of writhing says something which no statement of the other sort, however detailed, could approximate to. The concept of writhing belongs to a quite different framework from that of the concept of movement in terms of space-time co-ordinates; and it is the former rather than the latter which is appropriate to the conception of the cat as an animate creature. Anyone who thought that a study of the mechanics of movement of animate creatures would throw light on the concept of animate life would be the victim of a conceptual misunderstanding.

The word 'appropriate' is here the key to the whole matter; for it implies a reason for the exclusive use of a single conceptual framework. But Winch never gives us the reason, and as I shall show later there cannot be a reason. What we are left with is merely a demonstration that concepts such as 'writhing' are incompatible with concepts implying space-time movement.

Again, he touches at several points on the impossibility of treating 'social concepts,' which to so large an extent logically imply one another, as variables in potential causal relationship. But this warrants no conclusion as to the impossibility of applying the notion of cause to the range of phenomena which constitute social life. All that it proves is that if we wish to apply the notion in this context, we must frame an alternative conceptual system free of the network of mutual logical implications that pervades our present way of talking about social interaction. Here again, Winch provides us with a cogent demonstration of the incompatibility of the 'philosophical' and the 'scientific' frameworks, but shows us no good reason why the use of the 'philosophical' framework should be inevitable and exclusive.

At one point the whole of Winch's argument looks as if it rested on a verbal quibble. Thus in criticizing Pareto's Mind and Society, he says (Winch, pp. 109f.):

In so far as a set of phenomena is being looked at 'from the outside,' as 'experimental facts,' it cannot at the same time be described as a 'theory' or 'set of propositions.' In a sense Pareto has not carried his empiricism far enough. For what the sociological observer has presented to his senses is not all people holding certain theories, believing in certain propositions, but people making certain movements and sounds... To describe what is observed by the sociologist in terms of notions like 'proposition' and 'theory' is already to have taken the decision to apply a set of concepts incompatible with the 'external,' 'experimental' point of view. To refuse to describe what is observed in such terms, on the other hand, involves treating it as not having social significance. It follows that the understanding of society cannot be observational and experimental in one widely accepted sense.

Now if Winch really holds that the term 'society' is only applicable to the disputed area of phenomena as referred to in terms of his 'philosophical' conceptual framework, his argument is undoubtedly valid. But then it says...
nothing against the possibility of the scientist invading the area with the aid of his own conceptual framework: as long as he designated it 'yetics' instead of 'society' he would be welcome to do as he pleased. And his logical warrant to invade is surely what Winch and the rest of us are arguing over; for it is hard to believe that this whole book is just an exhortation to social scientists to call what they are trying to do by another name.

To diagnose the roots of Winch's intransigence to alternative conceptual systems, we must go right to the central problem of philosophy—the relation of language to reality. His general answer to the problem mark him out as a disciple of the later Wittgenstein; and his introductory chapter is a masterly interpretation of that great man's oblique and poetic exposition. Wittgenstein was the first modern philosopher to rebel effectively against the view that the world is divided neatly into compartments, and that these compartments are simply mirrored by the categories of language. His great achievement was to show that language itself creates the divisions and structure of the world. As Winch says (Winch, pp. 13-15):

To assume at the outset that one can make a sharp distinction between 'the world' and 'the language in which we try to describe the world,' to the extent of saying that the problems of philosophy do not arise at all out of the former but only out of the latter, is to beg the whole question of philosophy . . . Our idea of what belongs to the realm of reality is given for us in the language we use. The concepts we have settle for us the form of experience we have of the world . . . there is no getting outside the concepts in terms of which we think of the world . . . the world for us is what is presented through those concepts. That is not to say that our concepts may not change; but when they do, that means that our concept of the world has changed too.

Now this position represents an immense advance in our understanding of language. But it carries with it the dangers of overreaction—of neglecting altogether the fact that language has an extra-linguistic context. Because we cannot describe the character of this context in contradistinction to the character of the language applied to it, this is no reason for failing to mention its presence. Indeed, failing to take its presence into account will vitally affect the course of any epistemological argument. Thus Winch makes a set of concepts and its structure the sufficient definition of 'society,' neglecting extra-linguistic context. Hence it follows that any concept outside this chosen set is inapplicable to the study of society. (This must be why Winch thinks that demonstrating the incompatibility of 'scientific' and 'philosophical' frameworks is synonymous with demonstrating the exclusive validity of the 'philosophical' framework in social enquiry.)

But for most people concerned in this dispute, such a line of thought does not go near the core of the matter. For most people, 'society' refers to a certain area of phenomena as conceptualized in verbal or other terms not necessarily specified. When 'scientists' claim from 'philosophers' the right to study society in their own particular way, what they are claiming is the right to substitute one conceptual framework for another in this extra-linguistic area. If we state the dispute in this way, our conclusions must be very different from Winch's. Above all, how can the extra-linguistic context in question be said to compel description in 'philosophical' terms and exclude description in 'scientific' terms? In his opening chapter, Winch himself makes it clear that he disagrees with the old Correspondence Theory of Language, which sees the latter's structure as forced upon it by the pre-existing structure of the world. In pointing out that language itself creates the structure of the world, he himself excludes one way in which a particular extra-linguistic field might be thought to compel application of a certain type of language. Indeed, one cannot see any kind of logical necessity for exclusive use of the 'philosophical' framework in this context. Logical necessity holds where two or more concepts are related in a statement in such a way that the negation of the statement leads to a self-contradiction. How can it hold where the relation is between a conceptual framework on the one hand and its extra-linguistic context on the other? In fact, whether a 'scientific' conceptual framework can be applied to the study of society or not is a question to be solved not by a priori argument, but by prolonged testing to see whether such a framework is useful or not. To date, the question is obviously open.

Winch, then, has failed to discredit the idea of a Social Science; but for all that, his book makes some vital side points. First of all, it stresses the extreme to which the social scientist must push his conceptual revolution if he is to escape inconsistency and meaninglessness: he cannot hope to get away with taking two or three of the central concepts of 'science' and using them as a leaven for the conceptual system which we apply to living in society. On the contrary, he must be prepared to take the formidable step of renouncing this system altogether.

Secondly, the book administers a sharp reminder of social science's long-standing failure 'to find its Newton'; and the diagnosis of failure, though fallacious, reminds us of the urgent need to find the right answer. It takes no doctor to see that social science is sick of a great many diseases; but I shall deal here only with what seems to me to be the most deep-seated and pervasive of all its affictions. The trouble which I have in mind is not limited to professional students of society; it is widespread amongst laymen and even among philosophers such as Winch who are supposed to be clearing our study of incoherent and faulty thinking. Indeed, it is probably the unacknowledged root of Winch's own attitude to social science.

This disease, I think, can be identified by any introspective reader of Winch's book who reflects on the peculiar impact of its point of view. Consider the plausibility of a statement like this (Winch, p. 77):

Would it be intelligent to try and explain how Romeo's love for Juliet enters into his behaviour in the same terms as we might want to apply to the rat whose sexual excitement makes him run across an electrically charged grid to reach his mate? Does not Shakespeare do this much better?

Or consider the nasty taste left in the mouth by our earlier refutation of Winch's argument against prediction of poems and inventions: despite the logic of such a refutation, there seems something outrageous and
implausible about the idea of social scientists predicting works of art.

Our reactions here can be regarded as examples of a basic human attitude: that human life should be described in terms of concepts used in connexion with non-human objects seems unthinkable, monstrous, thoroughly disquieting. The emotional reaction that such a suggestion arouses was well shown up by the reception of Clark Hull's famous Behaviour Theory (Hull, 1943). Nearly all of the criticism directed against this theory then and since has centred on the use of a type of conceptual system previously confined to non-human organisms, to predict and interpret human behaviour. In fact, as we have seen, there is nothing absurd or self-contradictory about such an enterprise. But only a minority of people, most of them fellow behaviourists, have directed criticism where it should justly fall — on the fact that the empirical properties attributed to the Hullian stimuli and responses are inadequate to the prediction of the observed characteristics of human life, and that a better theory must be produced within the same broad conceptual framework. For the rest, the emotional heat with which they have attacked the transfer of conceptual framework attempted by Hull reminds one of the way in which people sometimes fall savagely on a leader who has dragged them into a terrifying enterprise and whose resources have failed half-way.

To put this sort of reaction in perspective, we must turn to what might at first seem an unlikely source. I refer to a penetrating analysis of the nature of pollution concepts recently sketched out by the anthropologist Mary Douglas (Douglas, 1959). Mrs. Douglas points out that the essence of all pollution situations is the mixing up of objects, activities and situations that the category system of one's culture keeps apart. Such mixing threatens the category system, the coherence of one's outlook on the world, and hence the effectiveness of one's reactions in it. Invariably it arouses fear — often, appropriately enough, the fear of madness. Now the feature which distinguishes scientific from non-scientific thought is the absence of pollution reactions so defined; science regards a category system not as a thing of intrinsic value whose defiance is to be greeted with horror, but as a tool to be applied, scrapped or extended whenever such changes are useful. But scientific thinking is not a process which can be switched on and left to churn away automatically until it has done its job; it is an ideal from which even scientists tend to slip back into non-science as soon as any major upheaval of their commonsense category boundaries is threatened.

The boundaries which separate non-living from living things, non-human from human things, define some of the basic categories of Western Culture; and a history of Western Thought over the last few hundred years would have to devote much of its space to the struggle of scientists to extend their conceptual framework, from its firm base in the sphere of the non-living, across these two great barriers. Every attempted or successful crossing has evoked strong anxieties both in laymen and in scientists themselves; for pushing the scientific conceptual framework across these boundaries involves the deliberate blurring of them, and hence the creation of a typical 'pollution' situation. Where a scientific conceptual scheme has succeeded in embracing all of the major categories, any failure tends to be quickly attributed to its inventor's presumption in boundary-crossing, and he is brusquely told to stay where he belongs; so science has advanced and retreated over the centuries. In such an atmosphere, to be an ambitious scientist is the next most uncomfortable thing to being a social climber!

Since the mid nineteenth century, the extension of science from the sphere of the non-living into that of the living has been considered legitimate; but the struggle for this legitimacy aroused almost as much pious horror and academic ridicule as the lumping of human and non-human objects does today. People's anxieties were rationalized in every sort of argument for the a priori impossibility of dealing with things organic as if they occupied the same category as things inorganic; and it was not until the syntheses of organic compounds such as methane and acetic acid from simple inorganic sources that the intellectual elite of the day were jerked into realizing that what they held impossible was now established fact. Overcoming the present impasse in the study of man may require similar dramatic demonstrations to remove the blocks in the minds even of would-be social scientists: one day, perhaps, machines simulating the 'higher' aspects of human behaviour will jerk us all into rationality as the great organic syntheses jerked the chemists and intellectuals of the nineteenth century. (Here, one should not look to the so-called Electronic Brains, which simply discharge a predetermined and unmodifiable sequence of operations when a button is pressed. Much more promising as precursors of the human machine are certain mechanically simpler devices invented by psychologists such as Ashby, Grey Walter and Deutsch, which modify their behaviour with variation in attendant circumstances in such a way as to achieve constant goals.) But one is bound to ask whether the forces at work here are not so strong that they will block the conceptual developments necessary to the further elaboration of such machines in just the same way as they block direct application of a scientific conceptual framework to society. For the differences of attitude which underlie the category barrier between things human and non-human are far greater than those which underlie the barrier between things living and non-living. After all, we spend most of our time manipulating living things other than men in just the same way as we manipulate inanimate objects; but however much a normal person manipulates his fellow men, he is to some degree emotionally involved with nearly all of them. For this reason alone, one would expect the 'pollution anxieties' attendant on trying to cross the human/non-human barrier to be far more intense than those that marked the crossing from the non-living to the living. And should an anthropological Newton ever succeed in overcoming these anxieties, one wonders whether his brain could stand up to making a clean switch from living in society to peering at it and back again many times a day. Even those of us who merely fumble with the rudiments of alternative conceptual systems designed for
peering at society rather than for living in it sometimes feel nasty intimations of the mental consequences that would follow on any approach to success in this sphere.

Paradoxically, the only solution which I can suggest to this impasse is one that flouts all the accepted canons of anthropological fieldwork. Since to learn a strange language is already to start living with the people who speak it, and so to move oneself farther away than ever from the possibility of peering at them, the fieldworker's first resolve should be to avoid learning one word of the language. Then, given adequate recording techniques, he can set about treating the society in question as a system of objects influencing each other's behaviour through complex sound sequences. Logically, this programme is as feasible as the normal techniques of a research worker setting out to study the course of a complex chemical reaction. Yet there remains one barrier as intractable as

any: for to the people whom he studies, the anthropologist is a man, and therefore someone with whom a modus vivendi must be worked out.

It seems, then, that the would-be social scientist must always be face to face with the problem of living with the people whom he is peering at. This being so, 'pollution' feelings, and behind them a very real prospect of mental disorganization, are likely to remain as two intractable lines of defence which nature has opposed to our efforts to look at ourselves scientifically.

References


SIR GEORGE ROBERTSON: AN EARLY FIELD WORKER

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Sir George Robertson was briefly famous for his heroic defence of Chitral fort during the troubled period of 1895. Now his name is known only to the very old and to a handful of persons interested in the history of the Indian frontier. Yet Robertson was an outstanding man with another claim to fame of an entirely different order which perhaps entitles him to a more enduring place in the history of man's thought and action. He was among the first men of modern times to visit a primitive society with the express purpose of studying it. It is true that many missionaries and travellers had reported upon the peoples that they met, but their researches were incidental to the main objects of their journeys. Robertson, on the other hand, made two carefully planned, conscientiously recorded scientific expeditions, one lasting over a year. The first was in 1889, preceding the Torres Straits by nine years, but six years later than Boas's expedition to Baffin Land.

George Scott Robertson was born to an Orkney family in London in 1832. After qualifying in medicine he joined the Indian Medical Service in 1878 and during the following two years he served in the Afghan campaign, where his interest in the Kafirs of the Hindu Kush—the subjects of his field work—was first stimulated. From 1880 to 1888 he served in various frontier regions and in the latter year transferred to the Political Service, being posted as Agency Surgeon to the remote and unsettled Gilgit area. In fact he did very little medical work, since his abilities as an administrator and his ethnographical interests led him far away from his chosen profession. He was soon placed in positions of great responsibility. He acted in 1891–92 as Chief Political Officer during the short but bitter Hunza–Nagir campaign, and when the war was over he installed Mohammad Nazim Khan as Mir in the presence of Chinese envoys. Later on in 1892 he was dispatched on a dangerous mission to the turbulent Indus valley tribes, was besieged at Gor, was present at the fall of Chilas, and had ample opportunity for displaying the initiative and fortitude for which he is praised by his superior, Durand. In the following year, having succeeded Durand as British Agent, he went (accompanied by Younghusband, then only a captain but already the greatest explorer of his day, and C. G. Bruce of Everest fame) on a mission to Chitral, where dynastic upheavals were endangering the security of the whole area. Some sort of settlement was patched up, and Robertson withdrew and proceeded on leave to England. He returned to Gilgit in December, 1894, and in early January renewed disturbances once more required his presence in Chitral. The story of this mission has been often told, and by none better than Robertson himself. The famous siege, in which a handful of British officers with 500 Kashmiri and Sikh troops held off vastly superior numbers of Chitralis and of Umra Khan's Pathans, is a minor epic. It also gave to others besides the defenders a chance of glory; the elderly Colonel Kelly's great march over the snow-bound Shandur pass to relieve Chitral was an amazing feat, while General Low's more ponderous advance from Peshawar finally opened up the virtually unknown country between the Malakand and Lowari passes. To Robertson, wounded and exhausted, it brought immediate fame, a knighthood (the K.C.S.I.), and the chance to deal wisely and magnanimously with his former foes.

But into this life of action, he managed to sandwich a
considerable slice of anthropological research. In the Introduction to his book on the Kafirs he describes how his imagination was stirred on first entering the extraordinary country of the Hindu Kush and Karakoram which lies beyond the Himalayas. He had crossed the Burzil pass and was rounding the Doilian spur when

a strange sight to the north-west startled us into open-eyed wonder. And indeed a wonderful picture lay spread out before and beneath us. . . Above the pure sky domed over all, while in front a filmy veil of cloud was suspended, which seemed to magnify and accentuate, instead of dimming, the noble outlines which lay behind. Through this mysterious curtain could be seen a bold curve of the Indus flanked by mighty mountains, and the light yellowish-grey shades of the Sai Valley, which increased the general appearance of dream-like unreality. Beyond this, again, were the dark mountain ranges of the gloomy Gilgit region, divided by equally sombre ravinces, while the eternal snows of the lovely Rakhipush, calm and brooding, with a single cloud pennon streaming from its solitary peak, completed a background of surpassing beauty. The whole scene was illuminated by a dying afterglow. Swiftly, almost instantaneously, the light failed, and the translucent veil deepened and darkened so rapidly, that the vision-like picture was shut out almost as magically as it had flashed forth upon our senses.

As we turned away silently, the fantastic thought arose in my mind that behind that transparency, that translucent cloud-film, a veritable fairy country had been revealed to me, stretching far into the nothingness beyond; and an anxious doubt disturbed me lest I should never be able to enter that strange and enticing dreamland. 7

But enter it he did, and to travel to its remotest confines. Shortly after arriving in Gilgit for the first time, Robertson journeyed to Chitral, some 220 miles away, and this trip strengthened his resolve to visit Kafiristan. This area constituted what is now the Afghan province of Nuristan and a portion of the Pakistani State of Chitral. Its name—the land of unbelievers—comes from the fact that, alone in a strongly Muslim area, the inhabitants are pagans. In Robertson's time, and indeed today, the Kafirs, hidden in their remote and inaccessible valleys of the Hindu Kush, were objects of speculation, rumour and surprise. Before Robertson's visit, Kafiristan was known with certainty to have been visited only once previously by Europeans when the Lockhart mission entered the Bashgul valley for a few days in September, 1885. The first historical reference to the Kafirs may have been made by Alexander the Great's chroniclers, 8 for the enigmatic Nyseans of Swat, whom Alexander treated considerably as fellow countrymen, are thought by some to have been the ancestors of at least the Kamizados Kafirs. 9 Medieval writers, including Marco Polo, 10 speak of a country named Bolor, or Bilaur, or Belor, which probably comprised, inter alia, at least part of Kafiristan. But the first direct mention was made when the people of Anderab sought Timur's protection against the Kators and Siah Posh Kafirs. In response to their request, Timur invaded some of the Kafir valleys, and recorded his actions on a rock in one of the Kator defiles. 11 A hundred years or so later Baber writes 12 of Kafir invasions of Panjshir and comments on their love of wine, exemplified by the fact of every man carrying a leather wine bottle slung round his neck. Benedict de Goze remarked the same peculiarity—for such

it was in a strictly Muslim region—while travelling in 1603 to Yarkand and Suchow (where he was to die) by way of Kabul and the Pamirs. He met a wandering hermit, presumably a Kafir, who offered him wine from the usual leather bottle, and whose alcoholic taste made de Goze think that he must be a Christian. 13

Mountstuart Elphinstone, in 1815, recorded some tolerably accurate information about them. 14 So did Wood, when writing in 1841 of his great journey to the Oxus. 15 Alexander Gardner, a soldier of fortune who served in many fierce and forgotten armies in Central Asia, may well have visited Kafiristan in about 1830, 16 but his papers about the country were burnt in Kabul after the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes, 17 to whom he had lent them. Only a few notes remain, one of which records that in about 1770 two Europeans, probably Catholic missionaries, lived in Kafiristan: one died in captivity, and the other was sacrificed. In 1835, disguised as a hakim, the gallant McNair was the first Englishman to reach Chitral by the route subsequently opened by Low's relieving force. It seems probable, however, that his report on Kafiristan 18 is based rather on visits to Kafir villages in Chitral than on experience of Kafiristan itself. Robertson was indeed justified in saying that Kafiristan was 'up to a few years ago, entirely unknown and unexplored, and still remains one of those few inhabited regions of the world only partially understood.' 19

These words, to a very large extent, are still true. Some publicity was given to the area in 1891 when that region of it which had been recognized as forming part of Afghanistan was brutally subjugated and renamed Nuristan—the land of light—to celebrate the ruthless conquest and forcible conversion of the surviving inhabitants to Islam. The few works which have been published in the intervening years have added, but not very substantially, to Robertson's remarkable study. 20

The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush was published in 1896, the year after Robertson's triumph in Chitral and while he was still British Agent, Gilgit. The book has 658 pages and 35 Chapters, of which half are devoted to the enthralling narrative of his field work, and half to the findings. It recounts how the Government of India acceded to his request to enter Kafiristan (moved, one suspects, by strategic rather than anthropological considerations) while he was actually on his way to Chitral in 1889. In October of that year he made a month's reconnaissance of Kafiristan, and then returned to England to prepare himself for a much longer visit. He took instruction in surveying and equipped himself with 'toys, photographic apparatus, compressed medicines, and miniature surgical instruments, together with various small articles with which to interest and amuse the Kafirs.' 21 The Indian Government supplied him with scientific instruments and books. His return journey from Kashmir to Gilgit, and thence on to Chitral was then, as indeed today, arduous and in places difficult. He left Srinagar on 29 July, 1890, crossed the passes and descended the deadly Hattu Pir to the Indus valley. Here a disaster overtook him which would have daunted most men. Seventeen porters were drowned and all his equipment was lost when the raft upon which they were crossing the river
was swamped and sunk by the waves. His plight is illustrated by the fact that he was left with no footwear but a pair of tennis shoes! However, he pressed forward. On 17 August he reached Gilgit and left a week later (having collected a few stores in very partial replacement of what he had lost), finally arriving in Chitral town on 15 September. Then, after six weeks of travelling, 450 hard miles from any reasonable source of supply, he had reached base from which he was within striking distance of his objective. But this base was far from secure, a most unstable jumping-off place for a country of which nothing was known save that it was difficult and dangerous. Few contemporary anthropologists can have faced such hazards in their search for truth.

For the next year Robertson lived in Kafiristan, often in great danger, intrigued against and forced to hide and to flee, and eventually ill and weakened from privation. But he recorded his observations indefatigably and came to close friendship with many of the Kafirs. Much of his story is taken up with the difficulties which he encountered, but though retailed as narrative this has considerable sociological interest since the plots against Robertson were more the expression of a complex political system than of personal animosity. He suffered much from some of the Kafirs and indeed barely survived to turn the diplomatic tables on them at the end of his stay. It says much for the generosity of his character that no word of censure escaped him, and that he readily escorted a group of Kafirs to Gilgit, and subsequently to India, as the guests of the Viceroy. Knight gives an entertaining account of the journey with this party of 'village kings'—for the Kafirs had been joined by several young chiefs from Punial, Hunza and Nagar. Of Robertson he writes that he 'is not only a venturesome explorer and a clever Political Officer, but he makes an admirable travelling companion to youthful princes—parental in manner, not too severe, but maintaining due discipline.'

The chapters in which his findings are described deal with political organization, marriage, kinship, religion, economy, warfare, slavery, folklore, and material culture, and a number of related or subsidiary topics, such as sport and morbidity. So many subjects are covered that a certain superficiality in some respects is inevitable. Nevertheless, the book as a whole is an amazing tour de force. Here was a man having apparently no knowledge of the existing literature, not referring to Tylor, Robertson Smith, or Herbert Spencer, nor to any speculations or facts outside his personal experience; a man who was either completely uninterested in or ignorant of sociological theory, but who nevertheless was a meticulous, sensitive and fascinated observer, and produced a comprehensive first-hand account of a primitive society. He cannot be considered as the first field worker in social anthropology. This claim could be contested by Bastian and Lewis Morgan, whose approach admittedly was far more intellectual, and more strongly by Boas, but the tenacity, concentration and long duration of Robertson's field work puts him in a class apart, the first of those—in my opinion—to show what anthropological field work may demand if the language is to be learned and the society understood. And today, 70 years after Robertson's sojourn in Kafiristan, his book is still the best briefing which can be given to an intending visitor to those parts.

In 1898 Robertson published his story of the siege of Chitral. A reviewer complimented him on the 'grace and power of its literary style' and this praise is well deserved. In both his books he displays an extraordinary ability to evoke atmosphere, and his account of people, places and events is vivid and forceful. This is how he describes the Chitralis:

There are few more treacherous people in the world than the Chitralis, and they have a wonderful capacity for cold-blooded cruelty, yet none are kinder to little children or have stronger affection for blood and foster relations when cupidity or jealousy do not intervene. All have pleasant and ingratiating manners, an engaging lightheartedness, free from all trace of boisterous behaviour, a great fondness for music, dancing and singing, a passion for simple-minded ostentation, an instinctive yearning for softness and luxury, which is the mainspring of their intense cupidity and avarice. No race is more untruthful or has a greater power of keeping a collective secret. Their vanity is easily injured, they are revengeful and venal, but they are charmingly picturesque and admirable companions.

His two books reveal an interesting picture of their author. Although he was an able exponent of the stiff upper lip the impression indelibly emerges of a man exceptionally sensitive although equally courageous and stubbornly resolute, who was genuinely humble and rejoiced to honour others, who was at one and the same time adventurously unusual and highly conventional, who was both an artist and an administrator, a scientifically minded investigator and an Empire-builder. Besides the two major works, he wrote little; a preliminary account of his explorations in Kafiristan was given to the Royal Geographical Society; more sociological descriptions of his travels were given to the Anthropological Institute and the Society of Arts; and a rather stolid Presidential Address was read to the Geography Section of the British Association. He never returned, as he had hoped to do until he was caught up in heavy administrative responsibilities, to complete his enquiries in Kafiristan, and so far as is known he died no more ethnographical work of any sort. Nor did he achieve further advancement in the service. His great period of efflorescence, of military and proconsular renown, of scientific endeavour and of literary creation lasted something less than ten years. He retired around the turn of the century and devoted his energies to politics. In 1906, after failure in Scotland, he was elected Liberal Member for Central Bradford. His strength and sincerity made him popular both in the House and in his constituency, but he spoke little except, in his last years, to protest against the inefficient prosecution of the war and in advocacy of more equitable and honourable conditions for the Indian army. He died in 1916, at the comparatively early age of 64 survived by his second wife, whose father was Samuel Lawrence the painter, and a daughter. The Times obituary makes no reference to his pioneering research, beyond mentioning that of his two books one was 'more technical.' But to recognize the seriousness of his work was fitting praise, even if unintentional, for a man
whose place among anthropologists has been consistently ignored.

Notes
1 An interesting account of this event is given in Sir Mohamed (sic) Nusseir K.C.I.E., Mir of Humza, An Autobiography (privately circulated), pp. 61ff. Humza had up to that time paid tribute to China, but the work of the predecessor of the Chinese envoys led to a deterioration of relations between the two countries.
4 W. G. L. Benyon, With Kelly to Chitral, London, 1896. See also Youngusband and Youngusband, op. cit.
5 Fully described in Youngusband and Youngusband, op. cit.
6 This is well illustrated by Robertson's speech at the installation of the new ruler of Chitral. Correspondence Relating to the Occupation of Chitral, No. 4: Letter from the Government of India to Secretary of State No. 190, dated 9 October, 1895 (received 26 October), enclosure 5: Report of proceedings of Durbar held at Chitral for the Installation of Mehtar Shuja-ul-Mulk, London (H.M.S.O.), 1896.
8 See Arrian, Anabasis of Alexander, Book V, 1—3, and (though he is sceptical) Strabo, Geography, Book XIV, 1, 7—9.
10 Marco Polo, The Travels, translated by R. L. Lahani, London (Penguin Classics), 1958, p. 49: 'The inhabitants live very high up in the mountains. They are idolators and savages, living entirely by the chase and dressed in the skins of beasts. They are out and out bad.'
11 Ali Yazdi (Sharifuddin), Zafarname, translated by P. de la Croix into French, 1722, and into English from French by J. Derby, 1723. See also the Memoirs of Timur (Mulfuzat Timur), London, 1830, though some doubt has now been cast upon the genuineness of these.
12 Memoirs of Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur, Emperor of Hindustan, written by himself in the Jhagatai Turki, and translated by the late John Leyden, partly by William Erskine, with notes and a geographical and historical introduction, together with a map of the countries between the Oxus and Jaxartes and a memoir regarding its construction, by Charles Waddington, London, 1826.
17 Hugh Pearce, op. cit., p. 159. Sir Alexander Burnes was the author of Travels into Bokhara, 3 vols., London, 1834. He was also joint author of Reports and Papers Political, Geographical and Commercial Submitted to the Government by Sir A. Burnes, Lt. Leech, Dr. Lord and Lt. Wood, Employed on Missions in the years 1833—6 in Scinde, Afghanistan and Adjacent Countries, Calcutta, 1839. Paper No. X concerns the Shah Posh Kafirs.
21 The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush, p. 34.
23 Chitral: The Story of a Minor Siege, pp. 10f.
24 See note 19.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
PROCEEDINGS

Caesarean Section with Maternal Survival among Jews in the Roman Period. By Jeffrey Boss, M.B., B.S., Ph.D., Department of Physiology, University of Bristol. Summary of a communication to the Institute, October 13, 1960

The operation of caesarean section, that is, the delivery of a baby through an incision in the abdominal wall, is very ancient, being older than Cesar by about half a millennium. Caesarean section, as performed by the Romans, was the rescue of a fetus from a moribund or recently dead mother, in the hope of saving the baby alive, and this operation was also practised among the Jews of the Roman period and in Vedic India. In addition, there is evidence that, in Roman times, the Jews not only performed this post mortem operation, but also carried out caesarean section on living women in the justified expectation that the patient would survive and heal.

The oral tradition of the Rabbis during the two centuries before Christ and in the first 200 years of the Christian era is recorded in several collections, of which the most important is the Mishnah. The rabbinical discussions, recorded verbatim, include passages dealing with three topics relevant to maternal survival after caesarean section. The first of these centres on the commandment in the twelfth chapter of Leviticus concerning the 40 or 80 days of separation and purifying after childbirth. The rabbis, as reported in the Mishnah, discuss whether a woman delivered by caesarean section should or should not observe these days of separation, and it is clear that they supposed that she could survive the operation. Secondly, there is some argument in the Mishnah whether a woman delivered by caesarean section should make the customary post partum offering at the end of the period of separation; on both sides of the argument it was implicit that a woman
could be fit enough to bring a sacrifice 40 or 80 days after cesarean section. Thirdly, there is evidence that it was taken for granted that a woman could survive the operation and have a further pregnancy ending with a normal delivery by the natural route. This is apparent from the discussions concerning the situation of two eldest brothers, of whom the first had been delivered by cesarean section and the second naturally. It was clearly of importance to determine which had the rights of primogeniture. The biblical description of the first-born is ‘that openeth the womb.’ If the first son to be born was delivered through the belly wall, he did not ‘open the womb’; the second, on the other hand, was not the elder. Hence the difficulty, a difficulty which arose only because their mother could survive the operation and bear again.

The internal evidence of the texts indicates that we have accurate reports of the relevant discussions and that the latter deal with actual situations and not speculations. Manuscripts older than the development of ante mortem cesarean section in Europe contain these texts in a form materially similar to that in which we have them now and previous transmission followed an exacting tradition of reporting and copying.

Three commentaries, the Gemara, the commentary on the Talmud by Rashi, and the Book of the Lamp by Maimonides, comment on the Mishnaic passages on cesarean section with maternal survival. The Gemara is a record of rabbinical discussions about passages of Mishnah, on which it thus forms a running commentary, Mishnah and Gemara together constituting the Talmud. The Gemara records material from the third, fourth and fifth centuries and, in its system of reporting and general methods of discussion resembles the Mishnah itself. Cesarean section followed by the mother's recovery is commented on seriously in the Gemara, which raises no difficulty about accepting the obvious meaning of the Mishnah where the latter refers to the operation. This is clearly of importance when we remember that the Mishnah and Gemara are records of a single continuing tradition, with no clear time interval between the latest rabbis reported in the former and the earliest of those mentioned only in the latter. Rashi, writing in the eleventh century, records at least twice that the operation was carried out by what he terms ‘sam.’ One of his comments runs as follows: ‘By ‘sam’ they opened the womb; they brought the fetus out, and she healed.’ A century after Rashi, Maimonides rejected the possibility of the mother's survival after operation. He did not, however, adhere consistently to this view and, where he put it forward, he was forced into providing an obstetrically weak explanation as an alternative to the plain meaning of the Mishnah. The commentators, taken together, support this plain meaning.

That the cesarean section and its outcome were taken for granted indicates that our texts do not refer to the occasional miracle of a mother's recovery after she had been taken for moribund or dead and the baby rescued from her womb. And if the mother was evidently alive, her recovery must have been expected, as it was certainly not permissible to kill a woman to save her unborn child. The indication for cesarean section is stated explicitly to be a three-day labour: that is, the operation was performed with one clear day separating it from the onset of labour. Whether an anaesthetic was used we do not know. Sleeping drugs were well known in the Talmudic period. The incision, according to Rashi, was carried out by ‘sam.’ The identification of ‘sam’ is itself a possible subject of long discussion. There is considerable material on the subject in the Talmud but many textual problems remain. The position of the opening cannot be exactly ascertained, but it was, on the evidence of the Talmud, lateral rather than central.

Cesarean section was based on a foundation of considerable surgical skill and physiological and anatomical knowledge and the incentive to develop the operation was strong, since the alternative was embryotomy, which was found ethically hard to justify. The actual pathway of development was probably veterinary. Inspection of ritually killed animals led to a knowledge of anatomy and veterinary surgery included hysterectomy. About the offspring of animals as well as about human children, there was a discussion as to which was the ‘first-born that openeth the womb,’ if the elder was delivered by cesarean section and the younger by the normal route. The same midwives attended both domestic beasts and women.

The Romans and Indians rescued infants from the wombs of dead or moribund mothers; Greece and Egypt did not, it seems, know even of this operation of post mortem cesarean section. From Mesopotamia and its neighbourhood we have only a single legend: the birth of the hero Rustum. It is possible that the Jews themselves evolved the operation, probably at some time after the exile, perhaps in the Roman period.

The loss of the skill, like its acquisition, must remain a subject of speculation. Disuse would have resulted from an increasing number of failures. These could have been due to defective transmission of technique. The defective transmission itself could have been due to a need for secrecy. In the Moslem world the operation, even after the mother’s death, was strictly forbidden. In the Christian world, the post mortem operation is not recorded until the tenth century, and to perform cesarean section successfully on a living mother could have invoked the wrath of popular superstition. If the operation was driven underground, as a hole-and-corner procedure, the results might well have become more and more discouraging until the operation was finally abandoned.

SHORTER NOTES

A Note on Bird Cries and Other Sounds in Zande. By Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, M.A., Ph.D., F.B.A., Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford

This note is written less for any intrinsic value of the information which it provides than in the hope that if others are thereby persuaded to publish similar information from other African peoples an interesting study may be made of how different peoples hear the same sounds in their different phonetic systems. Most of the cries and other sounds recorded can be heard over a great part of the continent. Only a few comments are required.

The names of a number of the birds, like our ‘cuckoo’ and ‘tit,’ have an obvious onomatopoeic origin, e.g. titi, tuut, kukuuru and zogoogo. In the case of some of the cries of creatures the tone and syllables of the cries have suggested sentences to Azande, and the sentences react on the hearing of the cries so that though at first it may not, to a European ear at any rate, appear that the notes of the laughing dove sound very much like ungu mohu akpi akpi, as the listener supplies the words to match them it begins to seem to him that that is what the dove is crying, and that is what he then hears. Likewise one begins to hear the sunbird saying ‘na beba mangna, ‘they are sharpening an axe.”

Some of these sentences—in which grammar is subordinated to sound—derive from the habits of the creatures. For example, kites swoop down to the floor of homesteads to steal the termites which people have left to dry in the sun, so that it is a common practice to plant a spear near them to frighten the birds. The
words zinga (zanga) mango, which can be translated 'lack of bag,' in its cry derive from this habit—the bird is bewailing that it has no bag to put the termites in. Other examples are the reference to jumping away from a dog in the cry of the grey duiker, which derives from the fear which this animal has of hunting dogs; and the pearl-spotted owlet cries rago ta gira si ni ghere ti re, 'when daylight comes, I do not like it,' because it is a night-loving bird. Sometimes the cries contain what the Azande call a sanza, a sort of double talk, e.g. when the francolin cries du wari du wari? u wari u wari? 'Is where? Is where? Where is she? Where is she?,' she refers to herself and is saying to the people 'I am in dense bush, so catch me if you can!' I must add that the lists below are illustrative; they are far from being exhaustive.

**Birds**

(1) Black-and-white-tailed hornbill (ssangani) cries ik ki ki ki ki and also ssangi ssangi. (2) Bulbul (kutoto) cries keke keke keke and also geregada geregada, geregada being a fruit on which it feeds. (3) Cisticola warbler (titi) cries ti ti ti ti ti, and it also mocks a wild cat (daghara), crying daghara di di di di. (4) Sunbird or honey-sucker (ngede) cries zikozi zikozi zikozi and na beda mangua pelus pelus pelus. (5) Pearl-spotted owlet (koro) cries koo koo koo and koroo koroo and rago ra gira si ni ghere ti re. (6) Pied wagtail (ngibi, ngibigni) cries gui gui gui and gui toto gui toto and ngibi gui ke. (7) Swallow (mbirimbira) only makes a cry in the season of termites, pi pi pi. (8) Francolin (gbate) cries kuri kuri kuri kur and du wari du wari u wari u wari. (9) Senegal coucal or cuckoo (ninu) cries tu tu tu tu tu. (10) Kite (kite) cries kpi li zinga mangua and kitu kitu kitu and kitu kitu kitu kpi kpi kpi, and the sound of its wings is fo fo. (11) Pin-tailed wydah finch (balungingi) cries kpi kpi kpi kpi. (12) Black and white casqued hornbill (ngong) cries hua hua hua hua and wari or wari oo wari oo. (13) Sudan brown parrot (kukuru) cries kukuru o uu kukuru o uu. (14) Eared owl (bazi), a bird which cries, huu huu, huu. (15) Vulture (nguili) cries kokokoko kokokoko and kue kue. (16) Babbler (zogongobo) cries zog zog zog. (17) Sparrow (banukupelo) chirps ke ke ke ke and kuri kuri. (18) Domestic fowl (hen) says ku ku ku ku ku and kori kori kori kori. When she has laid an egg she cries mni na ka a ka kisa kisa kua, mi na ok a ok a, and when she calls her chicks she clucks ghu ghu ghu ghu ghu ghu ghu ghu (ghu is to hide or take cover). Cocks crow ko ko ko ko yaya aaaa. (19) Scaly francolin (gunurunghe) cries gunurunghe sosoro. (20) Sosoro is another name for the same bird. (21) Mourning dove (ghungu) cries ra giri mi zo tokpo wu wu wu, mi na mhu ngu te, meaning, At dawn I make salt out of wu wu, I do not tire. (21) Bronnix mannikin (nzo) cries nzo nzo nzo nzo nzo. Plantain-eater (koko) cries ko ko ko ko ko. (22) Hammer-headed stork (ette) cries ete ete ete ete and also guse kure ne yore yo mi a li ti na kakepa ni, meaning, that bird which stays there. I will eat it all up. (23) Hammer-headed stork (nhibo) calls ku ku ku and mi teeteren fyu ko, meaning, which appears to mean, I limp behind him, I limp behind him. It also cries urugu moli akpi akpi, meaning, I am unwell. (24) Plantain-eater, Akpi akpi, meaning, the planter of elusience will die, and ngi mo zo tokpo, at dawn, make salt (an admonition to people to get to work early). When the dry season, its breeding season, approaches it changes its note to rakata rakata, and the bird is consequently sometimes named rakata. (25) African thrush (taramani) is the hayango, composer and song-leader of the birds. Azande say that it has no special call of its own but mimics other birds. However, they also say that it admonishes people, saying he he he he he ne ku ku ku ku ku ku, which is twisted into a sentence meaning a woman is breaking off firewood; in time tu time, ma mungo ma mungo, de te de, meaning, draw water, draw water, you are idle, you are idle, [you are] no woman, [you are] no woman; etc. It sometimes calls out the name of the scaly francolin, copying the cry of this bird: gunurunghe sosoro. (26) Guinea fowl (azengu) calls sukure sukure sukure and ngenge ngenge ngenge and uru wari? Uru wari? This means, where is the sun, where is the sun? When it sees people it says ke ke ke, and when angry, bohu ghuphup, bohu ghuphup, a real bad business, a real bad business. When it roosts its call is a whistle followed by mo ki yeri da ghuera, mo ki yeri da ghuera, a phrase which has reference to the bird's habit of crowing to the earth (ghuera) to avoid observation. (27) Honey-guide (turugha) is a great chatterer. It cries kesa kesa kesa kesa kesa and viki viki viki viki viki. It also calls turugha akpi oo, no no, mi na li ngaanye aliyo te, gunda gundunda boro mo yogu ra te re go yo, a sentence which starts with conventional exclamations and continues: I don't eat honey in the air. Mutilated man, you show it to me in a termite mound. The sound of its wings when it flaps them as bees attack it is fuku fuku fuku fuku. (27) Red-breasted cuckoo (badaka poko) cries badaka poko, a word meaning builder of homestead. (28) Black crested hawk-eagle (mbababe) cries o o de ne wili, nara, sounds which are made to bear the concealed meaning, mo na ndu na wilu ku uru yo, you go with your child in the daytime. It is said that if one calls to this bird and tells it to look in one or other direction it will turn its head in that direction, a statement which I have often found to be correct.

**Animals**

(1) Hyena (zege) cries hi i hi i i i. (2) Leopold (mumbe) breathes out through its nose hih and then in through mumbe mumbe, and (3) lion (batu) likewise. (4) Bushbuck (ghodi) cries gboh gboh gboh, and, when angry, dio dio dio dio, and when wounded kia dio kia dio kia. (5) Buffalo (gbe) cries ho ho and, when angry, uru uru fiiu. (6) Hippopotamus (dipu) cries hu ho ho ho ho ho ho ho. (7) The domestic dog (angye) barks bau bau and ho ho ho ho ho and if struck it whines hai hai hai. (8) Wild cat (dandala) whines nia niau. (6) Warthog (ziga) cries kuri kuri fu kuri fu and, when excited, witi witi. (10) Red pig (zukumbire) cries fu fu fu, cu cu cu and, when angry, hoo ho or witi witi. (11) Waterbuck (ngaghe) cries vu vu vu vu vu. (12) Jackson's harte-beest (zimungu) cries kisi kisi kisi and, when excited, fu u. (13) Uganda kob (ngiha) cries huya huya and, when excited, too too. (14) Gazelle (gambangala) cries fiiu fiiu fiiu and, when excited, dio dio dio dio. (15) Grey duiker (muvu) makes the sound gubu gubu when it runs. Its cry is said to be nia niau niau guali kuri all yo be angu, niau niau, you jump away from the dog, and, as it rocks to and fro when eating mushrooms, baza o nga manguro, torture o, good is your luck. (16) Colobus monkey (muwyo) cries at dawn garr garr garr. (17) Chimpanzee (hatanga) cries nur nur nur and hits wood with hands gidi gidi gidi gidi. (18) Grey monkey (mibiro) cries kisi kisi kisi niau niau.

**Other Sounds**

(1) Stone grinding elusience sounds ke ke kia kia. (2) Stone grinding sesame sounds ke keke keke. (21) Clapping hands sound kpa kpa kpa. (4) The wind says gu gu gu go go woooo, and (5) a mighty wind wiu wiu wiu fiiu fiiu. A whistle sounds fii wa anghia. (6) The sound of walking feet is kata kata kata kata. (7) An axe cutting down makes the noises ngbili lili and go go go, and (8) a falling tree ndiiii ndiiii. (9) A hoe says nginzingiil. (10) Fire says roarororo, the burning thatch of a roof giyiyi, and (12) a bush fire titititi. (13) A pestle pounding grain in an upright mortar makes gibi gibi gibi and (14) one pounding grain in the old-fashioned trough mortar goes be be be. (15) Rain falls bada bada. (16) Beer ferments in pot kpanguru kpanguru. (17) Coins fall nga nga, nga nga. (18) Dark cavers at heads of streams pulate lihilihili. (19) Wailing at death sounds giiu and (20) a crowd shouting, wuwo. (21) Gu is also the buzzing of bees and the sound of rushing water. (22) Chuhabugubugubu is the sound a man makes when drinking guli guli. (23) Roasting maize pops kpuu.
very closely the European types of the Neolithic and Bronze Age, a report on which will be published separately when the study of the type of rock used has been completed. The others are large triangular stone tools, and of these two types exist, the ground type being the most remarkable. It is best called a hand adze, whilst the other is a flaked pick. It would be interesting to know whether similar implements have been found elsewhere, especially in Africa.

The hand adze is confined to the island of Gran Canaria, as are so many other cultural items. The red-burnished-pottery culture (MAN, 1960, 30) is peculiar to this island, too, and one is tempted,

The hand adzes. In size the hand adzes (figs. 1 and 2) are remarkably constant. The largest two, one from Gáldar (No. 163), the other from Los Coralillos, are identical in size and shape to an extent that suggests that weight was an important property of the tool. Similarly, the smaller hand adzes are of the same size:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Width</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gáldar, No. 163</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Coralillos</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Guirra, No. 160</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gáldar, No. 164 (ends worn)</td>
<td>172+</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirajana, No. 162 (ends worn)</td>
<td>182+</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All known specimens are made of a dense phonolitic or basaltic rock, by pecking and grinding. The maximum thickness (52–57 mm.) is evidently adapted to the hand using the tool, and so are the artificial concavities carefully worked on each side by pecking and grinding (fig. 1a, fig. 2b). The tools are very smooth, but not polished except at the two working ends. The long side of the triangular tool is always slightly convex and somewhat keeled. One working end is polished to form a straight cutting edge at right angles to the long axis of the tool. The other end, however, is left round below, and ground and polished into a broad concave groove above. There can be little doubt that this was meant to function as a gouge, and that the tool was thus used as an adze at one end and as a gouge at the other. In addition, one of the two large adzes (No. 163) has been chipped in the middle of the long convex cutting edge, presumably for use as a chopper. These tools were eminently practical; one could hardly design better ones for the trimming of large pieces of wood.

When the tools had become blunt, they were either discarded (Nos. 162, 164) or else coarsely refiled along the long edge and the ends, to be used as choppers (Nos. 159, 161, both from Gáldar).

So far, few of these remarkable tools are known, namely four from an unspecified locality near Gáldar in the north, one from La Guirra (Monte Lenticual), one from Tirajana, and one from Los Coralillos, Roque Acuario, in the south of the island. This wide distribution suggests that they were generally known.
Triangular picks. The same idea of using the weight of a triangular tool held in the hand to produce maximum force is behind the shape of the implements here called 'triangular picks' (figs. 3 and 4). They differ from the hand adzes in being flaked longer than the other. The long end is the working end, terminating (in complete specimens) in a point which is often worn smooth. The other end is often obliquely truncated (fig. 36). It may have been used hammer fashion, but the truncation is not always present. The illustrations are self-explanatory. The sizes of large and small examples are as follows:

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<td>Gáldar, No. 131</td>
<td>170</td>
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The great interest of the hand adzes and triangular picks lies in the fact that nothing resembling them is known from the European Paleolithic or Neolithic. They may have been developed locally in Gran Canaria. On the other hand, since they appear associated with the red brunnished pottery of that island, which is a late-comer and probably has African connexion, it would be interesting to know whether similar tools are known from North or West Africa.


A series of 65 paleolithic quartzite and flint handaxes and cleavers was found in March, 1960, by Edward Francis in the Southern Tuwayq Quadrangle, Saudi Arabia. The locality, known as Nuhaydayn al-Qawnsah (lat. 20° 27' N. and long. 46° 33' E.), stands in an area called Al-Qawnsat ibn Ghudayyan. This area lies about 65 miles east of As-Sulayyl.

Fig. 1. Lower paleolithic implements from the Rub' al Khali

Photograph: Don Holm, 1960
In fig. 1 the largest specimen (140x7.5x4.0 cm.s) indicates a powerful user. The quality of the quartzite in the smaller bands or clefts is fine-grained. The smaller ovate pieces are rolled and show evidence of aeolian action. The flints are medium dark brown to mahogany in colour and reveal marked desert varnish and deep patina. This is the first Lower Palaeolithic site in Saudi Arabia. However, a large handaxe from Duwadami was described by Cornwall in 1946.

In three localities, extending for almost 30 miles and lying south-east and east of Nahdayan al-Qawnasah, flint and quartzite arrowheads were found on the surface of low mounds standing 500 feet above sea level. The westernmost site is in the centre of a sandy ridge known as ‘Urq-ar-Rumaylah; the other two stand close together on the northern fringes of a sandy area (elevation 450 feet) north of the ‘Irq Abu Faqar.

Attention must be called to the finely ground quartzite spearpoints (140x7.5x0.75 cm.s) with long, wide pressure flakes on one side found east of As-Sulayyil (lat. 20°3' N. and long. 46°15' E.) by Don Holm of Aramco during October, 1949. This site lies south-west of Al ‘Ubaylah midway between As-Sulayyil and Nahdayan al-Qawnasah.

Another archaeologica surface site, yielding rather poor-quality artifacts of ‘neolithic’ or later periods, was located recently in the eastern Rub’ al-Khali at ST-17 camp (lat. 19°41' N. and long. 54° E.). Fragments of stone bowls or mortars and a piece of possible meteorite were found west of this Aramco camp.

These new discoveries supplement previous finds in the Rub’ al Khali, but now we know that the palaeolithic hunters roamed this great area.

Lower Palaeolithic implements have also been found in Sinai, Israel, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Anatolia, Iraq, Iran and the Caucasus. Presumably there were contemporaneous cultural contacts between the peoples of the Arabian Peninsula and dwellers in the Horn of Africa extending into East and South Africa, north-west into the Nile Valley, north into Anatolia and north-east into Iraq.

This new palaeolithic discovery is of the greatest significance and forms an important link in the chain of Stone Age sites now being plotted on the map of South-Western Asia.


Sir,—I feel that some of the musical evidence in the Revd. A. M. Jones’s recent article ‘Indonesia and Africa: The Xylophone as a Culture-Indicator’ ought to be commented on; the other non-musical evidence, convincing as it is, is not essential to his theme.

Firstly, it must be remembered that we are dealing with peoples most of whom are, musically, extremely sensitive and pitch-conscious, and able to reproduce at a distance not only the degrees of a scale but also its exact pitch to an extraordinary degree of accuracy. Such peoples as the Chopi, when they leave their homes for the mines, do not normally take their xylophones with them; they leave them on the mines, and with nothing more than memory, or ‘perfect pitch,’ they tune them to within one vibration per second of those at home. Others are equally fastidious in the precise tuning of their instruments. Jones’s main thesis, that Siamese-Indonesian pelog and slendro tunings are the ‘same’ as African tunings, is not borne out by the figures which he quotes himself, some of which differ from each other by such relatively large amounts as 74 cents, or 1 of a tempered semitone. To any of the musicians involved, the other scales would quite definitely feel ‘out of tune,’ and as such, it is doubtful whether they can immediately be considered as ‘the same.’ Jones’s theory depends on the supposed colonists, and the Africans themselves, having a particularly sensitive ear for pitch, yet the differences in the scales are easily appreciable by any musical ear. They make the whole scale sound different. Jones himself explains that the ‘makers had no scientific instruments by which to regulate their tuning,’ thus indicating that the choice of scale lies in the ear alone.

Throughout there is the assumption that the African normally uses ‘nature’s own scale,’ i.e. a Western scale, one whose octaves have seven intervals containing five whole tones and two semitones, and that anything which differs from that is automatically unnatural or artificial and must have been ‘influenced’ from somewhere else. This is starting from the wrong premise. Measurement of a large number of African scales, such as has been made by the International Library of African Music, shows that there are a myriad of different scales in common use among Africans, of which few approach our diatonic major scale, either in mood or in the exact tuning. One of the main reasons for this is that only approximately 40 per cent. of African tribes use heptatonic scales at all, the other 60 per cent. using one-third hexatonic and two-thirds pentatonic. (And there are a few border tribes which use more than one type of scale. The figures are from the I.L.A.M.’s measurements of about 80 tribes in the area south of the Sudan.) However, anyone who regularly listens to any type of African music will tell you that it is all too easy to approximate one’s ear to the notes which one hears, imagining them to be those of our own scale. It is only when one comes to playing transcriptions of them on our own scale, on a piano, or some such
fixed-tone instrument, that one hears how completely wrong the tuning can sound.

Much depends on what factors are considered to decide on the choice of a scale.

Choice is the right word here for, from our evidence in Africa, scales, or tunings, are inherent in a person, and cannot be learnt, so that a man will naturally choose the scale that seems ‘right’ to him whether he is judging someone else’s music or making his own. There may be some cases where scales have been learnt to a tolerable degree of accuracy but then only with extreme difficulty. You only have to hear any Nyoro singing, whether he has been trained in Western music or not, to know immediately that he is a Negro. Whether preference for scales is caused by early training or by heredity is almost impossible to say, but one cannot discount the possibility of it being the one or the other. Whichever it may be, the only practical way of passing on scales is by intermarriage. Therefore, Africans cannot have memorized Indonesian scales exactly; they would straightway have reverted to their own set of scales, or at least have co-ordinated the new scales into their own until they were almost unrecognizable—that is, unless the two scales were similar to start with. This is to judge by their reaction to both Arabic and the various types of European music which have impinged upon the continent from very early times. There is no reason to suppose that Indonesian scales are any more like African scales than European ones, in fact the opposite is probably more true; and yet look what liberties they take with our scale!

Therefore, assuming Indonesian colonization, these particular tunings must have been caused by intermarriage. Again, assuming that the choice of notes in a scale is hereditary—we do not have to, but it is convenient for the faculties of musical ability and musical appreciation—Otto Ortmann in *The Effects of Music*—this particular choice will depend on a gene, or a combination of genes. Now the area which is supposed to have been ‘influenced’ so radically in its musical practice is a huge one, the number of peoples in it vast, and only a relatively small number of Indonesians must have been able to come over the Indian Ocean, in whatever the size of boat (unless a mass migration over a land route is envisaged; but the distribution of the xylophones and tunings does not indicate this). Does Jones suggest then that all those peoples whom he has quoted as using equitonal heptatonic or pentatonic scales, numbering millions, have inherited the genes from this relatively small number of people who settled around the coasts of Africa, introducing possibly nice, and other items of material culture? Or is it not equally possible that these musical genetic traits may be shared equally by Africans and Indonesians, and date back far earlier than any possible influence from one country to the other?

In what sense does Jones mean that the equitonal scale is ‘artificial’? The definition means not natural. But to several million people it is the only natural scale, and by no means all of them are able to explain their musical systems as explicitly as the Chopi. Is it so ‘astonishing’ or ‘staggering’ to find any scale in the world that is not our ‘nature’s own scale’? And that itself is not in fact so natural as it seems to us. Although founded on the simple ratios of the harmonic series, it yet needs quite a process of abstraction to reach our major scale. The South African pentatonic tribes have also, according to Kirby, evolved their scales from the harmonic series of a plucked string, and there are considerable variations amongst them in tuning, as well as between any of their scales and say, our Hebrew scale. Further, although it may be a matter of opinion, one cannot without further evidence assume, following the etiological principle, that the equitonal principle is so complex and sophisticated that it could only have originated in one part of the world. On the contrary, the principle itself is easy to grasp, and I believe that it is one which any people with any degree of conscious musicality could think out. There may even be something in the construction, lay-out and appearance of a xylophone, the African instrument whose tone is most clearly definable, which is conducive towards an equitonal tuning, in something like the same manner that flute tuning in Africa frequently depends on the symmetrical placing of the finger holes, rather than the conscious desire of the maker to produce a known scale.

So it should not be unreasonable to assume that two peoples might evolve separately a similar equitonal principle, especially where they are both to an unusual extent musically minded, which, from the opinion of many African observers, could well apply to Africa. But, as Jones’s figures adequately show, the Indonesian and the African scales are not exactly the same thing, but differ even among themselves very considerably, although they may like to classify them loosely under the heading ‘equitonal scales.’

In regard to the use of thirds in vocal music, one must not assume that because two peoples sing in thirds, they are necessarily connected. Here may be another example of separate development. After all, we Westerners make frequent use of thirds, and who would suggest Indonesian influence on European music? Another difficulty here is in defining the third; whether it is to be any interval of approximately 350 cents—our ear is notoriously tolerant in this respect—or the interval between any note in a scale and the second note from it. Thus some pentatonic scales have an interval between two adjacent notes which could be quite easily classed as a third in a heptatonic scale.

This leads on to the two types of Indonesian scale mentioned by Jones, the heptatonic pelog, and the pentatonic slendro, which are supposed to have been adopted in different parts of Africa. But why should Uganda and part of the Congo, among others, have chosen the pentatonic xylophone to adopt while others chose the heptatonic xylophone? The only possible reason must be that those people who adopted each kind of xylophone must have already had a similar scale themselves, and that they chose the instrument most suited to their abilities. But in that case how were the notes of their primitive scales distributed?

Further, if, as Jones suggests, Indonesian influence has been present not only in the tuning of xylophones, but in their presence in Africa at all, why are not all the African xylophone scales equitonal? There are many African xylophone tunings that are not approximations to equotonal scales. Jones says (p. 138): ‘It would of course be possible to adduce other xylophone tunings which are not so near.’

There is no logical reason why these tunings which Jones has chosen to give should not be an approximation to those other tunings ‘which are not so near,’ just as much as towards an Indonesian tuning. Any conclusions based on such a minutely variable, psychological thing as tuning must be supported by more than a few examples selected seemingly at random.

This seems to be the case also with Jones’s theory of ‘perfect pitch’ on both sides of the Indian Ocean. For all the examples given, one could quote many more where equitonly tuned heptatonic xylophones have no note approaching 184 v.p.s. or where pentatonic xylophones have none approaching 270 v.p.s. In fact the I.L.A.M. has several Ganda and Nyoro xylophone tunings that have no note within as much as a semitone of the 284.5 v.p.s. quoted for one particular Ganda xylophone. If the particular frequency to be chosen as featuring in a large number of scales appears as the lowest note in one, the second in another, and the fourth in another, does that not indicate that that note is thought of in a quite different way in each case? We need to see examples of the actual music performed, as well as of the tuning. We could find thousands of instruments, not only in Africa, which use a frequency of around 184 v.p.s., but we could not then deduce a common influence.

This should not be construed as a categorical denial that there was ever any Indonesian influence in Africa; there is plenty of good evidence to the contrary. But I would suggest that such confident statements as ‘the consistent evidence of the musical features points to one conclusion; that Indonesian colonists settled on the East coast of Africa... etc’ are not supported by the facts at the author’s disposal.

A. T. N. TRACEY

International Library of African Music, Roodepoort, Transvaal

Descent, Filiation and Affinity. Cf. MAN. 1957, 59; 1959, 399, 331; 1960, 6

Sir,—May I be permitted to comment on the discussion between Dr. Leach and Professor Meyer Fortes, taking it as part of a debate between two theories, namely the theory of lineage and political systems on the one hand, and the alliance theory, or, I should prefer to say, the structural
January, 1961

MAN

Nos. 11, 12

theory of kinship, on the other? There are signs that the debate is in the air at present, as the fact, for instance, that one issue of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (Vol. LXXXIX, Part I) contains three major articles bearing directly or indirectly on the question seems to show. At the same time we have reached a stage where what is meaningful for one school sometimes seems to the other to be devoid of interest. The dialogue is timely. I think that the more fully and thoroughly it develops, the better for the future of our studies, and I am concerned with trying to suggest some conditions and possibilities of its development. From this point of view, Professor Fortes’ position seems unfortunate in so far as, in response to Dr. Leach’s efforts towards reciprocal understanding, he restates one theory in such a way as to leave no room for the other: in effect, I conclude from his double article that, according to him, for theoretical purposes positive marriage rules do not exist.

Whatever the relative weight which one likes to give to these theories and their achievements to date, it is wiser to recognize that in their essentials both are here to stay and are not incompatible (although, as they involve different assumptions, they may appear to be so). This is because they are intended for different purposes, and achieve their purpose for different types of societies. In the first place, the clash is possible only when, having successfully detached from kinship proper a theory of lineage systems (and of a certain type of political systems) one attempts to turn back upon kinship itself and reduce it in essentials to those elements which had been detached from it on a different level. If one renounces this doubtful procedure, there is no incompatibility in principle between a structural study of kinship on one level, and a study of the lineage system on the other. But then comes the link between a certain type of analysis and a certain type of society: one type has been developed in Africa, while South-East Asian ground seems to favour the other. This is typical of anthropology at the present stage. The science has not yet reached universal formulations which would hold experimentally; we are as yet on a ‘low level of abstraction.’ A rigid exclusion of one theory by the tenants of the other, a tendency to generalize from one’s own experience while disregarding others will not help.

On the contrary, each theory can gain from the other an awareness of the basic assumptions which it involves and of the limits and conditions of its experimental validity. Regarding assumptions, there are differences between one author and another; for instance within the lineage theory Professor Evans-Pritchard is more of a structuralist than others; in particular he stresses segmentation where Professor Meyer Fortes stresses corporateness (cf. M. G. Smith, J. R. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. LXXXVI, Part 2, 1956, pp. 59 f.).

Regarding the limits of the theories, Dr. Barth’s remarkable article on the Pathans (J. R. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. LXXXIX, Part I) offers an example of what could be done on a different level. He shows how the theory of kinship is valid and of great analytic importance for the Pathans, but that the origin of their ‘lineages’ is not necessarily a point of origin on the other they do not distinguish in the structural sense consanguinity from affinity, as they marry with ease their father’s brother’s daughter (so that we cannot speak of a ‘marriage preference’ in the ordinary sense). But are not these two aspects connected? One could say that their lineage is such only by a great extension of the term, as one loses membership by losing one’s share of the group’s land: it is a land-owning corporation based on a unilinear chart, and this is instructive. At the same time the absence of exogamy, the presence of a ‘men’s house’ (as a site of marriage) all show that the formal statements of the lineage is probably related to this lack of unity in the lineage (cf. Kasdan Murphy, Amer. Anthropol., 1959, No. 2, p. 24). Quite conjecturally, I would conclude that the theory of lineage groups cannot be divorced from their affinal background.

It is probably too early to speculate whether the two broad models which the theories deliver could be taken as particular cases of a more general, and more complex, theory. But it is perhaps permissible to wander about a little in order to suggest such a possibility. Let us suppose that some people (say, the Kachin) put a stress on affinity and others (say, the Nuer) on lineages and their permanence. This does not prevent the former from having lineages and the latter affinity relationships. Then one might suggest, at one’s own risk, that the symbolic significance of cattle among the Nuer has its roots not only in the conscious identification of the lineage with its herd, but also at the same time in the empirical fact that the lineage herd materially embodies the marriage exchanges, so that descent and affinity are present or implied in it. Whatever may be the case, one can conceive a future combination and generalization of the theories developing along such lines.

One difficulty for the dialogue which I advocate lies in the technical terminology. As the controversy in MAN itself shows, there are signs of uneasiness on that score, even among the most extreme adherents of the descent theory. I think that it would be possible to show that the accepted meaning of the term ‘descent,’ i.e. ‘transmission of membership in a group,’ is too wide and leads to queer situations: what is for instance, according to that definition, a ‘local descent group,’ but a local group in which membership is transmitted in a certain way, i.e. simply an enduring local group? It is, however, obvious that in most usages of this expression ‘descent’ is actually taken in a more restricted sense. Among the wide variety of forms of ‘descent’ and ‘descent groups,’ and apart from considerations of localization, corporateness, etc., which receive due recognition, the criterion of exogamy is often, the structuralist feels, neglected to a large extent. For a structural study of kinship at any rate, it is absolutely essential, I believe, to distinguish between (membership in an exogamous group and (a) non-exogamous group. Cf. Dr. Leach’s remark about ‘kinship’ in Arab societies, MAN, 1953, 279 (p. 180, col. 1).

On this point, the simplest way to make possible a dialogue between the two theories would be to restrict ‘descent’ to what is in fact its most frequent use, i.e. membership in an exogamous group, and use another word, say, ‘filiation,’ for the other cases. This would make it possible to show, as Dr. Leach has stated and Professor Fortes once more demonstrated, some descent theorists have a tendency to underestimate or to disguise.

In general, the time has perhaps come when the terminology of kinship studies can be refined on the basis of existing works and in view of future developments. It should not be impossible to adapt it to the essential requirements of both the points of view which I have referred to, not as a compromise between them, but rather as a sort of ‘double entry’ scheme in which both could accommodate the distinctions which they insist on making. The structuralist’s needs can be easily stated, but to explore fully the possible alternatives and assumptions requires team work of a strenuous kind. At best perhaps a few staunch adherents from both sides, junior members of the same Anthropology Department, determined to lay the basis for reciprocal understanding, could initiate it. If the attempt were successful, the scheme would impose itself by its usefulness. If not, or not completely, successful, the attempt would have been enlightening for those taking part in it. If nothing is done, then every worker will have to face the problem for himself. With the risk of communication becoming more and more difficult and the two theories blending unawares (in fact this process is already on the way), instead of a fertile difference bearing fruits in full daylight.

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LOUIS DUMONT

Egypt and Africa

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Sir,—It has become the fashion for modern writers on ancient religions to attribute to Egypt most, if not all, of the beliefs and rituals of the past. The writers of these books display ingnorance of the physical and climatic conditions of Egypt and have clearly made no personal investigation into the evidence. They merely copy from books, whose authors have also been copyists, and with the usual perversity of human nature it is the mistakes and misinterpretations which are copied, generally because they are more dramatic. Consequently the chaotic pictures of Egyptian religion now presented ‘surprises by itself.’ I would point out that Egypt was and still is two separate countries. Upper Egypt consists of a rainless isolated valley watered by the single stream of the Nile, to which every valley across could be directly linked by the course of the river. Whereas Lower Egypt is a plain watered by branches of the Nile, and having a long Mediterranean seaboard with many harbours. It is surely obvious that the influences coming into Upper Egypt would be African, the influences into Lower Egypt would be Mediterranean. Upper Egypt has been the scene of so many spectacular discoveries that little attention has been given
to the equal importance of Lower Egypt except to interpret the religion of Upper Egypt by the description of it by writers of a late period who knew only the Delta. But the evidence for the African influence is clear in Upper Egypt. The people of the predynastic Amratian period are proved by their pottery to be of African origin; the scented plam oil of the Gerzean predynastic period is African; the throne was regarded as a deity, so that when personified in a woman she became a deity, and the man who sat on the throne also became a deity. Us-yri (Osiri) the occupier of the Throne. This great field for research is entirely untouched. But the investigation should be undertaken not by a copyist, but by an Egypto-archaeologist, specializing in the pre- and proto-dynastic periods, who will understand the evidence and interpret it correctly. Until some sure foundation of the Egyptian religion is laid, the copyist will reign supreme. London

M. A. MURRAY

REVIEWS

GENERAL


These two excellent volumes treat of human phylogeny and evolution in different ways. The shorter book is composed of a series of lectures, and traces, with the utmost clarity, the relationships of the various major natural groupings of the Primate order. The longer work, on the other hand, discusses the evidence for man's relationships with other primates by organs and systems, each chapter dealing with a variety of creatures. The two books, therefore, support one another in a most useful and convincing way.

The lectures, of course, are more suitable for the intelligent but previously uninformled non-specialist. Problems which are still in controversy, such as the taxonomic position of Oreopithecus, and of the Tarsiforms, living and extinct, are treated most judiciously. Even the illustrations, showing the presumptive appearance of a number of extinct forms, are acceptable: the details shown are obviously the result of carefully reasoned, rather than of wild speculation. The only weakness of this volume is its lack of explicit attention to the connexion between behaviour and evolution. In every other respect it is completely up to date in attitude and breadth of coverage, and a pleasure to read.

The Antecedents of Man is a much fuller treatment, and far more technical, yet also written with clarity and vigour. As the author states, the treatment follows the main lines of The Early Forerunners of Man, but the book can in no sense be considered a revision of that earlier work. Indeed, the degree to which our knowledge and understanding have increased during the past generation is well demonstrated by a comparison of these two books by the same author. Advances in our knowledge of ecology and of population genetics have done much to clarify the palaeontological evidence which has, itself, increased in volume. Many gaps in the record have now been filled in, and a much improved theoretical framework for understanding the processes of primate and human evolution now exists. The results of these advances show clearly in Professor Clark's work.

Following two introductory chapters, the evidence of the dentition is assessed in the third, and of the skull in the fourth. Inasmuch as from these parts of the body the bulk of our palaeontological data must be drawn, the author quite properly discusses details extensively. Yet here, as throughout the book, the importance of relationships and of the total morphological pattern is stressed. It seems a pity that comparisons of Australopithecus and other primitive hominids are always with the Gorilla or Chimpanzee, rather than with the Orang-utan, of which the skull is, as the author says (p. 162), 'more human in aspect.' It is certainly to be hoped that one day a Dryopithecus skull may be discovered.

Chapter five, the longest of the book, deals with the evidence of the limbs; and, as in the previous two chapters, the characteristics of Protoceratops and discussed in some length. In all known genera of this extinct genus seems intermediate between apes and monkeys, and therefore, as close to the family of man himself as one can expect to find from the lower Miocene. The 'author is properly cautious in his discussion of the question of whether or not man's ancestors brachiated, but does not hesitate to class them as less similar to monkeys than to apes.

The four succeeding chapters, on the brain, the senses and the digestive and reproductive systems, are shorter. Fossil evidence for these is, of course, scanty if not completely lacking, so that compari-

FREDERICK S. HULSE


This is a large collection of summaries of contributions from many parts of the world, including statements of present positions and trends in thought in many countries, U.S.S.R. being co-operative. Trends in U.S.A. are discussed rather too much in the light, or shadow, of Ph.D. dissertations, often, alas, on subjects chosen by university teachers rather than by the graduates. For Britain, Firth reviews recent years, and wisely pleads for quiet digestion by creation of examining and examining groups of the subject. For U.S.S.R. Potekhin makes clear the political effort insufsed into the study of man.

Cultures and culture change are the dominant topics, with physical anthroplogy, archaeology and linguistics as, in the main, accessories. One can do no more than note a few subjects. M. Jacobs is critical of habitual folklore studies and pleads for more comprehension of the dynamics of the entirety of the verbal arts, for folklore is the expression of a very largely oral tradition, and Margaret Mead also pleads for a new approach to folklore, emphasizing the vast changes now going on with migrants, refugees, urbanization and industrialization of peoples living until recently under ancient tradition. Loeb thinks that the Kuanamu Ambo peoples of South-West Africa are an enclave of survivals of early Mediterranean African life brought by cattle-herders. Bratani compares ploughs without mould boards in Yugoslavia and Scandinavia. Steenberk in the main supports F. G. Payne's view that field systems are often the results of plough types. J. S. Weiner argues for the evolution of both the Sapiens and the Neandertal types of man from a Pithemanthropus form. Oldendorge studies the Hausa language and finds that in addition to recent borrowings of words from the Hamite-Semitic group, there are deep grammatical resemblances, and he suggests a very ancient link of pre-desert Saharan days followed by long separation.

H. J. FLEURÉ


During recent years, with the rapid development of telecommunication, the problems and results of linguistic science have become important also to the branch of physics which deals with communication. Those who want to obtain original and important results in the general science of communication must combine a knowledge of natural science with that of linguistics, a rather rare combination, at least in Europe. The present book by the Reader in Telecommunication in the Imperial College of Science of the University of London, is most welcome, the author being well

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acquainted with linguistic research. The book is written in a lively manner, with interesting glimpses of the history of the different devices and problems. It will probably be more useful to specialists in telecommunication, who will find in it a sure guide to the linguistic problems of importance to them, than to linguists, who will need quite a good knowledge of mathematics in order to be able to understand it completely, but even the reader who has not got that knowledge is able to see the nature of the problems raised though he will not be able to follow how they are solved.

The book consists of seven chapters. In the introductory chapter the author discusses the general nature of communication and of communication and organization, what we communicate—he has chosen 'sign' for any physical event used in communication. The chapter contains a good survey of the individual and social character of communication and goes on to show how there are three aspects of communication which have received clear mathematical treatment: the theory of networks, statistical communication theory and the theory of feedback (sometimes called cybernetics). The author is well aware of the general difference between physical and social phenomena. The concepts of time and space, for example, are highly abstract and universal; whereas form and space in sociology means history and geography (p. 23). He also shows how in modern science the synthetic point of view dominates: it is significant that the idea of the topographical graph has been applied to social groups and led to the setting-up of sociograms. The next chapter, devoted to the evolution of communication science, shows how from very early times information has been conveyed in a two-state code (cf. the bush telegraph or the Morse alphabet), a method which is a precursor of present-day binary coding (cf. also the 1,500-year-old Celtic Ogham script). With the need for a statistical view of language and code there is now a renewed interest in the principle of the Morse alphabet in which the most-used letters of the language are allocated the shortest dot-dash symbols. The chapter goes on to expound the mathematical theory of communication, the mathematics of what is called information capacity, which may be defined strictly on a mathematical basis. The following chapter is for the most part devoted to purely linguistic matters, the question of form and meaning, speech and writing, phonetics and phonemics, object language and meta-language (that is language as an object of research and the scientific language discussing the object language). The author stresses the importance of the binary description of language, the distinctive features characteristic of phonemes and their binary attributes (according to Roman Jakobson and his collaborators). As far as the analysis of meaning is concerned I think that it is necessary to reckon not only with a referent (according to Ogden and Richards) or a designation, but with what Hjelmslev calls a content between the sign and the referent; the same referent may have not only different signs but also different contents in different languages.

Language form has also been the object of statistical research. 'Zipf's law,' that the most frequently used words are the shortest, can only be said to be a tendency. When conjunctions, for example, become too short as a result of phonemic reduction they are replaced by longer words. The author insists in this chapter and also elsewhere on the importance of 'redundancy.'

The next two chapters deal mostly with physical and physiological problems—the analysis of signs, especially speech and the statistical theory of communication. The author deals with the newest methods, with 'visible speech,' the spectrograph and spectrogams. He protests against the comparison often made between brains and existing digital computing machines—thay have never been intended to serve as models of the brain.

The problems discussed in the last two chapters are of a more psychological and philosophical character. The author emphasizes the difference between the language systems set up by the logicians and the natural ones. He distinguishes between events and types; sign-events, word-events, tokens, signals denote physical transmissions on specific occasions, sign-types and word-types are linguistic concepts, the signs in the language (cf. the opposition langue: parole de F. de Saussure). He does not think that the Wiener-Shannon measure of the selective information rate of signals in terms of their statistical rarity is all that is needed, but he does not try to set up a different measure of information. He surveys some of the theoretical studies and arguments in the field, deals amongst other things with Pierce's pragmatic theory of signs, the recognition of universals and quantitative experiments on the intake of information by the senses and the search for invariants in pattern-recognition.

Two minor remarks: What is said on p. 70 about the character of dictionaries is just in general. The modern definition dictionary, however, dissolves the meaning of the word into what has been called its 'spectrum,' a group of other words which can take its place as far as distribution is concerned. And on p. 77, gesture-like signs are not altogether non-arbitrary: smiles and bared teeth, for example, may have different implications among different peoples, but everywhere they belong to a special category of signs.

The book is an excellent synthesis of the results of different sciences and ought to be studied not only by communication engineers and linguists, but by sociologists as well. It contains an excellent list of definitions of special terms, a good index and a very full bibliography.

ALF SOMMERFELDT


This book was written by Rank shortly before his death in 1939, and the present edition is unaltered. The first part is devoted to his theory of 'The Double as Immortal self,' in which he brings in twins, the shadow, Jekyll and Hyde, and other aspects of dual personality. The trouble is that his theory seems to have an inadequate basis in fact. Thus he says that 'Among primitives in Africa, where the custom [ie. of king-killing] has been preserved into our own times, the term of the king's office is usually limited to two years. When that period expires he is killed, usually by strangulation—a sacred duty performed by two executioners. In former times two slaves were killed in front of the royal tomb. It seems to me that the number two running through this ritual like a "leitmotiv" is reminiscent of the twin origin still preserved in the two lictors or consuls of historic Rome' (p. 109). But there are many more than two lictors or consuls. I can not think of an African king who reigned for two years or was strangled by two executioners.

After a discussion of Christian theology he goes on to totemism. This, he says, is the earliest system of soul-religion, called totemism from the Australian 'totem,' which signifies an animal, plant or object adopted as a symbol by certain tribes who consider themselves descendants of one and the same totem. This totem animal is made responsible for the necessary supply of food. In spite of his mention of 'object' he discusses totemism as if the totem were always a food animal and as if such totemism were universal among primitives (pp. 205f).

When he comes to incest he assures us that 'the individual's inner resistance to the biological sex urge must be taken as one of the most fundamental facts of human life' (p. 213) and that 'because of his inner resistance to biological procreation primitive man practically tabooed sex, or, at least, had to be induced by "law" to marry and produce children' (p. 213). We are not told who imposed this 'law' upon primitive man; perhaps it was the kings whom he strangled.

RAGLAN

AFRICA


Professor Schapera has already demonstrated that he has no peer in the editing of the journals and letters of early visitors to South-
literary and archival sources and also detailed knowledge of the African peoples among whom the authors of the documents moved. Hence he has the ability to show his characters inside the coming together of two different social systems: neither the world of the Africans nor the world of the Europeans is thrust into the background and obscured out of the editor’s ignorance. His present edition of David Livingstone’s family letters shows the same skill and scholarship, and it will enhance his already great reputation. I find it difficult to remember that these carefully edited letters, with the masterly and concise introduction, are a by-product from Schapera’s main work as a social anthropologist.

This collection of letters is designed primarily to present Livingstone in his roles as son, brother, husband, son-in-law and father. Schapera warns us that Livingstone’s extended opinions on missionary work and his reports of his scientific discoveries appeared in letters written to those more concerned with these activities, rather than in his letters to his relatives, save for some to his father-in-law, Robert Moffat. Hence these letters only give us the whole one particular view of Livingstone’s complex character; but it is a fascinating view. There is a tendency in early biographies of Livingstone to skate over the difficulties which he thrust on his family; and here we see through his own letters how great were these difficulties. He appears certainly as the loving son and brother, always interested in his parents and siblings, always prepared to stilt himself in their interest, sending medical advice even when he knew he would take many months to reach the patients. His love for his wife and children is manifest. But there was an apparent even stronger streak of obstinacy and self-will, as well as self-righteousness and egotism, within his interest in the lot of others; and here lay largely the basis of the determination which drove him on to ever greater discoveries, of lands and tribes.

Glimpses of these lands and tribes, especially of Bechuanaland’s political and their relations with the Boers, emerge incidentally, and Schapera’s careful notes when our appetite for a full study of Bechuanaland history from himself. He shows conclusively that it is dangerous to rely on published books, when letters like these are available. For example, he notes that the letters show that Livingstone only learned from hearsay from Bechuanaland that the Boers sacked and looted his home at Kolobeng, and that he never visited the site of the reputed sacking himself. Did it in fact occur? This is but one graphic example of how carefully we must learn to use our literary sources. Schapera has shown yet again, as he did on Moffat’s sojourn at Kuruman, that all Livingstone’s letters and journals about his travels and sojourns will require equally devoted scholarship by other local specialists; and that similar attention, based also on knowledge of the local peoples, should be given to the records of all early pioneers in Africa. It is welcome news to all students of South and Central Africa that Schapera has already in press an edition of Livingstone’s records of his relations with the Makololo, and that he plans to edit the first great traverses of Africa, as well as other letters. He adds another vast dimension to anthropological studies, and he has set a challenging standard.

Aside from its value to all scholars of the region and of anthropological method, this collection of letters stands by itself as an absorbing account of the developing character of one of the most complex men in the history of an expanding African frontier.

MAX GLUCKMAN

AMERICA


For about ten years, Dr. George Foster has been contributing to our knowledge of the Spanish side of the Middle American conquest situation and the present work summarizes many of his conclusions. It is claimed that anthropologists working among Amerindians have concentrated overmuch on the recipient culture and insufficiently defined the nature of the donor culture. In so far as no culture ever presents itself completely to another, Foster suggests that a definition of a ‘conquest culture’ involves recognition of two ‘screening processes.’ First, the formation of a conquest culture is characterized by a ‘stripping-down’ or ‘reduction’ process in which many elements of the donor culture are eliminated and many configurations become simplified. This, in turn, is screened by the various local aspects of the recipient culture which accepts some elements and rejects others according to its own needs. The production of a conquest culture is further characterized by a dichotomy of process: formal, wherein institutions and individuals in authority play a positive planning role, and informal, wherein a multitude of personal preferences and habits are selected and maintained in the new country.

Simplification in the first screening process is explained partly by sheer difficulty of transportation of certain items, partly by the fact that Spaniards in the new countries were of various origins and could not simultaneously preserve all the customs of all their native places. Foster points out that, while it is true that Andalucia and Extremadura provided most culture elements, this is not because they were more numerous in New Spain, but because they were more numerous in the first waves of immigration. Later comes from other parts adapted themselves to the patterns decided upon by the first waves in the crucial moments of the early conquest. This process of ‘cultural crystallization’ based on a time factor Foster finds as important as the explanation of acceptance or rejection through social and psychological phenomena previously stressed by most anthropologists.

Foster shows that the diffusionist outlook inhibited consideration of Spanish culture as more than a grab-bag from which items somehow had to be selected, as well as a global view of Hispanic-American variants. To these different visions of Spanish culture, according to the viewer’s position in China or Mexico or Peru, the body of the book opposes a very readable compendium of Spanish ethnography, based partly on field work, partly on historical sources. While this does not replace the books of such Spaniards as Julio Caro Baroja, with whom the author worked, it will be a boon to English-language students both of Southern Europe and of Latin America. A good 20-page bibliography covers the Spanish sources.

While Foster amply shows the diversity of regional cultures in Spain, under a blanket politico-religious dispensation, there is no room for the correspondingly complex system of receiving cultures to be examined. His simplified conquest culture, still available to study through the cultural conservatism of Spain, provides the framework of a relatively standardized donor culture in the place of what is usually one of two variables. Now that this has been given, it may be time to proceed further with the second variable: the Indian cultures in their own different stages of evolution, taking one item and refusing another in a seemingly loose, jigsaw-puzzle fashion which remains both exasperating and fascinating to the Middle Americanist.

E. MICHAEL MENDELSON

ASIA


This work, which has been written with great erudition, is a study of Japanese colonial policy compiled from numerous Japanese records. It is not a history of the Ainu people, but it is the latter aspect, which is carefully documented, that will interest anthropologists. It deals with the Ainu of Hokkaido, here called by the ancient Japanese name Ezo, though there are early references to the Ezo of Honshu (the main island of Japan) and frequent subsequent refer-
ences to those of the Kuriles and Saghaliens. From the beginning of the nineteenth century there are official references to the powerful Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of north Honshu) with whom there was constant fighting. By the end of the century, after heavy Japanese losses, they were conquered, and towards the end of the eighteenth century they were completely assimilated. The history of the Ainu of Hokkaido begins in the sixteenth century with the immigration of Japanese into South Hokkaido. There were numerous clashes between the immigrants and the natives; the Japanese built forts to keep the Ainu out of the territory in the south-east where they had settled. From 1515 till the middle of the century warfare continued; then, the chief of the Matsumae clan realized that a change of policy was necessary and tried conciliation, giving the Ainu Japanese objects which they appreciated as treasures, and appointing two Ainu as chiefs respectively of eastern and western Ezo. Rules concerning taxes and the rights of Japanese merchant vessels to call in Ezo waters were laid down. In 1604 the head of the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeoffment in an area in the south of the island.

At this time the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing. They bred dogs and cultivated millet, but their use of agriculture was probably due to outside influence. They made clothes of bark, skins and feathers. Their tools were of bone and stone. From early times the Ainu had trading contact with the Japanese and Manchurian and Siberian tribes. It is not clear when the barter trade began, but in the early Matsumae period it was already important.

It is difficult to obtain a clear picture of chieftainship, as difficult some of the Japanese authors are inconsistent with the other histories, appointing chiefs, while others refer to the elders who were both heads of the families and of local groups—a system which existed till recent times. Several chiefs are said to have had large numbers of retainers—several hundreds in one case. Slaves are also mentioned, but Professor Takakura points out that the word usate, translated in the Japanese texts as slave, means primarily kinship. Whether the Ainu had paramount chiefs of their own or not, they were able to unite in large en masse numbers to create a formidable menace to the Matsumae.

Trade increased, and various trading centres were opened by the Japanese. The Ainu received sake, rice and tobacco in return for salmon, dried meat, skins, etc. The traders cheated the Ainu and there were numerous complaints of ill treatment. Hokkaido became a commercial colony in which the native population were harshly exploited. The Imperial Government became aware of approaching trouble, and edicts were issued forbidding injustice to the Ainu. In 1669 a dispute over fishing rights and game grounds led to open revolt, and near 300 Japanese were killed and a number of vessels sunk. After a punitive expedition the Ainu were forced to sign a hard treaty, and in 1685 the island was divided into an eastern and a western district, and each division was compelled to pay tribute to the Matsumae. Trade, which had begun as an exchange of gifts, had become exploitation. But, possibly even more harmful to the Ainu, they were now bound to supply labour to their masters.

More and more coastal trading posts were established till 1735, when a marked decrease in exports of deer and seal was recorded, and some traders began to teach the Ainu more advanced techniques. The various products salable at a profit in Japan affected the Ainu in different ways. They were driven away from the coastal posts supplied hawks, eagle feathers, skins and bear liver, and remained independent hunters, but the fishers were employed as labourers by the merchants, and were treated more like slaves. Cash had not been introduced, and when loading and unloading cargo Ainu were given rice and sake. The merchants indulged in easy tricks to cheat the Ainu, and those employed in fishing and pressing fish to make oil never earned enough to keep them through the winter. The Revolt began in the spring of 1790; two guard houses were attacked and the guards killed, as well as the crew of a merchant vessel. The rebels fortified themselves in readiness for an attack by the Matsumae troops, but were persuaded to surrender without a battle.

In 1790 control from Japan was initiated, and the feudal rule of the Shoguns, known as Bankei, began. A few years later Hokkaido came under direct government control. One reason for this was to prevent further infiltration by the Russians, who were already trading in the islands. The contractors, Bako, were given instructions concerning fair treatment of the Ainu. Ainu chiefs were to pay tribute, and ceremonial exchanges of gifts were arranged. Buddhist missionaries were sent and some temples were built and paid for by the government, but Buddhist influence was slight. The Bear Ceremony was prohibited, but the prohibition was repeated as the Ainu maintained that hunting would not be possible without the ceremony—a clear indication of the strength of Ainu culture in spite of powerful foreign influence. A policy of assimilation was introduced with regard to agriculture, dress, manners and ethics, and miscegenation was encouraged. However, when it was found that, instead of appeasing the natives, enforcement of Japanese ways of life incited rebellion, the policy was reversed, and only those measures in favour of economic benefit to the government were upheld. A special iron currency, not in use in Japan, was made and circulated.

The detailed account of Japanese policy and its effect on the Ainu ends about 1820, though in the author's introduction he lists three more periods: the later Matsumae clan period, 1821 to 1854; the later Bakufu period till 1868; the Meiji period from 1868 until 1899 when the Hokkaido Aboriginal Protection Act was passed.

The translator in his preface states that Professor Takakura spent the best part of 20 years in documentary research before publishing Ainu Susukai Shi, and that his devotion to the subject was due to his reaction to the harsh colonial policy from which the Ainu suffered, and his desire that understanding might lead to improvement in their lot. He does not state whether the work in Japanese covers the five periods mentioned in the author's preface or stops at the end of the second period as in this translation. On a few occasions 'God' is written with a capital G; one would like to know which of the many Ainu kanami is translated as God. In spite of Batchelor's speculations there is no evidence that the Ainu are, or ever were, monotheists.

Mr. Harrison states that the bibliography is primarily for the specialist, but an even a specialist might be given more help, and as an anthropologist I found myself completely bogged. There are seven pages with double columns and a little over a hundred entries; footnotes refer to these authorities. I could find no system on which the bibliography was arranged; it is not alphabetical or chronological, nor are the works of the same author listed together. For instance, there are seven entries for Matsura Takeshiro scattered apparently at random through these pages. Further, there is no index. It is a pity that a work of such importance should be so difficult to read.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century.


This latest contribution of Dr. Elwin to the ethnography of Assam consists of passages selected from the earlier literature in English dealing with the history and peoples of what is now known as the North-East Frontier Agency before the end of the nineteenth century, though the bibliography of relevant works includes authorities down to 1949. As many if not most of the passages here transcribed are only to be found in articles in periodicals, or in volumes or reports long out of print and often very difficult to come by, it is clearly of great advantage to have them assembled in a single volume from which irrelevant matter is excluded.

These excerpts are preceded by an introduction in three parts. In the first Dr. Elwin explains his object in publishing, and gives some estimate of the output of these earlier writers, many of them disparaging to the people of whom they wrote. In the second part Dr. Elwin gives some account of nine of his 27 authors. 'Very little,' he writes, 'is known about the men whose writings are reproduced in this book: only two of them find a place in the Dictionary of National Biography, and I have had to collect what information there is from chance references in journals and occasional autobiographical passages.' The two in the D.N.B. are T. T. Cooper and W. Griffith, both distinguished botanists;
common elements of race and culture doubtless once more uniform than they are now: the fact that nowadays some are called Wancho or Noclo, etc., without the qualifying 'Naga' does not alter the fact of their relationship, which was recognized at an early date by those who spoke of the more northerly and naked Nagas of the Patki first met with (c. 1835) as padhe or 'genuine' Nagas, while the mere to be justified and clothed tribes mentioned later (c. 1839) were labelled kachha, 'unbaked,' no doubt as being less naked—nanga—from which the word Naga is probably derived. The Wancho of Ninu and Nisa are even better entitled to the term 'Naga' than the Kabui, Nzemi, or Angami of the south, and are just as much Nagas as Konyak, Chang and Phom.

The extracts that follow Dr. Elwin's introduction are in no way new. On the contrary they have been lost to view through age and a dissipation from which this useful volume effectively redeems them.

J. H. HUTTON


The second volume in the Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology is a worthy successor to the first, and the four papers by Drs. E. K. Gough, M. Banks, Nur Yalman and F. Barth are all of a high standard. Dr. Gough's essay, the longest of the four, is about 'Caste in a Tanjore Village,' Dr. Banks writes on 'Caste in Jaffna,' Dr. Yalman on 'The Flexibility of Caste Principles in a Kandyan Community,' and Dr. F. Barth on 'The System of Social Stratification in Swat, North Pakistan.' Each essay combines description with theory in the tradition of British social anthropology. Dr. Leach contributes a brief and provocative foreword. The space at my disposal does not permit me to summarize the essays and I shall have to rest content with commenting on a few points which struck me as significant. The volume needs a long review and I shall come back to it in due course.

I find a view expressed by Dr. Leach, and shared by Dr. Gough, puzzling: 'Everywhere in India and Ceylon today whole caste groups are tending to emerge as political factions but it is misleading to think of such behaviour as a characteristic of caste as such . . . (p. 6). Again, 'If a caste group turns itself into a political faction does it then cease to be a caste?' Dr. Gough implies that it does (p. 44) and at the end of her essay (pp. 38f.) she cites the formation of a 'caste labour union' as one among many symptoms of caste disintegration, but Dr. Yalman (p. 84) cites the formation of a caste welfare society as one among many examples of caste resilience to changing social circumstances (pp. 6f.).

Dr. Leach adds: 'My own view is that wherever caste groups are seen to be acting as corporations in competition against like groups of different caste, then they are acting in defiance of caste principles' (p. 7). I am at a loss to understand why the starting of a labour union, welfare society, bank, co-operative society, hostel, hospital or journal on the basis of caste should be regarded as evidence of caste disintegration. Over 25 years ago, Professor G. S. Ghurye mentioned in his book, Caste and Race in India, some characteristically modern and urban expressions of caste, and these continue even today. In recent Indian politics, especially at the State level, castes (in the traditional sense) have entered into alliances with other castes to further their interests. Even the Communists have seen to it that everywhere they put up candidates having a 'social base,' viz. belonging to the locally dominant castes. (See in this connexion my essay 'Caste in Modern India' in the Journal of Asian Studies, August, 1937.) I find it difficult to understand why this is not to be taken as evidence of caste resilience even if it is assumed that such resilience carries within itself the seeds of the destruction of the caste system.

There are other points made by Dr. Leach—that the caste system represents a form of division of labour from which the element of competition among workers has been largely excluded (p. 5) and the cut-and-dried distinction which he makes between caste and grades within caste (p. 7)—which space does not permit me to take up for consideration here.

Dr. Gough's essay is written with her usual competence but none
the less I must confess that occasionally I had difficulty in following her. This is partly due to her use of three explanatory systems, viz. the structural, the psycho-analytic, and another which may be called, for want of a more accurate term, Marxist, and each in a deterministic way. Dr. Gough’s desire to have no loose ends, and her tendency to explain social events in straightforward cause-effect terms results in great overestimation of the complexity of the data which she is handling.

Dr. Banks’s article is a good study of the caste system in Jaffna and the part played by the dominant caste, the Vellalas, in it. He contrasts meaningfully two types of social stability, viz. Tanjore and Jaffna. In the latter area the ‘... total system of multiple checks and balances does not produce much in the way of village unity, but neither does it disrupt the village utterly. On the contrary, it is a system of great stability’ (p. 75).

Dr. Yalman stresses the flexibility of caste principles in a Kandyan community and I would say that flexibility is a characteristic of Indian caste too. Without great flexibility Indian caste could not have survived till today. The traditional picture of caste as a rigid, immutable and clear-cut hierarchy is now giving way to a much more flexible hierarchy in which mutual position is left undefined and nebulous over-a wide structural area. It is this nebulosity which makes for mobility, and mobility was not entirely absent even in the traditional system.

Dr. Yalman explains to us the sources of caste endogamy and the ‘internal’ barriers against caste mobility. He discusses illuminatingly the raison d’être of caste endogamy, and also the process of familial mobility. But individual or familial mobility is not typical of traditional caste, in which mobility when it occurs is of groups which are big enough to be endogamous or lucky enough to persuade the parent groups from whom they fission off to agree to a one-way movement in girls.

Dr. Valman attributes enormous power to the symbols of caste status. Symbols of status differentiation appear to have great power in Ceylon as in India, but should not the acquisition of symbols be preceded or accompanied by the acquisition of economic or political power?

Dr. Barth’s account of caste in Swat is fascinating, but I find his concluding section turgid, and his ethnographic data not at all detailed enough to support his theoretical conclusions. On p. 125 he says that the strength of the patron-client tie in Swat ‘prevents the castes themselves from developing corporate and administrative functions in any system like that of the local and regional caste panchayats of India.’ If this statement means that caste panchayats develop only when patron-clients ties are weak, I would like to point out that all over India patron-client ties are very strong and were probably even stronger in historical times.

The four essays which go to form this book may be looked at in a different way: in Tanjore a caste which is ritually dominant, and which was formerly also dominant economically and politically, is gradually losing ground. In Swat the Pakhtuns are a secular caste who are dominant but the saints have higher status especially when they also own land. In Jaffna the ritually high caste is dependent utterly on the secularly dominant Vellala while the Goyigama in Kandy do not have a caste of priests at all. The comparison of the four dominant castes and the implications of each type of dominance for the total social structure would have made these studies even more illuminating than they are at present. M. N. SRINIVAS

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**EUROPE**


By comparison with the amount of information available for men, anthropometric data for women are few. This detailed metric and somatostatic study of a sample of French women undertaken by Dr. Suzanne de Félise is therefore useful. It relates to 140 women, mainly young adults—all were under 49 and the majority under 30—drawn from almost all parts of France; half the sample however was born in Seine and the adjacent departments, and only a minority in the south, but it is claimed that birthplace has no real significance since the sample relates to a shifting population. For it is a highly selected sample, consisting essentially of professional women—doctors, medical students, mausseuses, teachers, etc.—and only three working-class women and no country women are included. There was moreover fairly rigorous physical selection of the subjects; all wore required to be in good health, and any with quite minor postural variations, such as shoulders of unequal height or perceptible curvature of the spinal column, were eliminated. It is hardly surprising to find, therefore, that the average stature (5 feet 3 inches) approaches that of British women, or that when regional subdivisions of the sample are compared, there is no correspondence with the regional variations in body size, head shape, and pigmentation noted by Vallois (Antropologie de la population française, 1943) in males. The argument of Mme de Félise that characters of body size in her sample are bimodal in their distributions is not convincing. Graphical comparisons, with which the book closes, demonstrate the general similarity of body proportions in European female samples of different provenance.

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**OCEANIA**


The very useful descriptive first half of this work serves as a basis for the even more valuable second half, which deals with the general theory of primitive law. By virtue of that theoretical part, the book becomes much more than a competent fieldwork monograph: it is important for every anthropologist who has to face the thorny problem of defining such general concepts as law (or customary law) and religion, and applying them to his ethnographic material.

The Kapaku inhabit the central highlands of western New Guinea. The author describes their religion and life cycle, and then their socio-political organization. Particular attention is paid to the tonowi, the man who by his personal characteristics and wealth occupies a position of authority in the village. There is a splendid description of the tonowi’s financial dealings in pigs, beads and cowries, by which he establishes and strengthens his position (pp. 83-6).

After this descriptive part comes the theoretical, which deals specifically with law. Pospisil gives 121 ‘Rules,’ i.e. statements by the Kapaku themselves on how conflicts should be settled, and 176 ‘Cases,’ in which one sees to what extent these rules are applied in practice.

This brings us to the problem of defining, or finding a criterion for, law. The author rejects earlier definitions which select one single dominant principle, and proposes that the core of the ‘social phenomena which we call law’ is to be found in the coexistence of four ‘attributes’ (p. 258). These attributes are: Authority, Obligation, Intention of Universal Application, and Sanction.

It is remarkable that European residents in the Kapaku area had doubted the existence of any indigenous authority. Pospisil’s field research brought to light the role of the tonowi, and this became a cornerstone of his four-attribute theory.

The next point the author had to consider was whether it is meaningful to distinguish law from customary law. His solution is to discern two foci within the field of law, viz. customary and authoritarian law. Other relevant matters, such as the Delitto of law where it borders on custom on the one hand, and on political decisions on the other, are dealt with in an equally lucid manner.
and the final result is a theory of law which in my opinion makes better sense than any previous effort.

Here in Holland, at any rate, this book has given rise to a most lively controversy. Although it has converted me to an ardent pro-Pospisilite, I admit there remain several points which require further thought and elucidation. For instance, the conclusion (pp. 274, 277, 289) that in the last instance there is no Kapauku Law as a single entity seems too extreme, and has dangerous implications. I should say that some societies clearly distinguish law as a category within their culture, and others do not. In studying the law of societies of the first type, it is probably best to adopt the native criteria for law (this, incidentally, does away with the paradox (p. 278) of the 'legal gangster' in western civilization). For those of the second type, Pospisil's four-attribute theory is an excellent tool—but it is a tool forged by the anthropologist, not by the native. If we allow the anthropological theorist this scope, then we may surely also permit him to discern a Kapauku culture, and Kapauku law within that culture, even if the Kapauku themselves do not.

Other points needing clarification are: to what extent can 'customary' and 'authoritarian' be equated with 'just, according to the Kapauku' and 'unjust, according to the Kapauku'? How must one reconcile the ideal character of the rules (p. 145) with the possibility that the application of a rule is considered unjust (p. 281)? How exhaustive is the list of rules, and should one not take into account the elements of venglish and time lag in their wording? And, finally, is the English language not responsible for some confusion, as it allows the word 'law' to be used for 'a law' (French: loi) as well as for 'the law' (French: droit)? Some conclusions which are valid for a Kapauku loi appear to be rather rashly applied to the Kapauku droit (p. 281).

On the other hand, Leach's criticism (Amer. Anthrop., Vol. LXI, No. 6, p. 1096) of an earlier publication dealing with the crucial case No. 33 is effectively rebutted by the present book: there can be no doubt that the tonowi who unwittingly broke an incest rule was creating a new pattern of behaviour, and not conforming to an existing one (pp. 109, 166, 274, 282, 284).

Pospisil's book, I am convinced, means a highly important advance in the study of 'primitive' law, not least by establishing customary law as a focus within the field of law as a whole. And if ever it is necessary to prove that social anthropology is not merely 'primitivology,' but contributes to the understanding of human culture everywhere, there can be no better testimony than this book.

P. E. DE JOSSSELIN DE JONG


This work has been presented as a thesis for a Ph.D. degree at the University of Göttingen, Germany. It treats of the function and the distribution of rafts and raft-like vessels in the South Seas.

In an introductory chapter (pp. 2-10) the three basic types of Oceanic rafts, i.e. the platform raft (Plattformfloss), the bundle raft (Blindelfloss), and the raft boat (Flossboot) are listed and described. A special type of platform raft is the kamaraman, consisting of an odd number of logs, the longest in the middle, symmetrically arranged in an organ-pipe fashion. In contrast to the loose terminology of various other writers who also use the word kamaraman to refer to vessels of an entirely different type, i.e. the Polynesian double canoes, the term is employed by Schori in its original meaning only. Next to the kamaraman two other special forms are mentioned, i.e. the raft-like counterparts of the outrigger canoe and the double canoe. The author emphasizes that only a few sources deal with the matter more or less elaborately (J. Cook, J. J. Labillardière, F. W. Beechey, W. Ellis, R. Parkinson, and G. Friederici). His data had therefore to be painstakingly gathered from 430 books and articles which is certainly an impressive number for a study of this size.

The book proper consists of a presentation of the basic material, arranged according to the usual tripartite division of the Oceanic island world—New Guinea being included in Melanesia (pp. 11-149)—, and a summarizing chapter with a number of cautiously formulated conclusions (pp. 150-173). It is demonstrated that rafts in Oceania had their own functionally determined position. They were used for coastal traffic, for fishing, for the transportation of heavy loads (stones), for river traffic on the larger islands, for funerals at sea, for surf-riding, and as children's toys. Mention is made of long raft voyages in Eastern Polynesia, e.g. on page 131. According to the author these voyages had an involuntary character, the group in question having been either exiled or put to flight after defeat in battle. In the majority of these cases boats will not have been available nor will the people have had time to make them. Drift voyages of rafts blown away by gales from safe beaches and lagoons are also reported. One would expect the author to mention in this connexion Andrew Sharp's Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific. The book has evidently escaped his attention, however, which is to be regretted.

Schori advances the theory that the Oceanic peoples made their long voyages by means of boats and that there already existed in their lands of origin a division of functions between boats and rafts similar to that in the Pacific as it appears from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources (pp. 167f.). He differs from J. Hornell and Th. Heyerdahl, who both consider the part played by rafts in the peopling of Oceania to have been an important one. He particularly disagrees with Heyerdahl's opinion that account of their technical inferiority in comparison with boats rafts cannot possibly have formed an integral part of the nautical complex of Oceania and must therefore have been of South American origin.

With regard to the kamaraman, which is met with in America as well as in the South Seas, the writer suggests that judging from its occurrence in Southern Asia, along the coast of East Africa, in Indonesia and in Oceania this vessel has been distributed by people coming from South Asia who eventually also carried it to South America. It is emphasized in this connexion that the long voyages were made by boat but that the emigrants knew of the kamaraman and were able to make it wherever need arose. Contrary to the way Heyerdahl puts forward his opinions, this idea of the writer as well as his other conclusions are cautiously advanced as hypotheses. This certainly is one of the merits of his study which, is moreover, illuminating with regard to a hitherto rather neglected field of the nautical history and ethnology of Oceania.

The 82 photographs and drawings of rafts and raft-like vessels are not very well reproduced, but an intelligent use is made of them in illustrating the text.

S. KOOJIMAN


The Curator of the Ethnographical Museum in Budapest has written a sound introduction to his fascinating subject. After a general discussion of the nature of primitive art, Bodrogi describes the exploration of the Pacific and contributes a brief but lucid analysis of various regional types. He follows Speiser's classification scheme in Melanesia and the Linton-Wingert style areas as supplemented by Koojiman. To the list Bodrogi also adds his own discovery—Astrolabe Bay. Thanks to the efforts of L. Biro in the eighteen-nineties, the Hungarian Museum has many splendid examples of this little-known style.

The novel accomplishments of this volume reside mainly in its illustrations. For the 160 black-and-white plates of Oceanian Art reproduce a congeries of objects ranging from Tami masks to Balinese wood carvings. Especially important and impressive are a mask from Modon (Fakfak) in West New Guinea, a carving from the newly identified Aramak area of the Sepik, figures from the D'Entrecasteaux, masks from Tanga, Witu and northern New Ireland, and a rare Photographic image of the 'cubic' type. Polynesian, Micronesian and Indonesian matters interest the reviewer less but shows surprising scope. There are in addition ten colour plates which, while a trifle garish, add to the overall value of the work. In sum Oceanian Art makes an excellent impression. It is well written, well translated, and handsomely illustrated. Scholars especially will rejoice that extensive material heretofore beyond the Pale now lies within easy reach.

DOUGLAS FRASER
In this note I want to describe and then discuss briefly a form of hobbyhorse dance known as Kuda Kepang, literally plaited or woven horse. So far as I am aware Kuda Kepang has not been reported from Malaya before though it is common enough in Java and Bali. Indeed, in Batu Pahat, Johore, Kuda Kepang is not performed by indigenous Malays but by immigrants from Banjermasin in south Borneo, and from central and southern Java, who came to Batu Pahat District in the early twenties of this century to plant rubber in smallholdings on the marshy flats characteristic of the region. Today the sons of these immigrants perform Kuda Kepang for suitable remuneration at weddings, on State holidays, and on any festive occasion which might provide a convenient opportunity.

The Javanese immigrant version of Kuda Kepang is distinguished by the label betul, genuine; that associated with the Banjerese is generally designated main-main saja—only playing. In both cases the action of the dance is termed main Kuda Kepang—playing (dancing) plaited horse. The Javanese dance includes inducing well defined states of trance or ecstasy, whilst the Banjerese version does not. When questioned as to the origin of Kuda Kepang elderly Javanese refer the inquirer to the king styled Said Din-a-Ali who, on going to war, performed the various evolutions of the dance as a war dance. Elderly Banjerese, on the other hand, claim that they have forgotten the origin of the dance and refer the inquirer to Banjermasin where the story would be known. Few of the young men who actually do the dancing, Javanese and Banjerese, are interested in an origin, or know a tale which purports to give it. They dance Kuda Kepang because they like it and enjoy it, and because from time to time it can earn them some pocket money.

The hobbyhorses used are generally made of goat or bullock or buffalo skin, painted, decorated and stretched over a cane framework. Some are made entirely of cane or wickerwork, others from old kerosene and petrol tins hammered out and cut to shape. The young men who dance may be uniformed in a variety of styles. The Javanese are not very particular. On hot afternoons they perform in football jerseys, shorts, gym shoes, and football stockings; at other times they spruce themselves with cotton jackets. The Banjerese, on the other hand, wear feather-plumed shakoes, and silken uniforms of purple and scarlet with gilt buttons, frogs and braid: a handsome and colourful turnout.

Each dancer has a tsermaditi or riding stock, a slight wooden wand about 18 inches long with a dumpy, coloured woollen bobble attached to the end furthest from the hand. The leaders in a dance have a pechut, a horsewhip which may be cracked like a pistol shot. Musical accompaniment is supplied by angklung-angklung, a number of bamboo tubes of different bore and length mounted on cane suspenders in a rigid frame which produce a chord of matched notes when the frame is jerked or struck; a gendang, a large double-ended barrel drum; a tariang, a large but shallow open-ended hand drum like a tabor; and a bronze metal gong about a foot in diameter. The dance itself requires a full team of a dozen or more dancers, each equipped with a hobbyhorse and riding stock, dance leaders with horsewhips, musicians, and for the Javanese the pawang or mystical specialist and his assistants who superintend the activities concerned with trances.

The Banjerese, taking great pains with appearance, have several varieties of dance. In nearly all of them dancers are divided into two teams which, while in apparent opposition, also complement each other. The evolutions performed are complicated and entail perfect timing. Preliminary limbering-up with much cracking of horsewhips, hobbyhorses held at the sides and thrust forwards or sideways to simulate restive mounts, is followed by controlled leaps as dancers get astride their hobbyhorses. The dance then commences in earnest. Now in file, then abreast, the teams weave in and out of each other to the chopping rhythm of gong, drums and angklung-angklung. Often, dancers take it in turn to perform a phase of conventionalized single combat. Emphasis is placed on the niceties of the movement of head, arms, hands and feet. Throughout, bodies are kept in muscular tension, hobbyhorses gripped tightly between thighs, left arms stiff, holding the hobbyhorses' necks. Movements are sharp, well articulated, distinct and altogether graceful. Without being wooden, poses are maintained for that split second which makes the difference between a single, easy, flowing action, and one composed of sensible parts. The attention of the onlooker is drawn to the focal points: to knee, hip, ankle, wrist, elbow and neck; to the bobbing plumes of shakoes and the dip and flow of the manes and tails of the hobbyhorses; to the tense high-limbed prancing as horse-men quite worry at the bit; to the short mincing paces of steeds brought under closer control.

The faces of the dancers remain expressionless. Often dark glasses are worn—not only, one feels, as an adornment fashionable at the present time, but to help dancers and audience realize the welding together of musical and muscular rhythms into the spirited movements of fettlesome horses. So accurately does the Banjerese Kuda Kepang capture the idiom of the beauties of horsemanship that it is difficult to believe that for many years there have been no horses in Batu Pahat for the dancers to study and observe.

The Javanese performance is only superficially similar to the Banjerese. The action, far from being an end in
itself, is directed to the trance. Neat, precise and systematic attention to details of steps, gestures, tensions and relaxations is overridden in the enthusiasm to fall into trance.

Dances commence, as in the Banjerese, with dancers holding their hobbyhorses close in to their sides. They beat time to the music with their feet, shoulders moving, muscles tensed. Then the leaders crack their whips and the hobbyhorses are mounted. Almost imperceptibly the musical rhythms quicken in tempo until, at last, two or three of the dancers veer out from the ordered lines with glazed or shut eyes. These men leap high into the air, stiff-necked, prancing, curvetting, snapping, bounding wildly within the circle of onlookers.

At once the other dancers abandon the field, leaving it clear for those who are entranced. For it is considered that once the pawang has called upon the hanit or spirit of the Horse, and the spirit has entered a dancer, he moves beyond ordinary control. The musicians continue remorselessly. If any one should once falter in his rhythm or strike a wrong note the dancers in trance will attack him in fury. They will not use their hands for they are as horses, possessed of the spirit of Horse. But they may kick, leap, rear and charge. They may bite, gnash, or butt. And women in the audience who have flowers in their hair, and who are wise, edge their way from the front; for the horse-men are expected to attempt to bite the flowers out of their hair.

When the pawang feels that the time is ripe—a matter merely of convenience, of boredom with the antics of a particular horse-man, of feeling that enough is enough—he orders those who are standing by to collar the dancers in trance and hold them fast. A strong and energetic dancer takes some stopping. Usually it needs a man for each limb. And once captured he must be held still for the pawang who, pressing with forefinger and thumb on the temples of the imprisoned dancer, brings him round with a sudden jerk of the spinal cord in the region of the back of the neck.

Few of the dancing techniques in the Javanese Kuda Kepang require more than a little practice. But for success in producing a trance it is considered that there must be a mystical element the control of which is the prerogative of the pawang and also, in a smaller way, of his assistants. If the hanit of Horse is to be excited the instruments must have a particular tone and pitch; and though experience, prayer and mystical treatment play a part, unless there is something inside pawang musicians and dancers, no trance or possession will result.

A pawang may teach another the techniques of pressing the temples, jerking the neck, or calling on the hanit, but unless the pupil has something within himself he is only doing what anybody can be taught to do. The capacity for being a pawang is considered to be inborn. It is a gift which may be developed but not learned. 'Anyone,' said a pawang, 'can become a doctor. It requires only learning and study. But to call on or release the hanit of Horse requires something “other.” Only those who have this “other” within themselves can learn to be a pawang.

There is little doubt that the muscular tensions combined with the musical rhythms are conducive to trance. But the Banjerese who concentrate precisely on these factors do not fall into trances. In the Javanese version the dancers sometimes eat a little yellow rice and incense (keményan) before dancing. But the trance does not seem to be dependent on a possible drugging effect of what may be eaten because not all who eat these things fall into trance, and trances often occur without having eaten them. Further, although it is usual for not more than two or three to fall into a trance in any one dance, providing there are enough left over to deal with those who do fall into a trance, the pawang may contrive to have six or seven in a trance. ‘Contrive’ because he claims to be capable of performing the feat at the request of a visitor.

Nevertheless, observation of several dances showed that falling into trance seemed to be reserved to a few particular youths. One lad never failed.

In Bali, Kuda Kepang—there called Sanghyang Djaran—is but one dance in a culture notable for its richness and variety of dramatic and ritual dances into which trance, regarded as divine possession, enters. That is, apart from relevances to be derived from the dance itself—which themselves derive from the observer’s knowledge of comparative material—it has significance in terms of structure, organizationally, and in relation to the vocabulary of cultural values. In Batut Pahat, on the other hand, Kuda Kepang appears to be something of an anomaly. It exists within a cultural environment characterized by orthodox Islamic ideas and modes of behaviour. The immigrants who brought Kuda Kepang to Johore were pioneers who first cleared the jungle and then settled in loose territorial associations which were gradually built up into kampong or villages. On arrival they had in common Islam, a regional origin, and certain other cultural values. Later, many sent for their relatives. After settling these immigrants pursued an unvariegated economic life, dependent entirely on a single cash crop, rubber, which is attended with no ritual performances. Leisure is mainly a question of cinemas and coffee houses. Apart from joger dances on festive occasions, wayang kutil, the puppet shadow show, on the same occasions, and musical evenings of a kind comparable with our own ‘skiffle’ sessions—during which states approximating to trance may be induced—and to which it is clearly structurally related, Kuda Kepang appears to exist as a survival divorced from the general cultural pattern at present being moulded by the immigrants who dance it.

The fee and scatter of cents in the hat, though small and infrequently gained, provide an obvious explanatory context in which to gauge the survival value of the dance. There are also solidarities. Dancers are much the same age group, usually unmarried youths—young bucks and gadabouts—from the same kampong. The musicians are mature married men, the pawang elderly. While dance leaders and the composition of teams might be expected to express internal rivalries and sectionalisms, Kuda Kepang could be interpreted as a co-operative activity revealing the solidarity of a kampong whose members have come together into a unit only in the last 30 years: an integrative, organizational mechanism in which most if not all in the kampong have an
interest. Historical knowledge helps to explain why Horse is involved in a region quite devoid of horses, and further, common allegiance to the dance, to what it means and symbolizes, has clear structural relevances. Villagers, dancers, musicians and pawang are united in their desire to effect a particular kind of relationship with Horse. But we are still left with the meaning of Horse and what is distinctive—dancing on hobbyhorses.

When it is not simply a game or pastime,3 hobbyhorse dancing seems always to be associated with some kind of identification with Horse if not always with spirit possession:4 a fact acknowledged within our own culture when we speak of a man obsessed or possessed of an idea as ‘riding his hobbyhorse.’ On a common-sense level it is only barely conceivable that people who had as much access to horses as they desired would dance on hobbyhorses. And it seems to be the case that, historically, hobbyhorse dancing is associated with peoples, or classes of people, who know about horses, who have had experience of horses, but who themselves do not have easy access to horses. I cannot find a single instance of those who habitually use horses, or who have relatively easy access to them, who also engage in hobbyhorse dancing as a dramatic or ritual activity. Though the Plains Indians of North America had horse dances they never seem to have had hobbyhorses. But among the Pueblo Indians where ownership of, and access to, horses was and is limited for a variety of reasons, there are hobbyhorses and hobbyhorse dances.10 The Bugis people used to have horses—but I can find no reference to hobbyhorses. On the other hand, in Java and Bali where horses were, and are, comparatively rare—ownership betokening wealth, prestige and political power—hobbyhorses are found among the relatively poor and underprivileged who did not, and do not, have easy access to horses. The feudal nobility of Europe always had horses; and the European hobbyhorse dances on which we have information are associated with the village folk who themselves never had easy access to horses—not to the political authority that their ownership implied. When van Genep says of hobbyhorse dancing in parts of France that he prefers to ‘see in these actors no more than parodies, dating from the fifteenth century, of the diversions of the nobility . . . ,’11 how far is such a ‘parody’ not an attempt on the part of the underprivileged to partake in a dramatic or ritual way of the power of the privileged? Finally, there is explicit evidence in our own folklore that hobbyhorse dancing directly expressed rights and obligations as between gentry and common folk.12

If hobbyhorse dancing is an expression of access to mystical or ritual power on the parts of the underprivileged in a situation where political authority is in the hands of those with access to horses, then such a hypothesis might provide a useful explanatory context for Kuda Kepang in Java, or tracing it further back, in India. It might even indicate a particular kind of political situation.13 But, unless one resorts to such useful expedients as ‘displacement’ or ‘surrogate’ or ‘survival’—in its more pejorative sense,—one still has to explain the continuance of Kuda Kepang in Johore where the symbols of wealth and command over resources are not horses but fine houses and motor cars; and where the immigrants (who dance) outnumber the indigenous Malays, are more wealthy than the latter, and do have qualified access to political power.

This latter point, the recent redistribution of political authority in Malaya, is relevant. Those who participate in the Padstow hobbyhorse dance say that it commemorates the repulse of a French landing party in Napoleonic times.14 And there seems to be no reason why, in the articular portions of the participants’ minds this should not be so. The Napoleonic era, associated as it is with our own unconscious Industrial Revolution, saw the birth of many of our English traditions. On the other hand, we also know with reasonable certainty that the Padstow hobbyhorse reaches back into antiquity—perhaps to the days of King Arthur when only knights had horses and the common folk had Shanks’s pony and hobbyhorses? Essays and notes on hobbyhorses are filled with ideas as to origins. Intricate paths may be traced back through a variety of kinds of cultural experience.15 Yet it may be that these experiences are a series of historical opportunities: successive rationalizations justifying hobbyhorse dancing within a current vocabulary or cultural idiom. Which suggests that hobbyhorse dancing has a survival value intimately related to the structure, and the way in which different kinds of power are envisaged as related, but independent of organizational and cultural changes. At present, elderly Javanese in Batu Pahat say that Kuda Kepang commemorates the quasidivine King, Said Din-a-Ali; the elderly Banjerese claim not to know what it commemorates; and the youths who dance neither know nor seem to care how it originated. But if Kuda Kepang has the survival value which it seems to have, what will they be saying 50 years hence? That Kuda Kepang in Johore commemorates the great Tunku Abdul Rahman and Merdeka?

Some would say that a hobbyhorse is a death horse.16 And though, because I know of no dance into which fertility symbolism cannot be read, it is easy to see in hobbyhorse dancing a fertility ritual,18 Violet Alford writes of hobbyhorse dancing in La Soule thus: ‘. . . it is quite clear that a horse is intended, and not a man on horseback. This is clear in the case of every hobbyhorse I know . . . The man is completely merged in the horse . . . In fact, he never behaves like a man . . . He seems to embody the brain of a man with the power and strength of a horse.’19 These words tie in well with the description of Kuda Kepang above which was written in the field without reference to Alford. That is, the constant factor—what lies at the heart of the matter—is identification with Horse, trance representing an ultimate, if mystical union: Centaur. Around this cluster other particular relations.

Within terms of what, for the sake of brevity, we may call a conventional analysis of field material, I doubt if Kuda Kepang would gain much attention. Yet, for the participants, if not for the observer, it is an important activity—not only because it sometimes happens to be remunerative. More and more as bodies of customary behaviour give way to legislation and the routines of wage-earning and raising standards of living, as peoples
migrate to find employment and a livelihood, lose touch with their old traditions, become fractionated, and grow to be much the same as each other and those who observe them, apparent ‘survival’ customs such as Kuda Kepong—which give authenticity and distinction to a particular culture—must be increasingly encountered in the field. Their proper context of relevance is of some moment. It may be that they will promote a resurgence of studies in terms of ‘origins,’ ‘diffusion,’ or ‘non-acclimatization.’ Alternatively, since in the present case identification with Horse lies at the core of the total collective representation, and this identification appears to be transcultural, there is a strong case for explicitly appropriating the archetypal method and formulating and testing relevances in sociological terms. Kuda Kepong, like the wayang kulit to which it is clearly closely related, expresses relations between powers which are sociologically as well as psychologically relevant. The different ways in which varieties of powers are thought to be related is surely one of the primary tasks of sociology today; and in this respect Kuda Kepong provides a vital, not incidental, cluster of evidences.

Notes
1 I cannot find tzerenadi in any dictionary. I did not do any protracted work among the Javanese immigrants of Johore, but since these people do tend to pronounce the Malay ch as ts it is possible that by tzerenadi is meant cérmat, having the sense of natty, neat, smart, spruce.
2 Reminding one of the conventionalized fight called main bérsilat.
4 Benzoin incense. Sometimes the petals of bunga kenanga (note 2 above) are also eaten.
5 Literally, Reverend or Noble Divinity Horse.

7 Correctly kampung-kampung. I hope that I may be forgiven the anglicization.
11 Cited by Rodney Gallop in a review article in Folk-Lore, Vol. LVIII, 1947, p. 245. Gallop also contests van Genep’s dating forcibly. The work in question, which I have been unable to obtain, is A. van Genep, Le Cheval-Japon, Cahiers d’Ethnographie Folklorique, Institut d’Etudes Occitanes, at p. 38.
13 The reader may like to consider a craze or sudden ‘outbreak’ of hobbyhorse play in the region of Hyde Park in the year 1819.
15 After all, it is supposed that it was the hobbyhorse itself which frightened the French back into their boats! Banks, loc. cit.
17 Ellen Ettinger, ‘The Occasion and Purpose of the “Mari Lwyd” Ceremony,’ Man, 1944, 34.
20 Meaning the systematic study of these customs, institutions, or modes of behaviour which persist—a much neglected field, but more important than that commonly evoked by ‘acculturation.’

THE INITIATION OF TEMNE PORO OFFICIALS*

by

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27 McCulloch's statement that 'little has been written about the Poro in the Temne form' is as valid today as it was in 1950, yet we know that Poro is an old society in parts of Temne country and the adjacent Sherbro area to the south. Dapper, writing in 1680, describes the 'Belli-Paaro' in some detail, and Butt-Thompson reports that during the civil war of succession following the death of King Philip II (c. 1680) the Temne Poro chief died, and that 'this is the first recorded reference to this ... association.' It is quite possible that the Poro is even older than this, however, for Valentim Fernandes (1506-1510) mentions contuberia or dotheria, which, judging by the more extensive account of Alvaro d'Almadas (1594), could well be a name for a Poro spirit; certainly the behaviour of the men involved is similar to that of Poro men today.

At present the Poro has a sizable membership in much of the southern and eastern portions of Temne country. The following discussion, however, pertains chiefly to the Kolifa, Bonkolenken and Yoni areas. The Poro was probably present in the Yoni area before 1700, for shortly thereafter Fula Mansa Binbinkoro joined the society. Winterbottom,9 writing in 1803, says that 'the purra is chiefly confined to the vicinity of the Sherbro, and does not extend to the north of Sierra Leone.' Harris10 believes that Poro 'originated with the Mandi and Timmane MoBanta people.' Toward the end of the eighteenth century a son of Masa Munta Kasim migrated south, joined the Poro in the Sherbro-Banta area and became the first Bai Sebora of
Yoni. He established the village of Maseri in what is now Yoni chiefdom and it became the most important Poro centre in the area. Local traditions in the Kolifa area indicate that the Poro was not present there at this time, but that it was introduced from Yoni to Kolifa and Bonkolenken by a group of Sherbro men who travelled up the Jong (Pampana) river. These Sherbro founded several villages in Kolifa Mayooso and Bonkolenken, building an angafe bush at each. With the death of their leader, Kashi Kargbinti, the Sherbro withdrew, leaving their 'sacred things' at Magboke village (Bonkolenken), where they have been carefully kept but not subsequently used. One of their number, Pa Sumano, remained at Maseri (Yoni) and seemingly inspired continued Poro expansion upriver; his name is revered in song today, and with that of Kargbinti figures in the recitations given as part of Poro rites.

Little has distinguished 'between the Poro as a society or general institution, and a "poro," which is a gathering of Poro members called together for a specific object'; this distinction drawn for the Mende holds also for the Tenne. Using the term in the first sense we have an association that lacks centralization but that comprises a number of segments, each containing the society members normally resident in one village and possessing a section of bush known as ambanika, or angkant nga ampare, 'Poro bush.' Little refers to these as 'lodges' and points out that they are independent so far as administrative activities are concerned. The ceremonies and initiations conducted by various lodges are broadly similar, according to my informants, who, while maintaining that they would not fear to enter any Tenne lodge session, insisted that they would never take part in Mende sessions; whether this reflected basic Poro differences or the traditional distrust of the Mende was impossible to determine. The means of calling a 'poro' or lodge session and the reasons for doing so are similar throughout Tenne country and need not be discussed here.

The membership of Poro may be broadly bifurcated into asoko, one who has been initiated, and asokobana, 'big soko,' or official. Men and boys may be initiated into the society at any age, though usually before puberty, in a variety of ways: kabangkalo, in which those to be initiated are seized together publicly and taken to the bush where they may be kept several years, ampare dif, which is begun in secret and where the boys are seized one by one and taken to the bush, and kakori, a one-day initiation given only by an asokobana and requiring the presence of various Poro dignitaries. Those who spend time in kabangkalo or ampare dif undergo kakori on the last day. Generally only those who spend a long period in the bush are scarified. As part of initiation, each boy receives a 'town name,' which supersedes the 'bush name' which he has used while in training, and for some of which his family gives wealth. Yamba, Bonnu, Banabom, Raku and other 'town names' are in the nature of titles, and individuals bearing them have specific roles and tasks; some are subject to special burial rites. Boys bearing these names should be sons of men who also bore them, but this is not always the case in practice.

Few women are initiated into Poro, and then usually against their will for trespassing or spying. Such female members are known as Mambori, and one must be initiated whenever an asokobana training session is held. Some officials of Bunda, the primary women's society, also have a hazy relationship with Poro.

The society officials, asokobana, are known as Kashi and Mancha, the former being superior and more highly respected. Kashi possesses a 'crown' or ambong comprising in part skeletal material obtained from those executed for breaches of Poro discipline. Each Kashi has his own Raka as assistant and messenger. Mancha rank below Kashi, and like the latter each individual Mancha has special competence in healing, using bad medicines and so on. All officials are respected and feared by members and non-members alike. All are believed to possess the knowledge to sicken and kill people by supernatural means. Most Kashi are said to 'know bush,' that is, to know how to treat those who are ill with magico-herbal remedies. To 'know bush' for healing takes two or more years of study since the recognition and uses of a large number of herbs, roots and leaves, singly and in combinations, must be mastered; student and teacher are both illiterate, making this doubly difficult. It is said that few Mancha stay in training long enough to master healing, but that rather they master bad medicines; hence the frequently heard generalization, only partly true, that Mancha are evil while Kashi are good.

To acquire esoteric knowledge seems always to have been an expensive procedure in Tenne country, expensive in terms of wealth, time, or both of these. Formerly one who had the inclination and resources to become an official in the society went to an asokobana, told him of his wish and worked for him as a labourer in a patron-client relationship, learning what he could in exchange. Such training was intermittent and extended over several years; anyone who was wealthy enough accelerated the process by paying for instruction. Today such apprenticeship seems to have disappeared and the training of an asokobana is organized on a more formal basis. What follows is a discussion of some aspects of such a formal session that took place in Kolifa Mayooso chiefdom.

The asokobana training session under consideration here began in 1953, shortly before the amalgamation of Kolifa Mayooso with Kolifa Mamunta-Rowala chiefdom. The initiative in starting the session came from the then Paramount Chief Bai Yoso, who, being a 'Ragbene chief,' could not serve as organizer himself. He therefore requested one Momo Kamara of Mayooso to serve as organizer since he was wealthy enough to underwrite the venture. One of Momo's brothers had been acting as an asokobana by initiating boys into the society and the chief and the public in general felt that he should undergo proper training. Momo agreed and publicly informed Bai Yoso that his brother was going into training as a Kashi and that he, Momo, as organizer, was giving the chief as an angobara and 110, so that the Ragbene would inform the ancestors that such a session was being prepared.

Momo then went to Masang, a village which he selected
since it possessed a complete ambanika and since it was near Masuba, the village in which Kashi Bendu, who was to be the trainer, lived, and which Bai Yoso frequently visited as he had a nearby farm. The chief’s occasional presence was desirable since the gathering of several Poro officials in one village seems to create friction and only a chief can settle the resulting squabbles. Momo paid 15s. as token rent on two vacant houses that served as quarters for the session, and then called the Poro men of Masang to the ambanika where he gave them 4s. as angbara before informing them that he was organizing a training session and asking for their help in dancing for the trainees and providing one of their number as a participant for advanced training. Shortly afterwards Bai Yoso assembled representatives from each village in the chieftdom and at this gathering instructed Momo to give them 10s. while he asked for their support in his project.

By various means word of the impending session spread through neighbouring chieftdoms. Kashi Bendu secured the services of two Mancha, one from Yoni and one from Bonkolenken, to aid in the training. A second man desiring to be a Kashi came forward, a girl to serve as Mambori was located, and each Kashi candidate obtained a sister’s son to serve as Raka Makashi, his lifelong assistant and co-worker. With this group the session which was to last 18 months began; each trainee paid anghora to the sum of £1 4s. Momo, as organizer, gave anghora to Kashi Bendu each morning for the first five days of the session; this totalled £3. In return he collected rice, salt, palm oil and chickens in various quantities from each of those in training and these subsequently provided a large part of their subsistence as well as occasional sacrifices. Whatever else trainers and trainees required for food was advanced by the organizer, or by their relatives. A Pa Lumpus was chosen by the organizer to serve as messenger between the initiates and their kinsmen since there were times when the trainees could not speak directly to outsiders. Momo died shortly after the session began and Kashi Bendu served as organizer although subsequently Momo’s heirs disputed this unsuccessfully. After a year or more had elapsed six men presented themselves for training as Mancha: one from Masang village in Kolifa Mayoso, one from Kolifa Mamuntra, two from Kolifa Rowala, one from Bonkolenken and one from Bombali. At least two of these men brought sisters’ sons to serve as Raka Mancha, such being permitted but not required of a Mancha. The period in Masang was spent in acquiring esoteric knowledge.

As the training period drew to a close a Raka visited every village in the chieftdom to inform Poro men of the date and place of the closing ceremonies and to ask each local lodge to send a Raka as its official representative. Masang village has no angfare and thus on the night of 7 March, 1955, the trainees were taken to Mafunk on the Pampiana river and the old angfare believed to have been established by the Sherbro men who first brought the society to the Kolifa area. It was said that the Poro spirit accompanied them together with his interpreter (oyiri). No noise was permitted in Mafunk and only an asokobana, Raka or Yamba was allowed outdoors for ‘the spirit has gone back to the bush’ (okiri okweke barama). This night each trainee gave 4s. to the Poro spirit and the organizer £1 10s. to obtain rights to use the angfare and ambanika.

The day of the closing ceremonies was 8 March, 1955, and Mafunk, a tiny village of 31 people, was crowded with visiting dignitaries, relatives of the trainees and representatives of local Poro lodges; few women were present even though the ceremonies were to be public. At about 9 a.m. the interpreter for the Poro spirit came out with a group of followers announcing what was to come; this was not the usual procedure, for according to my companions the man was drunk and wanted to show off.

The principal events consisted of three processions, each of which came from the angfare some 500 yards away and circled the village two or four times in a counter-clockwise direction. The first procession began at 10.30 a.m. and consisted of Kashi Bendu with his amhong, followed by the new Mambori and four Raka. They stopped now and then before a crowded veranda while each Raka in turn lowered his sword and gave the Poro shout. Throughout, all the observers, male and female, clapped a slow steady rhythm while the seng ka Raka, the ‘mouths of the Raka,’ beat their tortoise shells (mambori). The procession stopped in front of the Poro house (angsit nga amporo) and each Raka in turn again lowered his sword towards it while giving the Poro shout to indicate that this was the house of the Poro spirit.

Fig. 1. THE HOUSE OF THE PORO SPIRIT IN MAFUNK VILLAGE
The house is covered with society angwangka. The ‘white Raka’ (eraka fera) pass in front of the house. Photograph: V. R. Dorjiham, 1955

The second procession, beginning about 1.30 p.m. included Kashi Bendu, the new Mambori, a pair of Yamba, one Raka and three ‘white Raka’ (eraka fera). The four Raka grasped a stalk of corn in their left hands; the three ‘white Raka’ were covered with clay and had bands of kalolu vine (Selaginella vogeltii, Spring) around their ankles, knees, waists, heads, wrists and elbows. The purpose of the procession was to introduce these newly initiated ‘white Raka’ and from time to time the group stopped whilst Kashi Bendu received money from the boys’ relatives. All returned to the angfare where the ‘white
Raka' dressed as ordinary Raka (neck beads, special loin cloth and white marks on the body) to join the main procession. Before this group emerged, however, the Bandama came out and 'danced' or ran about the town announcing that he was 'coming with his sons.' Bandama's headpiece is a replica of the angfare entrance.

The only ceremony in the angfare occurred after the second procession had returned from town. The chief's messenger announced that women and other unintroduced individuals would be permitted to witness this, but none attended since they feared trickery. In the brief rite the new officials stood in a line and were presented one by one by Kashi Bendu; part of the introduction employed 'code words' understood only by Poro officials. The relatives of each new official fired guns to show their pleasure, as they had done throughout the morning in Mafunk town.

The final entourage was led by groups of Raka and the Bandama who danced at will; it included Kashi Bendu, Kashi Lulu from Yoni, the two new Kashi, Manborti, and the two Mancha who aided in the training session and the six new Mancha. Each Kashi danced in turn and then accepted gifts of money from the crowd. After circling the town twice, Kashi Bendu asked Kashi Lulu 'to cut the Poro' (abol amporo); the procession stopped, faced north-east, and Kashi Lulu recited a list of deceased Kashi while inclining his whisk from the vertical to the horizontal. The purpose of the ceremony was twofold: to mark the end of the training session and to inform the ancestors of the new Poro officials.

The procession then moved to the bari, curtained with country cloth for the occasion, and in which were the boys whom the new officials had initiated as a practical demonstration of their knowledge. At the bari entrance a dispute arose; Kashi Bendu demanded that the new officials each pay 5s to enter, and Bai Yoso answered for them saying that they had paid enough. For four days and nights the new officials remained in the bari, then each returned home to receive honorary celebrations.

In the final procession each Kashi wore angkana, a waist band made of leopard's teeth and claws, alligator teeth, red beads (angteni) and a metal ring (angu ofalma). On his legs, each Kashi wore six to eight metal rattle (sebuna), and, on his torso, a net shirt (angkung yala). The amhong, the headpiece of a Kashi, is made of four skulls, four femurs and a blackened cone of feathers which is said to give off smoke when the wearer desires it. Each Mancha, on the other hand, wore a cap with animal horns such as a Kashi will also wear on occasion. Each asokobana was smeared with a mixture of ashes in a grease base, the ashes being obtained when the bodies of 'witches' (rasir) are cremated in the Poro bush. Packets of leather and animal horns containing medicines were hung around their necks and affixed to various parts of their costumes.

All of the men who became Poro officials in this session were 35 or more years old, mature and relatively wealthy individuals. Even so, most of them were financed in part by kinsmen for the cost of becoming an asokobana is high. The major payments made at the time of the closing ceremonies are outlined in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Mancha</th>
<th>Kashi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Buy his crown'</td>
<td>£15</td>
<td>£23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Leave the palm leaves'</td>
<td>£1 10s</td>
<td>£1 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Poro spirit</td>
<td>10s</td>
<td>10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One iron pot</td>
<td></td>
<td>16s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One native gun</td>
<td></td>
<td>8s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One goat</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four mats</td>
<td></td>
<td>8s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Bai Yoso</td>
<td></td>
<td>£1 10s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anghoro to enter bari</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>£15 4s</td>
<td>£33 18s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, each official took out a Native Administration licence at £1, thus obtaining the right to initiate boys into the society. Small payments made during the training session were not well remembered and I have omitted them from consideration. On the day of the closing ceremonies alone, Kashi Bendu received more than £91 4s from the six new Mancha and £67 16s from the two new Kashi. While most of the payments were in coin, some traditional items were still required of the Kashi and probably of the Mancha as well, though my data are incomplete in this regard.

Each of the 11 boys in the kakori initiation that was part
of the closing ceremonies paid £1 5s. as well as one mat, valued at 2s., hence Kashi Bendu realized an additional £14 17s., making a grand total of nearly £175, not including gifts from relatives and friends of the initiates and the anthropologist, and the traditional goods of unknown type and amount paid by each Mancha (and not included in the table).

The organizer handles all matters of finance throughout any initiation session, and in this case presided over the final settlement in the angfure on 11 March, 1953. A variety of foodstuffs were taken into the bush for a feast and the Poro ancestors were informed that the ceremonies were over. Kashi Bendu, acting organizer since Momo's death, then gave an accounting of what he had collected from the trainees, who were present to corroborate him, and divided the total, minus his previous expenses, into a series of shares: (1) for the trainers (Kashi Bendu, Kashi Lulu and the two Mancha) and Pa Lumpus, (2) for the Paramount Chief and sub-chiefs concerned, (3) for the drummer, (4) for the Poro lodges of the different villages; those who sent a Raka to the graduation received more, (5) for the organizer, Kashi Bendu, though this was disputed unsuccessfully by Momo Kamara's heirs. Although the apportionment was semi-public, none of those who witnessed it could provide a breakdown; all suspected that Kashi Bendu had withheld a portion which he secretly shared with Bai Yoso. It seems likely that 95 per cent. of the total was shared between the organizer and the chiefs for the drummer received a mere pittance and no single Poro lodge was given more than 4s. There can be little doubt that Kashi Bendu made a sizable profit.

Interrogation of some of the new officials and their kinsmen concerning the motives that the men had for undertaking the expensive, time-consuming and potentially dangerous training brought out a number of explanations that may be summarized as follows:

1. Money. All agreed that it was expensive to become an askokobana, but pointed out that such men subsequently made money by initiating boys into the society, and when hired to utilize their medicines, and that in the end they came out ahead.

2. Prestige. An askokobana is treated with deference by all as he is a man out of the ordinary. His words carry weight in any situation, and even a chief will hear him out.

3. Power. The knowledge which he possesses, particularly that of medicines, permits the askokobana to coerce lesser men. The always implicit and often explicit threat to harm those who oppose him is what gives the askokobana his position of prestige.

4. Intellectual curiosity. Perhaps a more important motive than most Europeans realize, for the Temne man wonders about things which he cannot understand or control and wishes to master them; advanced Poro training purports to give him such skills and understanding.

Notes
2. O. Dapper, Description de l'Afrique (traduit du Flamand), Amsterdam, 1686, pp. 268f. This is the earliest reference to Poro of which I am aware; the original Dutch edition was published in 1680.
6. The field work upon which this study is based was financed by the National Science Foundation (Washington, D.C.) and the Program of African Studies, Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), to whom grateful acknowledgement is extended.
8. For a more complete account see my study, 'A Brief History of the Temne of Yomi,' forthcoming in Sierra Leone Studies.
11. The founding of an angfure bush required a human sacrifice, according to my informants, hence few have been established in recent times.
13. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 289f., describes each in some detail; his 'banika' appears to be a special case of kakori, which is the more general term.
14. Poro names and titles vary from one area to another; these were used in the Kolifa area.
15. To do so would have been a violation of the chief's Ragbene mesen (prohibition).
16. Literate Temne translate angbora as 'shackhand,' that is, a gift given in the morning (bora); the evening reminder is anglepo. The giving of either is a means of showing respect and deference, and precedes the asking of a favour.
17. The position of Pa Lumpus is found in the eastern section of Temne country where the kantha period of retreat and isolation is more lengthy. There is thus a Pa Lumpus associated with most society initiations and the installing of chiefs. Generally an older man, retired from active work, is chosen.
18. These are Poro men who accompany the Raka to provide rhythm and to check on their conduct in public.
19. Bandama was a singularly reticent informant; I learned virtually nothing from him.
20. A thatched structure with low walls used as a public meeting place.

SHORTER NOTES

A Modern Polynesian Cargo Cult. By R. G. Crocombe, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra

28

During residence on the island of Atiu (Lower Cook Group) in 1958 and 1959 I frequently heard mention of a 'cargo cult' type of activity which had taken place on the island in 1947. Only since leaving the island have I heard that such forms of activity have not been reported from Polynesia and were thought not to have taken place there. The following is a summary of the accounts of various informants (between which there was only slight difference of detail). Not realizing the possible interest of the movement to anthropologists, and being occupied
with other pursuits, I made no detailed research into the matter.

The movement centres on an Atiian woman named Kapu vai who had a reputation for her knowledge of native healing remedies, for her supposed ability to identify off enders by supernatural means, and for reputed prophetic powers. Today she lives on Atiu with a woman from another island in a relationship which gives all the indications of being Sapphistic. In 1947, however, she was living on the neighbouring island of Rarotonga, where she practised her arts in the village of Tikavakea.

While she was in Rarotonga two spirits came to her in a dream, and told her to go back to her home island and prepare the people to receive a shipload of cargo which was to be brought to the island by a spirit ship. The spirits were Tahitian gods (Tahiti is the recognized homeland of indigenous Cook Island religious beliefs) and they were related one to the other as tuakana—teina (elder brother—younger brother). Their names were Te Atu Kura and Tiran gi respectively.

As directed, she returned to Atiu and called a meeting. The spirit of the elder brother spoke through her, telling the assembled crowd to make a marae (or sacred ground) at a given spot, to name it Te Atu o Tua Tea, and to dedicate it to them, the gods Te Atu Kura and Tiran gi. When the marae was completed a ship would come to the island, laden with tinned bully beef (the most wanted imported food) and money in coin. This was to be shared among those who participated and believed. The two gods themselves intended to travel to the island by this ship, and they themselves going to bring the white pebbles to cover the marae as the traditional pattern, as well as various altar stones.

The site was point out by the gods was about two miles inland from the coast, but this was to be no obstacle as being a spirit ship it was going to land on the marae. In general appearance the spirit ship was described as being like the 'Waitemata' (a large trans-Pacific freighter which calls at Rarotonga occasionally and was the largest vessel ever seen by Kapu vai) but in size it was even larger.

About 30 people joined Kapu vai in this enterprise. Each morning they were summoned by the blowing of a conch shell and went off to the chosen site which lay in fern-covered country about half-a-mile past the Mapumai village. Each evening they returned to the village to sleep. They cleared the land, dug it over and levelled it smooth. Around its borders they dug a trench 'to make it separate from the land around.' This was all in accordance with the instructions of the gods.

A whole month was spent in these preparations, and on the day after they were completed the party assembled at the marae for the final ceremony preparatory to the arrival of the spirit ship. Kapu vai stood before them and explained that it was essential that all should be of one mind if her prophecy was to materialize.

Then, for the first time, she told them of the nature of the ceremony which was the final prerequisite for the safe arrival of the ship and the gods. Each of them was to go to Kapu vai and be baptized. One by one they knelt before her and on each forehead she made a mark with mud made from red clay and water (a preparation which informants said was used in traditional ceremonies). And she baptized them in the name of Satan.

One by one they went forward, but the later ones needed persuasion, for tension was mounting as the expected event drew closer. At last there was but one man left. He was, they say, sitting towards the back of the marae, huddled with his head in his hands. They called to him to come and be baptized but he refused and said, 'I have already been baptized [i.e. by the church]. Why should I be baptized again?'

He was adamant and would not succumb to persuasion. Then Kapu vai called out saying that all their efforts would probably be negated, but that she would request the gods to be merciful and send the ship nevertheless. The people remained on the marae throughout the night. The next day and the next night they waited and still nothing happened. By the third day some started to drift back to the village and by that night the remainder gave up hope and left the marae. Some were of the opinion that the failure was due to the refusal of the last man to be baptized, others that Kapu vai was a charlatan and had misled them, and others again that God or the missionaries had intervened to forestall what would otherwise have eventuated. No further attempts were made to bring the cargo.

On the surface the cult appears to have arisen under the impetus of a charismatic leader in a period of economic dissatisfaction. A brief outline of factors which may have been relevant in the context of the movement is given below.

Christian missionaries first came to Atiu in 1823 and conversion of the whole population was almost immediate. Since that time mission activity has been maintained. In 1947 all inhabitants of the island were adherents of the L.M.S. (London Missionary Society), Roman Catholic, or Seventh Day Adventist missions. It is understood that all participants in the 'cargo' movement were L.M.S. adherents (to which about 80 per cent of the islanders belong). During the preparations for the coming of the 'cargo' the church did not act. After its failure, however, all participants were brought before a special church meeting and as punishment were denied Communion for a period. They were later reinstated.

Since 1922 all children on the island had received free and compulsory primary education in government schools, and prior to that time had received some education from the missions. After a boom decade of exports of citrus fruits and copra in the nineteen-thirties, the island was impoverished during the forties by a cessation of shipping due to contingencies of the war. While foreign troops did not land in Atiu, many were based for a time on the neighbouring island of Aitutaki where an airstrip, seaplane base and wharf facilities were established for the purpose. Numerous air-borne, water-borne and amphibious craft of a nature not previously known to the islanders landed there. During this period subsistence cropping lapsed on Aitutaki as canned foods and money were readily available.

Also in 1947 the CIPA (Cook Islands Progressive Association), an indigenous movement with economic and political aspirations of a nationalistic type, had been formed for over a year and had spread to Atiu among other islands.

A full analysis of the movement should be possible as most of the participants still live on the island, but it must await detailed research.

Horniman Museum Lectures, January–March, 1961

29

Among the illustrated lectures of anthropological interest included in the series of Saturday afternoon lectures (at 3.30 p.m.) at the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, London, S.E. 23, for the first quarter of this year are the following: 4 February, Dr. F. S. Wallis on 'Prehistoric Stone Factories'; 11 February, William Fagg on 'The Art History of Benin, Nigeria'; 18 February, E. Roe on 'Journey to Jebel al Akhdar (Arabia)'; 4 March, A. W. Smith on 'Explorations on the Bolivia-Peru Border'; 11 March, C. M. Mitchell on 'The Folk Life of the English People.'
CORRESPONDENCE

'Chevy-Chace'

Sir,—As a preliminary please allow me the following quotation:

The Persé owt of Northumberlande,
And a vow to God mayd he,
That he wolde hunte in the mountayns
Of Chyviat within dayes thre,
In the mauger of doughtë Dogles,
And all that ever with him be.

It is with this challenge that the ballad of Chevy-Chace begins. Why Chevy-Chace? These words do not appear in this form anywhere in the ballad, which, in one place only, says 'Who gave you leave to hunte in this Chyviat chays in spet of me?'; they do not constitute a place name; there was no chivving or chasing. This was the homonym of the Chev' (the original title), and it ended in such a stark unyielding combat that

Of fifteen hundred archers of Ingolde
Went away but five and three;
Of twenty hundred spearmen of Skotlondie,
But even five and fifty.

Whether the majority were mounted or on foot, this was essentially a border 'Riding,' the essence of which is conveyed in the line 'In the mauger of doughtë Dogles.' As this was a Riding, it is suggested that the words 'Chevy-Chace' are a punning corruption of the French word Chevauchée, a cavalcade, and more particularly an ostentatious coat-trailing—such as the Grande Chevauchée of the Black Prince from Bordeaux in 1355—done in the despitie of traditional and actual enemies.

In India it was this purpose that inspired the Riding of the Avmadsha; a challenge of what dare meddle wi' me, which trailed the sacrificial horse provocatively under the noses of neighbouring rulers with the intention of humbling their pride. In India we hear also that Kharavela of Kalinga raided to the west in the despitie of Satakarni the Satavahan king; a typical chevauchée; in fact the 'Riding' seems to some extent to be a ritual challenge. I have not seen this interpretation of the title Chevy-Chace suggested before, and I should be most interested to hear whether this construction has been previously proposed, and whether it is likely to be the correct one.

Hingham, Norfolk

D. H. GORDON

Welsh Surnames. Cf. MAN, 1960, 193

Sir,—Dr. I. Morgan Watkin gives a list of surnames which he says are 'nowadays taken as Welsh.' It includes Jones, Richards, Roberts, Walters and Williams, and if these are taken as Welsh they are so taken in error. They are commoner in Wales in proportion to other names, but are borne by more people of English origin.

These names (of course without the patronymic suffix) were taken by the Normans from the Franks, and were introduced at the Conquest, as were such Biblical names as John and Thomas, which were not previously used in England. They were very soon adopted by the English, and by the time that surnames came into general use, about the fourteenth century, the only English names commonly borne were those of SS. Edward and Edmund, reintroduced by King Henry III.

Patronymics are the commonest type of English surname, and these were usually formed in Southern England by adding 's' to the Christian name, and in Northern England and Scotland by adding 'son.' To some names the diminutive 'ki' was affixed, and Jenkins and Watkins, which the Welsh adopted, are just as English as Wilkins and Tompkins, which they did not. The name David was not a Welsh monopoly, and many English are called Davies, Davison, Dawes, Dawson, Dawkins, etc.

Bearers of any of the names mentioned above may then be of English descent. On the other hand many of Dr. Watkin's names are genuinely Welsh, and it is not clear why they should have been adopted by English-speakers of Norse descent.

Usk, Monmouthshire

RAGLAN

REVIEWS

GENERAL


Dr. Sierksma advises us, in his foreword, that 'this book is a short anthology of images man has made of his gods,' and that 'unlike many other similar works, his approach is from a different angle,' to wit, determining the meaning of these gods which man has shaped. Within these limits which he himself has established, he has done a commendable job.

His method is that of the ethnologist with a logical approach, ascertaining cultural patterns and their symbols—often untranslatable—then proceeding to the deistic concepts in the forms of images. After building his major premise inductively with numerous examples of images taken from various parts of the world including Asia, Africa, America and Oceania, he particularizes the special aspects of the images and their symbolized religion. One notes especially the images of Kuma, Daruma, Saint Encumber, Kwan-Yin, and many phallic symbols. His coverage is quite comprehensive and his illustrative plates, for the most part, are very good. At times poor lighting destroys some of the vital planes of his sculptural reproductions.

The thematic treatment is direct in that the codephers of several culture patterns are clarified and then set forth verbally as well as pictorially. This he manages by careful reading of all symbols and by linking them with man's invisible world. One is impressed by the universality of these phenomena suggesting that mankind, regardless of the culture state, is essentially religious, and that there are frequently the same basic stimuli to that religion regardless of its image-manifestations. The reliance on symbols is not only true of primitive societies, but of modern Christianity, though possibly to a less degree. His meticulous study of Kwan-Yin and of Goya's Prendimiento de Jesus illustrates this point.

What Dr. Sierksma seems to stress is the fact that the role played by the images of the gods has always been a matter of prime importance as a reflection of man's culture patterns and that the misreading of the symbolic significance of these images has done a great disservice to our intelligence. Depending upon the culture pattern, the image tends toward reality or a wide span of almost indecipherable symbolism. The sophistication or lack of it on the part of the particular culture group will decide this. Today, Dr. Sierksma tells us, religion and art, which in all eras has reflected religion, are both leaving the old sentimental patterns.

Finally, he clinches his valid generalization: 'man both projects and transcends himself in his image of the god, and seeks in his gods the familiar and the strange even when they have altogether assumed human form. Then the strange is that which man experiences within himself as a superhuman force, an unknown potency that is often expressed in images by means of strangely accented stimuli.' So the images of gods have come into existence.

This work may well serve the person who wishes a brief graphic and photographic study of comparative religion. Or it may suggest a rich field for exploration on the part of the conscientious ethnologist.

Dr. Sierksma must be commended for the detailed references in his indices. (See, e.g., Yamantaka and Shaki.) We think well of his elaborate reading of Picasso's Guernica even if the symbolism may be slightly overdrawn. The objective critic may nevertheless learn
here how to enrich his interpretations. For the religious imagery here is more than art for art's sake.

Though the work as a whole lacks depth, it has a compensatory quality in its essential accuracy and honesty. Somehow, regardless of the intensity of one's own religion, one should feel unperturbed as the presumably precious symbols, under microscopic examination, tend to crash from their deistic heights. And the cynic, too, might well be thankful for the general enlightenment yielded by a volume at once rich in religious significance and beautiful in its format.

Through the ages, man has shaped the images of his gods, but rarely, according to Dr. Sierksma's illustrations, has he shaped them in his own image.

J. NEWTON HILL


This is the opening volume of a new History of Religion, and deals with religious ideas in the Middle East (including Greece) from the earliest neolithic times until the beginning of Christianity. Professor James has preferred to divide his book according to topics, rather than by cultures or chronology, and deals separately with such subjects as the sacral kingships, the cult of the dead, and cosmology. In addition, the first chapter gives a summary history of the early civilization of Western Asia, the second chapter presents the early prehistoric evidence separately, and the final chapter deals with the development and diffusion of Near Eastern deities.

One disadvantage of this method of treatment is that it tends to dissociate the cult from the place. There are many varieties of landscape and climate within this region, and these certainly had an influence on the varying forms which some general beliefs adopted. Frazer implied this in the vivid description of the setting with which he often prefaced his accounts of rituals, and Ramsay felt it deeply in his studies of pagan Anatolia.

Another result of this arrangement is that it emphasizes the continuity of belief. The reader, however, might justifiably ask whether abrupt ethnic changes influenced the religions of certain regions at various times. At this point the author is poorly served by archaeology and its confusion about when, for example, the Greeks came to the Aegean. He himself accepts the Minoan decipherment, and even deduces from it that a form of Greek was spoken in 'pre-Aegean' Crete. If so, these early Greeks must have been so in language only.

The special merit of the book is its very complete and modern documentation. Every significant example of a particular rite or belief is vividly and lucidly described, with the latest references, and the 85 carefully selected photographs ornament and supplement the text. It will last as a work of heroic proportions, the outcome of a lifetime of study, cogitation and profound understanding.

W. C. BRICE


Mr. Warwick James has been a leading member of the dental profession since the early years of the present century. He is now in his eighties and, since his retirement from active practice, has continued and developed his research interests in dental anatomy, with particular attention to comparative material.

The present book is primarily a work of reference, although it would provide a valuable introduction to the anthropologist or odontologist entering the comparative field. It is divided into two sections. The general section, of 27 pages, covers the general principles of dental anatomy with special reference to the Primates. The necessary brevity of this section gives rise to somewhat dogmatic statements on controversial points. He dismisses both Bolk's and the Cope-Osborn theories of dental evolution equally summarily, although the latter, propounded at the turn of the century, is still the basis of most accepted theories.

The systematic section, of 240 pages, includes detailed descriptions of the teeth and jaws of every genus of Primates, from the tree shrews to Man. It includes relevant details of the life of the animals concerned, including their diet and habitat. Each genus is illustrated by excellent photographs of the upper and lower jaws, separately and in occlusion, taken by Mr. Maurice Sawyers.

There are three appendices. The first describes the pre-eruptive development of the dentition, and the importance of genetic control in producing normal occlusion. The second is a description of the articular eminence in the mandibular joint of apes and primitive and recent man; a subject which has not been covered elsewhere. The third is by Mr. E. G. Smith, Head Keeper in charge of the Monkey House, London Zoo, and gives a most interesting account of the diet and other details necessary for the keeping of monkeys and apes in captivity.

The book is attractively presented and the illustrations excellent. It fills admirably a long felt need in the field of comparative odontology.

J. R. E. MILLS


Here is a lively little book of six essays by a group of anthropologists and a biologist, who describes himself as a neuro-physiologist, all writing about the region which links man's behaviour to that of animals, and especially to that of his nearest relatives in the primate stock.

That there should be such a little group in the world attempting to tackle such an important problem by breaking down the barriers between the sciences so far concerned with man's behaviour and biological studies of behaviour is both a great inspiration for the readers of this book and, at the same time, a great reflection on the preoccupation of modern man with his apparent view of himself as the product of special creation.

The essays, of course, do not really come to grips with the problem, since it would be difficult to imagine this type of team being able to outline the problems in terms which would allow of cooperative investigation. For this we should require a much more balanced team of biologists and anthropologists, but we can be certain that it will not be long before the Wenner-Gren Foundation brings this into existence.

Nevertheless, the imaginative approach of many of the authors is a great stimulus and few readers will find themselves able to finish the book without wanting to put pen to paper, to make notes either for their own work or on points of further study. So many of these occur to me that I feel myself privileged to take up one such point.

In this field it cannot be too strongly emphasized that an ability to assess the source of information behind the use of a concept is the main qualification for participating in laying the foundation of a discipline which may ultimately become the biology of man's behaviour.

Most anthropologists are unaware of advances in the analysis of behaviour of vertebrates; nor, indeed, are they aware that these are likely to change the concepts by which we think about behaviour. As yet, present concepts are largely the result of accumulated tradition about the behaviour of man, and they are the results of man's thoughts about himself but are not the result of the study of himself. Advances in sub-human animal behaviour must, therefore, be expected to have a revolutionary impact upon the way in which we are handling the sciences of human behaviour. One such revolutionary change is due to occur in our idea of sexual attraction as a useful or explanatory concept. For except as defined in specific instances it has no meaning. It is now known that sexual attraction is set within a framework of agonistic drives, whose significance for the understanding of social life in the primates, and especially the nature of the social bond, is as important as sexual arousal itself. Absence of awareness of this fact makes the contribution on the societies of monkeys, apes and man of little lasting value.

It will be clear, therefore, that a lot of what is said cannot be taken for granted, but since the problem at this stage is to sift the wheat from the chaff, the more people read these essays and begin to tackle the problem, the better.

M. R. A. CHANCE
course a selective reflection. Many of the latest works on Tibet are mentioned there, some of them new to me. On the other hand, there is no reference to those useful volumes: Military Report on Tibet (Calcutta 1910, General Staff, Army Headquarters, India) and Who's Who in Tibet, the latter unfortunately now unobtainable because of the restrictive policy of the Government of India that has classified it as top secret.

Professor Carrasco presents his work as a provisional analysis of land and policy in Tibet, and bides his time until field work will again become possible in that country. This is an optimistic long view of the situation, and I very much doubt that he will ever be able to give better answers to the wide variety of questions that he has put forward. Under present circumstances, the Tibetan people, their culture and their religion are being stamped out, and Chinese settlers are taking their place on the Roof of the World. When field work 'again becomes possible,' in the words of the author, there will no longer be anything to study, as even the documents which until lately did exist in the country are reported to have been burnt publicly by the Red invaders. Professor Carrasco's book is thus far more than anything else an up-to-date account of social institutions before the catastrophe in Tibet, a record compiled with great ability and excellent judgement from the passing and unsystematic observations of travellers and visitors to Tibet before that country's ancient culture was wiped off the map in a matter of months. (PETER, Prince of Greece and Denmark)


These are two guide books of the modern type—Culture, History, . . . Ethnic Groups, Religions, . . . Social Organization, Dynamics of Political Behaviour, Theory and Structure of Government, Diffusion and Control of Information, . . . Basic Features of the Economy, Organization and Use of Manpower, . . . Domestic and Foreign Trade, Public Health and Welfare, Family, . . . Values and Patterns of Living, . . . Tables. They are produced by more or less the same team of experts, in conjunction with the Human Relations Area Files, for the Survey of World Cultures series.

Presumably the authors were told to take nothing for granted and have obeyed to the letter. It is explained, therefore, that Arabic is written from right to left, that words are transcribed phonetically, and that all books seem to be written for the westerner to start from the back cover, and also that 'there is an extensive and many-sided Arabic literature on which the Jordanians, like other Arabs, may draw.' Further, we find that 'A man is important if he has powerful relatives and friends, and his relationship with them is one of mutual obligation.' Those who get nearer to the end of the books will find that 'Excellence in craftsmanship became possible with the concentration of wealth in the cities, and the development of written literature has been dependent on education,' and other information of this kind.

Some people will probably find both these books as tedious as I have. Perhaps others who are going out of the blue to spend a couple of weeks in either of the countries will find them a useful introduction—commonplace and common sense are not utterly dissimilar. But it is absurd for the General Editor to claim that 'The focus of the book is a society as it functions, the interrelationship of its parts and of the parts to the whole.' Relatively little work of an analytic, let alone of a synthetic type has been published about either Iraq or Jordan, and neither of these books seems to be based upon new research in the countries themselves. The General Editor further says: 'Assuming as valid only what has stood up to the simultaneous and systematic challenge of the various social science disciplines represented by the persons who wrote it, the book has no recourse to the citation of authorities.' One wonders how strong the challenge was—especially when one finds the Black Stone at Mecca described as being the Ka'ba instead of as being in the wall of the Ka'ba (a distinction made clear in, for example, the Encyclopedia Britannica, the Encyclopedia of Islam, the Home University Library book on Mohammedan, and Lane).
The Shi'a, and many ordinary Sunnis, get rather a doctrinaire treatment. It has been stated that there is in Islam no 'communication of saints to intercede for sinners' (which is strictly true), the Muslim saints then being no more than heroes in the sense of 'folk belief and superstition,' and are dismissed in a paragraph. If the Muslim saints are no more than this, folk beliefs can certainly be very sophisticated. Take for example a passage from a Persian play of the martyrdom of Imam Husain, where the Angel Gabriel says to Muhammad: 'Because thou hast chosen, O Messenger of the Gracious God, that Ibrahim should be ransom for Husain, consider the sinful state of thy poor people, and make the latter a propitiation for their sins, that the Lord of all beings may, in the Day of Judgment, have mercy on all of them for Husain's sake.' This quotation is not taken from either of the books under review. They might have been a bit more stimulating if it could have been.

PETER LIENHARDT


Mr. P. G. Shah, President of the Gujarat Research Society and Vice-President of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, is deeply concerned about the well-being of the teeming tribes of India. 'Indeed, he dedicates this study to them 'In a spirit of service with a firm faith in their future as full citizens in a classless society trained to add to the productivity of all human resources of the ancient motherland in a world of peace and equality.'

The Naikas or Naikdas, numbering some 120,000, are dispersed over many districts of Gujarat. Mr. Shah touches upon their history, habitat, habits, kinship, kinship terminology, education, occupation, recreation, folklore, folk-lore, anthropometric and serological data, cites some life histories, and so forth. I should like to congratulate Mr. Shah on making a valuable contribution to our factual knowledge of Indian tribal life.

Some aspects, however, ought to have been discussed in much greater detail. For example, the author relates that the tribe is divided into three main groups differing in the respect accorded to them, but does not mention the criteria for the ranking of the groups. Again, he related an intriguing case of 'transition from Koli to Naika group' and the formation of new groups by the offspring of unions between Parsi men and their tribal consubscibes—occurrences about which one would like to know a great deal more.

Mr. Shah also suggests some 'ameliorative measures': 'recognize the culture of the tribe' and 'create self-respect for its culture'; give the Naikas some economic security by providing work throughout the year . . . like cutting the trees, . . . making roads and digging canals, . . . making mats, collecting honey, etc.; provide education. However, Mr. Shah reports that 'they do not attend the schools unless they are forced to attend . . . the parents attach little importance to education.' Clearly, then, it is not enough to provide schools. There must be adequate motivation—for example, the acceptance of education as a means of social advancement—if the Naikas are to take upon themselves the burden of education. But will the prospect of employment in manual labour which does not require formal education encourage them to exploit their educational opportunities? Moreover, if the Naikas did avail themselves of their educational opportunities, would they then see any vital social value in their tribal culture?

SCHIFRA STRIZOWER


Professor Japsan's bibliographical work on present-day sociology in Indonesia, of which this pamphlet is part, is a great service to scholars who, for linguistic or other reasons, cannot keep up with the records of a changing society. The new literature is not very extensive (for only a few people in Indonesia itself, among whom Professor Japsan is a heroic foreigner come to lend a hand, are at work); but it is difficult to track down and evaluate.

This publication tells us clearly enough what we can expect to find in the writing on social stratification. The bibliographical work seems to be thorough, although the fact that English translations exist of Burger's 'Structuurveranderingen in de Javase samenvloeiing' and ter Haar's 'Beginselen en Stelsel van het Adatfeh' should have been mentioned. The reference to Palmier's work on the occupational distribution of the parents of pupils and students is incorrect.

Such weakness as the work has lies in the introduction, for here Professor Japsan offers us an interpretation of modern Indonesian society and some of its problems from a standpoint which is sociologically questionable (areas which are not democratic appear to be either tribal or feudal) and politically naive (Professor Japsan seems to be voicing Indonesian left-wing nationalist opinions).

There are a number of references to ethnographical matters and research which make the pamphlet an important anthropological as well as sociological item.

MAURICE FREEDMAN


The ancient city of Taxila and the remarkable monastic instruments which lie in the countryside around it are of the first importance in the study of early Buddhist history and iconography, and of Hellenism at its furthest eastward extension. It will probably be reckoned Sir John Marshall's finest achievement to have excavated, planned, recorded, and preserved these monuments in a series of campaigns lasting over 20 years, and finally to have produced a complete publication of his results.

This guide book is in effect a brief report of Sir John's work, site by site. It begins with a lucid historical account of the city and district, and carries 22 plates, an excellent general map, and plans of the several sites. This edition has been enlarged to include accounts of several newly excavated Buddhist sites. The author characteristically wastes no space on colourful description, and the text is closely composed, tightly packed with facts and statistics. It is, indeed, an ideal guide, and leads the visitor almost step by step, telling him exactly what to look for. It is meant to be held in the hand while walking over the terrain, and in such circumstances no written words are necessary to evoke the strange beauty of the district. You walk for hours through the silent oleaster scrub of the foothills, preferably about Christmas time when the air is light, sweet and clear, and suddenly come upon a ruined stupa with its pensive stucco reliefs. You then know exactly how Marshall felt about the place, and turn to his work only for an account of what he found there and of how he thought it looked when the walls were standing.

W. C. BRICE


This volume is one of three presenting the sources for the intellectual and spiritual traditions of India, China and Japan. Its scope covers a wide range in time, extending from the Rigveda down to writings of the last decade. Its preface states that attention is also given to political, economic and social thought, although the principal aim is to give source materials for religious and philosophical history. The book is divided into six parts, of which the first five deal with early Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. The selections here owe much to an excellent team of contributors who have often translated for the first time, or newly translated, the quoted passages. The sixth part, modern India and Pakistan, is of a very different character: successive chapters cover the opening of India to the West, the Renaissance of Hinduism, moderate and extremist nationalism, the Muslim revival, Tagore and Gandhi, the founding of Pakistan, and finally 'six paths to India's future.'

Within their limits we must applaud the several parts of this work. The space available for so vast a topic as Hinduism necessarily means that justice cannot be done; and the same may be said of each part. This leads us to doubt the wisdom of the editors in casting their nets so wide, for excellent as are the parts the resulting whole is somehow unsatisfactory and disturbing. Again one may doubt the wisdom of including fragments of social and economic writings among the primarily religious, for they are presented in such form
and so divorced from historical contexts that they are liable to confuse and mislead the reader seeking to learn about Indian civilization. For the volume makes no mention of the basic facts of history: that the written traditions are but one of the expressions of historically developing societies and at best provide a very limited and partial view. Again the selected tradition is lop-sided. Scientific and learned writings are all but excluded, although to understand even the intellectual context of the religious and metaphysical texts it is necessary to know something of the current grammatical and linguistic theories, systems of logic, philosophy, etc. Hence one is often reminded of the all too common static approach to Indian religion. Even the historical relationships of the several religious systems are quite inadequately treated; although to be properly understood these relationships call for a knowledge of the technical terms, without which the several systems lose their identities and what were once the causes of bitter sectarian debate are lost in deceptive synthesis. Finally no reference is made to popular tradition, although the oral traditions which survive present to the student of Indian civilization a quite different world, no less valid than that of the written texts.

Similar problems are raised by the sixth part. If the earlier parts contained the spiritual outpourings and idealistic comment of forest-dwelling sages and mystics, who depended for their bread upon the productive surplus of the peasantries, or of Brahmins and ministers who found themselves well rewarded for extolling the ideal virtues of their princes, this part is the product of a more handfull of intellectuals. The volume is admittedly eclectic and perhaps we have no right to criticize the selection of materials, but once again the reader must ask himself, what has all this to do with the India he knows—or thought that he knew. In this part there are two main themes, the religious and the political. The former follows with fair logic from the earlier chapters, tracing the impact of western thought upon Indian religious writers and the development of western and revivalist trends. The political theme is hard to justify. These snippets of political writing surely transcend any definition of 'tradition' and serve to confuse the main theme of the book.

Finally we find ourselves delighted to agree with Abu Taleb (p. 56) who, at the end of the nineteenth century, remarked that the English insisted that mankind had risen by degrees from the state of savages to the exalted dignity of the great philosopher Isaac Newton, and commented that 'if this axiom of theirs be correct, man has yet much to learn, and all his boasted knowledge is but vanity.' We are left perplexed and uncertain, perplexed as to how our own view of Indian civilization and tradition can be so different from that here presented, uncertain as to whether Abu Taleb may not have spoken at least partly the truth.

RAYMOND ALLCHIN


This admirable book gives a detailed account of the working of the caste system in a central Indian village and its surrounding region. The village has been carefully chosen so that many craft and service castes are represented, and so that it was near enough to road and town for the influences of recent changes in social behaviour to be apparent. The author used no interpreter, and clearly achieved intimate relations with the villagers, members of some of whose families even contracted ceremonial kinships with his own family.

By way of a background (Part I) he outlines very briefly the history of Malwa, and of the village studied, and gives a general account of caste membership. In Part II he deals with the castes in the village from the aspects of ritual status, economics and occupation, village leadership, and the village as a unit; in Part III he describes the constitution of a caste: its internal structure from household to subcaste, its worship and the functions of genealogists, the patterns of marriage and of kinship relations, and social control in the subcaste. A brief chapter in conclusion gives an accurate appreciation of the relative importance of region, descent and kinship in determining the connotation of the words 'caste' and 'subcaste' in an Indian village community.

The work is careful, meticulous and lucid throughout, and renders a complete picture of a rural community in Rajasthan with its exceedingly intricate and elusive pattern of inter-caste, inter-village, inter-clan, inter-kindred and inter-personal relationships. Thus the duties and corresponding rights of the various village craftsmen and servants are analysed; ritual status in the caste hierarchy is carefully evaluated; economic aspects of caste and the agricultural system are explained; the internal structure of caste and its methods of social control are set forth in detail. Even the distribution of dwelling houses among different castes is shown on plans. The functions of the genealogist are dealt with and the worship of the clan goddess, of Bheru, and of satis. I looked in vain for an account of the ghashawji ceremony, but probably it is irrelevant to questions of caste and social relationships. Besides plans and tables the volume is illustrated by more than 30 photographs—a valuable addition to the study of caste and a necessary item in any library on the subject.

J. H. HUTTON

EUROPE


This work is the final publication of two well-known caves discovered by the three sons of Count Béguiné in 1912 and 1914. The caves lie a little north of Montesquieu-Avantès in the Department of Ariège. In this area the river Volp goes underground for part of its course and passes through a series of galleries with many ramifications of dry passages and galleries. There is no direct connexion between the two series and where they overlap they are at two different levels. It is on the walls of these galleries and passages that the engravings have been found.

Features of both caves have been reproduced many times since their discovery, in particular the 'Sorcerer' from Trois Frères and the clay bison from Tuc d'Audoubert which are familiar illustrations in many textbooks published in the last 30 years. Many of the figures and plates in this book have also been used by Breuil in his Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art. In spite of the reproduction of so much of this material the present publication is extremely welcome. As Breuil says in his preface the drawings are his, as is the preparation of the publication, which, except for the last war, would have come out much earlier. While the work is mainly Breuil's it is fitting that the name of Count Béguiné should be included with his, as these two caves have been associated with Béguiné for many years and it is sad that he did not live to see the final publication.

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John Waechter
DENTITION OF THE MAGDALENIAN FEMALE FROM CAP BLANC

(a) Basal view of the skull; (b) frontal view; (c) occlusal view of maxillary teeth; (d) occlusal view of mandibular teeth; (e) radiograph of left mandibular ramus (note the absence of the third molar); (f) radiograph of maxillary teeth (note the post-mortem defect on the mesial sides of both the maxillary first and second permanent molars. Photographs: Chicago Natural History Museum
THE DENTITION OF THE MAGDALENIAN FEMALE FROM CAP BLANC, FRANCE*

by

DR. ALBERT A. DAHLBERG and DR. VIRGINIA M. CARBONELL

Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago

48 The young female skeleton of Upper Paleolithic age from Cap Blanc, in the Dordogne department, France, displayed at the Chicago Natural History Museum has a dentition which resembles strongly that of modern Europeans and stands out in sharp contrast to other groups, the Neandertals and Mongoloids. Although the human skeletal materials from the Upper Paleolithic have been separated into several races by some earlier authors, it is now the general opinion that all the known specimens from this period could have come from one breeding population.

Von Bonin (1934) made a comprehensive study of the Cap Blanc skeleton, including a brief description of the dentition. He stated that this individual shared with other Upper Paleolithic specimens many features resembling closely those of modern man. The cranial capacity of this individual was estimated at 1,434 cubic centimetres. The chin was quite prominent in appearance (fig. 1). The long

General Description of the Dentition

The teeth of the Magdalenian female are small, well developed, smooth-suraced and unembellished by anomalies or defects. All the permanent teeth of the upper and lower jaws are present except the left lower third molar. X-ray confirmed that the latter tooth was absent congenitally. Both upper and lower dental arches are parabolic in shape (Plate Fr, d). The palate is of considerable depth, similar to those found in modern races today.

The incisors are tapering in shape, moderate in size and without any sign of specific markings on the labial surface. The lingual aspect shows no indication of shovel-shaping or irregularities of the surface whatsoever. The incisal edges are rounded. The teeth are aligned almost in a straight position following closely the shape of the arches. There is no spacing or diastema between any of the teeth. The lateral incisors are smaller than the central incisors. The canines in both upper and lower jaw are longer and larger than the incisors, making for some additional prominences in their appearance.

The second premolar is larger than the first. The reverse is true in the upper premolar group in which the first is larger than the second. All the premolars are bicuspid. Both the upper and lower molar groups decrease in size from the first to the third molar. The first and second molars are fully erupted and the third molars are at their pre-eruption stage. This verifies the age of the specimen at approximately 18 years old.

The lower first molar has a definite Y5-grove cusp relationship and the second molar has a +4 pattern. The upper first molars have four well developed cusps and the second molars show a diminished size of the hypocone. There is no evidence of the presence of either Carabelli’s cusp or protostylid.

The roots are moderate in size and shape. The anterior teeth are single-rooted, and the posterior teeth have roots corresponding in number and formation to those of current populations. The apices are rounded and well formed. The pulp chambers are moderate in size and show no indication of taurodontism.

The wear pattern on the teeth of this female is rather interesting inasmuch as considerable abrasion is normally expected in a young adult of paleolithic age. Most of the wear occurs on the edges of the incisors, both upper and lower, and on the occlusal surfaces of the first molars. A small break into the underlying dentine is noted on the upper first premolar.

FIG. 1. LATERAL VIEW OF THE CAP BLANC SKULL

bones, vertebrae, calcanea and other bones were reported not too far outside the ranges of many people living in Europe today. A comparative study of the details of the dentition confirms this position.

* With Plate F and two text figures. Dr. Carbonell is at present honorary research assistant at the London Hospital Medical College, Dental School.
There were no signs of calculus deposits or any anomalies from developmental or secondary sources.

**Summary**

The dentition of the Magdalenian female of Cap Blanc shows evidence of particular trends towards reduction in several aspects:

**Acknowledgment**

The authors extend their acknowledgment and thanks to the Chicago Natural History Museum, to Dr. Paul Martin and his staff for making the specimen available to be studied, to Dr. Henry Field and Dr. Kenneth P. Oakley, F.B.A., for their kindness in reviewing this manuscript.

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**DEMONIACAL POSSESSION AMONG THE GIRYAMA**

by D. S. NOBLE  
*Kenya*

The Giryama are a Bantu tribe numbering some 120,000, who live on the coast of Kenya in an area 70 by 30 miles in extent, stretching from 20 miles north of Mombasa to north of the Galana or Sabaki River, and extending 30 miles inland to the plains of the Taru Desert. They comprise the majority of the residents of the fertile coastal strip in this area, but their tribal area is properly the dry hinterland, where they were confined in pre-European times by waterless bush on one side and the Arab rulers of the coast on the other. The Giryama were never enslaved by the Arabs in large numbers because of their custom of retreating, when attacked, into the dry bush to the west. But fear of slavery and of their children being stolen by the Arabs or their agents was always present, and a strong dislike of the Arabs and the arabicized Africans, the Swahili, exists among them still and is fostered by Arab feelings of superiority to the pagan Africans. This is the background against which we must view the many manifestations of demoniacal possession among the Giryama.

The pagan Giryama believe in one God and one Devil, but the latter has many manifestations and carries out his design of making men his own unobstructed by the former. These manifestations can appear to people and obstruct and frighten them and can also possess them, although possession can take place without that particular aspect of the devil, or spirit as it will be called, appearing to the person possessed. It is also possible for the person to be possessed by more than one spirit at the same time.

These spirits can be divided into wandering spirits, which do not possess a man continuously, and resident ones which, once they have possessed a man, remain with him continuously until exorcized or until they leave of their own accord. Once the particular spirit which possesses a man has been identified, the procedure for exorcizing it depends on whether it is a wandering spirit or a resident one. But a more interesting classification of the spirits is by the different fears of the Giryama which they represent.

The symptoms of demoniacal possession are the same for all the spirits. The person possessed suffers from general aches and pains or sickness. The symptoms are recurrent; displaying themselves for a few hours and then disappearing for a few hours and then reappearing again. The person qualified to treat them is a devil doctor, either of the higher grade of muganga wa mburaga or of the lower grade of muganga wa kumbo. Both perform the same work but the former's treatment is more efficacious as he is more invested by the Devil. For the devil doctor is considered to be the Devil's friend and the Devil is not afraid of him, so that the suggestion to a possessed person that he obtain treatment from a devil doctor produces no change in his symptoms, but the suggestion that he obtain treatment in
a Government Hospital produces a temporary disappearance of the symptoms. I am told that this is because the Devil fears Government Hospitals since no prayers are offered before medicine is given and he does not get his due. However, it is said that Western medicine cannot effect a permanent cure.

Likewise, if no treatment at all is obtained, the spirit will, after six or eight weeks, desert the person possessed because the prescribed tribal customs have not been followed. But most seek quicker relief by having the spirit cast out in the proper manner, and this is considered the proper mode of conduct.

When a person feels symptoms of possession, he ought to put on white clothes and go to a devil doctor who will discover the identity of the spirit. The devil doctor places some lighted charcoal in a potsherd, sprinkles frankincense or aloes wood on it and hands it to the patient who is seated on a stool and has a white cloth draped over his head. The patient holds the potsherd to his chest under the white cloth and breathes in the incense fumes. At the same time the devil doctor addresses the possessing spirit in Giryama, as follows: 'Hello, Sir, you are the teacher spirit and I beg your pardon. Tell me of the man who is on this stool.' At this the patient shivers and replies in Swahili (for only one spirit uses Giryama as its language): 'He who is on this stool is teacher ...' (stating the name of the possessing spirit). If the spirit is a wandering one it will add to its reply: 'And I want my journey.' All the spirits have the title of teacher, including one whose name is teacher, and is therefore addressed as 'teacher, teacher.'

The devil doctor has now decided whether it is a wandering or a resident spirit. If it is a wandering spirit, then he arranges for a dance to be held at which it will be exorcized. If it is a resident spirit, he prepares medicine to cast it out. The principal wandering spirits are Pepo Mwanga (the tall devil), Muzungu (the European), Ngoloko, Zikiri Maiti also called Kizuka Cha Lutfu (the burial of the corpse) and Pepo Mulume (the male devil). If the patient is possessed by a wandering spirit, the devil doctor will fix a date for the dance and his fee will be paid. In the case of Pepo Mwanga or Muzungu, the devil doctor will also tie a shilling to the patient's upper left arm as evidence that a date and fee have been fixed.

These spirits have definite individual characteristics which appear when they manifest themselves to annoy and obstruct people. Pepo Mwanga appears as a tall giant dressed in Giryama clothes. Muzungu is the most restless of all the manifestations. He is continually on a journey and wears white trousers, white shirt, white coat and white solar topee, and carries a whistle. He is accompanied by an orderly and a servant who bear a chair and a table. He is passionately fond of swimming and in his manifestations will dive into the sea and be retrieved by his orderly. After ascertaining his identity, as mentioned above, the devil doctor will ask him what things he wants and he will say that he wants sugar cane, bread, honey, tea, bananas, a plate and a servant and an orderly. Ngoloko appears as a human figure wearing the Arab woman's black covering, the bui-bui. It stands on its right leg and makes a sucking noise. Zikiri Maiti appears as a walking corpse, wrapped in a shroud with, behind it, the bier on which Giryama corpses are taken for burial. When it is near a man, it will remove the shroud from its face. Pepo Mulume is a human figure which carries a white cock and cassava bread.

To exorcize these spirits, the Exorcism Dance, conducted by the devil doctor, is held during the daytime in the bush and at it images of the possessing spirits are made and any articles associated with them are produced. For Muzungu, a Government Tribal Policeman often lends his services privately as orderly. The image of Muzungu is drawn on paper, preferably with copying pencil, and coloured by rubbing it with grass; for the others, clay images are made. The image is handed during the course of the dance to the person possessed, who shakes violently, and then, if the image is the one of Pepo Mwanga, of Muzungu or of Ngoloko, it is cast into the sea, or, if it is of Zikiri Maiti or Pepo Mulume, is buried at the base of a baobab tree and the spirit departs from the person possessed. One dance may be the opportunity of exorcizing several devils in turn.

If the spirit is a resident one, the devil doctor, after having ascertained its identity, goes on to cast out the spirit by means of medicine. In a bowl of cold water he mixes the leaves of the baobab (Adansonia digitata, Gir. myr) and also of punja mba (Ocimum sp.), mynya kiswala (Althophyllum alnifolius), mutserere (Hoslandia opposita), reza (Colens abontiis or Senecio subands), muroi (Uvaria leptotodada) and mulaza koma mbumu (Vernonia hildebrandii or Vernonia zanzibarensis). At the same time he recites (in Swahili, except in the case of one spirit) a spell which starts 'Pul salama saliniti,' an imitation of Swahili and a Giryama idea of a Swahili prayer; it is said to mean 'That this man may recover.' He then goes on addressing the spirit indirectly through the stool on which the patient is sitting. 'You are indeed a tree of spirits. You are indeed a tree of the devil. And this [the patient's name], when he pours this medicine over himself, I wish his body to be well. And you spirits, who are in this chair, leave him that he be able to go out. And your things will be sought after.' Then the devil doctor places three hot embers in the bowl of medicine and gives it to the patient, who tastes the medicine three times, touches his chest with it three times, and touches his back with it three times. After that, he will go home and wear for the next six months the kind of clothes which that particular spirit wears during its manifestations. The illness caused by possession will leave the patient at once and after six months the spirit will know that he is trusted by the patient, who will need only to wear the special clothes occasionally. However, if the patient puts off these clothes completely, his illness will return. In terms of clothes, demoniacal possession can be very expensive.

The most important spirit is Katsumba Kazi (the small one who divides up the work) with Mwalimu (teacher) coming next. Others are Kuzuka and Simba (the lion), although this is not a complete list. These are purely Giryama spirits and Katsumba Kazi is the only spirit with Giryama as its mother tongue. Katsumba Kazi manifests itself on dark nights only near baobab trees as a small
woman, two feet in height, who wears the traditional Giryama woman’s rinda or kilt. The kilt is of the special variety called rinda tsu msibiji which is coloured blue and has beads sewn on it. It is properly worn at weddings. She has beads in her hair and wears a cloth thrown over her right shoulder, and her diet is ashes mixed with water. Katumba Kazi is the principal spirit because it co-ordinates the activities of the other spirits and apportions out their work. A woman possessed by Katumba Kazi will wear the clothes detailed above. A man will wear the normal man’s shuka or loin cloth reaching to the ankles but with beadwork stitched at its corners in addition. He will also wear beads in his hair, which is not normal practice among men. Mwalimu is the Devil’s spokesman. He wears white clothes, animal skin or tin armlets of the type sold by Arab traders and Arab sandals, and is a Muslim. Anyone possessed by him will have to wash very carefully and in addition to wearing the appropriate clothes will have to use Arab-type plates for his food. Simba, in spite of its name, manifests itself as a man who is heard but never appears. He stumps the ground, growls and drinks water from puddles. He has no special clothes but has the claws of a lion, although he never attacks. When the devil doctor is discovering his identity, he will say that he wants a lion’s claw, and the patient after having been treated with medicine, will wear a lion’s claw on a cord round his neck. Kizuku manifests itself as a sheep which appears and follows people. If it strikes it disappears into the bush and further ahead on the road appears again. When it wants to annoy a person particularly, it bursts into flames and disappears. There are no special clothes associated with it. I have been told by a man that it once followed him on a journey, but it did not burst into flames.

Other manifestations of the Devil are not Giryama in background. Pepo (the devil) is the fiercest of the spirits and is Arab in background, as is also Bulushi. There are also Mukwavi (the Masai) and Mjaluo (the Jaluo). Pepo appears as a man wearing the white Arab kanzu (a long garment like a nightshirt), a white Swahili cap, a white turban and Arab sandals. He carries a white cock and possesses a shadow. Manifestations appear between the hours of 9 p.m. and midnight on either dark or moonlit nights, and the shock of meeting him is said to have turned some Giryama white-skinned. Bulushi is dressed the same as Pepo with the addition of a white waistcoat, similar to the dark-coloured Swahili waistcoat. He manifests himself at the same hours as Pepo but appears only on dark nights. He travels by hopping along on his right leg and the sight of him is said to have sent dogs mad. Baobab trees are his especial haunt and he lives in the hollow of one where he has another spirit who is his domestic servant. Few pagan Giryama can be persuaded to go near a baobab tree after dark.

The pastoral Nilo-Hamitic Masai lived and roamed in pre-European days over an area some 100 miles inland from the Giryama and were separated from them by a wide strip of waterless and uninhabited bush. They were extremely fierce and capable fighters and used to raid as far as the Giryama country to the great fear of the peaceable agricultural Giryama who retreated before them. Mukwavi (the Masai) appears as a Masai warrior with ochred hair and clothes and the typical hairstyle with a deep widow’s peak in front and a short pigtail behind. Mjaluo is a spirit of whom I have been able to obtain no personal description. The Jaluo are a Nilotic tribe from the shores of Lake Victoria who are brought to the coastal strip in considerable numbers these days as labour on the sisal plantations because the Giryama will not take up paid labour in sufficient numbers. They are not popular with the insular Giryama because of their very different culture and characteristics. I suspect that Mjaluo is a recent addition to the manifestations of the Devil.

These are representative selections of the manifestations of the Devil but the complete catalogue is lengthy. For the Devil can also appear as a man dressed in black and 40 feet tall and then change from one manifestation to another in rapid succession. A manifestation may also strike a man or insult him by sucking in his breath through his teeth. If one meets a manifestation, however, it is easy to chase it away. One has only to point a knife or bush knife at the manifestation or else take a leafy twig, urinate on it, and point that at the manifestation and it will vanish. An informant has told me of an occasion when he was walking at night along a path through a coconut-palm grove on the coast. Some way ahead a man in Arab dress appeared on the path. My informant was extremely frightened, but he pointed his bush knife at the figure which disappeared. However, this happened near a village where there were Arabs living.

The Giryama fear the Devil and his manifestations but those which they fear most, apart from Katumba Kazi, are those which appear as Arabs.

Mukwavi is feared less than the Arab or Swahili manifestations and Mzungu is not greatly feared. Mjaluo must be a newcomer and while the Giryama do not greatly care for the Jaluo, there is no tension between them. Giryama have told me that they consider that the Devil is a Muslim, and that Muslims on the coast believe in and consort with the Muslim manifestations of the Devil. On the local attitude to the Devil among the Arabs and Swahili I am unqualified to speak. But those manifestations of the Devil to the Giryama which represent the foreign influences which have impinged upon them are in direct relation to the fear which they have of these influences. The Arabs and Swahili were feared because of slaving in the past, and the memory remains. And the Arabs are still comparatively wealthy compared with the Giryama and pride themselves on their old culture. The Masai were feared as raiders in the past but have no contact with the Giryama now. The Europeans are not feared but are a very active influence. As their name implies (Azungu, people who change everything around), they have been a disturbing influence on the traditional Giryama way of life. For, in pre-European days, the Giryama eked out a bare subsistence with little work in an environment where, with their lack of resources and knowledge, the application of any extra effort would not have produced any better result.
OBITUARY

Agnes Winifred Hoernlé: 1885–1960. With a portrait

Social anthropology in South Africa owes much to the lively interest and energy of Agnes Winifred Hoernlé, who was Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Witwatersrand from 1923 to 1937. Most of the leading social anthropologists of South Africa had their undergraduate training with her. She inspired them with her own high standard of scholarship and constantly encouraged and advised them in their subsequent field expeditions. Her pupils included such well-known figures as Max Gluckman, Ellen Hellman, J. D. and Eileen Krige and Hilda Kuper. Mrs. Hoernlé was also a woman of broad humanitarian interests and worked with indomitable energy for social and economic causes—particularly for the betterment of the African, Asian and Coloured peoples of South Africa. Hence, there are many education and welfare officers scattered throughout the Rand townships who probably also regard themselves as having been her pupils, for she taught them during their University life and afterwards gave them generously her encouragement and time.

Mrs. Hoernlé had thus a wider training than is given to most anthropologists. Though Durkheim was the prevailing influence in her work, she was familiar with the German historical school; with the main trends of American anthropology and with current psychological teaching. Later Mrs. Hoernlé worked closely with Radcliffe-Browne, who was Professor of Social Anthropology at Cape Town from 1920 to 1925 and was much influenced by him, as her paper on "The Expression of the Social Value of Water among the Nama of South-West Africa," S. Afr. J. Sci., Vol. XX (1923), shows. She also came under the spell of Malinowski, whom she met in London and later during his visit to the Union in 1934.

Mrs. Hoernlé's academic reputation probably depends mainly on her unusual gifts as a teacher. Her lectures covered a wide field including archaeology, technology taught with the aid of the University Museum which she created, social anthropology and the ethnography of South Africa, which last she considered to be part of the necessary training of a South African citizen. She spoke with clarity and vigour and with an enthusiasm and sense of purpose which attracted and held her students' interests. It was impossible not to become fond of such a warm-hearted, vigorous and direct personality. Her students contributed to a special number of Bantu Studies in her honour published in September, 1935.

Alfred Hoernlé had been appointed Professor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1922, the year before his wife's appointment as lecturer in anthropology. Their marriage was a long and happy partnership in the study of the humanities, and in a tireless fight for liberal causes in a world which became increasingly illiberal during the last years of her life. The Hoernlés' home was a cheerful, welcoming, stimulating place and a centre of scholarship and liberal thought. Many visiting anthropologists from this country will remember its hospitality and the long dining table full of guests. Mrs. Hoernlé was never too busy to drive guests from overseas long dusty miles to visit African townships, enlivening the way with shrewd and illuminating comments on men and affairs.

After her resignation from her lectureship at Johannesburg in 1937, she devoted herself increasingly to public work. She was President of the South African Institute of Race Relations for two years following her husband, who died suddenly in 1943 after holding this post for 20 years. The Institute devoted a special number of its journal entitled 'Homage to Winifred Hoernlé' to mark her seventieth birthday. Mrs. Hoernlé took a special interest in child-welfare associations and was Chairman of the Committee of the Indian Social Welfare Association. She also worked for penal reform.

Mrs. Hoernlé led many deputations to the Government and always impressed those who received them. A Minister for Native Affairs who had listened to the evidence of many such deputations once told me that though she often spoke with passionate indignation at some particular injustice being suffered by the African population, yet her knowledge of historical and legal detail was immense and that he had never known her wrong on facts. He said: 'She was never inaccurate and she never became a crank.'

Mrs. Hoernlé was awarded an honorary doctorate of the University of Witwatersrand in 1949 and was made an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1939.

AUDREY I. RICHARDS

Winfred Hoernlé (née Tucker) was born in Kimberley in 1885 and read Philosophy at the South African College, afterwards the University of Cape Town. She then went to Cambridge where she worked under Haddon and Rivers and listened to Jane Harrison and Frazer. In 1911 she moved to Leipzig, where she worked mainly on psychology, and to Bonn University; she then proceeded to Paris where she studied at the Sorbonne under Durkheim. Her own field work was done among the Nama Hottentots in 1912–13. In 1914 she married Alfred Hoernlé, and went with him to Cambridge, Mass., where her husband had been appointed Professor of Philosophy and Psychology at Harvard. Their son, Alwyn, was born in 1915.
SHORTER NOTES

Some Basketwork and Gourd Receptacles in the Sudan Museum, Khartoum. By Sadik Nur, Sudan Museum, With four text figures

In the Department of Ethnography, Sudan Museum, Khartoum, there is a fairly representative collection of basketwork and gourd receptacles collected from various parts of the country during the past 20 years, and obtained by the museum almost entirely by donation.

Fig. 1. buttermilk-containers, coiled (a, b) and plaited (c)

Scale: slightly less than 1/4. Photographs: National Guidance Office, Khartoum

It is beyond doubt that the art of making baskets and preparing gourds in the Sudan is an ancient one, judging by the shape of pots and the decoration on sherds dating back to neolithic times (approximately 5,000 B.C.). Both gourds and baskets being perishable under the effects of climate and white ants, no actual examples have yet been found. But even in our own time there is a very close affinity between our pottery and our basketwork and gourds.

Fig. 2. gourds with basketwork necks

Scale: slightly less than 1/4

Gourds have to be prepared for domestic use not only by cauterizing or incising and colouring decorative designs, but more important by the removal by scraping, before the vessel is put into use, of traces of the white pulp, which has a sharp taste. This process is known in the central part of the country as tamsikh, 'eliminating bitterness.' After the process of scraping, the gourd is filled with dura (Sorghum africanum) daw which absorbs all the bitter taste.

Fig. 3. basket from Darfur

Scale: slightly less than 1/4

Techniques vary from one tribe to another, although the use may be the same. An example of this is the plaited Shilluk sau or buttermilk-container (fig. 1c, Museum No. II 146) as opposed to the coil type from Darfur (fig. 1a, b, Museum Nos. II 1893 and II 2147). The network and sling on the Shilluk vessel are made of hide, whereas the triangles, slings and rim decoration on the other two are made of red-dyed leather. In either case the vessel is wetted by sprinkling water on the inside which is then sprayed with dura flour to clog any holes or cracks, thus rendering it watertight.

Baskets and gourds for carrying milk are indispensable to a nomadic tribe as they are lighter to carry and easier to handle, without fear of breakage, than pottery, with which the risk of damage is great even when it is handled carefully. The odd pots that nomads use through sheer force of circumstances are often smashed deliberately on the camp site when they decide to move, in order to save themselves the trouble of looking after them during the journey. They find it easier to buy new ones on arrival at a new site, as is shown by the recently broken sherds from one or two pots that can often be found on recently deserted camping sites.

To make gourds as efficient as baskets for carrying buttermilk they are fitted with basketwork necks and push-in lids, which in some instances are woven on to the disc-shaped piece of gourd removed from the mouth. In other cases the lid is all of basketwork. Fig. 2a, b, Museum Nos. II 2109 and II 143, depicts two gourds fitted with such basketwork necks and push-in lids.

Diffusion of culture over a long period is very clear in the case of the highly decorative basket and food cover from Darfur (figs. 3 and 4, Museum Nos. II 932 and II 2286). The former is
known locally as mandola, and the latter as beral. The cover is made of wheat straw, hence the shine. This style of basketwork is very ancient, being known in Eighteenth-Dynasty Egypt and probably earlier. The mandola has a conical-based wooden bowl inside it, to illustrate its use.

FIG. 4. FOOD COVER FROM DARFUR

Scale: 1

The making of baskets and the preparation of gourds are not regarded as man's work and are restricted to women.

A short description of the articles is given below:

II 143 Saa, Shilluk vessel for buttermilk, with gourd body, basketwork neck partly covered by plaited leather, leather-bound cap, carrying sling of plaited leather. Height 20.5 cms., rim diameter 9.6 cms.

II 2109 Gawamaa gourd, with neck and lid of plaited palm fibre; used as container for milk. Larger ones are used as butter churns. Height 12 cms., rim diameter 7.5 cms.

II 932 Mandal, Bornu, Darfur. Stand for conical-based wooden food bowl. Height 27 cms., rim diameter 34.8 cms.

II 2286 Darfur, food cover (beral) of multicoloured basketwork, used mainly in connexion with II 932. Internal rim diameter 65.2 cms.

II 146 Saa, Shilluk basketwork vessel for buttermilk; net and sling of hide, with hide decoration near lip. Height 35.3 cms., rim diameter 17 cms.

II 2147 Darfur travelling basket (umra) with lower half protected and decorated with strips of red leather arranged in rough triangles; this basket has a neck. Height 28 cms., rim diameter 25.5 cms.

II 1803 Umra, Mahmud Arabs, Geneina. Cylindrical close-weave basket with push-in lid leather decoration (binding for rim, etc.), and plaited leather handle; used for containing liquids. Height 18.2 cms., rim diameter 20.9 cms.

A Leprosy Transmission Belief Amongst the Angas in Northern Nigeria. By H. O. H. Vernon-Jackson, formerly of the Ministry of Education, Northern Region, Federation of Nigeria

The town of Pankshin is the district headquarters of Pankshin Division, and is among hills near the eastern escarpment of the Jos Plateau in Plateau Province, Northern Nigeria. Pankshin is also the headquarters of the Chief of Angas, and the people in the vicinity are predominantly of the Angas tribe. There is both Roman Catholic and Protestant mission activity in the area, and there are some Moslems particularly in the town of Pankshin itself. However, the majority of the people might be described as animist, or else as animists who are also connected with a Christian belief and at times Christian forms of worship of some sort.

It is widely held amongst many Angas people in the vicinity of Pankshin that magical happenings take place; that leprosy can be transmitted by magical means; and that the giving of leprosy by magical means by one person (who need not necessarily be a leper) to another might result in material benefit for the giver.

My source material is oral testimony provided by Angas tribal members engaged in administration, educational, financial and medical duties, Pankshin Native Administration civil servants. The provision of this information was initiated casually by Angas tribal members on several occasions in discussions which I heard, and which I subsequently had opportunities for comparing and checking.

To cite a specific case: a farmer near Pankshin stated to the Native Administration tax-collectors that as lepers were not liable to make payment of tax to the Native Administration, he, as a leper, should not be taxed. To the village head's and the tax-collectors' reply to the effect that they were unaware of the farmer being a leper, the farmer stated that he had only recently become one and that his leprosy had been given to him by means of certain pot. The village head and the tax-collectors had heard of leprosy, as they believed, transmitted in this way and the farmer was invited to elaborate.

The farmer's contention was that a pot containing leprosy had been sent to him by a certain woman in the village and that he was now a leper. The woman was called and she did not deny the charge; she stated that she considered it true that leprosy could be sent in a pot and that the receiver of the pot would become a leper. It is not clear who had prepared the pot in this way, the woman or someone else, but my strongest impression is that the woman had done whatever preparation there had to be done by herself. Again, there seemed to be no agreement that the woman herself had to deliver the pot, but again my strongest impression is that this was not necessary and that the pot could be carried to the vicinity of the receiver or to him himself by someone other than the woman who had been connected with its special preparation.

It came as no surprise to the village head and the tax-collectors, for such a case was not unfamiliar to them, when the woman gave as her reason that the alleged transmission of leprosy was in a sense sacrificial. In return for such a sacrifice or offering, she believed that the crop and yield of her farm (in the main, guinea corn) would be increased. I understand that the woman had to pay not only her own tax but in addition that of the man to whom she was supposed to have transmitted leprosy (he having been excused tax) and that the woman made no complaint concerning this decision.

What might perhaps appear to be significant in this incident is (1) that the acceptance of the woman's reason by the village head, the tax-collectors and those present at the enquiry (all Angas) is implicit, (2) that the woman's ability to transmit leprosy in this way was accepted, (3) that the recipient appeared not to doubt that he was a leper, (4) that the woman was prepared to accept responsibility for what she was alleged to have done and (5) that the whole matter was within a framework of behaviour and belief such that while the alleged action was not actively condoned neither was it very strongly condemned, nor was any particular aversion to the practice expressed (on the assumption that the leprosy actually occurred for the reason stated).

Another point which emerges from this happening is that no reference was made to the dispensary, hospital and medical staff,
all readily accessible, where the matter of the pot-recipient’s actually being a leper, together with the possible determination of when the leprous condition had first started, might have been established. In subsequent discussion between Native Administration officials (all Angas) who were connected with administration, education, finance and agriculture and with the personnel (also Angas) connected with the leprosy service of the medical and health departments, it was only these latter persons who maintained the view that the alleged recipient of leprosy should have been examined according to ‘European’ medical practice. The view of the other officials, all of whom had received training in their fields in ‘European’ departmental training centres within West Africa, was that such examination was unnecessary in view of the circumstances that the farmer who claimed to be a leper was one even though his leprosy was not readily apparent physically and that it was indeed possible for him to be infected by leprosy in the way described and for the reason given.

A Shell Circle at Puerto Kino, Sonora, Mexico. By Professor George E. Fay, Division of Social Science, Southern State College, Magnolia, Arkansas. With a text figure

In 1953 when I undertook an archaeological survey of coastal south-western Sonora, the area surrounding the village of Puerto Kino (75 miles west of Hermosillo, on the Gulf of California) was included. At that time 32 shell-midden sites were selectively recorded, some 23 of them being sampled. Subsequent investigations in 1958 have added other sites.

The greater part of the material presumably represents old Seri Indian encampments, located principally along the gulf to a point opposite Tiburon Island and south-east along the shores of Bahia Kino.

During the initial survey two circles of shell fragments (see fig. 1) were discovered a short distance from Puerto Kino. In both cases they were surface features, measuring approximately 19 to 20 feet in diameter, with no cultural remains in association. Since that time the sites have been obliterated, and thus are no longer available for study.

Any suggestions as to their function or purpose would be greatly appreciated.

Notes

1 These investigations were made possible by research grants from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) of Philadelphia and the Kansas Academy of Science.

FIG. 1. SHELL CIRCLE NEAR PUERTO KINO, SONORA (1953)

CORRESPONDENCE

Bird Cries and Other Sounds. Cf. MAN, 1961, 7

Sir,—Professor Evans-Pritchard’s note (MAN, 1961, 7) reminds me of two songs which I heard in the Sudan.

The little frog sang in Arabic—

Yimma hoi  Hi, Mother,
Shilînî  Carry me.
Ma m’egdâr  I can’t,
Shall akâ  I’m carrying your father
Min esh-dhök  From the thorns,

Alîrai, alîrai, alîrai

The Lotuko sang to the frog—

Kidôdôk, kidôdôk  Frog, frog,
Ihyé naâgong onoîkto  Here is my tooth which is red,
Ihyé naâkoî snoburto  Here is your tooth which is white,

Wê, wê-deg-deg, wê.

RAGLAN

Usk, Monmouthshire
REVIEWS

GENERAL


All ethnomusicologists must feel a debt of gratitude to M. Estreicher for the careful thoroughness with which he has laid out for our inspection the details of his working technique, and incidentally succeeded in spot-lighting most of the nightmares familiar to any worker who has burned midnight oil (or even early morning oil, as Jaap Kunst suggests) struggling first to decipher the palimpsest of his own reaction to an exotic music, then to devise some notation which will render intelligible to others the benefits of his freshly won insight. Continuously in reading this short paper one is surprised into new appreciations of old problems; M. Estreicher's thorough-going practicality starts with suggestions about marked tape (preferably done by some lesser minion about the place), in Indian ink at numbered intervals of 34 inches to mark off half-seconds at the usual tape speed of 74 inches a second) and vertically ruled music paper (so that each note may be separated from its neighbour by a space proportional to its duration—a practice sanctioned, as he observes, by no less an authority than J. S. Bach among others).

Necessary absorption in such practical matters, however, never for a moment causes him to lose sight of the enormous central difficulties occasioned by the fact that aural differentiation is all too humanly fallible, being liable to pressures from built-in bias due to education and physiology, to say nothing of momentary subjective conditions, all of which can affect our discrimination of frequency and duration to a frighteningly large extent. A further difficulty arises when dealing with an unknown music, since in order to make informed transcriptions from recordings of such music it is necessary first to understand its stylistic conventions; such understanding however can only proceed from an analysis of the music based on informed written transcriptions...

M. Estreicher deals with problems in three categories: Melodic, Metric-rhythmic, Graphic. In the first and second he repeatedly warns against the danger of projection, emphasizing always the need for correct cultural orientation (i.e., away from the auditor's own musical culture), advising repeated hearings before attempting any written work. For metric-rhythmic schemes which do not at once yield their key he suggests an ingenious technique of listening at fast and slow speeds in combination with the superimposition of a tapped time-measure marked by sharply spoken vowels (in turn, on 'macro-rhythmic' stresses). This audible tape measure should prove convenient to use now that stereo heads are becoming more frequent on tape recorders.

In a most valuable final section he examines the limits of accuracy, pointing out that the two main factors determining these limits are 'imperfections' inherent in human performance and the near impossibility of adapting conventional musical notation to the needs of transcription. With regard to the first factor, it is surely in drawing attention to the world of 'micro-' (and also perhaps macro-) rhythmic variation that ethnomusicology can contribute in large measure, by investigating these areas not normally available to consciousness with the electronic toys which our technology now provides in such embarrassing abundance. Such considerations inevitably raise the spectre of notation: there can be little doubt that a transcription which took account of the pitch and time differences discriminated by an oscilloscope would have small meaning for a musician who would be hard put to it to recognize the constant wavering motion of an 'exquisitely steady' vocal line or the mess of dots and rests that would be required to give even an approximately accurate picture of the state of acoustic affairs when a drum is beaten. None of this, furthermore, takes account of the loudness, this being still one of the factors left largely in the hands of the performer, whose knowledge of the conventions of the music performed must guide his interpretation of such vague indications as diminuendo, ff, etc. All this ground is worked over only too often. Where M. Estreicher breaks new territory is in demonstrating that there is a sense in which, on occasion, musical notation may be said to be too accurate: '...souvent, l'écriture musicale est trop exacte pour exprimer une impression auditive qui manque de précision: un accord impossible à déterminer (à cause d'une confusion chez les chanteurs, p. ex.), le rythme d'un fragment mélodique où les notes ne sont qu'espaces d'un glissando très prononcé, etc. Toutefois, dans la partition, une note doit être située à un endroit précis et elle doit exprimer une durée précise. On se trouve alors dans la situation d'un dessinateur qui doit faire le dessin d'un objet qu'il ne connaît que par une photographie floue.'

Indeed, the ethnomusicologist may well despair of ever achieving the goal of finding '...un équivalent visuel d'un fait sonore et un équivalent matériel d'un processus psychique.' Compromise must alas be of the essence but armed with M. Estreicher's admonitions and advice it may well prove possible to furnish the reader of a transcription with a very solid support indeed for his intuition and intelligence.

These notes were assembled as a result of working on recordings of Peul Bororo vocal music, as well as some Eskimo, Negro and South American material. Professor Elkin's formidable compilation, Arnhem Land Music, is the result of three recording expeditions to Arnhem Land in 1940, 1952 and 1953 during which sufficient material was put on tape and wire to cover 80 long-playing sides of 12-inch gramophone discs. He has here put together the texts of all the songs, in most cases with a literal translation, and also some explanation of the more obscure textual references. This is prefaced by a brief description of the various types of secular, sacred and secret songs which make up this extremely rich musical literature, and an exposition of the role of music in this society with particular reference to the important institution of the Songman, together with some necessarily limited discussion of the movement of song cycles through the area.

Trevor Jones has contributed some 30 odd transcriptions of what he felt to be representative samples from the various cycles, together with a brief description of the main musicological features of the rest of the recordings.

No doubt both Professor Elkin and Trevor Jones would be among the first to agree that this is more in the nature of a report on work in progress than a final definitive statement on the material. Indeed, Trevor Jones announces a forthcoming work on the didjerdji while Professor Elkin promises more detailed linguistic study of the texts in the near future. Perhaps it is Professor Elkin's erstwhile combination with the church which gives him such deep insight into the essentially religious nature of all this music, even much of the so-called secular material being so full of mythological allusion as to make the distinctions difficult of apprehension. It is noteworthy in this respect that both authors suggest that stylistic features may be the determinants of functional categorization. However that may be, this view of a vitally significant art form mediating the numinous world of the 'Dreaming' to the world of daily consciousness through the virtuosity and musicianship of the Songman and didjeridu-player makes it quite clear that any attempt at sociological description of this society without reference to its musical institutions must fall lamentably far short of completion.

There is a strong case to be made out for M. Estreicher's suggestion that ethnomusicologists should discuss their approaches to the practice of transcription. He also warns the unwary musician who after one hearing of a recording criticizes its transcription on the grounds that what is heard is not what is seen. Only careful repeated listening can a variety of sounds can aid the listener's ear of those tenebrous projections which constantly impose their constrains on this as in most other departments of anthropology, and one hesitates to challenge the transcriber who must clearly have expended consider-
able effort in arriving at a published transcription. Nevertheless, it
does seem that Trevor Jones’s use of a dotted quaver and semiquaver
(or vice versa) is just such an example of the western tolerance of
wide variation in the discrimination of iambic rhythms as M.
Estreicher has noted, and that the didieridu-player’s virtuosity is even
more brilliant than Trevor Jones allows for by his insistence that the
two parts of this unit stand always in the relation of 3:1 or 1:3. In
fact it would seem that units of 2:1 and 3:1, and sometimes
7:3, are regularly in use. It must be conceded that this view is based on
hearing only a very few of the recordings at the British Institute of
Recorded Sound, who have a complete set available for audition
under normal circumstances. Unfortunately owing to administra-
tive difficulties they were not all so available at the time when this
review was in preparation (although Heaven forfend that even in
the name of science anyone should ever have to wait through this
series from beginning to end without considerable digestive pauses)
and for the same reason it proved impossible to repeat the audition
of one cut on a disc without repeating the whole side. This is clearly
not the place to list all the points of disagreement which even a
limited hearing of these splendid records in company with Trevor
Jones’s notes and transcriptions raised, but there are two further
general questions which it might be worth raising here. In the light
of our recent understanding of the basis of eg. African drumming,
is it still meaningful to use the term ‘syncopation’ when what is
meant is the polyrhythmic crossing of two metric schemes one or
more time units apart? The technique of building rhythmic com-
plexes from comparatively simple units placed one against another is
after all not dependent on the utilization of a number of performers,
as any classical Indian drummer can confirm; and should not the
ehnomusiciologist always suspect this type of rhythmic construction
when faced with the kind of cross-rhythms described here so aptly
by Trevor Jones, particularly when taken in the context of all the
other ‘African’ characteristics which he enumerates?

The other general issue concerns the use of the term ‘scale.’
Trevor Jones uses it as meaning that collection of pitches used by
a performer in the course of a song. Now it would seem if one accepts
Sachs’s view of the nature of melody that any suggestion that such
an abstract process as recognizing an octave and then sub-dividing
it in order to arrive at the pitches to be used in singing can only be
a mildly useful analytic construction imposed from without. In this
case, it is surely both more consistent as well as more useful from the
analytic point of view to make the construct include all the pitch
relationships in all the octaves of all the songs sung by any one
singer, or within any one horizon; then to proceed to the investi-
gation of tonality via tables of frequency of occurrence of intervals,
etc., in individual songs or song cycles. In this way the transcription
can never become a thing to be considered apart from the music
but remains as an auxiliary to analysis.

Such considerations extend beyond the scope of this review. Let
it suffice therefore to add, for the benefit of those who live too far
from Russell Square to avail themselves of the opportunity offered
by the British Institute of Recorded Sound of filling in yet another
gap in their picture of world music, that F.H.M. have issued six
of Professor Elkin’s recordings on two sides of a 12-inch Lp.
(ALPC 5). For those who may care to hear these in company with
the notes contained in the Oceania monograph (rather more detailed
than appear on the record sleeve), the references are as follows:

Side 1: Wongga: records 21A and 21B (cut i)
Nyindi-Yindi: record 19B
Walaka:
Sid 2: Gunbong:
Indji-Indji:
Gunbolah Gunbong: 1A (cuts iv and seq.)

RAYMOND CLAUSEN

56

Handbook of Kinetography Laban. By Albrecht Knust. Hamburg
(Tanzarchiv) (London agents: Macdonald & Evans),

57

"The basic problem of any dance notation is to reduce to a two-dimensional surface the movements of a body in
three-dimensional space and the irreversible fourth dimension of time. If it is to be used generally, and not limited to the recording
of one set dance technique, it must also cover the full range of
human movement. This universal applicability, without either
over-complication or arbitrariness, has been achieved in my opinion
only by the late Rudolf Laban.

In a short review to readers not primarily interested in the
museum-related niceties of the matter I think that the most useful
thing would be to list the merits of Laban’s system compared with
that used today in the field of English ballet—the notation of Rudolf
Benessh. (1) Laban treats human movement as a motor activity
experienced by the performer; Benesh as the intermediate stage
between initial and terminal positions perceived by a spectator.
The psychological, and practical, difference between these two points
of view can hardly be overstressed. (2) Laban’s rhythm is exact to a
fine degree, and minute fractions of time are clearly visible in it:
Benesh’s is a very hit-or-miss affair, due to the illogical mathematical
basis of his work. (3) Laban’s Kinetography, at least as worked out
by Knust and his German disciples, is beautifully logical throughout
and, as such, is a joy to use; Benesh’s must cause constant, though
possibly unconscious, irritation, for the left-right dimension of his
page serves both for the passage of time and for the lateral move-
ments of the body. Any sequence, therefore, in which a limb moves
from right to left appears in his notation as taking place backwards
in time. This anomaly, so far undetected by the ballet world, seems
dear price to pay for the apparently greater ease of Benesh’s
system, which is diagrammatic and so offers an immediate appeal to
minds that boggle at pure symbols.

It remains only to say that Knust’s exposition of the subject is on
a par with the merits of the original work; thorough, conscientious
and scholarly—virtues, alas, hardly ever found in work connected
with dancing, it is a model of what such a handbook should be.

BELINDA QUIREY

Anthropology and Human Nature. By M. F. Ashley Montagu.

This is the English issue of a book first published in
the United States (1957). It is a set of sets of essays, the
number in a set being from one to six. The first excepted, all have
appeared before in divers scientific journals and many, if not all,
will be familiar to readers of MAn. They have, however, been
extensively revised before being issued in bulk. They cover the
whole field of anthropology, physical, cultural and social. Each set
of essays is preceded by a prolegomenon or apologia, printed in
italics. The main part takes up 127 pages. It is followed by a melange
of shorter things (17 pages), a general bibliography, a complete list
of the author’s anthropological writings and a rather short index.

Ashley Montagu is very truly a scientific humanist, the Latinish
rendering of anthropologist. While these essays are unequal in
cision and clarity they are all properly described by the over-
worked word stimulating. Some are indeed of first-class merit,
notably Set No. VI in which the author writes inter alia upon the
importance of intra-uterine life and of the shock of birth for our
understanding of the human person afterwards. It would be a good
thing if these particular essays were printed separately and put into
the hands of all medical students. Those studying what Catholics
call ‘pastoral medicine’ would also benefit from them, and would
certainly find them congenial.

Medieval Europe recognized two major fields of knowledge
important to all men, theology and anthropology. Our concept of
anthropology has somewhat diminished in scope since then but
Ashley Montagu’s comes near the older one in its breadth. Within
his book is the material for a large series of quodlibita and questions
disputata of a kind far from trivial. In other words, it is a book
eminently suitable for all undergraduates (and others too) be they
reading anthropology or not. The author has a large charity towards
all sorts of men, a charity which enlivens that congeries of fact and
opinion which he presents to us. Anthropology and Human Nature,
well printed as it is, provides a splendid wine to aid our assimilation
and digestion of that more solid fare which must ever be the substance
of our science.

M. A. MacCONAIlL

J’ai tari le bon grain, I have sown the wheat from the chaff: so declares Professor Olivier in his introduction to his manual of anthropometry. He is right and he has a right to say so. This little book in the tradition of Topinard and of Martin is, almost defiantly, a work of a classical measurer of men who, as Professor Viallois says, is no mere 'cabe de boulanger', but he has laboured in the whole field of his subject and over the whole extent of the former French imperium. Defending our traditional methodology in this thing, he sees in the new, genetic anthroplogy not a supplanter but a complement to the old.

Within less than 300 pages our author has brought together the technique of recording the chief observable attributes and measurable characters of man. Each procedure is well illustrated, its source and uses documented by a post-capital bibliography, its known occurrences succintly stated. The teeth receive an adequate treatment rarely found outside specialized literature. The book is not, of course, a complete physical anthropology. But it is an excellent introduction to it, a prolegomenon to (say) Martin’s Lehrbuch and the later papers of our time. The descriptions of technique are clear but with no wasted word.

One reviewer has implied that not all the mensurameta are sufficiently defined. At first sight this seems so. More thorough reading shows that the author has indicated that certain supposedly reliable datum points are really indefinite, even though his drawings show them. Elsewhere, either text or drawings, sometimes both, tell what is necessary and sufficient.

For those who read French, be they students or savants, the book can be recommended heartily as a guide to the acquisition and recording of data useful in many sorts of science: medical, forensic and social, as well as purely anatomical. Not the least of its merits is a good elementary exposition of the statistical methods begun by Gosset and generalized by Fisher.

M. A. MACCONAILE


This book deals with the social systems of such peoples as the Tlingit, the Eskimo, the Andaman Islanders and the Baganda—and modern America. Of intermediate stages there is scarcely a hint. That what Americans do and think is largely conditioned by what was done and thought in Ancient Babylon, Jerusalem, Athens and Rome seems never to have occurred to Professor Goldschmidt, and he seems unaware that the institutions on which American society is built—legislative assemblies, elected officials, trial by jury, regulated commerce—were known in Athens and Rome and transmitted to America via feudal England. His only mention of feudalism displays his ignorance of it. 'In primitive political states,' he writes, 'legal rights to land may rest in the hands of urban residents with political power. This was clearly the case in feudal Europe' (p. 161). But feudal lords, of course, lived on their manors, and in Germany and Italy they were often kept out of the towns.

In his many generalizations he is often inconsistent. 'Man,' he says, 'has everywhere and at all times improved his condition by his own imagination' (p. 111). Yet later he lists a number of peoples who have either gone downhill or remained static for millennia (p. 143).

'In conclusion, we read, 'that a society, if left to itself, will evolve along paths similar to other societies involves false notions of evolutionary process, for in the final analysis social development is the product of the interaction between societies' (p. 132). This is the orthodox theory of diffusion. Yet three pages later we are told that clans, wherever they occur, developed independently.

After citing Radcliffe-Brown on Andamanese initiation he goes on: 'Such theory does not assume that the people themselves view their own society as instrumentality [sic] and create, in some Machiavellian way, the requisite institutions, but that in the process of time these institutions have come about and have been retained because of their satisfactory performance of these requirements.' (p. 120). Yet later we learn that 'Adequate social institutions do not grow of themselves, however much they appear to, but must first be conceived in the minds of men and promulgated by them' (p. 228).

Finally, his alleged explanations do not really help us to understand anything. 'As farming is often in the hands of women and hunting becomes a secondary but still important occupation, we find that marriage patterns tend to be matrilineal, thus reinventing in the value orientation of men. It is at this horticultural level that the hunting of heads and the taking of scalps most frequently appear as symbols of personal accomplishment' (p. 159).

'The value pattern of herding peoples seems to be consistent. Not only is there emphasis upon livestock as a major value symbol, but repeatedly there tends to be an emphasis upon warfare, quickness of action, harshness in interpersonal relations, and personal arrogance. There appears to be a kind of natural selection for what might be called masculine hardness rather than femininity' (p. 160). Can anyone seriously suppose that gardening leads to headhunting and cattle-keeping to warfare without the taking of heads?

RAGLAN


In the third edition of his popular text Arnold Green seems to have come down out of the hills to make his peace with the American sociological community. The new Green appears to be less of an iconoclast of the right; but the basically conservative frame of mind still may be discerned.

The format of the book is the same as that of the preceding edition and typical of American textbooks on sociology. From a social-action frame of reference Green examines the usual sociologically defined aspects of social life. These include society, social interaction, culture, socialization, personality, and key aspects of a social organization such as class and caste, minorities, community, and the division of labour. There follows a high-grade treatment of the major social institutions, particularly as found in America, and a discussion of social change. Green has dropped a chapter on 'Personality Stability and Conflict' which was one of the sore spots in the second edition and added two in the area of 'Law and Social Control.' His claim that the present edition is about 50 per cent rewritten appears to be justified.

The current Green is a very good text of its kind. Gone are the horrors of a deviant and frequently unsophisticated approach to sociology which characterized the earlier edition. He still takes a non-apologetic position in regard to vertical mobility in the U.S.A. Now we have a solid, interesting, up-to-date presentation which should prove acceptable to colleagues and provocative to students. Green is to be commended particularly for keeping his eye on the subject matter of sociology, i.e. society, rather than on sociology, its methods, and techniques. I thought that his chapter on 'The Modern Community Trend,' 'Religion in America,' and 'Leisure in America' were outstanding.

What is lacking (it is lacking in most American sociology texts) is a holistic viewpoint which will give the student an integrated conception of a modern society. Though it is asking a great deal of a modern sociologist who has respect for data to tie it all together with the ability and audacity of the great system-builders, the job (as Robin Williams has demonstrated) can be done at the undergraduate level. If it is not, the student, though greatly challenged and informed as in this wholly respectable text, will not acquire or retain a recognizable image of the social world in which he lives.

DENNISON NASH


This is a statistical analysis of two basic hypotheses concerning work among non-industrial peoples. It is based on the records of 150 societies selected from those in the Human Relations Area Files at Yale University.

It claims to be a new approach to comparative sociology which avoids lifting cases out of their cultural context. It is ironical that
although Dr. Udy seems to regard evolutionary as a dirty word some of his conclusions echo those of Engels and L. H. Morgan (e.g., p. 23). However, he expresses them in jargon and verifies them statistically. He sometimes performs the latter operation totally unnecessarily as in the table on p. 26 which deserves reproduction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Constant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tillage and Construction</td>
<td>Work Load</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting, Fishing and Collecting</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q = +.99</td>
<td>X² = 78.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His very precise definitions are sometimes odd. Thus on p. 11: Construction: the buildings and maintenance of physical objects not generally considered portable. [My italics.]

He has also discovered—and finds that the discovery has 'rather disturbing implications'—that industrial revolutions are necessary if underdeveloped areas are to become industrialized (pp. 136 ff.). The book has a certain fascination and as the last few of the 64 hypotheses are statistically verified, one begins to enjoy it in the same way one enjoys a well devised chess problem. I doubt, however, if this is a profitable use for the HRAF or if anthropologists striving to analyse society or societies will find it much help.

ROSLAND JANBERG


This volume is divided into two parts: a theoretical introduction to the popular beliefs in Islamic countries and a vivid description of innumerable sacred shrines and pilgrims' rites, lavishly illustrated by excellent photographs. Longer sections, throughout the book, are devoted to Moses, the Seven Sleepers, the Mah-di, the dervishes, the Druses, and al-Hadr's associations with Esai and St. George. On pp. 395, the Jewish ancestor-worship has been deduced from the references to Joseph's coffin (Gen. 50:26 and Ex. 13:19). No parallels are, however, extant and the use of the word 'ark' is probably due to the reverence in which Joseph was held.

Of outstanding importance among typical beliefs is that in baraka, a blessing. Saints are supposed to guard objects deposited on their graves. Of special consequence during sacrifices is the moment when the blood of the sacrificial animal is gushing forth. Cylindrical stones, rolled over the patients' bodies, are believed to effect cures.

Differences between the various Islamic countries emerge. Boat processions are characteristic for Egypt. In the Sudan the belief in baraka is strongest. In Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, pre-Islamic rites connected with sacred trees and holy wells survive. All these trees and some of the wells are thought of as being 'female.' In Palestine, there is an obvious preference for the cult of sacred stones. In the Lebanon, stone columns are decorated with votive ribbons.

The political tension in the Middle East put obstacles in the way of the travelling folklorists. During their repeated journeys, which extended over five years, sacred shrines had been destroyed in Egypt for the sake of new roads and buildings. Owing to the advanced Lebanese education, little is left in comparison to Syria. In Damascus, old and young resented the authors' studies which they considered derogatory to their reputation as a modern nation.

The second volume on amulets, charms and incantations will be most welcome indeed.

ELLEN ETTLINGER


In his foreword Professor White commends Tylor as an evolutionist, and contrasts him with Schmidt, Boas and their followers, one of whom is quoted as saying that 'the theory of cultural evolution is to my mind the most inane, sterile and puerile theory in the whole history of science.' If evolution means merely, in Tylor's words, that 'man began with the simple and easy before he came on to the complex and difficult,' there would seem to be nothing to quarrel about, but one suspects that Professor White remembers Tylor because at times he goes further. He speaks, for example, of 'the known historical fact that the matchlock led up to the wheel-lock,' but in fact this advance was due not to any activity on the part of the matchlock, but to the intervention of a man of genius and of what Harrison called a cross-mutation. If artifacts lead up to better artifacts there seems no reason why every human group should not have reached the technical optimum of its environment, and neither Tylor nor Professor White has attempted to explain why this has not happened. Tylor was a great scholar and an admirable writer, but if 'he is as modern in his outlook today as he was when Anthropology was first published,' there is little to be said for the progress of anthropological thought during the last 80 years.

RAGLAN


The republication of this volume, first published in 1941, is very welcome. It contains 18 articles contributed by pupils of Sapir and others who had come under his influence, and reflects the wide range of interests in linguistic analysis, the relations between language and the rest of human life, and those between the individual and society, that Sapir cultivated himself and inspired in others.

Most of the articles are on linguistic topics, with a bias towards American-Indian studies. In some it is now a source of satisfaction to see the beginnings of new themes that have been fruitfully developed in the two decades since the first publication. This in itself is a mark of the contribution Sapir made to the study of language and the study of man.

R. H. ROBINS


To write a biography of a living man is no easy task, but Mr. Clark has performed it competently. The book is adulatory, but hardly more so than its subject deserves. Sir Mortimer has his faults and his critics, but he is a great archaeologist and a great popularizer of archaeology. Mr. Clark gives a sketch of his career and a brief account of his principal excavations—Caelum, Verulamum, Maiden Castle, Mohenjo-daro—and his contributions to the theory and practice of archaeology.

It is pleasing to see due credit given to the first Mrs. Wheeler, whose early death was a sad loss not only to her husband but to archaeology, and to General Pitt-Rivers, the pioneer of scientific archaeology. This very readable little book should act as a stimulus to young archaeologists.

RAGLAN

AFRICA


This is a very human document, analogous to Newman's Apesia; though there are perceptible differences in style, it is the Taungs Tale recollected in tranquility by the professor emeritus of anatomy at Witwatersrand. His story is lively; not only uttering a chapter of anthropology that many of us have watched being written line by line, but also revealing much about the senior author and about those under and with whom he worked. This man, he himself tells us, became an anatomist by accident, beginning his definite career at University College, London. One of the many emigrant Australians of the time, he entered England when Arthur Keith and Elliot-Smith were contending for young men's souls. He
been moved to higher ground which is already fairly densely populated, so that it has not been practicable to transfer neighbourhood units as blocks. A new land-registration has wiped out all vested interests, including practically all claims by women to hold land in their own right. Since the new settlements are in areas where there is little unoccupied land available for grazing, owners of cattle may have to give up their stock and revert from plough to hoe cultivation. Economic losses will probably be made good by an increase in the time spent in wage labour.

The erosion of social ties will be harder to combat. Men and women who, as inheritors of ancestral shades, have ritual duties towards their kin, will now be out of reach when they are needed. Established relationships of barter, of recourse in time of hunger, or of custody of cattle for friends, cannot now be maintained. The guardians of rain shrines have lost a ritual leadership which depended on the making of offerings at fixed places.

The bulk of Dr. Colson’s book is an analysis of Gwembe social structure as it was just before the move. A study of the new situation is to be made in two years’ time. The Gwembe, whose country was largely untouched by European influences until the end of the last war, are a people without centralized political authority. They are divided into shallow matrilineages; the position of the father, however, is a good deal stronger than among some of the peoples of the ‘matrilineal belt.’ Social control is maintained largely through the explanation of sickness in terms of the anger of the ‘shades’ at some failure in obligation. Fighting between dance teams may be a way of expressing resentment at a wrong done to a village member, but neutrals seek to keep it within bounds. A neighbourhood religious leader or several leaders, for different sects, Dr. Colson suggests that the difficulties of their new life may lead the Gwembe to recognize some stronger form of political leadership.

LUCY MAIR


New light might have been hoped for by comparison between this work on the Tswana published in 1960 and Professor Schapera’s Ethnographic Survey volume on The Tswana of 1953. But Dr. Pauw’s material was obtained in 1952-1954 and the delay in publication is unfortunate. Moreover whereas Schapera gives much room to economy and social organization, Pauw considers church organization and activities as both missionary and anthropologist.

The sub-section of the Tswana tribes studied is the Tlaping, living across the border of the northern Cape Province and the Transvaal. The estimated number of natives in the reserve was 31,000 with 386 Europeans. A little less than half the adult Tlaping population has official connexions with the churches, yet not only are remnants of paganism found among Christians but Christian beliefs have penetrated to most pagans. Ancestral cults are disintegrating, but initiation rites are performed on a tribal scale; unfortunately little description of these is given. The London Missionary Society was first on the field with Robert Moffat at Kuruman nearby, but the Methodists are now strongest of all the Protestant churches and are increasing rapidly, largely owing to their African and lay leadership. Roman Catholics form 47 per cent. of all churches in the chiefdom and their success is attributed to organization and social work and to attractive ritual.

Following Sundkler close attention is given to the Separatist Sects, but Dr. Pauw also gives full place to the orthodox churches and their relations to society. Hardly any of the tribe’s religious leaders are active church members and few church leaders ever attend general tribal assemblies; it is said that church leaders think more of their own authority than of the chief’s. There are interesting photographs, but of poor quality. Little is said about music, which is surprising in view of the work of the African Music Society at Roodepoort. Yet for what it gives this is a valuable study and a detailed picture of Tswana church life.

E. G. PARRINDER


The damming of the Zambezi at Kariba is creating a lake which will eventually cover 2,000 square miles. Heart-rending accounts have been published of the plight of the game animals in this area but until the appearance of this book the distress of its 57,000 human inhabitants has been referred to merely as a nuisance. Of course, arrangements have been made to resettle them. They have
Taboo: A Study of Malagasy Customs and Beliefs. By Jorges
Rued, Oslo (U.P.) and London (Allen & Unwin), 1956.
Pp. 325, 15 plates, 4 text figs. Price £1 75. 6d.

When writing about a little-known area, where the
general patterns have hardly been explored, where there is little
comparative literature (such as exists for India and increasingly
for Africa) and where there are so many fundamentally different character-
istics, it is not always easy for an author to choose a more judicious
exposition. Madagascar is less well known than might be expected
from the intrinsic interest of the way of life of its people, and suffers
nowadays from the mistaken belief that its character is African
rather than Asiatic. However, this is a unique territory, and methods
and attitudes suitable to the study of Africa are not suitable to
Madagascar, because there is something in this society which is not
found in Africa, but which influences the Malagasy so profoundly
that it would be a travesty of a study which disregarded or under-
estimated it.

Rued spent 30 years of his life as a missionary in the island and,
as he mentions in his earlier book, his interest in native belief and
custom arose from his sincere desire to teach Christianity to the
Malagasy. The fact that he lived among these people and loved
them has had the result that he tried always to present a picture of
Madagascar such that the reader can form some impression of what
it is really like: the present book is even more successful in this
than was its predecessor. It seems perhaps old-fashioned to present
this book in the form of a study of taboo, but it is nevertheless
consistent with the missionary’s preoccupation with the conflict
between Christian and pagan morals that Rued should describe
the Malagasy way of life in terms of its ‘Do’s and Don’ts.’ It is
dependably delivered, in the circumstances, an effective way of dealing with
this environment, consisting as it does of innumerable very clearly
defined interlocking closed circles. Students of political anthropology
will, however, find little of interest to them, since Rued is hardly
concerned at all with the relations between communities, but
confines himself to those governing individual behaviour, and in
particular those kinds of relations which are expressed in the
‘Thou shall not…’ There is an impressive range of these statements,
interspersed with comments which relate them to life as it is lived
in Madagascar. This is where Rued by a long way transcends the
classical study of taboo, and uses it, not as a disconnected chain to
which odd links might be added at will, but as a canvas on which
to paint his particular picture. The Notes to Chapters at the end of
the work list places where taboo ( taboo ) apply to the author’s own
knowledge, but Rued is a modest writer and it is not always clear
in the text, especially in the important Chapter III, when he is
reporting his own findings (and therefore contemporary beliefs),
and where he is quoting from previous reports. There would be
point in distinguishing between these, even when they agree, both
for the purpose of showing essential continuity and for that of
allowing us to see in what direction change is taking place. Chapter
III in fact is the longest and in some ways the best chapter in
the book, since it deals seriously and carefully with the geomatical
vintana or destiny system, recognizing its importance in Malagasy
life in a way not previously equalled. And since this system appears to
be almost unique, at least in the completeness in which it is found
in Madagascar, it well deserves some very particular attention.

Other important chapters discuss the building of houses and
founding of villages (VI), fetish ( od ) taboos (XII) with some very
interesting remarks about witches, and the turning of the bones
(famadihana, IX). The word famadihana, however, has, I believe,
a more profound meaning than that given by Rued: it means ‘to
turn round’ in the sense of the revolution of a cycle which on
completion leads into the commencement of a new revolution in
another similar cycle, such as takes place in the sequence of the years
in the calendar. This meaning, which was insisted upon when I was
enquiring in Madagascar into the meaning of the word, enables
one to see much further into the meaning of the ceremonial than is
possible from the simple idea of comforting the sleepers in the tomb
by turning them from one side to another, or that of the extremely
vigorous toasting and turning which bones are given when danced
around the tomb, and so on, which meanings are nevertheless
included in the, as Rued points out, rather abstract word famadihana.

Although it is rarely used now, surely the lambanena is the robe de
fête, and it is essentially dressing the dead in their best clothes.
neither more nor less, when they are wrapped in these magnificently
dyed and decorated robes? There is, however, magical significance in the
mena, red, colour which is always incorporated in the ceremo-
nial robe. But it is trivial to cavil in this way: there is much
variety in local custom, and one must always watch for it before
laying down a rule.

The book is warm with a sympathetic and human insight into
Malagasy reasons. Rued makes one point, if critically, which I
should like to emphasize, because it is made in a context (pp. 250f, 204)
where its general applicability might well be missed. This
corns on the very real effort which is made from within the Mal-
agasy community to present the image of harmony as the most
desirable of spiritual attitudes, especially in human relationships,
to the members of the community, wherever the impact of such an
image may have most effect. There is some evidence that previous to
the introduction of firearms into the island this attempt was

carried to astonishing lengths and was really effective in creating a
peaceful community. The Malagasy is still said to make an indifferent
soldier: he is as subject as are all human kinds to fits of rage, but his
heart in not in systematic warfare.

The book has an index, a map, some good illustrations and a
strong and pleasant binding: the type is more than usually readable.

Mary Danielli

Les Senoufo (y compris les Minianka). By B. Holas, Paris (P.U.P.

This useful addition to the Ethnographic Survey series is based on fieldwork as well as published
and manuscript sources. The information is presented in the orderly
manner usual to the series and is accompanied by a full bibliography,
a handy list of vernacular terms used in the text and a clear map.

The Senoufo of the north-east Ivory Coast are considered together
with the Minianka of the Sudan and Upper Volta because the
author holds that the distinction between them is based merely
on an arbitrary administrative convenience which has no ethnographical
significance. Together they total about three-quarters of a million
people, who are devoted to hoe cultivation and shun trade, the
new politics, migrant wage labour and foreign religions. Indeed so
conservative are they that the author suggests that they may provide
‘un précieux élément d’équilibre’ in the present ferment
of West Africa.

M. Holas, a student of the late Professor Graul, to whom the
book is dedicated, is plainly fascinated by the complex mystical
beliefs of the Senufo. He finds it difficult to present a condensed
account of the interaction between these beliefs and the elements
of Senufo social organization within the word-allocation of the
Survey, therefore it is obviously impossible to do so adequately
here. In briefest summary, family and political authority depends
on and is regulated by the ancestor spirits and a para type of organiza-
tion (10). Each individual’s life is marked by a succession of initia-
tions into a hierarchically graded series of para grades. The rituals
of the para symbolically re-enact the stories of creation. M. Holas
luckily conveys the overall consistency and vitality of Senufo
beliefs, despite the many local variations in details of ritual, circum-
cision practices and grade organization. It is a pity that he felt
unable either to extend the text a little, or to cut some of the details
of population distribution (the details of which can only be tem-
porarily accurate), and give us a short descriptive interpretation
of some Senufo wood carving.

Domestic and lineage organization is not clearly described;
possibly because of the confusing variations in the customs prac-
ticed by different sections and the Senufo. An adaptation of the method
used by Dr. Goody in The Social Organization of the La-Wfall, that
of selecting certain key criteria and describing their scatter and
congruence, might have resulted in a more meaningful and concrete
description.

There are an increasing number of English-speaking African
students interested in their fellow Africans in the former French
colonies, yet there are few sources in English for them to read.
Having already had to acquire their education in one foreign language it is too much to expect them to learn a second as undergraduates. If some foundation wishes to assist by arranging for the translation and duplication of standard sources, to which students can then be directed, this book would be a good one for their list.

P. T. W. BAXTER


This volume of the Ethnographic Survey of Africa gives as much attention to the contemporary social conditions of the two peoples described—the Ganda and Soga—as it does to the records of their traditional societies. A section on 'languages and literature' is in striking contrast with most volumes of the series. Present-day occupations and religious affiliations, trade and marketing, public finance, emigration and immigration and the motives for these movements, are all dealt with, and there is a summary of the history of the area both before and after European penetration. The interesting and rather unusual relations between kinship and local organization in this area are clearly explained, and contemporary religion and politics are set against their traditional background.

The terminology of political analysis is enriched by the quite unnecessary 'kingdom-state'; the plural of isize is given as masaza, a mistake which would hardly have been possible in the days of the unreformed Native Anglican Church orthography; and it is suggested that freehold tenure is no longer freehold if tenants are protected by legislation.

LUCY MAIR

ASIA


In recent years the North-East Frontier Agency of India has produced an impressive series of ethnographical monographs on the fascinating and practically unknown peoples under its care. The present substantial volume, by a Cultural Research Officer with four years' experience of the area, constitutes a welcome addition. It concerns the Padam and the Min Yong, two of the largest 'sub-tribes' of the ethnic grouping which used to be known as Abor but is now to be termed 'Adi.'

Both are segmentary societies, organized into patrilineal descent groups. Padam society comprises 11 named clans, further subdivided into numerous lineages; Min Yong, exogamous moieties of 15 and 16 clans. Descent is evidently of prime social importance, but in this respect the author's description is markedly deficient in comprehensiveness and factual detail when compared with his examination of technology and mode of life. Only 26 pages are devoted to 'social life,' and many of these are occupied by a discursive account of the life cycle. The relationship terminology is incomplete, the few analytical observations are incorrect, and points of obvious sociological interest are ignored. For example, the term magbo (immediately recognizable as one form of a typical Tibeto-Burman affinal designation of very wide distribution) is employed by the Adi to make lineal equations over three successive generations (viz. FZIH, ZH, DH, BDH), a feature reminiscent of symmetric alliance, but the monograph permits no investigation of this possibility. The distinction B≠WZH is odd, and the equation S=ZS is unexpected and inconsistent, yet these puzzles attract no comment. It is greatly to be regretted that an observer of Mr. Roy's evident industry and carefulness should treat these terms as though they were objects to be catalogued rather than components in a juridical classification of the most general social significance to the people themselves.

In other respects, though, the work is very solid and replete with minute observations, and should be of particular interest to anthropologists. There is a very interesting section on Adi origins as contrasted with the Mins' theory of descent; in all relevant matter from the older 'Abor' literature is effectively worked in to compose a most useful ethnographical handbook, the bibliography is excellent, and there is a full index. We may have considerable hopes if Mr. Roy will turn his proved ethnographical ability and his wide knowledge of the frontier peoples to the study of social relations and symbolic forms.

RODNEY NEEDHAM


This little book deals with five Tangsa 'sub-tribes' on the Indo-Burma border, viz. the Ron-Rang, Mosang, Khemsing, Lungri and Yogli. They are under the administration of the North-East Frontier Agency, to which Dr. Verrier Elwin is Adviser for Tribal Affairs, and the study was made under his experienced direction.

The peoples deal with claim common origin from the eastern side of the Patkoi Range. They speak dialects of one Tibeto-Burman language which the author tentatively assigns to the Lolo-Khin group, and they employ Singhpo as a lingua franca in inter-tribal communication.

The description is old fashioned, in that detailed attention is given to material objects and to techniques (a lot on how they make curries, etc.), while social organization is not dealt with in anything like so detailed and comprehensive a fashion. The relationship terms are morphologically similar to the generality of terms used by other peoples to the east and south, but the list recorded is incomplete. The terminology is said to be common to all Tangsa, in spite of the differences in social organization and in marriage rules which are alluded to, and no analysis of it is made. There are tantalizing indications of asymmetric alliance among the Lungri and Khemsing, but the only diagnostic genealogical specifications reported point on the contrary to symmetric alliance.

Though it is not a piece of sociological analysis, and is not factually full enough to permit any useful structural interpretation, the account appears modestly reliable in the many disparate observations that it records. We are in the debt of N.E.F.A. and Mr. Dutta for this information on unknown peoples in a fascinating area; but if the most is to be made of such splendid ethnographical opportunities the investigators will have to take more account of the most general social anthropology.

RODNEY NEEDHAM


These epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, were first written down about the middle of the first millennium B.C. and after many additions and recensions reached their final form about A.D. 400.

The learned author deals first with sexual morals. The epics mention many examples of various forms of unchastity, of polyandry and of niyoga, the custom by which widows were allowed intercourse for the purpose of obtaining offspring. In what are no doubt the later forms of the stories disapproval is often expressed, and in other cases the incidents are attributed to the intervention of gods or other exceptional circumstances. The author concludes that in early times sexual morals were looser, and that there was a gradual tightening-up.

He next deals with the varna, the four classes which formed the basis of Hindu society. These were based primarily on the colours white, red, yellow and black, but also, or alternatively, on occupation or the moral character of the members. What the colours signified is not explained, but there is no suggestion that the varna had anything to do with race; in one account of their origin the three other varna were brahmans who had gone differently astray. The epics make no mention of caste in its modern sense. At first there seems to have been a good deal of fluidity, but here again the
author traces a gradual tightening-up, with increasing supremacy of the brahmanas.

The rules of war were strict. Brahmanas, women and non-combatants were to be spared, and warriors not to be killed except in fair fight. The heroes often broke these rules, which were therefore presumably late.

Animal sacrifice and meat-eating are permitted but discouraged, and this again the author regards as transitional.

The last section is concerned chiefly with the afterlife and the qualifications for attaining a happy one. The belief in predestination is not complete, but the good deeds which a man should perform are limited to those consonant with his destined lot. They will take him to heaven, but he must return to earth when the stock of merit they brought him is exhausted. In earlier times virtuous conduct was called for, but it later loses importance compared with fasting, pilgrimages and gifts to brahmanas. This is of course an inadequate summary, but it will give readers an idea of the questions discussed in this interesting and scholarly book.

I cannot part from it without mentioning the lady who 'retired to the special room reserved for sulking, attired in a dress expressing anger.'


The important Finnish (Finno-Swedish) scholar Uno Harva, deceased in 1948, published a mass of books and papers on North Eurasian culture, in particular religion. Three of his publications are considered outstanding contributions to the latter subject, viz. Der Baum des Lebens (1922-23), Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology (1927), and Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker (1938), the last item being an enlargement and deepening of the book on Siberian mythology. It is probably also the best and most lasting of Harva's studies. Therefore, it is a great achievement that it now appears also in a French edition, translated by Jean-Louis Perrot.

This book is largely a carefully treated comprehensive account of the religious ideas and practices of the northern Siberian peoples before the present political régime. The author's sources are mostly Russian and Finnish reports, and to the latter can also be referred his own experiences in the field. The subjects described include cosmology and cosmogony, Supreme Being, gods in heaven and earth, the dead and their connexions with the living, the masters of Nature and the hunting rites, and finally, of course, shamanism. All the different aspects of Siberian religion are handled with the same masterly solidity and breadth—in this respect Harva was without equals in this field. Still, I feel that the chapters on the masters of Nature and the hunting rites deserve particular praise, since the author's treatment of the subject and his general theses have influenced me much, and the modern research on the religion of the hunters has been said of Harva that his ability to describe ranked far higher than his ability to analyse. True, his analyses may sometimes seem shallow and not very far-reaching; but this is to no small degree due to the author's hesitation to make more of the material than what a cautious judgement admits. And just because of this careful attitude his results seem fertile enough to survive the fashion interpretations of later times. ÅKE HULTKRANTZ


This pamphlet of 55 pages, most of which contain copious footnotes, and many of which are barely half filled, deals with material sufficient to fill a large book. In short the author's thesis is that the part played by the Arsacids in the formation of the Parthian Empire has been misjudged and underestimated. He seeks to establish the Art-saka as lords of the Tochari, and their homeland, the Parthu-nitra, as being in the region of the Upper Iranian in Saka. Mirrors are to be found ready acceptance. That the great Parthian migration resulted in the liquidation of the Hellenism (pp. 156) is against all the evidence from Seleucia on the Tigris and is contradicted on his p. 27; that Seric iron came from the same region as Parthian iron when the former may well refer to the iron of the Indian Cheras; that Sakas and the Yueh-chi some-

how became Buddhist before they had any contact with India (p. 31, n. 82); these are all statements open to contradiction. No mention is anywhere made of the Sarmatians, who were quite possibly the originators of armoured cavalry in the area north of the Caspian. In fact the very small section on Arsacid armour shows little appreciation of the complexity on the subject of armoured cavalry, compound bow et dila. There is a great deal of linguistic and philological argument, which, in view of the almost inexhaustible range of speculations proved possible regarding names embodying the element 'Sk,' fails to carry that degree of conviction necessary to sustain his hypotheses. The immense labour indicated by the vast range of authorities quoted in footnotes would be better rewarded by a fuller, more explicit and therefore more convincing presentation. In spite of what has been said in the way of criticism above, there are many points of great weight brought out in this small book which must claim most serious consideration.

D. H. GORDON

Bibliography of Malaya. By H. R. Cheeseman, C.M.G. London (British Association of Malaya), 1959. Pp. xi, 234. Price £1.15. The sub-title of this work defines it as a classified list of books wholly or partly in English relating to Malaya or Singapore. The book contains very much material for the historian, economist or anthropologist although their authors were not for the most part trained in those fields. However, there is much more of value elsewhere in the form of articles in technical and learned journals, periodicals, pamphlets and official reports. The compiler has wisely taken in a good deal of this material from supplementary sources as well as dealing with books proper.

The result is a bibliography for which all who are interested in Malayan studies are indebted to Mr. Cheeseman—as far as his work goes. This is a pioneer effort, but the omissions are few enough in some cases important. Moreover this bibliography has apparently been compiled as a librarian's list rather than as a tool for research. Topics such as land tenure, peasant economy and social structure, political evolution, and the rubber and tin industries are dealt with only under non-specific headings, such as 'The Peoples of Malaya' and 'Trade and Economics' and the corpus of material on these and other like subjects to be found in journals and reports has not been listed.

J. M. GULLICK


An earlier version of this book was submitted as a Ph.D. thesis in Anthropology at the University of Indiana. During his field research in Thailand (1953-54) Dr. Kaufman was loosely associated with the Cornell Research Center, but prior to this his academic interests had been mainly in the fields of Oriental studies and comparative musicology. The anthropological knowledge which he displays is not profound. He records what he was told and what he himself observed, but there is no analysis and no hint of ethnographical comparison. The book is thus useful rather than exciting. In short, Bangkhuad provides an impressively detailed catalogue of contemporary Thai village custom based roughly on 12 months' study of a small rice-growing community in the Menam Delta within easy reach of Bangkok. The population numbered 744 persons. Although members of the Cornell Research Center have worked at Bangchak, a very similar village about 14 miles away, they have so far published little and to this extent Dr. Kaufman's book breaks new ground. The author's personal interests were centred in the role of the Buddhist Church and the three chapters which deal with religious matters have a liveliness which is lacking in much of the rest.

In a country which deals with religious 'acculturated' to Pax America as ruthlessly and rapidly as is contemporary Thailand any detailed list of village customs is likely to seem out of date almost before it is written. Dr. Kaufman is not unaware of this, but his concluding chapter, which purports to relate the village system to the whims of Bangkok political economy, is the weakest in the book.

E. R. LEACH

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THE CORBELLED STONE HUTS OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS*

by

DR. P. CASSAR

Royal University of Malta

80 In a study of the corbelled huts of Southern Africa published some years ago,¹ the theory was put forward that the corbelled hut originated in the Mediterranean probably in the late Neolithic or early Bronze Age in the vicinity of Southern Italy from where it spread westwards and northwards through Sardinia, Spain and the British Isles to Scandinavia; and eastwards and southwards to Greece and Africa. No mention was made of the Maltese Islands. The purpose of the present paper is to draw attention to the existence of corbelled stone huts in Malta similar to those described in the study referred to above and to show that the Maltese Islands form part of the chain of the world distribution of these structures.

The Maltese Archipelago consists of three main islands: Malta (95 square miles), Gozo (26 square miles) and Kemmuna (1 square mile), and two uninhabited islets, Filfa and Kemmumet. The group lies in the centre of the Mediterranean Sea 58 miles distant from Sicily and 180 miles from the northern shores of Africa. It has been inhabited since neolithic times.

The Maltese name for the corbelled hut is girda which appears to be derived from Arabic and which means a heap or pile of stones.¹ This type of hut occurs singly dotting the fields and barren tracts of land, being more commonly observed in the northern parts of the Island of Malta than elsewhere. It is especially prominent on the open hill tops and on the slopes of ridges in districts that are exposed to the inclemency of the weather such as Bingemma, Bahrija, Zebbieh and Wardija. Indeed the function of the girda is to provide a cool, shady nook to the herdsman and to the field worker during his rest periods in the hot summer days and to afford temporary shelter from stormy weather in the winter months.

These huts are generally built of the soft limestone (globigerina) which abounds in the Maltese countryside (Plate Ga), but occasionally, as at Bahrija, of hard coralline stone. They have the form of a truncated cone but sometimes approach a roughly semi-globular shape (Plate Gd). Their external height varies from seven to nine feet while internally they may be from five to seven feet high in the centre. They are built directly on a flat outcrop of rock on a circular plan with an internal diameter ranging from six to seven feet.

The construction is of the corbel type, one course of stones jutting out slightly on the inside beyond the course below it so that the wall curves inwards and the space enclosed by the hut becomes narrower as the summit is reached. To be exact one can hardly speak of 'courses' of stones since the latter are unworked and have no regular shape but are of a polygonal and irregular form and are not laid in regular horizontal layers but are simply fitted to one another in accordance with their natural shapes. The stones of the lowest layers are of a larger size than those of the top tiers.

The corbeling of the wall, though noticeable, is not marked up to a height of three to four feet but afterwards it becomes quite obvious as the doming of the roof develops and the top of the hut is reached. The wall has two facings, an internal and an external one, the space between them being filled up with smaller stones and débris. Its thickness may vary from two to three feet. No mortar is used to hold the stones together but very exceptionally huts are to be seen where mortar has been used to fill the interstices between the stones of the outer facing only (Plate Ge, f). Occasionally enough soil is blown and carried by the wind into the chinks among the stones to allow a few plants to gain a foothold. Thistles, wood sorrel, sweet fennel and even the ashphodel (King's spear) have been observed growing in the crevices of the outer facing of the wall during the winter months.

The wall may be pierced by a small number of little squarish apertures which function as inspection holes through which the sky and surrounding countryside can be surveyed from the inside. These windows may be found at different levels and in different directions in the same hut, but in one specimen examined they showed a certain regularity of height and orientation. They were three in number, each about eight inches square, at a height of about three feet from the floor. One was placed at the back of the hut facing the entrance and the other two about midway, one on each side, between the doorway and the back window.

The entrance of the hut is low and narrow, being about three to four feet high and 2 ½ feet wide, and is not provided with a door or any other cover. It is oriented to the south or south-east, i.e. away from the direction of the prevailing north winds. The lintel is variously formed. It generally consists of a crudely hewn rectangular slab of stone or else it is made of two short slabs set in a slanting position and meeting each other in a pointed summit (Plate Ga). Sometimes a kind of rounded arch is formed by a number of stones, the central one functioning as a keystone. In one of the huts examined these three ways of constructing the lintel were all combined in the same doorway, the rounded arch being on the outer facing of the wall (Plate Gb), the pointed arch in the middle layer and the straight lintel on the inner facing.

The roof opening of the hut is closed by two or three

* With Plate G and a text figure

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rectangular slabs of stone which may be either unhewn or only roughly dressed and which are placed side by side across the top. Occasionally one large squarish slab only is used or else a large conically shaped stone is wedged in, with its pointed end downwards, in the roof opening. On the outside the roof is hard-packed with stone chippings to give it a slightly rounded or domed contour thus allowing the rain water to drain away easily. Sometimes, though not commonly, the stone chippings are replaced by a layer of solid beaten earth locally known as torba which is impervious to water. The torba is the traditional method of covering the flat roofs of the houses and other buildings in both town and village in the Maltese Islands. It is a mixture of lime, gravel and small bits of old pottery with water. It is spread on the roof and then beaten until it sets hard. It is of interest to note that this torba was the means adopted by neolithic man in Malta to form the pavement of his sanctuaries (Plate Gc).

The rocky ground on which the hut is raised forms its floor. There is no attempt at the formation of a pavement but the ground is left unsmoothed, any hollows in it being filled in with soil to even it up.

It has not been possible, so far, to discover when the existing corbelled huts were built. The countryfolk living in their vicinity have always known them where they stand. They are certainly 'modern' constructions but that they are many years old is vouched for by the fact that in some instances the limestone of the internal facing of the wall is crumbling to dust while that on the outside of the hut bears a patination of yellow and black lichens. It appears that their construction ceased quite a number of years ago for no newly built ones have been met with while none of my informants could recall having seen one being erected. No attempt is being made by the country people to repair those that have fallen into decay so that there is the likelihood that most, if not all, of them are doomed to disappear in time (Plate Gd).

Variations from the 'standard' form of hut here described are infrequent but they are worth recording. Occasionally, in the choice of a site for the hut, a projecting ledge of rock may be taken advantage of for incorporation in its wall and roof. In such a case the resulting hut may be as low as four feet so that one has to crawl to get inside it and once in its interior one has to remain in a sitting posture or lie stretched on the floor.

Rare instances occur where a low rubble wall (some 3½ to 4½ feet high) has been raised as a screen opposite the entrance at a distance of three to four feet. This wall forms three sides of a rectangle or else describes a quarter or half of a circle with an outward convexity so that a small area is enclosed between it and the hut front (Plate Ge).

Huts of larger dimensions than those already described are uncommon. One such hut had an internal diameter of 16 feet. Its height could not be determined as the roof had collapsed (Plate Gb); however, a great part of its corbelled wall was still standing and this measured eight feet in height. The entrance was five feet high and 3½ feet wide. Another large hut, also partly in ruins, was sufficiently well preserved to allow the taking of measurements and to show the manner of its roof-construction. Its height was 12 feet on the outside, its internal diameter 11 feet and its wall thickness three feet. A cube-shaped recess (sides 18 inches) occupied the internal facing of the wall; it was at a height of four feet from the ground on the western side; on the eastern aspect of the wall, opposite this recess, was an aperture or window eight inches square. The corbelling began at the base of the wall, becoming quite pronounced at the springing of the roof at a height of five feet from the floor. The closure of the roof presented a structural feature not seen in the smaller huts. A wooden beam was laid across the middle of the opening dividing it into two equal areas each of which was spanned by nine rectangular stone slabs placed side by side at right angles to the beam and extending across from it to the top of the wall. A torba layer was laid on the outside of the slabs.

A hut, about seven feet high, had a solid ramp skirting the outside of its circular wall. This ramp began at the back of the hut and ascended in a short curve to its roof which it reached at a point over the doorway after describing nearly three-fourths of a circle (Wardija).

The circular plan is, at times, departed from and replaced by a squarish one so that the hut has the appearance, externally, of a truncated pyramid rather than a cone. Internally, however, the corners lose their angular form and become round at a height of about two feet from the ground so that above this point the four walls fuse with one another to form a single circular wall as in the standard type of hut. This variant has to be distinguished from the small rectangular rural rooms which are frequently seen in the valleys and plains and which show no corbelting but have perpendicular walls constructed of properly dressed blocks of stone laid in regular horizontal courses.

An instance of two superimposed huts occurs in the San Martin district (near St. Paul's Bay) and at San Giuseppe tatarga. From a distance the structure appears to consist of one single hut but when approached it is found to be made up of two huts built one above the other along the retaining wall of fields lying at different levels. The top hut is raised on the roof of the lower one which abuts against the wall of the upper field. The huts do not communicate with one another but have separate entrances (Plate Ge, f).

Discussion

The Maltese corbelled huts correspond to the Type B huts of Southern Africa. No examples of Type A (beehive) or of Type C (ovoid or egg-shaped) have been met with. It is not impossible, however, that such specimens exist but have so far escaped my attention.

Other corbelled buildings, the so called trulli are to be found at Alberobello in southern Italy. Their building technique and their function, however, are far removed from those of the Maltese huts. The trulli are cottages which may consist of more than one room. The roof is conical, high and pointed and its external surface may be decorated with various designs. It rests on a rectangular base formed of perpendicular walls built of stone slabs and having a thickness of five to seven feet. The cottages adjoin one
another and may be arranged in a row on each side of the village street.

Modern houses with corbelled roofs have also been described in the village of Haran in Southern Turkey. Corbelling is used only for the roof which has the shape of a conical dome. These domes are built of bricks held together with mortar and as many as six of these domes may be found over each house. It is evident from these brief descriptions that the trulli and the Haran houses bear no close resemblance to the Maltese corbelled hut. In fact this is much more primitive and crude in its construction and workmanship and offers various points of contrast with the Italian and Turkish buildings. It is not a dwelling but a mere humble shelter from the sun and from the rain; it generally has a circular plan and the corbelling, though most marked in the roofing, actually starts directly from the lowest tiers of the wall. Finally the roof is not pointed like the trulli but is slightly dome-shaped so that the whole structure has the form of a truncated cone.

Externally the Maltese corbelled hut is vaguely reminiscent of a miniature nuraghe of Sardinia but the similarity is very superficial as the nuraghi are massive tower-like structures enclosing two or more superimposed chambers which communicate with one another by means of a stair-case built inside the wall. The Maltese huts bear a closer affinity to the more or less modern huts of undressed stones known as navanni which are built by the Arabs of Palestine and Transjordan for watching their orchards.

It was noted many years ago that the temples of the gods are the dwellings of men, enlarged and improved. This certainly applies to the Maltese neolithic temples. In fact corbelling, as a method of roofing over an enclosure, harks back in the Maltese Islands to neolithic times when it was used to vault over the megalithic temples which are so peculiar to these Islands. It has been estimated that the corbelling forwards of these temple roofs, at the rate of one in ten near the springing of the dome, would form a cone and meet at a height of 15 to 20 feet so nearly that they could be closed by a single stone. It is also to be noted that these temple buildings, like the corbelled huts, show a marked preference for curved walls and enclosures devoid of angles and cornerstones. These structural features seem to suggest that the conception of the corbelled hut is coeval with that of the megalithic sanctuaries.

How the corbelled hut may have formed a dwelling unit in neolithic times is illustrated by a 'modern' example at Bahrija. Here there is a large hut with two smaller ones abutting it and communicating with one another, thus forming a three-roomed habitation of a primitive kind (fig. 1). From the technical point of view such masonry work falls within the capabilities and the meagre tool equipment of neolithic man; indeed once the principle of corbelling had been grasped and developed no special implements were needed for building the hut beyond a heavy weight (such as a hard coralline boulder) to break the stone into suitable sized pieces for easy handling and placing in position. Transport difficulties did not arise as the building material was readily at hand, the surface of the whole group of islands being one vast expanse of limestone. Indeed stone was the only material available in the absence of wood, mud, etc. The reason why none of the corbelled huts existing today can be dated to neolithic times lies in the fact that their structure is not so solid and durable as to withstand the ravages of time and weather. Indeed owing to their perishable nature the original huts were replaced by subsequent ones. This process of constant renewal served to perpetuate the original method of construction which struck strong roots in the traditional conservatism of the Maltese peasant especially as it involved no cost, very little skill and only a slight amount of labour.

As already stated at the beginning of this paper, the view has been expressed that the corbelled hut originated in the vicinity of Southern Italy but the fact that the Maltese group of Islands is only 38 miles away from the tip of the Italian peninsula and that corbelling was already known to the Maltese inhabitants of neolithic times was not taken into consideration. This omission raises the question of whether the Maltese Islands played the role of master or of disciple in the diffusion of the corbelled hut. If it is conceded that the paternity of the corbelled hut is coeval with—if not anterior to—that of the prehistoric temples of Malta and Gozo, it seems not unreasonable to hazard the opinion that this type of hut originated in the Maltese Islands in neolithic days, rather than in Italy, and that it forms an architectural link between the present time and the prehistoric past.

Notes

SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE CONCERNING METAL-WORKING TECHNIQUES

A REPORT OF THE ANCIENT MINING AND METALLURGY COMMITTEE

by

THE LATE ERIC VOCE, M.Sc., PH.D., F.I.M.

Copper Development Association

In the past it has been difficult to persuade museum authorities to allow samples of their metallurgical specimens to be taken for examination, but there is a growing indication of readiness to co-operate in this direction, for it has been shown that considerable information can be deduced with very little mutilation of the artifact.

There are two distinct but complementary methods of approach, namely analysis and metallographic examination. It is the latter to which attention is mainly directed, but a word or two should first be said about analytical work.

Modern methods of micro-chemical analysis can be applied to very small quantities of material, and spectrographic analysis for impurities can be carried out without cutting the specimen. Though of considerable precision for the determination of impurities, this type of spectrography does not, as a rule, give more than a general indication of the main constituents of the alloy. However, spectrography can now be applied to fragments after solution in acids with more precise results for the main constituents, and the new technique of X-ray fluorescent analysis appears to be very promising.

A reasonable estimate of the composition can often be made from metallographic examination. Conversely a knowledge of the composition is a great help in the interpretation of metallographic specimens. The two methods of study are therefore closely interwoven.

On many occasions curators and archaeologists have requested the metallographic examination of specimens by polishing small areas on the surface. Not only is this very difficult to do, but it confines attention to the immediate vicinity of the surface, the structure of which is often altered by corrosion or by mechanical deformation such as deliberate rubbing and grinding or accidental damage, or, especially in the case of axes, celt and similar articles, from normal usage in antiquity. Moreover, it is often necessary to etch the prepared surface with regents which would mar the general appearance of the artifact if allowed to spread. It is far more satisfactory to cut and mount one or more sections of the object, making them as representative as possible. This should not, of course, be done without sanction from the owner.

If the object is complete and whole, the investigator must normally content himself with a very small specimen. An example is a copper celt from Cork, Ireland, illustrated in Coghlan, 1951, Plate VIII, fig. 2 (left). The specimen has been removed from the edge, leaving a small notch. In spite of this, the form of the celt remains perfectly clear, and its value as a museum piece is but little impaired; in fact the notch could be filled in with plaster or clay and touched up with paint for display purposes if desired.

If, on the other hand, the object is itself no more than a fragment, then it is generally permissible to take more representative sections without inflicting objectionable damage. Fig. 1 shows a fragment of a bronze dagger together with the mounted sections taken from it. These were cut parallel to, and a couple of millimetres away from, the original fracture, the net result being that the specimen now ends in a cut instead of in a fracture. This surely can make very little difference to its value for display purposes, or for critical examination by archaeological experts; nothing important has been lost, and, as we shall see later, a great deal of useful information has been gained.

Having taken his specimen, the metallurgist mounts it in plastic, grinds it on a series of emery papers of increasing fineness, and finally polishes it to a high degree of lustre, either by hand or on a mechanically operated polishing machine. Such operations would be difficult if not im-

* With two text figures
possible to apply to the original object. The specimen is invariably examined first in the unetched condition, but etching with various reagents, perhaps with intermediate repolishing, may become necessary as the investigation proceeds. As the specimen is opaque, the normal course is to employ vertical illumination through the objective of the microscope, but glancing light, giving a dark field, can also be used. Polarized light is sometimes a valuable adjunct.

The principles of the interpretation of metallographic structures are widely taught to technical students, but deductions from the examination of ancient objects call for considerable background experience, and no little imagination. It is the factor of imagination which is at once stimulating and dangerous; inevitably any pronouncement which can be made is more speculative than factual, though in many cases the trained eye can perceive unequivocal evidence concerning the techniques practised by the artisans of old.

For example, an ancient bronze object, if cast, shows the same cored dendritic structure as a modern bronze casting; an example is illustrated by Coghlan (1951, Plate III, fig. 2). It is a socketed celt from Siberia, containing about six per cent. tin. The core is due to the fact that the first parts to solidify are relatively rich in copper, the element of higher melting point, while the parts which solidify later are richer in the low-melting-point element, tin. Thus a cast alloy is essentially non-homogeneous, and this is manifest in the structure visible under the microscope. In bronzes of relatively high tin content a separate constituent, the eutectoid, is visible between the dendrites.

When the metal is heated, these inequalities of composition are gradually eliminated, and the cored dendrites of the casting are replaced by recrystallized grains, as shown in Plate V, fig. 1, by Coghlan (1951), a spearhead from Cyprus. The differences in tone visible in this picture are due to differences in orientation of the crystals and in some cases of parts of the crystals, when they are known as twins. They do not reflect differences in composition. The structure is typical of a cold-worked and annealed or hot-worked metal.

If metal in the annealed condition is deformed, portions of the crystals glide or slip relatively to each other and slip bands become visible in the structure traversing the crystals in straight lines. These are not to be confused with the twinning bands, which are normally much more widely spaced. Tin bronzes are very prone to develop slip bands, even after slight deformation, and there is a strong tendency for corrosion to penetrate along them, emphasizing their visibility. An example was illustrated in MAN, 1949, 178, fig. 1, a bronze pin from Geoy Tepe, Azarbaijan.

When metal is severely deformed while cold, the slip bands become masked by the general distortion of the structure, the twin bands become bent, and the crystals are elongated in the direction of working. These changes are accompanied by a considerable increase in the hardness and strength of the metal. Moderately cold-worked material is shown in a copper dagger from Geoy Tepe (MAN, 1949, 178, fig. 3). Heating causes recrystallization and regeneration of the clearly defined twinned crystals of the annealed structure, accompanied by a reduction of the hardness and strength to their original values. Moreover, when metal is worked at a sufficiently high temperature, recrystallization occurs simultaneously, and deformed structures do not arise.

The behaviour of voids or non-metallic inclusions, both of which are prevalent in ancient objects, can be highly instructive. They often reveal the direction and nature of deformation in samples which otherwise show merely the fully annealed structure (see again MAN, 1949, 178, fig. 3). Porosity is an important factor in allowing deeply penetrative corrosion, for example that known as "bronze disease," but it does not follow that perfectly sound metal is invariably free from penetrative attack. Due to the prevalence of corrosion, hardness or other mechanical tests are rarely of great value in dealing with ancient objects.

All the foregoing remarks apply more particularly to copper and copper alloys. Ferrous materials behave in an essentially similar manner, but the structures are usually more complex.

To summarize, among the most important factors to look for in micro-structure are:

(a) Cored dendrites, which denote a casting.
(b) Undistorted twinned crystals, indicating hot working or annealing.
(c) Slip bands (especially in bronze), indicative of light, often localized deformation, while the metal is cold.
(d) Distortion of the crystals caused by more severe cold deformation.
(e) The nature, distribution and shape of voids, inclusions and secondary metallic phases, from which deductions can be made concerning the quality of workmanship, the nature of any deformation which may have been applied, and in some cases, the composition of the metal.

These by no means exhaust the possibilities, especially if the alloys are relatively complex in composition, and even within the categories mentioned there are secondary manifestations, such as grain size and the presence of columnar crystals, from which deductions may be drawn.

To illustrate the foregoing principles a few further examples will be considered in greater detail.

In MAN, 1951, 234, fig. 4, was illustrated a Roman so-called "sceptre head" from the Castle Museum, Norwich. This is a copper-gold-silver alloy and shows complex secondary phases between the primary cored dendrites. The object is unquestionably a casting. The photograph, taken at fairly high magnification, × 300 (though reduced in reproduction to × 225), indicates that the structure is fine. There are comparatively few voids, and the casting appears to be of good quality.

Compare now the broken celt of Scottish origin illustrated in MAN, 1951, 6, fig. 1. The structure is that of annealed metal, but the inclusions and porosity are neither elongated nor deformed, indicating that little if any mechanical work had been applied. Moreover, the shape of the artifact suggests that it was a casting, and it may safely be assumed that it was indeed a casting which had been heated to a considerable temperature for some unknown reason, possibly ritualistic.
In MAN, 1951, 65, fig. 1, is illustrated a specimen taken from the Welwyn Bowl of the British Museum. Analysis showed this to be a tin bronze containing appreciable quantities of iron, lead and antimony. The grain size was very small (original magnification \( \times 400 \), reproduced at \( \times 300 \)) probably owing to the restrictive influence of iron upon grain growth during annealing. The annealing was followed by sufficient cold work to develop local slip bands. The lead, being insoluble in solid bronze, appears as discrete particles. Except in a sample taken from near the edge of the bowl, the inclusions were neither elongated nor arranged in stringers, and even in the edge sample directionality was not very marked. It may be inferred that a flat or dished cast plate of bronze was homogenized by heat treatment and fabricated by hammering either hot or cold with intermediate anneals, a process which would produce relatively little directional working. As little iron-rich phase could be detected in the micro-structure, it would seem that the metal was quenched from the annealing or hot-working temperature with sufficient rapidity to retain most of the iron in solid solution.

In MAN, 1949, 178, fig. 2, is an arsenical copper ring. It clearly has a normal wrought and annealed structure. The spots which appear black in the photograph are globules of cuprous oxide, the structure being similar to that of a modern tough-pitch copper of good quality. The presence of cuprous oxide proves conclusively that the copper was melted without much protection from the air; it could not possibly have been wrought from a piece of unmelted native copper. The particles are uniformly distributed, and show no trace of the interdendritic network of copper—cuprous-oxide eutectic which they must have formed in the original casting. As the cold-working properties of cast tough-pitch copper are poor, it may be inferred that hot working was adopted, at least in the early stages of fabrication. However, as the particles are almost spherical in shape, it would appear that the hot-working process was not markedly directional in character. In contrast, the copper dagger in MAN, 1949, 178, fig. 3, shows marked directionality of working, both in the distorted appearance of the crystals themselves and in the elongation of the inclusions, which in this case are not of cuprous oxide but of some unidentified substance, possibly copper sulphide. The distortion of the crystals proves that the final operation was a cold-working process, not an anneal; distortion of the inclusions alone would not constitute evidence for this inference.

In some cases the advanced nature of the older techniques is astonishing, even by modern standards.

A case in point is a medieval bronze bowl of wafer thinness from Koraz illustrated by Coghlan (1951, Plate VII, fig. 1; the photomicrograph shows lobes of \( \alpha \) on a background of acicular \( \beta \)). The micro-structure showed that the tin content was abnormally high, certainly above 15 per cent. and probably about 20 per cent., and that the article had finally been quenched from between about 600° and 750°C. Alloys of this composition are exceedingly difficult to work, either hot or cold, and a very high degree of skill is indicated. The bowl shows circumferential marks as of spinning or lathe turning. It would be almost impossible to fabricate a bowl from this alloy by spinning, but it is conceivable that it was prepared as a thin casting, fabricated by alternate hammering and quenching from about 650°C, and finally ground down to its present wafer-like dimensions. This possibility is supported by the fact that, in its finished form, the bowl would seem to be too thin and fragile to withstand the heat treatment which the micro-structure proves to have been applied.

In such ways modern metallurgical knowledge can throw light upon ancient techniques, but it is also true to say that the examination of ancient specimens may assist modern science. Two examples may be cited.

Coghlan (1951, Plate VI, fig. 2) illustrates an arsenical copper celt from Ireland. The cored dendritic structure is typical of an untreated casting, but ghost-like annealed crystals are visible superimposed upon the coring. Similar structures have been observed in several other instances of a similar nature. Conceivably the celt may have been subjected in antiquity to a heat treatment sufficient to cause partial recrystallization but insufficient to eliminate the coring by homogenization of the composition. Such heat treatment would, however, seem to be pointless in the case of an article obviously cast to the shape and size required, and the possibility therefore arises that recrystallization may have taken place spontaneously at ordinary temperatures over the long period of years during which the article has been in existence. This throws doubt upon modern research, which suggests much longer times than a few thousand years for the room-temperature recrystallization of impure copper.

The second example is that of the bronze dagger of which the mounted micro-specimen was shown in fig. 1. A section of the blade edge showed a perfectly sound tin

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**FIG. 2. PHOTOMICROGRAPH OF BRONZE FRAGMENT (FIG. 1)**

(\( \times 100 \))

Penetrative corrosion is seen with galvanic precipitation of pools of reprecipitated copper.
bronze with small non-metallic inclusions which provided
clear evidence of deformation by hammering or other
means, though the final treatment appeared to have been
an anneal. This suggests that the artisan who fabricated
the dagger was ignorant of the fact that the cutting edge
would be harder and more serviceable if left in the cold-
worked condition. This blade edge, thus consolidated
by hammering, was completely free from corrosion, whereas
the thicker midrib of the dagger had suffered severe
penetrative attack, as shown in fig. 2. The nature of this
corrosion, which results in the galvanic precipitation of
large pools of almost pure copper within the bronze is
almost identical with, but much more severe than, that
reported by Clark in 1947 for certain bronze valve parts
operating in superheated boiler feed-water, especially when
the bronze castings were porous, but which has never yet
been recorded at ordinary temperatures. Again it may be
inferred that the time factor is strongly operative in the
process.

It has been impossible in the space available to do more
than outline a few of the possibilities which the metallo-
graphic examination of ancient artifacts can open up.

From many of the specimens which have been examined
it has been possible to deduce far more information than
has been explained in these notes, but it is hoped that
sufficient has been said to convince archaeologists that
modern metallurgical science has much to offer them.
Unfortunately, the busy technician of today is necessarily
concerned with the present and future rather than with the
past, but it would seem that something might be done,
especially by the larger museums and institutes, to
encourage a body of keen and imaginative young metallur-
gists to enter this interesting and valuable field of study.

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OBITUARY

George Kingsley Roth: 1903–1960

George Kingsley Roth, C.M.G., O.B.E., M.Sc.,
B.A., died suddenly in June at the age of 57. It was
perhaps inevitable that anthropology should become
for the son of H. Ling Roth his consuming interest from earliest
days.

His appointment to Fiji in the Colonial Administrative Service
in 1928 and his more or less continuous stay there until 1937 were
fortunate for both Fiji and ethnology. Not only did he supply a
highly devoted and able link in the surprisingly slender line of
administrators in Fiji having anthropological leanings but he did
so over three decades of important developments in that country.

He went there at a time when, after the brilliant beginnings of
professional administrators and amateur ethnologists in the
persons of Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon (later Lord Stannmore),
Adolph Brewster, Sir Basil Thomson, Sir Everard in Thurn, and
Sir Reginald St. Johnston, their good work was failing to be
sustained and a gap was developing. Kingsley Roth went into
the succession from the start with eyes and ears alive to the need
to record before it was too late.

The list of his publications below illustrates only part of his
driving force: there was much that he wanted to do but the
administrative line of duty necessarily made first demands on the
depth of his conscience, the range of his competence and his
striving for perfection in standards among a people only too
inclined to laisser faire. His postings were mainly to the interior of
Viti Levu among the rugged and charming Colo tribes and the
eastern coastal area of that island where the lordly Bajans
provided a fascinating contrast. He did not have the opportunity
of residing among the Polynesian elements in the Lau and
Cakaudrove Archipelagos of the Fiji Group, although he travelled
extensively round the islands; his special knowledge was developed
among the more Melanesian parts of the Group.

Kingsley Roth was not fortunate with his health. Handicapped
by the injections and diet dictated by diabetes, he never considered
himself in any way incapacitated; nor in fact was he, for he
always had unbounded energy and enthusiasm for life.

On leave in England in 1933 he took a Diploma in Anthropology
at Cambridge and came under the benevolent and stimulating
influence of an old friend of his father, A. C. Haddon, at Christ's,
both then and four years later while on recuperative leave.
When he returned to Fiji his health was little better but his
spirits were fired with an increased realization of his purpose in
a greatly transitional period. His appointment as Secretary for
Fijian Affairs was in his case a more logical appointment in
sequence to his District Commissionerships than had been his
holding office for a while as Assistant Colonial Secretary. His love
was Fijians, and it was singularly fortunate that he was there at
the right opportunity to accept the very difficult succession at the
head of Fijian Affairs from Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna, perhaps the
outstanding Fijian of all time, on Sukuna's retirement. He held
this office for too short a time before he himself retired leaving an
unfillable gap.

Kingsley Roth returned to this country in 1957 and when he
died a work on Fijian ethnology, planned for days of retirement,
was unfinished, but he had made much progress in the task of
reorganizing the magnificent late-nineteenth-century collection of
Fijiana by Baron von Hügel, Sir Arthur Gordon and others at the
Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
where he was Honorary Keeper of the Fijian Collection.

His qualities were manifold. A deep integrity, a really liberal
outlook combined with fine taste and instinct for what had to
be preserved from change, a scrupulous care in all that he
undertook, excitement in the work of others and a warm generosity
in assisting them in every way, humour of a completely individual
kind. He did not confer friendship lightly: once given it endured
and was to be treasured.

PHILIP SNOW

Bibliography of G. K. Roth

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'Mwalu' Dolls of the Wazaramo. By Miss J. R. Harding.
With four text figures

The three dolls (Nos. 1–3) described in this note are preserved in the King George V Memorial Museum at Dar es Salaam. They were acquired between the years 1944 and 1947 and are relics of a custom (the 'mwalu custom') that was formerly practised by the Zaramo, a matrilineal tribe living on the coast and hinterland of Tanganyika between Bagamoyo and the north of Dar es Salaam and Kisiju to the south (see map, fig. 1).

FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP OF PART OF TANGANYIKA

The custom. The Zaramo woman holds an important position in the life of the tribe, for it is through her that her family acquires wealth. This wealth is received from the girl's husband's family in the form of the dowry which is handed over at the time of her marriage. In former times at least, therefore, the birth of a girl was always more important than that of a boy; girls, as it were, brought wealth to the tribe, whereas boys took it away. After marriage, however, a husband had the right to rid himself of his wife should she displease him, and in this case he could reclaim the dowry money. For this reason it was very necessary that a girl should be carefully trained for marriage and in a manner which would ensure strict and unquestioning obedience to the wishes of her husband. In former times this training constituted a period (often a very long one) of ordeal from which the girl more often than not emerged deprived of all will power and ruined in mental as well as physical health.

The following is a very brief account of the mwalu custom as it was formerly observed.²

When a girl reached puberty she became the mwalu and it was then necessary to isolate her completely, not only from her clan but also from her immediate relatives, even including her mother and father. This was effected by confining her to a small, dark hut for a period which varied in duration from several months to several years. It is on record that such isolation sometimes lasted as long as six years. During this time her only contact with the outside world was through the occasional visits of two female attendants who instructed her in matters of sex. Otherwise her only 'companion' was the mwalu doll (see figs. 2–4), which she kept at the foot of her bed, and which she was expected to care for even to the extent of cooking for it, 'feeding' it, and washing and oiling it.

Upon her 'coming out' (the 'coming out' day was also her wedding day), the mwalu received gifts of clothes; the mwalu doll was hung round her neck and cent pieces were laid on her head. The latter are known as 'celebration cents' for they were given to her during the dance which celebrated her return to the tribe.

The dolls. The mwalu doll No. 1 (fig. 2) is carved in the round
from a single piece of wood; it shows three distinct parts, (A) the trunk of the female body, (B) a device surmounting the latter which at first sight appears to represent the neck and head, but which upon closer consideration may suggest the phallus (see also doll No. 2), and (C) the female head and face surmounting (B), the former furnished with human hair, arranged in the typical Zaramo fashion, and decorated with small metal discs representing the 'celebration cents' alluded to above. The name of the maker of the doll, followed by the word 'fundhi' (the Swahili term for skilled workman or craftsman), is carved upon its body.

Doll No. 2 shows the same female and (perhaps) male elements, the latter more clearly than in doll No. 1. In this case, also, the face is very formalized: only the mouth is suggested and hair is absent, though holes for its attachment are present. I suggest that this specimen may be an earlier example of the muali doll, for its maker appears to have been concerned not so much with representing the human form as with symbolism—hence the absence of such details as eyes, nose, etc. In this connexion it is conceivable that such additions would only occur to people who were beginning to lose touch with the muali custom in its earlier more pagan and fuller meaning.

Doll No. 3 is made out of a small waisted calabash; the lower portion is elaborately carved with a geometrical pattern in which appear a bird, a human face, a heart, what appears to be a wheel (or perhaps the sun?), and the name of the carver. The face of the doll is not depicted, though human hair is attached to part of the calabash representing the head.

The wooden muali doll is known as 'mwana ya nhiti' and the calabash doll is 'mwana sesile.' Either of them could be used in the muali custom and 'coming out' celebrations and when not in use was kept in the father's family as a much treasured heirloom.

Notes
1. The muali custom was and is also practised by the adjacent tribes Kwere, Kami and Luguru (see map).
2. From records in the King George V Memorial Museum.

Function and Prehistoric Art. By Robert Ascher, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. With two text figures.

This paper analyses the product and process of some Veddah rock and paper drawings in terms of form, use, meaning and function. A suggestion about the interpretation of function in prehistoric art results from this analysis.

The Veddah community considered here consists of a number of families who gather collectively or independently. Each family maintains rights to a specific tract of land and utilizes rock shelters on that land as living quarters. Property descends within the nuclear family unless voluntarily alienated with community consent. In periods of collective gathering the community shares a common rock shelter.

The movement of an independent family or the community collectively, from shelter to shelter, is regulated according to season and available food supply. In the hot, dry months, game which consists of elephants, monitor lizards, iguanas, deer, and pigs is collected in the low forest region around half-dried river beds. During the rainy season, the Veddah return to the hills in pursuit of game and collect flora. Men hunt and women gather root crops and fruit. This division of labour is not rigid as men may participate in gathering and women may assist in hunting.
Honey is of particular importance in the economy since the Vedda can exchange it with traders who come once a year. Honey-collecting is largely a male occupation but women assist. The only domesticated animal is the dog.

Vedda religion consists of the veneration and invocation of the spirits of real or imagined ancestors. Chief among these is Kande, who is believed to have been a great hunter and whose assistance is invoked to insure good hunting. Bilindi, Kande's younger brother, is celebrated as a great hunter and Bambara is called upon to ensure successful gathering of honey and flora. Other spirits, grouped under the collective name Nae Yake, are believed to be Kande's attendants.

There are no military or political institutions among the Vedda. The only specialist is a shaman and he plies his trade on a part-time basis.

It might be suspected that the art of a people bound closely to the demands of subsistence would reflect those demands. That this in fact is the case can be shown. It might be possible for purposes of analysis to segment the Vedda cultural system into institutional segments such as religion, economy and society. On this primary level of cultural elaboration, however, it appears that such segmentation is too artificial to be of value. If we were to attempt to construct a model of Vedda culture, it might well be drawn as in fig. 1, where the central dark circle represents subsistence and the other continuous overlapping circles represent institutions.

Within this system art processes and products might appear to be functioning within an institution. But if the institutions cannot be wisely disjointed from subsistence, neither can the art products and processes which operate within an institutional context. This point might be further clarified by reference to the foregoing model. Let the point A in fig. 1 represent an art process or product operating within a religious context. Religion is depicted as lying largely within the bounds of subsistence and the art process or product, although appearing within a religious context, is embedded within the subsistence matrix. If this concept is accepted, then it would follow that it would be most proper to speak of the art as functioning within subsistence while appearing within a religious context.

Let us illustrate the point by an analysis of the product and processes of a group of Vedda drawings in terms of meaning, use and function. Following Linton, the meaning of an item, trait, trait complex, or activity will be taken to mean '... the associations which any society attaches to it'; use, '... an expression of its relation to things external to the social-cultural configuration'; and function, '... an expression of its relation to things within that configuration.'

A group of three drawings appears on the walls of a Vedda community shelter. The drawings were made by women while their husbands were hunting. Ashes and charcoal were mixed with saliva and applied to the wall with the forefinger. A second group was drawn on brown paper, using the same technique, in response to the investigators’ request.

That the meaning of the rock drawings is not immediately obvious to someone outside of the Vedda community can be shown most clearly by example. Fig. 2 shows my redrawing of an item in one of the rock paintings. This figure was explained to the investigators as representing a vessel for containing honey. The circle represents the vessel, the radiating lines represent vines used for handles, and the dots represent the honey contained within the vessel. Other rock drawings depict men, women, dogs, monitor lizards and a leopard. The brown-paper drawings, in addition to all of the above, show a bow and arrow, a deer and an elephant.

The investigators present no evidence which would permit conclusive statements about the use of the art product. The use of the product, however, might be inferred from the process. The drawings were made, according to the Vedda women, for entertainment and amusement. It would not be unreasonable to infer that the product served the same use as did the creative process. Since the brown-paper drawings were made at the request of the investigators, an analysis of their use has little significance within the aboriginal context.

It was stated above that the art of a people so closely tied to subsistence functions within subsistence even while appearing within another context. It would seem reasonable to interpret the women painting together as a group activity which bound the women more closely together in preparation for the time when they would gather together. Thus, the art process, while appearing in a non-subsistence context, may in fact function within that context. Further, one might infer the expression of a wish for the success of the hunt from the art process, since it was done while the men were hunting, and the art product, since it is subjects of the hunt that are being represented.

The function of the drawings may be viewed as contributing to the overall design and choice of subject. The fact that animals and people are freely intermingled throughout both the rock drawings and the paper drawings highlights the interdependence and dependence of people and animals within a food-gathering society. Dogs, for example, are as numerous as people in the drawings. The high value of the dog as a hunting assistant is consequently expressed. The presence of animals which are the subject of the hunt, and the complete absence of the non-hunted
bear, the most feared of animals, express this people-animal relationship within the total configuration.

If we were to choose any other trait complex or activity, this central tendency could be demonstrated. The ceremony of Bambura, for example, appears within a religious context. All the items used in this ceremony either are or are meant to represent objects used in food-gathering or the gathered items themselves. They may, therefore, be viewed as functioning within the basic subsistence pattern.

If the Vedda are at all analogous with what must have been the conditions in which man lived for much the greater part of prehistory, then the analysis of the function of prehistoric art, even if not always its meaning or use, does not present unsurmountable difficulties. For, if the model of Vedda society can be generalized, then it might be possible and valid to analyse prehistoric art, for which there are no ethnographical records, in terms of subsistence alone. Such analysis would not pivot upon inferences about prehistoric religion and society for which there can be little, if any, substantiation.

Notes
1 The source of data is C.G. and B.Z. Seligman, The Veddas (C.U.P., 1911). This paper will discuss only the Sitala Wanniza, the least acculturated Vedda community. For convenience the term Vedda will be retained but is restricted to this relatively small group.

CORRESPONDENCE


85 Sir,—Readers of Dr. Burridge’s paper may like to know that Jane Belo’s valuable book Trance in Bali (with preface by Margaret Mead; New York, Columbia U.P., 1956) gives a rather ‘bemighted’ photo of Sanghyang dpuran, more or less the Javanese kuda kepong, with the caption: ‘In this Sanghyang [trance dance, C.H.] the man merges his impersonation of the horse and the rider.’ This corresponds remarkably well with ‘He seems to embody the brain of a man with the power and strength of a horse,’ words which Dr. Burridge quotes with approval from a paper on ‘The Basque Masquerade.’ Jane Belo devotes two pages to horse dances in this chapter on Folk Trance in the Sélát district, after dealing with puppy, monkey, pig and snake dances.

Rather than dealing with horse dances amongst the Balinese, the Basques, the Pueblo Indians and even the British, the author might have told us something about the country of origin of kuda kepong, Java, where this play is still living. No lack of information here, but unfortunately hitherto only accessible to those who can read Dutch. The monumental book Javansche Volkservaringen by Dr. Th. Pigeaud (Volkslektuur, Batavia, 1938), a magnum opus which no ethnological library of any standing can permit itself to do without, devotes to horse dances the whole of the fourth of its nine chapters (pp. 215-43). It is out of the question to summarize here the 22,000 words devoted to the subject by Pigeaud, who ressumes the complete literature on the subject and witnessed as much as he could. But I might end by suggesting that the word tsemadit, or riding stick, which puzzles Dr. Burridge, could be the Malay čémmi, whip, čémmi kuda, horsewhip, though Pigeaud (in his Index at least) does not mention čémmi. C. HOOKHYAS School of Oriental and African Studies, London.


86 Sir,—Col. D. H. Gordon asks, first, whether the suggestion that the ballad title ‘Chevy Chace’ might be a corruption of chuvauchée, a cavalcade, has been made before, and, secondly, whether this construction is likely to be the correct one. The answer to the first question is yes and to the second no.

Perhaps it should be pointed out first of all that the version of the ballad that Col. Gordon quotes is the earlier of two existing versions, both printed by Percy (Reliques, I.11 & II.11) among others. What in the earlier form, as Col. Gordon notes, is ‘Cheyv-Chays’ has become ‘Chevy Chase’ in the later version. F. J. Child (English and Scottish Popular Ballads, Vol. III, p. 356) says that ‘Cheyv Chays . . . becomes Chevy Chase by the same process as that by which Teviotdale becomes Tividale [version A, st. 12; B, st. 14], and there is no sufficient occasion for the suggestion that Chevy Chace is a corruption of chuvauchée, raid, made by Dr. E. B. Nicholson, Note: and Queries, Third Series, XII, 124, and adopted by Burton, History of Scotland, II, 366.’ W. W. Skeat is still more definite in rejecting the suggested etymology and says, perhaps unduly severely, that ‘if allowed to guess in this way, we may assume anything we please’ (Specimens of English Literature, p. 395).

PAUL CHRISTOPHERSEN
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REVIEWS

AFRICA


In Children of their Fathers Dr. Margaret Read has written a book describing how the Ngoni of Nyasaland try to bring up their children in the midst of a quickly changing world—a world reacting both to White institutions and also to the different cultural ideas of the tribes by whom they are surrounded but against whom they are no longer allowed to fight.

Dr. Read herself emphasizes early in the book that she is not looking at the children’s personalities—or only incidentally so—but at how their society wishes them to behave, and what lessons it wishes them to learn at various stages of their growth. As she puts it: ‘Ngoni adults . . . summed up the aims of the upbringing of children in one word—“respect.” (p. 36). By the time they have their second teeth Ngoni children are expected to conduct themselves towards other people according to a fixed code of social behaviour. The book largely describes what the fixed code is and how children of different ages and sexes are expected to behave. The ideal Ngoni personality is described.

Dr. Read recognizes that her book is somewhat unusual. In Chapter II she says ‘on the whole, in most studies of “growing up,” the psychological emphasis is much stronger.’ and a little later on, ‘this is a society-directed study in which the focus is on how adults bring up their children to fit into their society.’ Whether this orientation has strengthened the book is open to doubt. Perhaps had we had more descriptions of actual situations, of how the adults did in practice bring up the children, we should have had a more enlightening picture. As it is the orientation (society-directed) and the fact that the author is content for much of the time to describe what senior Ngoni men and women felt ought to be done result in a somewhat lifeless picture—a kind of blueprint for the Ngoni character. We hardly meet the difficult children, and still less do we know what is actually done with them. Tensions occasionally

The appearance of African Political Systems in 1940 marked a notable advance in the analysis of political life in primitive African societies; and in the past 20 years it has provided, faute de mieux, an adequate framework for much field investigation and comparative study. Tribes Without Rulers continues the approach suggested by its predecessor rather than opening up new lines of its own. This in itself seems a pity. Valuable as African Political Systems has proved to be, one might hope that two decades of fieldwork and analysis would provide more of theoretical interest than taxonomic emendation to a schema whose limitations were apparent even to those responsible for it. That other and profitable directions can be taken in political analysis has, moreover, been shown by the recent work of Schapera and M. G. Smith, and of Easton in the United States.

Tribes Without Rulers demands rather than invites comparison with African Political Systems because it has been explicitly designed as a successor to it. Certainly reviewers have treated the book as such, and used its appearance as an opportunity to expiate on political taxonomy. But whereas the earlier volume made a great collective impact despite occasional inadequacies in individual contributions, Tribes Without Rulers gives, curiously, the reverse impression. The individual essays are very good, as indeed one would expect from their authors (Laura Bohannan on Twi, Jean Buxton on Mandari, Godfrey Liemhardt on Dinka, Edward Winter on Bwamba, the late David Tait on Kontokomba, and John Middleton on Lugbara). Some of the contributions are, moreover, illuminating far beyond their ethnographical context. The introduction makes several useful and suggestive comparisons between the societies covered; and touches in passing on a number of general points (such as 'segmentary' vs. 'segmental') in a helpful fashion. Yet the final effect of the symposium is rather flat.

In his Preface, Evans-Pritchard has listed the 'several useful purposes' of Tribes Without Rulers; but the suggestion that we have, with its appearance, taken a stride forward in our understanding of political or lineage systems is not to be found among them. The omission is understandable; but some conviction of perceived and receding ignorance ought perhaps to provide the impetus to, and so mark the appearance of, a successful symposium. The Preface can, in fact, stand as a fair review of what is clearly a most convenient collection of very good articles based on recent field research by very good anthropologists. As such, it will be welcomed; its sales should be high; and Dr. Middleton deserves congratulation on successfully producing the book despite the regretted death of his co-editor David Tait. But for me the achievement of Tribes Without Rulers is, disappointingly, that of a collection rather than of a symposium. At a time when anthropological symposia appear more and more frequently, on both sides of the Atlantic, and bear more and more resemblance to collections, it may be invidious to attempt this distinction for Tribes Without Rulers. Yet it is this difference which prevents the book from being a successor to African Political Systems in much more than a temporal sense.

N. Dyson-Hudson


This book contains some of the results of a field expedition in 1952–53 to the Mundurucu Indians of the Upper Tapajós River and its tributaries, south of the Amazon. An analysis of the economy and social structure of the people is presented and also of the changes which have come about in Mundurucu society since its discovery. Dr. Murphy and his wife carried out the research in communities at two different stages of change. A small section of the tribe he found still living away from the major rivers, in savannah country, following a more traditional mode of life. The rest of the tribe had moved to the banks of the main rivers and were dwelling in forest country near the missions and trade posts.

One of the author's principal aims is to portray 'the life of a South American Indian tribe as it is today' and this he does for both savannah and river dwellers. His information is particularly valuable as comparative material in the studies of other tropical forest tribes where similar moves are being made to the river sides. Here, as elsewhere, is the breaking-up of village life, the substitution of semi-isolated, independent family units and the spectacle of an independent, indigenous people, lured into cultural conformity with the bairt of economic advancement in the form of desirable trade goods.

However, Headhunter's Heritage is more than mere description of Mundurucu society. The author uses the functionalist method in the 'dimension of history' with the aim of seeking general laws of social and cultural change. The result is an ambitious combination of all the present facets of anthropological theory, structural, functional and historical, with the addition of nineteenth-century 'survivals' brought up to date. The experiment is interesting, the theories well argued, ingenious and sometimes intriguing.

By using methods of functional analysis Dr. Murphy concludes that certain features of Mundurucu society, such as the clan, phratry and moiety system, 'point to an antecedent rule of patrilocality' (p. 79). He asserts that when contact with the Brazilians first occurred the tribe became matriloclal. The force behind this was economic: the growth of the manioc-flour trade and increase in horticulture. Matrilocality provided a co-operative, integrated work group for flour-production by the women, so that the men changed residence at marriage instead of the women, causing dispersal of the patrilineal clans, consequent loss of clan functions and rituals associated with the men's houses.

Some, at least, of the arguments supporting this contention are doubtful ones and can be counteracted by others of equal validity. Evidence quoted from the literature is ambiguous and not necessarily confirming. E.g. Martius's report (p. 79) that a man could eject his wife does not exclude matrilocality residence. Men who have been fully accepted in their adopted villages have, in matrilocal societies, divorced without difficulty, even with approval of in-laws if there is
good reason. Similarly, levirate marriage is found in Guiana tribes which are matrilocally decline in the custom being due to foreign influence and not to change in residence pattern.

The fact that the mother's mother and father's sister have the same kinship term and also the mother's brother's children and sister's children, leads Dr. Murphy to conclude that 'the analysis of noun-terms presents strong evidence for the practice of levirate marriage' (p. 94). Yet avuncular marriage is often the accompaniment of matrilocality, enabling a man to remain in his family community—which suggests the opposite conclusion to the one the author is trying to establish. If avuncular and cross-cousin marriages were preferred unions in the past, and thus the disadvantages of matrilocality were partially counterbalanced, then the dispersion of patrilineal class would not have been so widespread as today and there is no need to postulate a previous condition of patriarchy.

Unaggressive behaviour of men within the tribe is a feature of peoples of extreme independence without institutions of rank or class. Dr. Murphy explains it as the result of their belonging to one descent group but being forced to live with another.

Finally, it is open to doubt whether a single economic change, such as increase in manioc-production, would have had the effect of overthrowing a long established practice of patriarchy and substituting its opposite within a few years, leaving no traditions of the occurrence. Particularly is this so, as the author argues, clanship, the organization and ritual of the men's houses and warfare were coherently interdependent only in a patrilineal society. In such a society the women could have co-operated for trade purposes and increased horticulture by working under the direction of their in-laws and combining with them.

The 'laws of social change' among the Mundurucu turn out, therefore, to be tentative propositions based on possibilities (at the best, probabilities) which are unlikely ever to be proved. This, of course, is the old problem relating to survivals. Even when brought up to date and fitted into a combined historical and functional setting it is difficult to make them a respectable tool of scientific methodology. This is a great pity as Dr. Murphy has made gallant efforts and his book offers us much to think about in both theory and information.

AUDREY J. BUTT


In this publication, Dr. Rydén continues the description of his painstaking researches in Bolivia in 1951-2, which he began in the previous volume in the same series Andean Excavations I (1957). This work was undertaken in order to study the nature and distribution of Tiahuanaco influence to the south-east of the type site. Two sites are described, Cayhuasi, 40 kilometres north-east of Oruro in the highlands, and Tumara near Cochabamba in the lower country to the east, where the climate is much milder.

Cayhuasi proved to be a dwelling site occupied during the Classic Tiahuanaco Period, with some Decadent Tiahuanaco sherds on the surface. Near by are some adobe grave houses of later date, and a pit dug near them revealed some complete pots of post-Tiahuanaco character, which are conjectured to have been used in connexion with funeral rites there. In the discussion, it is pointed out that Cayhuasi is the southernmost known residential (I assume that 'residential' is a mistranslation of this site) Tiahuanaco character on the high plateau, and that it lies in a strategic position in the line of the spread of Tiahuanaco influence, both to Cochabamba and to northern Chile and the north-west Argentine. In speaking of the modifications that Tiahuanaco pottery suffered away from the type site, Rydén suggests that 'the Tiahuanaco-influenced ware from Pucará in S. Peru seems to reflect the same trend,' but this will not now hold water since radiocarbon dates have shown that Pucará antedates Classical Tiahuanaco, as has been suspected.

At Tumara, part of a cemetery dug in what appears to have been an occupation site was excavated. The normal type of grave seems to have been a slab-lined cist containing rather a large number of pots, but in some cases few or no slabs were found. Some urns found separately are believed to have contained child burials, but a virtual absence of bones in these and the other graves is ascribed to bad conditions for preservation. Some sort of grave stratification was established, from which it is inferred that the earliest date from late in the Classic Tiahuanaco Period and that burials took place for a comparatively brief time lasting into the Decadent Tiahuanaco Period. The pottery included a strong admixture of a local Cochabamba Tiahuanaco type. The stratification of the occupation site had been spoilt by the burials.

Both Cayhuasi and Tumara yielded a number of sherds of what had unfortunately been called Chasquisca Mojocaya Tricolor Ware by a previous author, and this is held to show contacts with the lowlands to occur early in the occupation.

To the troubles that Rydén experienced with the authorities over his material from other sites was added in this case a revolution, which cut his work short.

G. H. S. BUSHEUHELL


In May, 1959, the New York Academy of Sciences and the Research Institute for the Study of Man sponsored a conference on Social and Cultural Pluralism in the Caribbean. The ideas here published were read at that conference. The volume is not about this conference. What this volume is about is the range and variety of subject matter covered from 'The Role of the Intellectual in Haitian Pluralist Society' (Remy Bastien) to 'Group Dynamics and Social Stratification in British Guiana' (Elliott P. Skinner). The authors have been, or are, engaged in sociological research in the Caribbean. The quality as a whole is somewhat uneven but this is not unexpected when the range of topics is considered. Nevertheless these papers are a useful contribution to Caribbean studies. Their real value perhaps lies in underlining the vital need for research in this area.

FERNANDO HENRIQUES


Early Spanish sources speak of several kinds of dogs, including one or more hairless varieties, in ancient Mexico, but the accounts lack clarity. In this little publication Colonel Wright summarizes information on the dogs of ancient Mexico and their uses (some were fattened for eating; others were killed so that their spirits could lead their dead masters to the abode of the dead). There are 14 illustrations, for the most part not previously published, of pottery dogs of the so-called Colima types, and a description and illustrations of the hairless xolotzczuintli breed, recently established and now registered with the Mexican and American kennel clubs. This is distinct from both the Chihuahua and the Mexican hairless dog; whether it is Sahagun's xolotzczuintli is a different matter.

For anthropologists the illustrations of archaeological specimens and the quotations from early sources are of most value, although the latter could have been amplified.

J. ERIC S. THOMPSON


This volume is dedicated to the distinguished Americanist, Dr. Franz Termer, and comprises articles by his colleagues and former students written in his honour on the occasion of his 65th birthday. He is a fine photograph of Dr. Termer. Dr. Termer's interests have always lain in Middle America, and it is therefore not surprising that 20 of the articles treat of the
archaeology and ethnology of Mexico and Central America; the remaining nine articles deal with North or South America or with general problems of the New World. The volume has a charming dedication written by Gunther Zimmermann in Nahuatl. In this


This book reports an expedition by the author and three other Frenchmen to Indonesia in 1956, first to photograph the Kemodo 'dragon' and then to search for 'unknown horizons and unexplored territories' in the interior of Borneo, with which the bulk of the account is concerned. Though all of the adventurers were properly inspired by a 'passion for anthropology,' it was the author himself who was responsible for all ethnographical research work, while one of the others was commissioned by 'the Museum' (an impressively capitalized institution nowhere specified) to make a collection of birds.

They lived at Long Kemuat on the Bahau, a tributary of the great Kayan river, reportedly for more than six months, pursuing their 'real goal—the investigation of a primitive society'; but in the light of the author's strange assertion that previous travellers on the Kayan had made 'only brief and half-hearted investigations of the interior' they seem to have been oddly lax in recording their own observations. Indeed, the strangest thing about this book (and others of its kind) is that such long journeys and protracted studies should yield little more than the impressions to be gained in a few days by any traveller on any river in the interior (rapids, leeches, skulls and the tedious rest). There are indications, though, that they were hampered by a certain difficulty in communicating: e.g. a manda (sword) becomes a wicker carrying basket, and ray (big) is rendered as—of all things in the middle of Borneo—royal. This presumption could explain much, but unhappily it does not accord with the author's own representation of his linguistic faculty.

The main incidents dealt with are 'The Feast of the Severed Head' and a visit to 'the Punan.' The account of the former, which is the well-known matan, includes nothing of ethnographical novelty or interest. The author says that he spent 29 days in an encampment of nomadic Pusan—who are, naturally, 'a dying tribe'—but there are not 29 facts to be deduced from the two chapters devoted to them. They are difficult to identify, and it is a perplexing task to reconcile details in the photographs with what the author writes in the text. Considering that Piazziini was under the misapprehension that no one had ever succeeded in establishing contact with nomadic Pusan, he might at least have made some attempt to tell us something about them—beginning with the name by which they call themselves. It should not have been too difficult, judging by the fluent conversations that he apparently maintained with them, and especially since (to the understandable astonishment of the people of Long Kemuat) he also taught them to speak Malay.


Sometimes one cannot help wondering if we are really well served by all the studies of spatial distribution which are continually being carried out. Have they not become an end in themselves? They most frequently demand a great deal of work and is there not a risk that the process takes both time and energy to such an extent that one does not reach the stage of asking oneself why one actually does them? And is our knowledge of historical events and social systems and processes really expanded thereby? The expression 'conjectural history' is at this stage well known, so well that it has already come to belong to the academic history of anthropology. But the question is, whether the problem of diffusion should not be taken up for consideration as a whole. The phenomena to be dealt with apply to both history and sociology. A tool has not only its origin or origins, it also enters a cultural inheritance and as such, belongs to a group of people. This is shown by the fact that they all know of the use of the tool even if they do not need to know each other.

A discussion of cultural distributions and the interpretations
drawn therefrom should also include studies which are applicable to the European countryside, where we have vastly improved possibilities of historical documentation and control, as compared with studies which apply to a preliterate people in, e.g., an exotc environment. A work which should be productive for a theoretical analysis is the first volume of the *Atlas of Swedish Folk Culture*, published by the Royal Gustav Adolf Academy under the guidance of Professor Sigurd Erixon. Sweden is an area— if one can here compare areas by their physical surface—somewhat larger than Sumatra, but in several of the maps, also extends to the other side of the Gulf of Bothnia, in Finland. It is not, however, a question of geographical distributions of continental character, which are so common in non-European ethnology.

The aim has been to map out 'remains of traditional folk culture' in Sweden during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In this way one should be able to chart the changing conditions under which people existed during that period. The maps do not show that which is representative of the trends of that particular time. Modern social and cultural changes began during the nineteenth century and the aim of the atlas can be described as giving a starting point, a preliminary for investigations in the present time.

The question is, how was it decided which were 'remains' or 'retarded folk culture'? 'Remains' cannot have been recognized by the investigators before the mapping-out of the distributions, except as individual observations of something which was becoming more rare, something which was giving way to other cultural elements and customs which belong to a later date. The historical reconstruction was rather for us, theusers of these maps of what the remains from ancient times become possible only when the extenions have been worked out and charted. In the evaluation of the maps, however, one has had controls which lay outside the collection of facts which the local distributions show during the period 1850–1900. The angular sickles in Gäotaland have their counterparts in those from the Iron Age. Archaeology, here and in other cases, leaves checks which carry us back in time. The kiln, the notched-timber drying house for unhithed corn, appears in Sweden chiefly in those districts where there has been Finnish colonisation. Here, historical documents help us with the explanation. An important source of control is found in objects dated in historical time.

Sometimes the distribution is set together with an adjoining spread over a greater area outside Sweden. The high, bow-shaped horse collar which occurs in an easterly district of upper Norrland appears here in the westernmost border of a distribution area which includes Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Russia. Consequently, a limited spread here is explained by a greater in the surrounding areas. The method arises directly from the material which the distribution chart provides. Another case where the interpretation is given by the distribution chart is that of the roof made of tongued and grooved boards (lagtak), found in Dalarna and Jämtland. Erixon regards this occurrence as an isolated relic, because it is so limited in Sweden, appearing first in Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, and adjoining parts of Russia and Poland.

An atlas such as this, of course, intended to tell something about the regional culture contrasts in the country, and in a country like Sweden, which stretches so far from north to south, these can often be related to different physical conditions. The most conspicuous cultural-geographical borderline in the country is that which marks the most southerly occurrence of the summer dairy farms (fåfodrar). This borderline is also a natural frontier. On the summer dairy farms it is the women who care for the animals and process the milk. In this area 'long milk' (längmjölle) and 'thin bread' (tunnbröd) appear; they reach farther south than the summer dairy farms, however, which could give further examples of the spread of North Swedish culture elements. Perhaps it is sufficient to mention a custom which still calls for a thorough investigation, not however a distribution study: the custom by which the sowing of seed should be carried out by the housewife or another woman on the farm. This North Swedish custom, which does not go so far south as the summer dairy farms, appears also in northern Norway and in northern Finland, and the idea has been put forward that respect for magic may have been the reason for the woman becoming the sorcer. That it is a question of a survival from an ancient cultural stage, when men devoted their time chiefly to fishing and hunting, as Erixon suggests, is open to speculation.

The atlas contains 24 main maps and 44 smaller ones and as a whole represents a noble effort by the editor and his colleagues. The most pleasing aspect is that the studies of distribution are regarded more as a means than an end.

Sigurd Erixon, a prominent figure in Swedish folk-culture research, has written a number of epoch-making, lengthy papers, most of which up to the present have only appeared in Swedish. Some of these have been translated into German and published under the title *Technik und Gemeinschaftsbildung in schwedischen Traditionsmilieu*. Here, amongst other things, are found his papers on Swedish villages and on Swedish wood-building techniques and further his study of the North Swedish 'church towns.' Church- boats, so well known from Dalarna, and their crew organisation are also dealt with; these boats conveyed the parishioners to church. Of great interest for the study of isolated and sparsely populated areas is the paper on the 'church towns,' a sort of billeting villages near the churches, where the population came and settled down for holy days and where they also held courts and markets.

K. E. LARSSON

**Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde, Part II, 5th Issue. Basel (Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde), 1959.**

97 pp. i–ir, 393–494, 18 maps

This issue records the Swiss customs and beliefs associated with the cycle of life. Several plausible explanations are registered for the following old traditions: in canton Bern, a linen cloth with which a dead person has been washed is wound round a tree (often a fruit tree). Seventeenth-century writers mention the still widely known custom of *Würgen*: the congratulator seizing the person celebrating his birthday or name day by the throat. From the Middle Ages onwards, the shirt remained the traditional bridal gift to the bridegroom.

Different weekdays for weddings are chosen by Protestants and Roman Catholics, by rich and poor, by peasants and workmen. Formerly wreaths and flowers were only presented at the funerals of children, spinsters and bachelors. A rather unusual death omen is the simultaneous ringing of church bells and the striking of church (or townhall) clocks.

The editors' harmonious collaboration, their tireless efforts and polished phrasing make the Commentary more readable than many a new book.

E. ETTLINGER


98 pp, vi, 324. Price £1 15s.

An anthropologist should be something of a historian; it therefore calls for no apology that a historical work on so important an epoch as the Hellenistic period is reviewed in *Man*. The author, who is a professor at Columbia University (the press of which publishes the American edition of his book), has not written for specialists, but for persons who, having doubts heard of Hellenistic culture, want some idea of its nature. He has covered the ground with the exception, to which he himself draws attention (p. 9), of the science of those times, a matter with which he honestly confesses himself incapable of dealing. Everything else of any importance is handled with sufficient fullness, and copious notes give references for the most part to good modern works which treat various aspects of the subject in more detail. Thus, after introductory chapters on 'Genesis and Diffusion,' 'Exclusiveness and Integration' and 'Alexander and the Oikoumenes,' we have discussions which between them handle such diverse matters as the mutual attitudes of Greeks and Barbarians, the importance of Plato and several aspects of literature, religion and law. The one excursion into a strictly anthropological point, the discussion (pp. 148ff.) of mother-right, does little but repeat worn-out theories long ago refuted.

Generally speaking the author's ideas are sound and expressed with the utmost clearness. There are of course points on which opinions may differ; thus on pp. 48ff., I much doubt if the LXX was
as much read outside Jewish and Christian circles as he supposes. Like all books of any length, this one has a few slips on points of fact; thus p. 64 'ordering' is the wrong word for the mother's plea to the schoolmaster to deal severely with her rascally son; p. 151, the passage from Aristophanes comes from Lys., not Frogs, and p. 171, the hedge priests in Apuleius, Met. viii., are devotees of the Mater Idea, not of Isis. This certainly is but little in a work of such length.

H. J. ROSE

OCEANIA


Since 1950 British and American anthropologists have carried out a number of intensive field studies in the Highlands of Australian New Guinea and there has been, more especially over the last five years, a steady stream of articles dealing with particular aspects of the structure, economy and ritual of the peoples concerned. This accumulation of articles, many of them excellent, has also been tantalizing since collectively they do not and of course cannot give us a rounded study of any one culture. Dr. Reay's monograph is therefore particularly welcome at this juncture the more so as it is modest in length, well written and well organized. She also sets an example to most of us in making available so much of her research within four years of completing her fieldwork which was carried out between November, 1953, and March, 1955. The book is refreshing in its scope and scope it has, I think wisely, eschewed involvement in current controversies in the domain of kinship and has been content, in this her first full-length essay, to give us the facts 'straight'—a systematic account of Kuma social structure within the framework of economy, ritual and belief. It is clear that she has still a wealth of unpublished material with which to pursue many of the problems raised in her book and to deal in greater detail with particular institutions. I hope that she will do so.

The Kuma of the Wahgi Valley form part of a larger regional and linguistic grouping, the Kumu, who number about 25,000. Settlements consist of dispersed homesteads but there are temporary villages built by patrilineages for their Pig Ceremonials held about every 15 years. The actual density of population is about 200 to the square mile but land is at present plentiful and disputes over boundaries are rare. Pigs are reared in large quantities and, with shell valuables and plumes, constitute wealth; they are used in marriage payments, ceremonial exchanges and rituals. Religious practices are 'dominated by the theme of pig fertility' (p. 20).

Dr. Reay gives us a good account of marriage and the segmentary clan organization. Twenty of 27 of the Kuma localised patrilineages are loosely linked into phratries but the latter are merely a charter of unilineal descent and have no territorial or political significance. The patriclan is segmented into subclasses and sometimes sub-subclasses, and may number from 100 to 1,700 members; it is the autonomous political unit or parish and its members act together in warfare and ritual. Relations between clans of the same phratry are those of (i) traditional hostility and recurrent warfare, (ii) brotherhood involving intermarriage over the last two generations, ritual collaboration and the avoidance of fighting, and (iii) neutrality with some intermarriage punctuated by some fighting and peace-making ceremonies. These relationships may be established with other clans outside the phratry, since the latter does not constitute an exclusive territorial unit.

This system has many parallels not only on the Highlands but in many other parts of New Guinea including the Sepik area. The parish (whether it be a monophyletic or multihyphyletic, to use the Hobgn-Wedgwood terminology) is a nodal point of a system of political relations embracing several thousand people. The particular feature of many of the Highland systems is that they are based on large segmentary unilineal descent groups and one might expect therefore an increase in political scale and the emergence of a single constituted authority for the parish. It is here that Dr. Reay might have given us several case studies of such systems. She does however analyze in some detail the types and bases of leadership; and she isolates the factors which contribute to political instability and tend to inhibit the emergence of an impersonal leadership at the clan-level: recurrent warfare which sooner or later leads to the break-up of a clan, and the competitive nature of leadership itself.

Effective authority is exercised at the sub-clan level, and the most dominant leader of one of the component sub-clans acts as sub-clan orator and representative in relations with other sub-clans. Where concerted action at the clan level is required such orators form a council. As in most parts of New Guinea, leadership is ultimately based on achievement: prowess in warfare, oratory and, especially, the acquisition and manipulation of wealth in marriage arrangements, ceremonial exchange and ritual. Each leader must hold his own against aspiring 'big men' who may hive off with their own factions and form their own sub-clans, each comprising 8 to 21 males, more occasionally 40. Even when a leader succeeds in maintaining the adherence of his followers and is succeeded by his son (which occurs in about 64 per cent. of the cases recorded), the latter derives little advantage since his father's wealth is largely dissipated in elaborate mourning ceremonies.

In her last chapter and her preface Dr. Reay claims that the picture of Kuma life which emerges is one of strain, tension and disharmony and that the cargo cult which arose in 1949 was an attempt to find relief from 'inbuilt tensions' which had formerly found expression in warfare, witch-hunting and suicide. Her analysis on this score is persuasive, but in my opinion degenerates into obscure if not woolly generalization when she attempts a final synthesis in terms of freedom and conformity. However, Dr. Reay's preoccupation with this particular theme does not detract from the value of the rest of the book which remains one of the most useful and illuminating accounts of a Highland people which we have to date.

PHYLLIS M. KABERRY


This is one of a series of studies concerned with the problem of assimilation of Chinese with the major society of countries to which they have immigrated. The author first traces the progress of Chinese settlement in New Zealand through immigration and naturalization laws and examines attitudes towards the alien group which appear to have prompted various legal measures. The Chinese are then divided according to length of settlement into first-, second- and third-generation groups and differences among them are discussed on the basis of this criterion. Subsequent chapters deal with institutions, family organization and other aspects of life. A number of case histories of Chinese of the different classifications are included and a discussion of social acceptance and assimilation based on two surveys. Finally conditions favouring future assimilation are considered.

In 1951 the Chinese formed only 0.3 per cent. of the population but they are widely dispersed. Hitherto little had been recorded about them. The author's task was not easy and she relies considerably therefore on general observations and impressions. She is herself a first-generation Chinese New Zealander, personally affected by the problem of assimilation and some of her difficulties in interpreting this kind of data can be appreciated. Since her study is intended as a serious contribution to the sociology of overseas Chinese, however, one cannot imagine that she would want criticism withheld on these grounds. Some of her explanations and conclusions are insufficiently well argued and objective and several scientific concepts and terms are used with insufficient precision. There are a number of contradictory statements. This makes it difficult to follow some of the argument. Nevertheless much new ground has been broken and despite shortcomings the study presents a deal of information which is valuable in understanding the New Zealand problem and enables us to compare it with that of other areas.

MARJORIE TOPELEY
(a) White Fulani Zebu

(b) Sokoto Gudali Zebu

TYPES OF NIGERIAN CATTLE

Photographs: Federal Department of Veterinary Research, Nigeria
HÆMOGLOBIN PHENOTYPES IN NIGERIAN CATTLE

by

DR. H. LEHMANN and DR. J. G. ROSS

St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London; Veterinary Department, Vom, Nigeria

101 Cabannes and Serain (1953) found two types of adult hæmoglobin in Algerian cattle when they submitted the blood of these animals to paper electrophoresis at alkaline pH. Differences in the distribution of the two cattle hæmoglobins were studied by Bangham (1957) who showed that they were controlled by autosomal allelic genes which were fully expressed in the heterozygote. The faster moving hæmoglobin B was, in Britain, found only in Jersey, Guernsey and South Devon cattle. In Africa Lehmann and Rollinson (1958) showed that of two types of Uganda cattle, the Ankole Long Horn and the Short Horn Zebu, the second had a higher incidence of hæmoglobin types to be in equilibrium and found no evidence of a balanced ploymorphism. On the other hand Lehmann (1959) reported a surplus of heterozygotes in the Indian Gir. Bangham and Blumberg (1958) suggested that the absence of the hæmoglobin B gene in N'Dama and Muturu breeds might be associated with resistance to trypanosomiasis in these two breeds (see Gates, 1952; Chandler, 1952; Nash, 1955). So far no evidence has been produced to substantiate this hypothesis, and indeed it is not fully excluded that the resistance of these cattle breeds is not on a genetical basis but due to a pre-immunity associated with constant challenge.

The present investigation was undertaken in 1958 and 1959 primarily to augment existing knowledge on the relative distribution of the hæmoglobin types in Nigerian cattle breeds and also to ascertain whether there was any relationship between one of the three hæmoglobin phenotypes and the inherited resistance to helminthiasis in White Fulani Zebu (Ross, Lee and Armour, 1959).

Results

We have examined 150 cattle from four breeds. Two of these were humpless, the Muturu and N'Dama, and two were Zebu breeds, the White Fulani and Sokoto. Results are presented for each breed separately.

Muturu. These are small black, or black and white or dun-coloured, humpless, short-horned cattle (see fig. 1) found principally south of the Niger and Benue rivers (Gates, 1952). Bangham and Blumberg (1958) examined 30 of these animals and found only hæmoglobin A. We examined 15 at the Western Region Ministry of Agriculture Livestock Investigation Centre, Ado-Ékiti, and also found only hæmoglobin A.

N'Dama. These are small fawn or dun-coloured, humpless, long-horned cattle (see fig. 2) imported into Western Region, Nigeria, from the Fouta Djallon Plateau in French Guinea (Gates, 1952). Bangham and Blumberg (1958) had examined 30 and found only hæmoglobin A amongst them. We examined 30 from the Western Region Ministry of Agriculture Livestock Investigation Centre, Fashola, and also found only hæmoglobin A.
Table I. Hemoglobin phenotypes in white Fulani zebu of Northern Nigeria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Investigation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Hemoglobin Phenotype</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>BB</th>
<th>Expected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangham and Blumberg (1958)</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30.25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16.50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Investigation</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Investigations*</td>
<td>139</td>
<td></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>69.79</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>57.41</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II. Hemoglobin phenotype and gene frequencies in white Fulani zebu of Northern Nigeria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Investigation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Hemoglobin Phenotype Frequency</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>BB</th>
<th>Expected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangham and Blumberg (1958)</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
<td>61.22</td>
<td>34.69</td>
<td>33.68</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>4.59</td>
<td>78.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Investigation</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
<td>46.77</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>44.44</td>
<td>13.33</td>
<td>11.11</td>
<td>66.67</td>
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<tr>
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<td>139</td>
<td></td>
<td>51.90</td>
<td>38.13</td>
<td>41.30</td>
<td>10.07</td>
<td>8.49</td>
<td>70.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The difference between the two not being significant, it is permissible to combine both sets of figures.

White Fulani Zebu. This breed is most common in the Northern Region of Nigeria (see Plate Hb). They are medium-to-large-size Zebu cattle, white with black points, with lyre-type horns (Gates, 1952). Bangham and Blumberg (1958) examined 49 of this breed and found the phenotypes hemoglobin AA, hemoglobin AB, hemoglobin BB (see Tables I and II). We examined 90 of these cattle, drawn from the Vom Laboratory experimental 'flying herd' and the Livestock Investigation Centre 'closed herd.' The first is composed entirely of male stock purchased at regular intervals from traders, and in consequence is an excellent sample of the breed. Tables I and II show that the hemoglobin distribution in the Bangham and Blumberg samples and in ours is not significantly different and that equilibrium is reasonably good in both. When both samples are combined the frequency of the hemoglobin A gene is 71 per cent. and of the hemoglobin B gene 29 per cent.

Table III. Hemoglobin phenotypes in some African short-horned zebu breeds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Breed</th>
<th>Investigation</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Hemoglobin Phenotype</th>
<th>Ratio of Phenotype A:B</th>
<th>AA</th>
<th>AB</th>
<th>BB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sokoto (Nigeria)</td>
<td>Present Investigation</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenana (Sudan)</td>
<td>Lehmann and Rollinson, unpublished</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short-horned Zebu (Uganda)</td>
<td>Lehmann and Rollinson (1958)</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan Zebu</td>
<td>Bangham and Blumberg (1958)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sokoto Gadali Zebu. This breed closely resembles some Short Horn Zebu breeds of India, Sudan and East Africa and is found in Sokoto Province, Northern Region, Nigeria, and in the Southern Cameroons. It is a medium-to-large Zebu type with a well developed dewlap and sheath (see Plate Hb) and is white and cream in colour. The 15 head of cattle examined were from the Veterinary Department Livestock Investigation Centre, Jakiri, in the Southern Cameroons. This breed showed a high incidence of the hemoglobin B gene. The phenotype distribution closely resembles the relative distribution of hemoglobin types in other Short Horn Zebu (see Table II). The northern habitat of this breed in Nigeria and the resemblance of the hemoglobin phenotype in this and the Sudan and East African Zebu suggest a common origin (Table II).

Discussion

The absence of hemoglobin B in the humless Muturu and N'Dama has been confirmed. It had been hoped that the hemoglobin phenotypes might provide a 'genetical marker' for use in investigations into inherited resistance to helminthiasis in White Fulani Zebu cattle (Ross et al., 1959); this however did not prove to be the case. The existence of a high incidence of hemoglobin B in the Sokoto breed links this cattle to the Short Horn Zebu in the Sudan and East Africa.

Summary

The incidence of hemoglobin phenotypes in four Nigerian breeds of cattle was determined and compared with previous results obtained in West and East Africa.

Acknowledgments

We are grateful to Dr. Ada Kopeč for her advice on Tables I and II. We should like to take this opportunity to thank Professor J. W. S. Blacklock for arranging access to the wild British cattle mentioned in the introduction to this paper, and His Grace the Duke of Hamilton for his permission to take blood samples.

References

A TECHNICAL NOTE ON THE TIBETAN METHOD OF BLOCK-CARVING

by

CORNEILLE JEST
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Some information is already available on the subject of Nepalese and Tibetan paper and even concerning the methods of Tibetan printing, but no study of the actual printing blocks used and the method of their making has come to my notice. So, taking advantage of the presence in Europe of Parwa Pasang Sherpa, a skilled wood-carver, I have prepared this short note. The craft is certainly a very ancient one, possessing its own special traditions and technical vocabulary.

Pasang was born at Nyi-ma-re in Solu (Okhaldunga District, East Nepal) in 1925, of Kham-po-che family. At the age of seven his parents sent him to a nunnery for his first lessons in reading and writing. After spending a year with the nuns, he went to Jiwong monastery above Phaphlu where he spent the next five years, going through the normal monastic training (chanting and performance of liturgies, preparation of offerings, reading of religious texts, etc.). From there he went on to RDo-rai-pHu (Rongbuk) Monastery for another year. It was there that he first saw the block-carvers at work and began to ask innumerable questions in the manner which is still typical of him today. Later when visiting his own village, he met two Lhasa block-carvers who were working temporarily in the village of Me-tog-dpag-yas, not far from his home.

Realizing that there was no native carver in his own country, he had the idea of learning the craft himself, and so with financial support from his parents he set out for the village of Nyi-mur near Tashihlumpo (Kra-sis-lhu-po). Nyi-mu has a population of about 300, of whom some 30 men were block-carvers in Pasang’s time. These carvers were free from taxation (sa-k’ral, land tax), but could be summoned to Tashihlumpo, Lhasa or other centres for government work.

Pasang stayed there for a year with his teacher (whom he refers to as ‘u-chhemo-la’ (dhu-e-en-po-las). After the first six months his master no longer accepted payment, ‘top-la’ (lo-gla), from him, since he had learned the craft well enough.

Materials and Tools

The wood normally used is that of the birch tree (stag-pa) because it is a firm wood and not liable to split when working. The trees are usually cut in spring when the trunks can be most easily split. When wood is required for religious purposes, the tree should be cut down on a suitably auspicious day, and libations (gser-skyloms) offered to the local god (sa-bdag). The wood is allowed to dry, and cut to the required length by the carpenter ‘shing-so-u-la’ (sin-bzo-dbyu-las).

The ink (nag-ts’u) used for the master copy (see below) is made from the soot of resinous pine wood (sdro-ma-mi sbin). This is obtained by burning chips of the wood under an old pot or tin, and when sufficient soot has accumulated on the bottom, it is scraped off with a bamboo stick. The soot is then mixed with glue (spin), which has been obtained by boiling animal skins.

FIG. 1. THE TOOLS USED BY THE CARVER

1. ‘che-s’u,’ 2. ‘mik-zong,’ 3. ‘buk-zong,’ 4. ‘sek-cu,’ 5. ‘k’e-zong’; this, the longest, is almost eight inches long.

The carving tools are always the private property of the carver, who has them made to his own specification by the blacksmith ‘cha-so-u-la’ (lcags-bzo-dbyu-las). There are six of them, the last two being practically identical.

1. ‘che-s’u’ (possibly c-e-gtugs): flat graver (French: échoppe); overall length 7.5 centimetres, an obliquely cut blade 1.5 cm, long with the oblique edge sharpened on both sides.

2. ‘mik-zong’ (possibly mig-gzoi): concave-bladed graver (French: échoppe-gouge); overall length 10.8 cm, blade length 1.2 cm.

3. ‘buk-zong’ (possibly hug-gzoi): concave-bladed graver (French: échoppe-gouge); overall length 11.5 cm, blade length 2 cm.

4. ‘sek-cu’ (possibly seg-gtugs): flat graver (French: échoppe); overall length 10.1 cm, obliquely shaped blade length 1.2 cm.

5. ‘k’e-zong’ (possibly gas-gzoi): flat graver (French: échoppe); overall length 20.5 cm, blade length 11 cm.
All these tools are held in the palm of the hand, which accounts for the form of grip specially adapted to the individual. Precision is achieved by careful poise and steady pressure.

Production of the Printing Block

(a) Application of the master copies. The text is carefully written in dbu-č'en on sheets of thin Tibetan paper. Using a paste prepared with wheat flour (gro-čib) the carver sticks the pages, text downwards, on the printing blocks (phar-čiin). Having dried them thoroughly either in the sun or by a fire, he takes one of the prepared boards and with a clean damp cloth carefully damps the paper on one side and so removes it, leaving the reversed lettering clearly showing. When the board is dry again, he rubs it lightly with a little mustard oil (pe-čan-smum) which has the effect of showing up the letters clearly.

(b) The process of carving. The usual position of the carver is to be seated cross-legged on a mat with the block in front of him on a low table. First he works over the whole block with the 'che-su,' cutting deep straight cuts between all the letters, beginning at the right-hand bottom corner of the block. Turning the block round and restarting at the right-hand bottom corner, he returns across the block with the same tool taking out small vertical chips.

Then he rubs the block over with mustard oil, so that the holes are quite full of oil; this (Pasang says) softens the wood and assists in preventing splits along the grain. When all the oil has seeped into the block, a thick piece of cloth, well soaked in water, is laid on it and left like that overnight. The board is meanwhile supported at its ends by two sticks, so as to avoid water soaking on to the underneath, which (it must be remembered) still has its master copy attached. Next morning the block must again be dried. Then taking the 'mik-zong' and starting as before at the bottom right corner, he works across the block, making semicircular cuts in all the letters which require them. Then turning round the block and starting again, he removes the rest of the circles.

With the block in its last position (viz. turned round about) he sets to work with the 'buk-zong' making deep cuts on all the down-curved bottom parts of those letters which have them. In order to cut the upward turning strokes of the ya-btags, the block must be turned once more the right way round.

Next taking the 'sek-cu' he cuts deeply between the letters and the gi-ču (gi), grei-bu (e), na-ro (o), and klad-skor (anuvarā). Then he cuts out the spaces above letters where these signs are not present, thereby finally separating one line from another, and removes most of the spaces between the letters themselves (Pasang refers to the latter process as 'tsab-pa' (btsab-pa, 'cutting out'). Having finished this, he turns round the block and cleans out the letters, a process which he refers to as 'dru-tem-ba' (bri bstan-pa, 'showing up the letters').

With the smaller 'k'e-zong' he clears out the wider spaces between phrases and around the page number at the edge of the block. With the larger 'k'e-zong' he cuts around the four edges of the print.

Then he cleans up the block with a brush made from pig bristles (p'ag-če).

The whole process is repeated on the other side of the block. Having finished both sides he thoroughly washes and dries the block and makes a trial print. Any defects must be made good by inserting, if necessary, small pieces of wood and recarving them.

When several carvers are working together they often divide their labours over several blocks at once, one man...
working with one tool, one with another, etc. When all the blocks of one literary work are finished, the names of the carvers are given at the end, together with the place of workmanship and the name of the benefactor who pays for the work.

There can be no doubt that a craft such as this has a long tradition behind it.

Notes
3 It may also serve as a complementary study for the permanent exhibition of ‘Arts et Techniques’ at the Musée de l’Homme, Paris.
4 One of the first block prints known is a dhurani or a sign of the empress Shotoku of Japan (c. A.D. 764). See also P. Pelliot, Œuvres posthumes publiées sous les auspices de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres et avec le concours du C.N.R.S., Les débuts de l’imprimerie en Chine, Paris, 1953.
6 Block-carvers are normally men, but Pasang claims to know of at least one woman carver who had come from Derge.

For the definition of tool, I have adopted the classification of A. Leroi-Gourhan, Evolution et Techniques: L’homme et la matière, Paris, 1945.
8 Of these five tools only ngez (chisel) is to be found in existing dictionaries. All the other literary spellings given here are plausible guesses, based on the phonetic forms and the required meanings. Thus mig-ngez would mean ‘eye chisel,’ and this tool is in fact used for cutting out the little circles in letters; ‘bog-ngez’ would mean ‘holing chisel’; gas-ngez would mean ‘cleaving chisel.’ The two gsugs are of similar type and this term must be connected with the verb ‘daught, to pierce.’ Thus c’bs-gsugs would mean ‘large piercer,’ and seg-gsugs would mean ‘oblique piercer.’


These are the reversed letters as they appear on the block:

[Image of reversed letters]

These are the reversed letters as they appear on the block:

[Image of reversed letters]

Pithecanthropine Brain Size and its Cultural Consequences.

By Grover S. Krantz, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, Calif. With a text figure.

The great length of time and the simple tool inventory of the Lower Palaeolithic stands in sharp contrast with the Mousterian and later periods which show much greater material complexity and more rapid change. The persistence of a few simple stone implements such as handaxes and chopping tools, virtually unchanged, for over a hundred thousand years obviously demands some kind of explanation.

Two explanations are generally offered. By cumulative cultural growth, it is argued, a long initial period of simplicity and minimal change should logically precede the later stages of increasing complexity and rate of change. In other words, culture increases by geometrical progression.

While this idea of a slow culture growth is perfectly sound in principle, its known archaeological time span is entirely too long. If human mental abilities were not significantly lower at this early time, it is difficult to see why the frequency of innovations in material culture should have been so much less.

The other way of accounting for the duration of the Lower Palaeolithic is based on some sort of inference of mental inferiority (as compared with ourselves) for the people at that time. The smaller endocranial capacities of such ancient men as Pithecanthropus erectus and Sinanthropus pekinensis are indicated as evidence to support this viewpoint. As will be seen below, there are serious objections to this interpretation.

A third hypothesis will be offered here—that the small-brained Palaeolithic people as adults were mentally as well endowed as their modern descendants, but that as young children they were incapable of the use of symbolic language. This shortened the time available for acculturation and thus limited the culture content.

No dear correlation has been shown between brain size and intelligence among modern people. If the brain is not pathologically deformed, and the endocranial volume is within the usual range of from 1,000 to 2,000 cubic centimetres, the possessor will be expected to evidence normal human mental abilities. An individual whose cranium held only 1,200 c.c. would not be merely two-thirds as intelligent as one with 1,800 c.c., but might just as probably be more intelligent.

In apparent contradiction to this, it seems that it is only gross size of the brain, and consequent proliferation of neural interconnects, that distinguishes man’s brain from that of the great apes. No structural difference has been found which could account for man’s symbolizing ability. Yet it is precisely this ability to communicate by means of arbitrary symbols that is unique to man and is considered the basis of human culture.

We see here that on the one hand brain size does not affect human intelligence, while on the other hand brain size is the very source of human intelligence. This seeming paradox has been easily resolved. It is thought by many anthropologists that in the evolutionary growth of the human brain a critical size was reached where a small quantitative increase in brain substance resulted in a qualitative change in function. Sir Arthur Keith would put this ‘Rubicon’ at about 750 c.c., and Franz Weidenreich places the ‘doorstep to humanity’ at around 700 c.c.

The body bulk of man is between those of the chimpanzee and the gorilla, and his physical activities are similar to those of the apes and of about the same order of complexity. These apes function with from 400 to 600 c.c. of braincase volume.

Something like 500 c.c. thus represents the required amount of brain to maintain the normal biological activities of the human body. Human brains of this size are found only in some microcephalic idiots who may be physically quite normal, but mentally about equal to the great apes and with no ability to use or understand symbolic language. The addition of an extra 250 c.c. to the biologically required brain size, bringing the total to 750 c.c., seems to provide sufficient neurons for this qualitative change in mental ability. Thus it is not only the total size of the brain that is crucial, but this must also include some excess over the bodily needs.
The fact that several hundred cubic centimetres of brain substance can sometimes be lost through accident or disease in the adult *Homo sapiens* without any loss of mental functioning again shows that the full human brain size is not essential. Beyond a certain point, any further increase in brain volume apparently becomes superfluous.

The neurophysiology of this threshold change is not yet understood. For present purposes it is sufficient to note that it does occur, and at about this size level.

Further information on the threshold comes from examination of fossil human crania of great antiquity. The Middle Pleistocene population of Java had an average cranial capacity of 850 c.c. This is the smallest-brained human population known. They are indirectly associated with the Chopper—chopping-tool tradition of South-East Asia of the same time period. It is not surprising that this culture was carried by people with brain sizes above the 750 c.c. threshold. Weidenreich, at least, defined his ‘doorstep’ in part to keep *Pithecanthropus* comfortably on the human side of the line.

Now, if it be granted that virtual humanity is reached with a normally developed brain in excess of the 750 c.c. threshold, it remains to be explained why modern human brains average about 1,400 c.c. From *Pithecanthropus* to *Homo sapiens* there is a 65 per cent. increase in endocranial capacity. Since there is no marked intellectual improvement, what advantage was gained by this great increase?

In attempting to answer this question, the first step is to observe the growth rate of the human brain in the individual life cycle (see fig. 1, upper line). It can be seen that the brain crosses the 750 c.c. threshold at the end of the first year of life. The child begins to use symbolic speech sometime during the following year, usually at about 18 months, though he may understand it several months earlier. It is here suggested that this minimum brain mass is just as necessary for the symbolizing ability in the individual ontogeny as it is in the phylogeny of man. While crossing the threshold does not guarantee speech if the nervous system is not adequately developed, this threshold sets a lower limit below which symbolizing is not possible.

The growth curve of the individual *Pithecanthropus* braincase can be hypothetically reconstructed (see fig. 1, lower line). As there is no reason to assume a growth pattern different from the human type, the curve has been drawn at a constant 61 per cent.

![Figure 1](image)

The height of the *Homo sapiens* curve. The young *Pithecanthropus* specimen from Modjokerto has been entered at 680 c.c. It is shown in fig. 1 as a horizontal line extending from 2 to 5 years of age in accordance with various estimates. At a compromise age of 35 years, the Modjokerto capacity fits well with the growth curve drawn as a constant percentage of the modern one. While there is some margin for error here, it would not affect the general picture.

The above indicates that the cranial capacity of the individual *Pithecanthropus* did not pass the threshold of 750 c.c. until after the sixth year of life. Now, if the argument developed above is tenable, it is evident that the young *Pithecanthropus*, prior to the age of about six years, clearly did not possess the endocranial volume which appears to be a prerequisite for symbolization. Not until the age of six did the *Pithecanthropus* brain approach the volume and complexity of the brain of the modern one-year-old child. That this did in fact limit the mental abilities of these children seems to be an inescapable inference.

Since the slope of the *Pithecanthropus* growth curve is quite shallow in the threshold region, a small variation in its reconstruction can change the crossing point by a year or possibly two in either direction. Similarly, the actual age of the Modjokerto individual, assuming it to be a typical specimen, could alter the curve within the same range. In any event, the threshold could not have been crossed in less than four or more than eight years without producing a growth curve quite unlike that of any of the larger primates.

The marked increase in human brain size during the latter half of the Pleistocene now becomes meaningful. Up to now, serious attention has been paid only to the size of adult crania, even though there was much evidence that this size had little or no consequence in terms of mental ability. Measurements of the braincases of fossil children have been used, thus far, only as guides to the probable capacities of the adult skulls.

Increasing the size of the brain with the type of growth curve remaining constant results in a proportionate increase of the brain at all stages of life. Any increase thus moves the crossing of the threshold to a younger age. The advantage gained by this brain expansion is not to be found in the adult size, but in the gradual lowering of the age at which the children acquired the quantity of brain substance associated with symbolizing.

The enculturation of the individual is considered to be primarily, if not exclusively, based on the use of symbols. If the child lacks the ability to use and understand symbols until the age of six, his enculturation will be about five years behind that of the normal modern child. When reproductive age was reached, the *Pithecanthropus* had no more than seven years of cultural experience, whereas when the modern man reaches reproductive maturity he has at least 12 years of cultural experience. Age estimates of known fossil men indicate a very low life expectancy as with modern hunters and gatherers. In this case, five years would be an appreciable portion of the lives of most individuals.

This shorter period of full cultural participation would limit the total quantity and complexity of cultural content that is likely to be transmitted in each generation. When the age of onset of symbolizing is lowered by increasing the child's brain size, the amount of cultural material that can be transmitted is increased.

The known fossil cranial material of the Paleolithic is scanty for many areas, but the general picture of gradually increasing brain sizes is clearly evident. The poverty in material culture and the extraordinarily slow rate of change in the lower Paleolithic could be accounted for by the short period of enculturation available to these people. As brain sizes increased, the enculturation time moved earlier into childhood, permitting transmitted culture to become more diversified and less static. Not until the
Mousterian period do the known artifacts compare favourably with those still produced by recent hunters and gatherers. It is also in the Mousterian, not surprisingly, that we first encounter fossil men whose brain sizes are fully the equal of those in modern man.

A Note on Potmaking among the Lungu of Northern Rhodesia. By B. M. Fagan, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia. With two text figures

During the 1959 season of excavations at Kalambo Falls, near Abercorn, there were opportunities for observing the methods of pot-making used by the women of the Lungu tribe, who live in the area. A 16-millimetre ciné film of the firing was made and is available for viewing in the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, and it was thought that a brief note on their methods might be of interest.

The clay used for making the pots was obtained from the excavation's spoil heaps, being ultimately derived from the lake-bed levels in which the rich Stone Age floors are found. The clay is mixed with a temper of broken-up potsherds, and rolled into coils, which are used to make the pots. Pot-making takes place at the side of the woman's house. The first coils to be made are placed in a circle on the mud clay surround of the hut, a smooth dry surface. This results in a gap in the bottom of the vessel, which is filled later. The pot is built up in the usual manner, and the coils smoothed down with the hands. Normally, the rim is built on at the same time, but I was told that in some cases the portion above the carination was added later, being constructed as a separate unit.

At this stage, the larger pots are left for a day or so to strengthen them, before they are turned over, and the bottom is added. Bowls and small pots, however, are completed in one operation. After the addition of the base, or before, the whole exterior and interior of the vessel is smoothed with a stone, which is deliberately chosen from the Gamblian boulder bed which underlies this particular village. The pebble chosen is generally slightly concave-sided, and water-worn.

The decoration is then added. In the case of the Lungu, this is incision, and very rare pressed designs. The incision is effected with a splinter of wood, picked up by chance; differing sizes are used for the different types of incised decoration. The most interesting point to note is that the incisions are made by pushing rather than pulling. This appears to give more control, which is the reason why much metal-engraving today is done by pushing the stylus, rather than dragging. In examination of collections of pottery, it might be possible to distinguish between incision by pushing and by pulling the tool; archaeologically perhaps this has some possibilities. After decoration, generally with a form of chevron motif, the pots are left to dry in the sun for four to six days.

Firing took place in the bush almost exactly opposite our excavations, on the west bank of the Kalambo River. Two women were firing seven pots each at the time when we saw the operation, and it was interesting to note that the decoration on the pots in each group was different, although obviously related. It appeared from the ash at the site that the place had been used for this purpose for some time.

The two fires were placed in such a position that they were stabilized by a horizontal tree trunk. Wood was collected by the women and some children, and carefully laid to form a solid base for the pots. The wood used throughout appeared to be of a quick-burning variety, giving a very fierce flame and plenty of heat. The pots were stacked on this base neck upwards in no particular order, except that the bowls and smaller pots were at the edge. They were carefully wedged in position, and covered with wood, which in the case of the more skillfully constructed pile was stacked to enable the fire to burn upwards with ease.

The lighting of the fires was by means of bundles of grass, which were kindled by embers from a small fire lit before the building of the large fires. Apparently matches were forbidden, except for the lighting of the first fire. The grass bundles were applied to the fires, which rapidly flared up: the heat was intense, and the firing of the smallest pots took 23 minutes, and the largest 30 minutes.

FIG. 1. THE STACK OF POTS BEFORE FIRING, KALAMBO FALLS
From colour photographs by B. M. Fagan, 1959

During firing, the women collect bark from a Munga tree and place it in two bowls full of water, which are taken back to the firing place. After inspection, the smallest pots are removed by rolling them with a long branch, followed in due course by the larger ones.

FIG. 2. REMOVING THE POT FROM THE FIRE WITH A LONG BRANCH AFTER FIRING

It is at this stage that most of the pots are blackened, by inverting the almost red-hot vessel and covering it with dry leaves; until the leaves are set on fire by the embers inside the pot. After blackening, or immediately after removal from the fire, the exterior and interior of the pot are slapped with the wet bark. This was said by the women to be a magic to strengthen the pot but probably helped the casting. They were then left to cool. The particular batch that we saw were not given any treatment after...
firing, and their exterior colours varied from a greyish-brown to orange-grey, besides black pots, which in this batch were about half the collection. There were four bowls, seven carinated pots, and three round-based large vessels, divided in roughly equal proportions between the two firings.

Notes

1 Normally the women collect their clay from a natural exposure in a nearby tributary.
2 A full report on modern Lungu pottery will appear in the monograph on the Kalambo Falls Excavations.

A Note on Hollow-based Pottery from Southern Rhodesia.

By K. R. Robinson, Historical Monuments Commission, Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia. With a text figure

The paper by Jacques Nenquim (1959) on dimple-based pottery from Kasai, Belgian Congo, shows that this culture is widespread. It may be of interest to record that pots showing a small circular depression in the base have been recovered from the Zimbabwe Ruins and their vicinity. Such pots may be ancient or modern. Before going further I must make it quite clear that I do not suggest that there is necessarily any connexion between hollow-based pottery from Zimbabwe and the dimple-based wares from the Great Lakes, Uganda, or the Sudan, although it would not be surprising if some connexion did in fact exist. Presumably most of our Rhodesian Iron Age pottery traditions originated further north.

The earliest of the Zimbabwe pottery is decorated with stamp and channel motifs. Unfortunately it is usually recovered in small sherds, but, in the specimens which it has been possible to reconstruct, no evidence of the hollow base occurs. In form, however, some of these early pots are not unlike the pots from Kasai. It is in the pottery tradition immediately succeeding the stamped wares that fairly numerous examples of the hollow base have been recorded. Caton-Thompson (1931, p. 208) was the first to record such a specimen from her A1 midden at a depth of 18 feet on rock bottom. Since then many others have been recovered. This class of pottery is made up of vessels based on simple gourd shapes, and there are also many well made hemispherical bowls. Decoration of any kind is rare and poor. Clay figurines are invariably associated with this ware. This type of culture has now been proved to extend over a wide area, particularly in the Chibit Native Reserve. It appears probable that these outlying sites are also in many instances of considerable age; that is to say, some of them may date back to the early occupation period at Zimbabwe. The evidence for this lies not only in the class of pottery represented, but also in the type of glass beads and the condition of the bone remains. Clay figurines, human and animal, are in every instance present. Judging by the pottery, the people responsible for this phase of our Iron Age were perhaps ancestral to some of the modern Makaranga. The hollow base is not common to all our ruin wares, for the pottery from the upper levels at Zimbabwe, and from ruins such as Khoni or Dhiro Dhiro, does not display this peculiarity.

Some present-day Makaranga still make pots with typical circular depressions in the base, but this feature does not occur on all pots. A woman in the Chibi area who was actually engaged in pot-making (but not one of Chibi's people, who are not Makaranga in origin) was questioned about this matter. She made it clear that only those vessels which are normally carried on the head are given a hollow in the base. The following list of pots in use today in this area may be of some interest (fig. 1):

1. Hadyana for cooking relish; plain base.
2. Shamba kudzi for cooking food; plain base.
3. Chifukwa for beer given to husband before showing him total beer brewed; hollow in base.
4. Chivuna beer pot for a party; hollow in base.
5. Nyengoro for beer after working in lands; hollow in base.

**FIG. 1. MODERN POTS MADE BY MAKARANGA WOMEN IN THE CHIBI NATIVE RESERVE, SOUTHERN RHODESIA**

Buff to grey finish, smoothed; decorations are incised in the clay before burning. Nos. 3-5 have hollow bases.

The fact that certain tribes make use of this aid to balance a pot on the head, and that others do not, may perhaps originally have had something to do with the style of hairdressing favoured. Obviously a shaven or close-cropped head is desirable if the hollow in the pot base is to be effective; otherwise a ring of bark fibre or other material would be far better. I hope to go into this problem further so far as modern pottery is concerned. What does seem probable is that in Southern Rhodesia, both in ancient and modern times, the use of the hollow base was, and is, usual among certain of the peoples who are now known as Makaranga.

*References*


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**CORRESPONDENCE**

**Welsh Surnames.** Cf. MAN, 1960, 191; 1961, 31

Sir,—Lord Raglan, commenting upon a list of surnames which I stated 'are commoner in Wales and the Marches and are nowadays taken as Welsh,' states that if Jones, Richards, Roberts, Walters and Williams are taken as Welsh, 'they are so taken in error.' He adds 'They are commoner in Wales in proportion to other names, but are borne by more people of English origin.'

Guppy calculated the frequency (per 10,000 of the population) of the surnames found in Britain. He selected the farming community as one which is relatively stable and the determination in England was made county by county except for a few small ones which were
combined, e.g. Leicestershire and Rutland. Wales was divided into two groups, North and South Wales. The name Jones was found to have the following frequency distribution: North Wales, 1,500; South Wales, 650; Shropshire, 500; Herefordshire, 350; Worcestershire, 191; Oxfordshire, 40; Berkshire, 200; Kent and Essex 18 each and Lancashire 8. In East Anglia as well as in a dozen other English counties it falls below 6 per 10,000, a figure which Guppy ignores. The frequency of the name Jones is, therefore, highest in North Wales and drops remarkably as one travels east-south-east into England, i.e. Londonwards. Weekley cites the *Return of Owners of Land* (1873) which contains the names of 196 landlords in Anglesey whose names begin with the letter J. Every single one of them is Jones. Had the name Jones implied an English origin, one would have expected to find the greatest frequency in the eastern counties of England followed by a marked drop on reaching the Welsh border and an ever more appreciable fall on reaching remote Snowdonia. After adding that Jones is the most characteristic of Welsh surnames, Guppy makes the interesting point that the names most frequently found in Wales are those which have penetrated furthest towards England, the name Jones which is commoner in Wales than Evans, for example, having penetrated the further eastward of the two.

Taking the other four names mentioned by Lord Raglan, their frequency in Wales and in parts of England is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Richards</th>
<th>Roberts</th>
<th>Walters</th>
<th>Williams</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Wales</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Below 6</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Wales</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shropshire</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>Below 6</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>272</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcestershire</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxfordshire</td>
<td>Below 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berkshire</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Below 6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancashire</td>
<td>Below 6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Guppy mentions that the name Richards is not found in the north of England beyond Nottinghamshire and is also rare or absent in the east-coast counties. The great home of Robert is North Wales, and although it has scattered over England it is least common in the English counties. As for Williams, its frequency diminishes rapidly as one enters England, apart from the subsidiary centre in Cornwall.

It should be remembered that Fisher and Vaughan demonstrated significant differences in the *ABO* blood-group distribution in Buckinghamshire by dividing the donors into those with Welsh and those with non-Welsh family names. Of the eight Welsh family names selected by these writers, most were of the type to which exception has now been taken, e.g. Jones and Roberts. Fewer Roberts also noted that donors with Welsh surnames—his list included all the controversial ones, e.g. Davies, Jones, Richards, Roberts, Walters, Watkins and Williams—showed significantly in their *ABO* frequencies from those with non-Welsh names. If these surnames were 'taken in error,' how does one explain the genetic differences observed?

Lord Raglan claims that Jones, Richards, Roberts, Walters and Williams were introduced at the Norman Conquest 'as were such Biblical names as John and Thomas which were not previously used in England.' Despite the paucity of written documents from the pre-Norman period, Scarle has shown that the name Jones was used by the British clergy at least as early as the seventh century, e.g. Thomas, Bishop of East Anglia, who died in A.D. 625. The Anglo-Saxon Gospels *circa* A.D. 1000 (John, XX, 24) also refer to Thomas (sic). The Biblical name John, in the form of *Iohannes*, is mentioned by Bede, e.g. John of Beverley, Archbishop of York, *ob. a.d.* 721. Reaney states that the name Walter was introduced during the reign of Edward the Confessor but a person by the name of Walter witnessed a document in Wiltshire in the early part of the tenth century. The Bishop of Hereford who was enthroned in 1061 also bore this name. It is, nevertheless, conceded that most of the names mentioned by Lord Raglan were introduced at the Conquest and that all appear to have become extremely popular thereafter.

Surnames were often formed by the addition of 's' to the Christian name and it is claimed that this suffix is an abbreviation of 'son' or that it marks the possessive case. It should, however, be remembered that the terminal 's' was probably the flexional 's' of the Old French vocative case. Thus the name Robert became Roberts and William turned into Williams when the bearer was addressed. Similarly David plus 's' yielded Davis or Davies for in Old French the dutes both sonant and surd were dropped when 's' was added.

The Old Welsh personal names referred to by Lloyd in which the bearer's qualities are denoted yielded almost exclusively to surnames derived from Christian names and Wales became what Bardsey describes as 'the great exception' in Western Europe. Although the baptismal names were not congenially Welsh—the roots of the name Thomas, for example, can be traced back as far as Aramaic—they became in the vast majority of instances what Morris terms Welsh by adoption.

Based on Guppy's frequencies and the population of each county at the 1911 Census, the number of persons in Wales bearing the name of Jones is in the region of 215,000, whilst England with a population 16 times greater has at most 81,000. Of the latter, no fewer than 36,000 live in the counties adjacent to Wales. In preparing the estimates, each English county in which the frequency is described by Guppy as 'below 6' was taken to have a frequency of five—probably an over-estimate. The name Jones is not, therefore, borne by more people resident in England. As there is no historical evidence of large-scale immigration into rural Wales from beyond Offa's Dyke, it can be assumed that, in Wales, a person by the name of Jones is almost invariably of Welsh origin. Even if everybody by the name of Jones in England were of English origin, I know of no evidence which justifies Lord Raglan's assertion that a name such as Jones is 'borne by more people of English origin.'

*Abertywrth, Cardiganshire*

I. MORGAN WATKIN

Notes


Age Sets and 'Bull Classes' among the Topotha

Stu.—In L. F. Nalder's *A Tribal Survey of Mongolia Province* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 69-74, Capt. King gives a description of Topotha age sets. On p. 69 he states that 'the whole subject of age classes is extremely complicated and confusing.' This confusion seems to me to be due to two facts:

(a) Capt. King did not discover that there are two moieties, right hand and left hand, though he writes on p. 71 that 'the Laterals were there for long in war and hunting, the Nyiklethee right, but this point requires further elucidation.' The children born to a father of one moiety belong to the other, and the knowledge of this division is important to an understanding of the age sets.

(b) Capt. King wrote that the Topotha had 'bull classes.' I doubt this very much. He spent some time as administrator among the Longarim and among the western Topotha. The Longarim term for age set is *bul*, which is sometimes used by the neighbouring Topotha. I was very much confused when informants said that their *bul* was the age set so and so. I first assumed that they were speaking of their 'bull classes' until I realized the error of confusing their term *bul*, meaning age set, with the English word 'bull.'

A. KRONENBERG

Antiquities Service, Khartoum
The title might suggest that the remotest parts of the world are inhabited by a species called primitive man whose ways are everywhere the same. The book is, however, intended to show how very different are the ways of uncivilized men, and shows incidentally how misleading it is to describe their cultures as primitive.

Of the five peoples or groups of peoples whom Professor Birket-Smith describes, four have as the basis of their culture an imported trait. The Tuareg depend on the camel, brought in by the Arabs. The reindeer economy of the Lapps depends on milking, an art which they learned from the Scandinavians and which is still unknown to the (few) Finnish and Russian Lapps. The earlier culture of the North American Indians depended on maize, which they obtained from Mexico, and their later culture on the horse, which they obtained from the Spaniards. The Maori depended on the sweet potato, which came from Peru, and though Professor Birket-Smith calls the Polynesians a Stone Age people, he traces their spiral designs ‘perhaps’ to the East Asian Bronze Age. Of his fifth group, the Australian Blacks, he says that the origin of their culture must be sought in south-east Asia. Yet he says that ‘a culture will always be the joint product of the human spirit and the environment’ (p. 12). It took more than the human spirit to carry the sweet potato across the Pacific and the horse across the Atlantic. Of the Tuareg he tells us that ‘a strict rule of avoidance exists between parents-in-law and son-in-law, whereas brothers-and-sisters-in-law may tease each other in the most intimate way. The object of both customs is obviously to relieve any tension that might exist between the families’ (p. 167). But does he really think that our family relations would be happier if we tickled our sisters-in-law?

He has, however, admirably summarized the leading features of the cultures which he discusses. It is a pity that there are no maps, but in spite of this the book can be read with pleasure and profit.


From the time of its publication in 1956 Professor J. Maringer’s Vorgeschichtliche Religion has been recognized as a scholarly presentation and assessment of the available evidence for prehistoric man’s religious beliefs and practices. The publishers of The Gods of Prehistoric Man are to be congratulated for making this work available in an English translation.

The book is eminently readable. Its value is enhanced by some 48 pages of photographic illustrations and by numerous line drawings throughout the text. A chronological table, a map of the principal prehistoric sites in Europe, and a selected bibliography and index add greatly to its usefulness.

Professor Maringer has restricted himself almost exclusively to evidence culled from European sites. But he has gathered together an impressive mass of evidence for early man’s religion: the burial of Neanderthal man, indicating some belief in an after-life; the cult of cave-bear skulls practised by the hunters of the last inter-glacial, with sacrificial rituals indicating belief in a ‘lord of the beasts’; the paleolithic artist hunters of the Aurignacian and Magdalenian periods of the last ice age, with magical and religious rituals carried out in remote cave sanctuaries; the neolithic ‘tillers of the soil’ of the Danubian region, with their fertility cults, ancestor-worship and growing concern with earth, sun, moon, wind and rain; and the Megalithic cultures of Western Europe, with their impressive monuments suggestive of a solar cult intermingled with a cult of ancestors.

The book reveals a wide variance of interpretation given by eminent scholars to significant data, so that very little, especially in regard to paleolithic man’s religion, can be conclusively proved. Some of Professor Maringer’s interpretations might be questioned. For instance, was the bird depicted in the famous ‘hunting tragedy’ discovered in an almost inaccessible part of the Lascaux cave (Plate XIV) a tribal totem (p. 60)? Totemism was associated with a developed social organization, and there is no corroborative evidence that it existed in the upper paleolithic. Again, if the sky and sun played an important part in the most ancient belief (p. 151) we might have expected some representation in paleolithic art. We would agree with Professor Maringer that the schematic representations of men by artists, who painted animals with consummate skill and realism, probably points to a belief that an image gave power over the object represented. Also, initiation rites played an important part in the rituals of cave sanctuaries.

Professor Maringer shows how widely different were the religious practices which developed among different peoples. His book reveals how environment, food and fertility, together with a concern for the mysteries of birth and death, shaped the expression of early man’s religion. The student will find here a fascinating introduction to the religion of prehistoric man.

D. Howard Smith


This book is the first attempt to collect, review and discuss the data and theories on prophetic and messianic movements in primitive cultures. As such it is a most welcome contribution to the study of an important and controversial subject. The author’s self-imposed task certainly has not been an easy one.

In the first part the problems of definition and typology are discussed. The author’s typology is based on (1) the basic tendencies of the movements, (2) their forms, (3) the personality types of their prophets, (4) their geographical, historical and cultural context, (5) their causes (Wirkfaktoren). The second part is a survey of 256 movements. Almost every description is followed by a short typological analysis. In the third part cross-cultural problems and theories are discussed.

In the typological part the author, who begins with ‘prophet’ and ‘messianism’ as Judao-Christian ideas, does not mention Klauser’s authoritative statement that even in the history of Israel messianism without a messiah can be found. Moreover, ‘vitalism’—the result of Lebensschwang, i.e. clan vital—does not clarify the essence of messianism. Though widely used, this word is rather vague and certainly unfit for scientific purposes. But the principal weakness of this part and of the whole book is the vagueness of the term Heilerwartung-Bewegungen or Salvation Movements. Almost always religion is concerned with salvation, and movements of social unrest are linked with religious ideas more often than not.

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From his wide reading Professor Elliott has collected a great quantity of interesting matter, and if the literary interest outweighs the anthropological this is hardly surprising from a professor of English.

RAGLAN


The names of Henri and Geneviève Termier will go down to posterity surely for the work they have done in presenting the student of fossils and the working palaeontologist with such valuable references.

To be merely factual, the Atlas has 36 plates of the alleged geography of past geological periods, with, on average, three plates to a period. This is generous measure more especially as each plate is loaded with physical data and often with little silhouettes of animals that were then living. Temperature zones are also indicated. There are short explanations of each of the plates in the later part of the book, wherein the fauna and flora and the approximate dates in years are given.

It would be folly to suggest that all these details will meet with approval but it is a bold and welcome attempt to put most of the recent information in handy reference form. It is noteworthy that the name Gondwanaland does not appear on the charts.

One commends the book because it shows page by page that the shape of the continents, the relative distribution of sea and land, the rise and fall of mountains were all the factors that influenced the rise and fall of living things. One of the hardest theses to get across to many people is the simple fact that hills do not last for aye, and that the shape of the world today is just as likely to be temporary as these configurations of ancient days.

Only against this background of physical evolution can the true development of the mammalian lines and that of man himself be seen. And the geography explains, as Alfred Russel Wallace long ago realized, the present anomalies of distribution.

The massive volume on Stratigraphical Palaeontology is a separate work but obviously forms a necessary companion to the Atlas. Here in 62 tables and with over 3,000 figures the various characteristic fossils are delineated, so that in these pages the evolution of the animals and plants themselves can be deduced and 8,000 forms are named.

This is, in fact, a wonderful assortment of material that would be very difficult to assemble otherwise and one has no hesitation in stating that these two volumes ought to be in all the palaeontological libraries that can afford them. Again, palaeontologists will not agree with all the statements or the nomenclature but when a work of this size is published and all the palaeontologists are satisfied with it, the geological ages will be past and the millennium will have arrived.

W. E. SWINTON


This book appears to be based to some extent on the author's Early Man (1948), the contents of which have been expanded and brought up to date. It comprises a survey of the evolution of man and the discovery of the fossil evidence from Gigantopithecus to the first traces of man in the New World. It contains a selected bibliography and two short indices.

For whom is this book intended? The student will not find the presentation of the material helpful: the plan is confusing and the content hardly compact. It lacks the diagrams and drawings so essential for what is primarily an anatomical subject (two small maps and two small diagrams only), and the style, which is perhaps intended to woo the general public, is chatty and journalistical and keeps the reader awake with one-sentence paragraphs and paragraph headings like a national daily. ("They'd All Look the Same With Their Heads Chopped Off." 'Man Is Intelligent Because He Has Hands.') This 'entertaining' manner, which Howells brought off successfully in his Mankind So Far, here falls rather flat. The student will not find, I must add, all the important references, and he'll spend some time chasing others which are either of little value or incorrect.

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If it confuses the student, I can only suppose that the book will baffle the general public, but some readers may be relieved to know that 'there is no possibility at all of securing offspring between men and apes,' and interested to note that 'Saint Lucy was a Syracusan virgin and martyr.' But all this adds up to the sad fact that though his experience has plainly been considerable, Mr. Brodick has given the public a beautifully produced 3-volume book which unfortunately cannot be recommended in the face of more expert rivalry in this field.

BERNARD CAMPBELL


This little book has a crystal clarity appropriate to its subject. It has a biological approach and deals with intelligence as manifest in the use of tools, problem-solving, conceptual thought and the simple elements and procedures of rational thought. It is more precise as a record of the forms in which intelligence is recognized than in its understanding of the evolution for, from this angle, the crystal is slightly clouded.

The select bibliography contains 38 references in English or French and the only German mentioned, namely W. Kohler, writes in English. Is it, therefore, an ethnic rather than a linguistic barrier which has led to the omission of the work of P. H. Schiller, who emigrated to America and whose work is published in English over there? This omission accounts for the flaw in the crystal at the point where the author discusses the intelligence of chimpanzees.

The writing is so lucid, the illustrations so apt and the size so convenient, that this book cannot be regarded as anything but a little gem.

M. R. A. CHANCE


This lavish and well printed book records the results of the Frobenius Institute's expeditions to Ethiopia in 1930-32 and 1934-36; it has an English summary of 33 pages by Eike Haberland, translated by Inger Dybwad, in which the title of the book is rendered 'Archaic Tribes of Southern Ethiopia.' The subject is the peoples who live in a little-known area north of lakes Rudolph and Stephanie between the rivers Omo and Galna Dule (here called 'Woito'). They fall into three groups: (1) the Negro stocks Baka, Shangama, and Ubamer (the last distinct from the Uba further to the north-east); (2) the Sidama peoples Basketo and Dime; (3) a group including the Male, Banna, Amare (here written Hammarr), Bachada, Tsmako, Arbore, and Bodi. The first group is described collectively as the 'Ali tribes'; they are mainly agricultural, with a clan organization. The second group is pastoral with agriculture; it has kings like those of other Sidama peoples, and also submerged classes. The Dime have a hagiolothic culture. The third group consists of pastoralists who practise a little agriculture. The Male have a king of Sidama type; among the Banna-Amare chieftainship is little developed; and the Tsmako have a ritual expert like the Galla qali, and traces of a gada system. The Bodi are described as being like the Nilotes of the White Nile. The Banna-Amara and Tsmako drink blood, and bleed cattle by shooting an arrow into the jugular vein like the Masai and Nandi.

The value of the book lies in the fact that it opens up an area hitherto virtually unknown from the ethnographic aspect. (I should perhaps add, provided that we can rely on the accuracy of the accounts; for one cannot but remember the supposed conical stone tower of the Konso described and illustrated in Jensen's Im Lande des Gada, p. 370, which turned out to be a monolith.) This area is important because somewhere in this region, it would seem, lay the cradle of the Nilo-Hamites, and the new knowledge furnished by this book opens up a new field of investigation into the antecedents of the Nilo-Hamites.

The photographs are good and well reproduced, and the drawings by Elisabeth Pauli are extremely clear and well done. There is an index of 16 pages.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD


This is a volume of essays by anthropologists trained at Northwestern University. Its theme is change and stability in African cultures, studied in both their historical dimensions and as present-day entities.

There is first a short introduction by the editors, in which they state the approach adopted by the several authors of individual chapters. There are then four essays which set the scene and provide some basic information about Africa as a culture area. They deal with language (Greenberg), art (Cordwell), music (Merriam) and polygyny and demography (Dorjahn). It would have been useful to have had an account of economic and political systems in which to set the later essays. These deal with specific cultures, most of them West African. Fuller has an interesting chapter on the ethnography of the Gwanbel of south-east Africa. S. Ottenburg writes on Ibo receptivity to change and Schneider on Pakot resistance to change; both summarize recent events but neither tell us why Ibo and Pakot have reacted so differently to European impact. Wolfe discusses the Ngombe of the Belgian Congo, with some useful data from an ethnographically little-known area. Lystad's chapter compares marriage and kinship among the Ashanti of Ghana and the Agni of the Ivory Coast. P. Ottenburg discusses the changing economic position of Ibo women, Ames Wolof work groups, Hammid economic change and acculturation among the Mossi, Christensen priesthood and new cults among the Fanti, and Messenger religious acculturation among the Kuboi.

The chapters are well written and provide a convenient conspectus of recent changes in these cultures. It cannot be said that the level of analysis is deep or that there is any advancement made in anthropological theory as to the nature of socio-cultural change (not that a book of this kind need make any, but it is a pity to see chances missed). This would seem to be due partly to the confusion, expressed in the introduction, between cultural and social anthropology. The editors state that the approach of this work is 'cultural rather than sociological,' and that it is concerned with the solution of specific scientific problems lying in the field of cultural dynamics,' each paper 'deals with variables in time and space,' an approach which, we are told, is approved by only 'some' social anthropologists. The editors believe that only a cultural approach takes account of the full range of human phenomena, and in particular the 'extra-institutional' aspects of human behaviour. The sociological approach, by implication, is concerned only with the analysis of social structure and ignores such matters as artistic creation, technological invention, and the reconciliation of apparent contradictions in religious belief. And 'some' social anthropologists attack historical methods in anthropology. But the work of, say, Evans-Pritchard on the Azande, the Anuak and the Senus, or of Gluckman on the Zulus, are surely also concerned with culture and with 'cultural dynamics,' since in both cases they are concerned to analyse the relationship between the two aspects of social life that may be called the cultural and the sociological, and also to analyse the process of change in culture and social life. Both make use of historical material. Both deal with 'variables in time and space'; there would seem to be no other way to discuss change in society but to make comparisons either between a culture now and as it used to be, or between two related cultures or sub-cultures at a similar point in time. Both observe culture, both find that an obvious way of discussing pattern in culture is to analyse it in terms of the
relations between the people whose cultural behaviour is under study. They, and the writers in this book, in fact do the same thing. The one thing that they do not do is to study the distributing, acceptance or rejection of cultural traits. This might be called the study of cultural dynamics, and is a perfectly valid field of study, but no essay in this book is concerned with it.

JOHN MIDDLETON

The Indigenous Livestock of Eastern and Southern Africa.


Mr. Ian Mason and Mr. John Maule have made a most valuable contribution to the sparse number of books on livestock in Africa. The area covered is south of a line drawn from the Congo to Northern Sudan, and is complementary to Mr. Mason’s previous book A Classification of West African Livestock, published in 1951, leaving the northern end of the continent which has been mainly covered by French writers. The book not only deals with cattle, for which we have such useful handbooks as The Types and Breeds of African Cattle by Joshi, McLaughlin and Phillips (F.A.O., Rome, 1957) or A Contribution to the Study of African Native Cattle by H. H. Curson and R. W. Thornton from the London Zoo is concerned with Veterinary Science and Animal Industry, 1956, but also covers the Camel, Horse, Ass, Sheep, Goat and Pig, which are classified and described.

Anyone with knowledge of domestic livestock in Africa should agree with the authors that the term ‘breeds,’ denoting, in these days, varieties, usually of considerable uniformity and restricted ancestry, is a description unsuitable to African cattle, where tremendous variation can occur within the same herd, largely due to the migrations of the many tribes whose names also apply to their stock. Added to this may be the fact that Ancient Egypt was a great centre of experiment in domestication and cross-breeding so that varieties of cattle have been moving slowly southwards and westwards from Egypt and the Sudan, and also from the contributions of Arab and pre-Arab traders on the north-eastern seaboard over a period of several thousand years. Many of these have their origin in India and the Middle East, so that humped cattle are now spread throughout the whole continent.

The authors show us that cattle are by far the most numerous of domestic animals in most of this area, though sheep are a good second, and are in fact more numerous in South Africa. There have been great livestock improvers in Africa as in all parts of the world. Such improved ‘breeds’ as the beautiful Kenana from the Sudan, the Boran in Kenya, the Mashona in Rhodesia and the Afcanc from South Africa call for particular mention, and of these, not all, of these, herd books have been established.

The importance of the camel is shown in the Sudan, Eritrea and Somaliland; in the last, milk being the most important product. The varieties are well described and illustrated. The horse, mainly restricted to the south, was being developed in modern times, but has now, unfortunately, lost its importance. The ass has a larger area of use, but mainly in the northern and southern ends of the area under review. Sheep are classified into three groups: (1) Thin-tailed, (2) Fat-tailed, (3) Fat-rumped. Goats and pigs are also listed and described. The 179 photographs are really excellent and the three maps show the distribution of the main types.

The old idea that improved strains of European stock (such as Herefords from Britain or Charolais from France) should replace indigenous stock is tending to give way to the belief that improved native strains, with their suitability to difficult climatic conditions and resistance to tropical diseases, may be the better solution to the growing need for more and better meat in Africa. Dairy produce may be a more difficult problem.

The authors are to be congratulated on the production of a most valuable work of reference, indispensable to anyone connected with the livestock industry of Africa.

E. J. BOSTON


The general lay-out, lettering and illustrations of decorative art forms make this in many ways an attractive little book. Encouraging too is the sympathetic tribute paid to the craftsmanship of the South African Bantu. Apart from an unfortunate misunderstanding of basketry techniques Dr. Junod writes of the crafts of the Tsonga with a sympathetic knowledge which are refreshing. He knows how the woman models her pots and the child his toy animals through his own friendly contacts with them. The chapters on rock engraving, Bushman painting and modern murals in Ndebele hills are equally interesting. Written by an artist who has studied both the technical problems and visual appearance they give us an interesting account of pigments and media and of the symbolic and representational forms depicted.

But the book would have been so much better if the writers had concentrated on giving a more thorough and accurate account of the crafts of the South African Bantu and nothing more, for the section purporting to describe the arts of Negro Africa is both haphazard and superficial. Nothing is said of Congolese carving, while the West Coast is represented by a few ill selected pieces, and with drawings which fail completely to convey the character of the work. An ‘explanation’ of the totem as ‘a badge used to distinguish a family or tribe’ and ‘a local animal adopted as a kind of mascot’ would pain the anthropologist as much as the repeated confusion of basketry techniques and the statement that steel was smelted and forged by the local blacksmith irritate the technologist. Careful and accurate description is essential in any serious writing even if designed to have a popular appeal, and we must regret that in this respect parts of this book have singularly failed.

K. MARGARET TROWELL


This book, as its sub-title indicates, is a brilliant specimen of what social anthropology calls the personal document, that is the autobiography of the ethnographer’s informant produced, generally in verbal form, in the subject’s own words.

About three-quarters of the book contains the narration of the life story of a man who belongs to the dwindling but ever more productive sugar-cane labour force, a skilled workman rather than a casual, seasonally occupied cane-cutter. Born in 1903—ten years after the United States took over possession of Puerto Rico from Spain—Don Taso’s autobiography, as gathered by Mintz in the course of several years’ field work and friendship, spans more than four decades of life lived in a small cane-workers’ village of the Southern coastal area. His life intertwines with a period of the most decisive changes not only for our subject’s habitat, but for Puerto Rico as a whole, for it marks the consolidation of the American régime in the island, a radical making-over of its economy and, since the nineteen-thirties, the attainment of an increasing measure of political democracy and of internal autonomy. These changes have profoundly affected the ‘little man’ such as the protagonist of the book, in his livelihood, his work relations, his cultural patterns and his attitudes. They have also been effected by him to a hitherto unassessed degree, as shown by Don Taso’s active participation in the political and labour movements during the climactic thirties and forties. What commands especial interest for students of the sociology of religion and the psychology of religious experience is Don Taso’s and his wife’s extensive account of their conversion to, and living in, Pentecostalism. The documentation of these moving and intimate experiences constitutes an uncommon item both of study and of professional perception on the part of the recorder-author.

Approximately one-third of the text is the author’s and consists
of necessary historical and ethnographical or sociological background sketches, comments on, and summaries of, the told tale, portrayals of Don Taso's person—a striking one—and interpretations of the sombre facts of his life and of that of his peers. Autobiography and commentaries together constitute a rare and rich source from which to gather an understanding of modern rural Puerto Rico, its culture and its dynamics. A series of outstanding photographs enhances this impressive work. BEATE R. SALZ


Price $1.25 each

These are three of the 'case studies in social anthropology' published by Stanford University under the general editorship of George and Louise Spindler. The first describes a village not far from Mexico City which was studied by Redfield in 1926–7, and by Professor Lewis in 1943 and in 1956–7. It is inhabited by mostly poor peasants who still depend largely on hoe cultivation. The wife runs the home but is supposed to be completely submissive to her husband, and there is little cooperation or social intercourse between families. Professor Lewis describes very clearly and thoroughly all aspects of village life, including the changes which are creeping in. The Palau Islands, the westernmost isles of Micronesia, have been ruled in turn by the Germans, the Japanese and the Americans, and have lost much of their earlier culture. They still have chiefs, social classes, totems and the dual organization, but Professor Barnett tells us little about these. He deals mainly with their personal relationships: everybody owes goods or services to all his relatives, and the ideal wife is one who works hard in order to earn money from her husband to give to her own family.

Professor Hoebel sets out to describe the Cheyennes as they were in 1840–60, before most of them were killed and the rest herded into reservations. Yet it was not till 1885, it appears, that they were first studied (by Grimmell), and though Professor Hoebel found in 1935 old people who 'had lived and well-informed memories of the old days,' one cannot but feel, when reading his enumeration of their virtues, that this distance has lent enchantment. He has, nevertheless, given us a very interesting account of a very interesting culture.

RAGLAN


This is a socio-cultural study of an Eskimo group, numbering 305 persons on St. Lawrence Island in the Bering Sea. Based on one year's residence (1954–55), the data were systematically collected by means of informal interviews of one to two hours' duration with typewriters. This group had previously been studied by Alexander and Dorothea Leighton in 1940.

Hughes deals with the present social reality. From the eighteenth century there has been an active dependence upon the outside world, beginning with tobacco, and later until about 1900, whaling for the baleen trade, and in the nineteen-twenties and thirties extremely high prices for arctic fox, until the 1948–52 period of the civil-aeronautics and military-base developments—within the space of four years (1947–51), then the modal income for families jumped from less than $300 per year to $2,000 or more and from one of those years to the next it quadrupled (p. 20). In the next two years it was reduced to one quarter of the latter figure. The total community adopted Christianity, all high-school students as well as tuberculosis and other hospital cases are evacuated to the mainland. Wage labour emanates from the mainland as well as all modern medical and socio-economic forms. The wartime selective-service draft as well as voting and tax laws affected the population. An external school system has operated continuously since 1894. A village council was instituted in 1925 by the teacher. An elderly Eskimo commented 'before that time, we have no council. The old people try to straighten things. Now, it turned to white people rule, the council' (p. 286). The author says that this is not just change but a psycho-cultural dependence upon the mainland.

There is a clear and explicit theoretical statement of the author's psycho-biological approach, derived from Adolph Myer and Alexander Leighton. The concern is for what is 'abstractly true' as well as 'existentially real' (p. 43). It is an inductive approach 'with a minimum of specification and premature restriction of phenomena of interest' (p. 35). The exposition outlines behavioural data on the basis of sentiments ('ideas charged with affect and exhibiting a tendency to recur', p. 43), toward birth, death, health, migration, food and housing. The careful documentation particularly about illness and death demonstrates as never before in the ethnographical literature the objective reality of a hunting society. What in recent years has been familiar sociological phenomena have become experimental world. There is a more adequate documentation of informant's statements, at the expense however of observed behaviour and interaction.

If the study misses being an adequate analysis, and in my opinion it does so, at least it will oblige future workers in the area to deal with current social reality. And this for the Eskimo appears to be a confused one. Increasingly the social reality in American studies is that of a marginal ethnic unit whose economic, political and idealical world is dependent upon the larger American way of life. Rather than studying these units as ethnic groups, with implicit assumptions about ethnic identity and a traditionally subsistence way of life, it might be more meaningful to see them as diffident and marginal sections of wage-labour society.

Dr. Hughes makes a contribution in this direction.

R. W. DUNNING

EUROPE


This book will become the British Bronze Age barrow-digger's handbook, and should enable many to improve their techniques and standards of publication. A brief chapter on the history of the study and excavation of round barrows is followed by chapters on their external forms, distribution, and structure; barrows with stake and post circles; art on slabs from round barrows; types of burial and grave; grave furniture; possible relations with henges and stone circles; cultures, origins and affinities; chronology; Bronze Age society; barrows in early literature; excavation and record; and barrows and the state. The book is very well and thoroughly documented, and the half-tones and line drawings are almost all well selected and of good quality.

The author has shown reasonable restraint in introducing new terms, but those he has introduced are not all equally happy. The term 'bermed barrow' (p. 24) may or may not stay, but the existence of berméd long barrows has long been known in Wiltshire, Dorset and elsewhere. The term 'composite barrow' (p. 41), for those of stone and earth, seems quite unsatisfactory, because most other writers on the subject use this term for barrows structurally of two or more periods. His use of the term 'secondary interment' (p. 42) seems rather too wide. Surely it is best to confine this term to interments of those who might either be relatives or descendants of the original occupant of the barrow or of the same general period, (i.e. Bronze Age in the present case), and use the term 'intrusive interment' for Iron Age, Roman, and Saxon interments in neolithic or Bronze Age barrows. His grouping of barrow cemeteries into 'linear, 'nuclear' and 'dispersed', is good, and
draws attention to an aspect to which too little attention has hitherto been paid.

The author has presented his study of the British material in the light of a considerable knowledge of the appropriate continental literature, especially that relating to Germany and the Netherlands. In this connexion it is good to see the gold cup from Fritzdorf described and illustrated (p. 146 and Plate XXIV). Chapters IV, V, VII, VIII, and XIV, on barrow interiors and how to excavate them, are among the most useful and original in the book.

The book is fundamentally accurate; but one may note (p. 77, fig. 24) that the Bush Barrow grave-reconstruction is open to criticism on the question whether the bone mountings were from the sceptre or from another object; and (p. 116) that only one gold disc was found in the Monkton Farleigh treasure, but for Frank's Casket (pp. 59, 183, and Plate XXXII) read Franks Casket; on p. 119, for Bush Barrow read Bush Barrow; on p. 120 for Claydon Hill read Claydon Hill.

In style the book suffers from long-windedness, of which the following examples must suffice: 'their names are writ large in the Victorian Valhalla of the Natural Sciences beneath the Puginesque Gothic roof of the Blackmore Room in Wiltshire's Salisbury Museum' (p. 97); and 'if these warriors and amazons were not more magnanimous A-Beaker—Battle-axe—Food-vessel—Secondary-Neolithic folk, enriched by their control of the metal trade, the dominant class at least may have come from the Saale valley.'

The Index is quite inadequate for a book of this kind. When will authors learn that they, and they alone, can and should do their own indexes, even if they do not write their own books? If some of the wordiness of the text were eliminated, the index could have been expanded without adding to cost of production, and the book would have been far more useful to students.

L. V. GRINSELL


During the past 80 years really only few inquirers have added much by reports on their discoveries to the knowledge of the distribution of the later prehistoric sculptures on stone. Hence this work by Abbé Breuil and his collaborators is the more welcome as a valuable addition to a numerically poor section of the anthropological library.

Of all ancient sculpturings, the cup mark, pecked or ground, generally shallow and regularly concave, whether accompanied or not by incised complete or penannular rings, channels, etc., is at once the most common and the most recondite. Unless obviously part of an anthropomorphic figure, as M. Breuil himself pointed out in 1934 in his presidential address to the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia (Proceedings, Vol. VII, Part 3, 1932-34, pp. 289-332), it still guards its secret meaning. The origins of these markings seem to lie in late Middle or early Upper Palaeolithic antiquity, perhaps as astronomical symbols connected with the period of human gestation. No doubt the relation of these survived in stamped and cut-out patterns in pieces of proto-historic and even later personal ornament and equipment.

The vogue of the cup mark was at its peak with megalithic and allied cultures in our islands, but only regionally and seldom obscured even in complicated assemblages. In Brittany, however, the plain, small cup was often dominated by, or excluded from, many groups of carvings associated manifestly with the sun, fertility, agricultural prosperity and the dead. This is well shown by the compilers of this tremendous census of the sculpturings on the megalithic monuments of département Morbihan. Carried out, as one likes to think, as an inheritance and memorial of the days when M. Breuil went into regional problems of prehistory with that remarkable and noble Breton figure, the much regretted Zacharie Le Rouzic, this notable contribution embodies every possible type of scribing encountered in the extraordinarily rich district.

Were it not that this monograph must be now regarded as the standard compendium of southern Armorican megalithic sculpture, one could be gratified with the enormous amount of material and motives so frequently repeated and the finding of so many unbelieveably confused tangles, could ever have been recorded in situ, deciphered and reproduced from sketches, rubbings and clippings, as well as photographs, speaks as eloquently for M. Breuil's tirelessness, infinite patience, talent and genius in this field as does his huge bibliography in that of the cave art.

The value of this great paper as a guide resides of course in the fact that, besides the familiar and obvious axes, staves, wheatsheaves, ploughs, anthropomorphic figures and so on, the crude cups, cuts and oval forms fall into place in the Abbé's, the Misses Boyle's and Doize's, and le Rouzie's register. One would, however, have liked to see a scale alongside each set of sculpturings, since their dimensions can seldom be surmised except when the text contains a mention of size. This personal observation of mine is overthrown by my inability to offer higher praise to the joint authors than to express the opinion that no more comprehensive regional survey of cognate carvings on stone has appeared in north-western Europe since 1867. It was then that the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland produced as an appendix to the sixth volume of its Proceedings for 1864-65 the richly illustrated work of its vice-president, Sir James Young Simpson, 'On Ancient Sculpturings of Cups and Concentric Rings, etc.' Since several new articles on the finding of such antiquities have appeared; but so far no fully convincing explanation of most has been advanced. Surely with the stimulus of the work just considered, prehistorians will recognize that the carvings cut between say three and four thousand years ago upon the surfaces of living-rock outcrops, boulders and megaliths belong to a field as full of possibilities for rewarding research as any of comparable age and range, so intensively investigated in recent years.

A. D. LACAILLE


The history of the Maltese language is described by Professor Aquilina: no traces are left in it either of the Phoenicians and Carthaginians or of the Romans; the Arabs provided the words for daily life; the Normans and feudal lords of Sicily gradually introduced their own words for 'new ideas, new actions and new objects.' The Romance vocabulary increased under the Angevins, the Aragonese, the Castilians and especially under the Order of St. John. Thus Maltese became the only Romance language in the Arabic-speaking world.

Professor Arberry's introduction is masterly. His selection of the best poets and prose writers reflects, indeed, the Maltese scenery, the crowded towns and the picturesque, various and deeply religious people. Some proverbs and riddles are obviously western 'import.' The popular songs and folktales—'The Fisherman's Son' is here published for the first time—are, however, highly original.

E. ETTLINGER


This remarkable work, sponsored by the Norsk Folkemuseum at Bygdøy, deals with the use of bark shavings for fodder in Norway. The subject is studied in relation to the time of origin of the custom, the environmental and natural basis for it, the species of trees used, the techniques followed in stripping and preparing the bark and its real and supposed effects upon the animals. The custom can be traced back to Viking times but there is reason to think that it may be much older. Poplar and rowan were the trees most widely used and the bark was fed chiefly to cows, sheep, goats and, to a considerably less extent, to horses. The popular beliefs about its effect on milk yield and the condition of the animals present curious similarities to those entertained in Ireland about the use of furze as fodder. There is an excellent 24-page summary in English.

A. T. LUCAS
OCEANIA


The contributors to this admirable volume, old students, colleagues or friends of H. D. Skinner, are New Zealanders or interested in New Zealand anthropology or archaeology. There are essays on Tikopian ritual adzes (Raymond Firth), on the meaning of elaborate emblems carried during ceremonies in an area of central New Guinea (Catherine Berndt), on the Joe Gimlet cult in Samoa (J. D. Freeman) and on Fijian social structure (W. R. Geddes); but the majority, as is to be expected, deal with Maori or Moa-hunter topics—archaeology (Golson, Lockerbie), demography (Borrie), ethnography (Barrow, Duff), sociology (Booth), and a discussion of New Zealand’s role in Polynesia (Ross). Freeman also contributes a biography of Skinner and a bibliography of his works. Considered as a group perhaps the most notable contributions are those by Golson and Lockerbie, which together make a long way towards clarifying the position of the Moa-hunters in New Zealand history, and Duff’s analysis of Polynesian adze types (a revision of his earlier classification) which complements them. But the standard is uniformly high, and other readers no doubt would choose other contributions for special mention. A list of plates and figures and an index would have been useful additions.

No such volume could have been produced in New Zealand 40 years ago. The personal tribute must please Skinner greatly, but the quality of the essays themselves is the best evidence of his achievement.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE


At long last we have a study of an Australian aboriginal kinship and marriage system that breaks away from the old ‘kinship algebra’ and takes into account the whole process of struggle for influence, power and prestige in Aboriginal life.

The major characteristic of this social system is the domination of the younger men, and the monopoly of the women, by the older males. Not until his 80th annuity did a man obtain his first wife—and then an old woman. The authors consider that the large households built up by able elders created an economic organization of maximum efficiency: but was it not perhaps ‘maximum efficiency for the elders’?

The contrast between this brilliant analysis (which one cannot do justice to here) and the structural-functionalism of the nineteenth-syllables (e.g. Warner’s Black Civilization) is evident in the following passage, where, instead of describing some ideal pattern of behaviour as between ego and mother’s brother, the authors remark that a Tiwi did not have one category of relatives called his mother’s brothers: ‘he had at least three . . . those who had given him nothing, those who had given him wives, and those who had promised him a wife but were dragging their feet’ . . . (p. 86).

Women are the means by which social eminence is obtained in Tiwi society. Manipulation of marriages, skilful diplomacy in the bestowal of widows, daughters, etc.: these are the techniques of the Tiwi ‘manager’, to use Burridge’s term. Underlying this analysis, which ought to be read with Leach’s Highland Burma and Turner’s Lunda village in mind, is an implicit extension of the whole Levi-Strauss–Hocart–Schneider discussion, but transposed into the new key of actual political life, and all this successfully accomplished within the confines of a popular presentation.

One of the consequences of Tiwi wangling and scheming is the need constantly to readjust to kinship terms in use; the key to this process is given on pp. 27f. Rose’s recent Kinship, Age Structure and Group Marriage amongst the Grote Eylundt Aborigines now gives us valuable comparative material and (whether one accepts his general theoretical framework or not) unequalled documentation. Since many of the features which Hart and Pilling describe for the Tiwi also occur on the mainland, significant comparative studies are now possible. The features carried to extreme length in this coastal area are, of course, found in less striking form in other Aboriginal cultures, e.g. gerontocracy, initiation ‘clanship’, etc., but in answer to the question raised on p. 100 (‘Could it be that the politics involved in wife-trading were an indirect result of Portuguese slave raiding?’), I would answer ‘Probably to a much greater extent than is allowed for in this monograph—taking into account similar effects of “Malay” contact elsewhere.’ But altogether, this is an outstanding and elegantly presented work.

PETER M. WORSLEY


The author, a Swiss photographer who has produced several magnificent books on West Africa, accompanied Professor Bühl of the Basel Ethnographical Museum on a collecting trip in the Sepik District. This book is an unpretentious account of the journey, illustrated by fine photographs and good line drawings of carvings and other objects. Herr Gardi is intelligent and sympathetic, but because of the shortness of his visit and of linguistic difficulties, most of his material about ‘cultures in decline’ is at second-hand and includes nothing new to anthropologists. Some of the ethnography contains minor inaccuracies and the map on p. 23 completely misplaces the Abelam and Arapesh villages which it shows. The translation seems to be faithful, perhaps not too faithful, for Herr Gardi’s style is not easy for English readers. The publishers also remain faithful to the Swiss edition of 1956, in reproducing a mask on p. 76 upside-down. (Sepik masks seem to suffer unduly from this, for a fine Gable Mask in Bremen has been reproduced upside-down in, at least, three standard works on New Guinea art.)

Herr Gardi is an excellent photographer and the photographs which he took during his Sepik trip are a real contribution to the ethnography of the area. It is a pity, therefore, that the publishers have chosen to bring out this book, rather than his beautiful Sepik (Bern, 1958), a straightforward piece of photographic reporting, and the best done yet of New Guinea.

ANTHONY FORGE


John Papa li, whose life covered the first 70 years of the nineteenth century, was a notable Hawaiian of an important family. He was brought up to the service of the Kamehameha, serving first in the household of Liholohi. His active part in affairs thus began in the period of absolute rule, human sacrifice and tabu, and in later life he served as a member of the Hawaiian House of Representatives and an associate Justice of the Supreme Court. He seems to have been a man of ability and integrity, who while working for the conversion and advancement of his people retained great interest in, and respect for, the old ways. Other Hawaiians, notably David Malo, left important records of Hawaiian culture, but this seems to be the only collection of personal reminiscences compiled by a Hawaiian covering the first third of the century. It is therefore a valuable addition to the source material for the early contact period.

The translator has retained Polynesian turns of phrase while achieving clarity. The numerous personal names, many of which look very similar to those unfamiliar with them, are confusing; some editorial help in this sphere would have been welcome. However, the Bishop Museum, the translator and the editor are to be congratulated on another addition to the Museum’s valuable publications.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE
THE TWO ‘MARRNGIT’ OF MEDICINEMAN WATTIYA, DRAWN BY HIMSELF

Left, the spirit familiar Barratauwi, right, Kuyiringo. The white, cross-hatched areas on the heads of the figures represent hair, the lateral projections ears, and the two small circles on the neck region eyes; the cross-hatching on the bodies represents body hair (dawur, as distinct from marra, the hair of the head). Wattiya said: that each marrngit has a stone (kunda) embedded in its sternum (kumur), which provides its driving force, and that this force is distinct from its marra, spiritual power; that the stone is ‘like the wing of a bird’ (nakur binbur warrakan); that they represent the marrli, shadow or shade, ‘half bitimbi, nakun morkoi,’ i.e. half spirit, like a ghost, like the ghost from a dead person; and, in explanation of their way of movement, ‘it does not go on foot’ (yakka djalgirri maritji).
(a) Marrngit of Mun'nyeri'nyir of Tjauparoinga clan. The three flat objects at the top are stones, with holes represented by spots. The winged male marrngit is Mallagarppamirr, the other his wife (and sister) Barrambit. They come from Gurawuna on the mainland of Arnhem Land behind Howard Island. Left, the snake Bundango.

(b) The six marrngit of Wilindjango of Mildjini clan, Lower Glyde River, and the 'shade' (wall) of the marrngitimiri himself, lower right. Next to him are Nari, male, and Martungkung, the female; the bulge is the womb in which she bore the four junior marrngit above.

(c) Wilindjango, whose marrngit are shown in (b) above. This man was also a renowned rainmaker of his clan. The basket-like structure on his forehead is nganak (lit. flesh), dried human flesh or mango (blood) which are used in the practice of magic and ritual cannibalism. The two small wooden pegs projecting from the basket are yel and are made from ironwood (Erythrophleum labuccheri). They are part of the stock in-trade of the marrngit.

(d) Sorcerer, called ragalk or kalk, Burara Tribe, Cape Stewart district, north central Arnhem Land, with kandjurma, stiletto-like objects sharpened to a fine point and made from ironwood called maipin. The ragalk are said to insert these kandjurma into the hearts of their victims by way of the neck, thence down the dorsal aorta. In this way they claim the ragalk draws out the blood of his victim. In Australia these kandjurma are popularly known as 'pointing bones.'

'MARRNGIT,' 'MARRNGITMIIRI' AND 'KALKA'

Photographs (c, d): D. F. Thomson
MARRNGITMIRRI AND KALKA—MEDICINEMAN AND SORcerer—IN ARNHEM LAND

by

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131 The drawings in polychrome from north-eastern Arnhem Land that accompany this paper were made on sheets of stringy bark (Eucalyptus tetrodonta) by three medicinemen, called marrngitmirri, members of Mildjungi clan of the lower Glyde River, and of two neighbouring clans, Liagauwumirr and Ngalladjar Tjambarpoingo. Mildjungi is a clan of yirritja moiety and Liagauwumirr and Tjambarpoingo are members of the opposite moiety, dua, in which certain terminal vowels, notably i and o are elided as an arbitrary mark of distinction between clans of different moieties whose members speak similar languages. In Wanguri clan of the Arnhem Bay area the word kulong is applied to the medicineman.

In each case the figures drawn by the medicineman represent the spirits called marrngit, two or more in number, which adopt certain men, often first subjecting them to an ordeal or series of ordeals, after which they are known as marrngitmirri—medicinemen—and are vested with the special powers of this cult.

The marrngit or spirit familiars of two of the three medicinemen from eastern Arnhem Land who claimed to be marrngitmirri are shown in Plates I and J. These marrngit were said first to have visited the men whom they later adopted, subjecting them to a series of ordeals. Sometimes they brought sickness, in other cases, according to my informants, they inflicted injuries, sometimes actually breaking bones and almost killing the novice, after which they restored him and then invited the initiate in turn to try his own skill by injuring the marrngit and restoring him. After a more or less lengthy period of trial by way of initiation, the marrngit finally adopted the marrngitmirri and thenceforth helped and guided him in the practice of the cult.

According to most of my informants, the cult of the marrngitmirri or medicineman in eastern Arnhem Land is restricted to men only, although it is not a sacred cult and is not secret—that is, it does not depend upon ritual or supernatural backing, and is carried out in open camp without any secrecy, in the presence of women and children. Many of the marrngit, the spirit familiars themselves, were said by my informants to be females. Although women do not appear to become marrngitmirri they do practise as rainmakers. Some of the rainmakers of east Arnhem Land, of whom there were three in Mildjungi clan—the clan of Wilnjindgo—were women, one of whom was renowned for her prowess with the rites and magical spells of the rainmaker. However, although rainmaking depends upon the understanding and correct observance of certain rituals and the use of the appropriate magical rites and spells, it does not involve the co-operation of spirit familiars.

The majority of informants stated that the cult of the marrngit is not a hereditary one, and they asserted that although the son of a marrngitmirri father may also be marrngitmirri, membership of the cult does not necessarily pass from father to son. But at least one informant of Wanguri clan, a clan of Mindjikai harpuru, declared that in his own clan, of which the principal territory is at Arnhem Bay, a little to the south and east of Elcho Island, the cult of the marrngit was hereditary and did pass from father to son. On controversial issues of this kind, long discussions often took place among the old men who acted as informants, and finally they would reach agreement and give me their verdict. Far from being careless or merely anxious to please, they took great pains to check information by referring to people who possessed specialized knowledge, and took much trouble in settling any doubtful point. My informants declared that the marrngit was also hereditary in the Burara tribe, where, however, the cult of the rggalk was also established and was certainly dominant. Some conflict, or difference of opinion, does occur in matters of this kind particularly in north-eastern Arnhem Land where there is no hard and fast, or orthodox, view, supported by a large body of opinion.

This means that, as might be expected, in the absence of a written language or an organized body to formalize belief, there is necessarily some degree of flexibility, some scope for individual ideas, and within the atypical, intensely segmentary, social organization of eastern Arnhem Land, this variability tends to be emphasized. Even in matters of kinship, which concerns the entire group, since it regulates all behaviour, differences sometimes occurred and the people would call in old men and submit an intricate or knotty problem to them in the way that I have mentioned above.

It was intended originally to confine this paper to a short account of the marrngitmirri, translated from the statements of the medicinemen themselves, and to follow this with descriptions of the marrngit, which are shown in the accompanying plates of actual drawings of their spirit familiars made by these medicinemen. But my attention has been drawn to an article by the late Revd. T. T. Webb published some years ago, 'The Making of a Marrngit,' which contains some errors and misconceptions, and I have therefore extended the scope of this article to discuss the relationship of the medicineman and sorcerer in Arnhem Land and the roles and the distribution of these cults.

In the opening paragraph of this article Mr. Webb says: 'In east Arnhem Land there are two classes of magicians
or medicine-men. Members of the one, whose operations are wholly of an evil character, are known as ragalk, while members of the other, whose operations are always of a benign character, are known as marrngit, or less frequently gulanq.

This statement needs qualification, for the cults of the medicineman or marrngit and the sorcerer or kalka in Arnhem Land are not quite as simple as suggested in this account, and the marrngitimiri—that is, the medicineman, the man who has been initiated and adopted by spirit familiars called marrngit who help him in the practice of his cult—really belongs to east Arnhem Land, and to the territory east of the Crocodile Islands, coinciding with the area that lacks a typical tribal organization. The somewhat different cult of the ragalk or kalka, the sorcerer, flourishes at Cape Stewart and to the south and west of this territory. Its stronghold is central and western Arnhem Land. Here, in the territory of the Burara tribe of Cape Stewart which lies immediately west of the Crocodile Group, and among Raimbar’ngo, Ritar’ngo and other tribes of central Arnhem Land, the cult of the ragalk flourishes. An informant of Wanguri clan who was linked by his totemic background with the Wallamango declared that the cult of the marrngit did occur in the neighbouring Burara tribe. But the account given by this man was not impartial and unavoidably gave to the marrngit of that area a kind of ‘aura’ of the kalka or sorcerer.

It will be clear from what I have said that the two cults are not complementary, except possibly in the Burara tribe. And in east Arnhem Land they certainly do not exist side by side as opposing cults among the same people, as the Revd. T. T. Webb’s account implies. The sorcerer or kalka, although certainly known to the people east of the Crocodile Islands who live in the stronghold of the marrngitimiri, and much feared by them as part of the magical stock-in-trade of the warnha, the people of the west (strangers) does not exist as a cult in eastern Arnhem Land. The fear in which the sorcerer is held by these people resulted from the transfer of the Methodist Mission from Elcho Island, where it was first established, to Milingimbi in the Crocodile Islands—which, by coincidence, lies on the western fringe of the territory of the Burara, the very home of the kalka.

The present paper is intended to give an account of the marrngitimiri and their marrngit and particularly to describe the way in which a man of east Arnhem Land is visited by his marrngit and initiated as a ‘medicineman,’ the relationship that exists between the marrngitimiri and his marrngit or spirit familiars, and the way in which his marrngit or spirit familiars test the medicineman before they adopt him.

The coloured plates (I, J) that accompany the paper, as I have stated, represent the marrngit drawn by three medicinemen of east Arnhem Land. The descriptions with the plates are translations of the information given to me by the medicinemen themselves, generally in their own languages.

The Kalka and Ragalk

After I had been working for about two years in eastern Arnhem Land and knew the language well enough to speak and to hear most of what was said except when it was idiomatic or spoken very quickly, I made the following note: ‘The cult of the kalka or ragalk properly belongs to the area of Arnhem Land extending from the Burara of Cape Stewart westwards. It did not exist as a cult to the east of this territory, although greatly feared by these people, but it was an important influence to the west as well as among the interior tribes, the Raimbar’ngo, the Ritar’ngo and others from the Derby Creek, lying south and west of Cape Stewart and the Liverpool River.

And to this record, the following significant note was added: ‘It was unknown to the Tjambapoingo, the Kalbanuk and to most of the Mandjikai—the “sandfly people”—with the exception of the Wallamango, the latter a people of the Crocodile Islands who claim affinity with Mandjikai barpuro.’ Wanguri clan is also linked with the same group. Barpuro is a term that is difficult to define in the intricate and aberrant social grouping of this area. It is applied in eastern Arnhem Land to loosely integrated clans often occupying discontinuous tracts of territory, geographically sometimes widely separated, but nevertheless having in common at least some vital and significant part of their total totemic heritage.

The immense complexity of this social grouping caused many lengthy digressions among informants and frequently interrupted the collection of long texts in the language to enable difficult points as to the bonds between groups to be clarified and the resultant effects upon the attitudes of people made clear to me. Because the cult of the ragalk or sorcerer was known to the Yanango of Murroonga Island in the Crocodile Group—a clan of Maringa malla—who were on the borderline between the east and the west, with many cultural differences as well as differences in social organization, the impact of the kalka upon them was not as sudden or as destructive as it was upon the people of Elcho Island. My informants stressed the fact that the Ritar’ngo of the interior, who occupied a big area of country lying between the Liverpool River to the north and the Wilton (a tributary of the upper Roper) in the south, knew and practised the cult of the kalka, as did their neighbours the Raimbar’ngo.

It will be clear from the foregoing that the two cults, the cults of the marrngit and the kalka, are not generally complementary and do not, as Mr. Webb’s account implies, occur together among the same people, with the possible exception of the Yanango and Wallamango and the neighbouring Burara. But the Yanango and Wallamango are marginal groups and this has an important influence upon their attitudes towards certain culture traits, and the emphasis placed upon differences tends to exaggerate these.

The more or less benevolent marrngitimiri, the typical medicineman, a kind of general practitioner, with his spirit familiars, is characteristic of the region east of the Crocodile Islands, extending to Cape Arnhem, where the cult of the ragalk does not exist.

I have stated that prior to the transfer of the Mission from Elcho Island west to the Crocodile Group, the people of the Tjambapoingo (dua moiety) and Kopapoingo-
speaking groups of Elcho Island, the Glyde and Goyder Rivers on the west, and eastwards around Buckingham, Arnhem and Melville Bays, to Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw and south to Caledon and Blue Mud Bays, had little actual experience of the sinister cult of the *kalka*. But when the Methodist Mission moved from Elcho Island to the Crocodile Group and set up its headquarters at Miliningimi, an island lying a short distance off the coast, it brought the people who had accompanied the Mission into the very stronghold of a form of secret killing or sorcery that was strange to them. On this account they came to regard the people of the west—whom they called *warniba*, strangers—with fear and suspicion, and they have been more or less at loggerheads with them ever since, resulting in frequent blood feuds, and a considerable loss of life.

For years it was the practice of the natives who had moved from their own countries to the island of Miliningimi, into what was to them foreign and hostile territory, to discourage visits of the local people by acts of aggression and violence, depending on the Mission to protect them from reprisals.

Mr. Webb, who was in charge of the Methodist Mission in the Crocodile Islands, once informed me, when I was at Miliningimi during a brief respite from patrols on the mainland of Arnhem Land, that in the early days of the Mission there he had once, to maintain peace, bought all their fighting spears from the natives, but that when an attack from the mainland was reported to be imminent he had had to re-issue these—though in actual fact the attack did not occur.

As often occurs when a people are brought into contact with those of a different culture, the natives from the east tended to exaggerate traits of the Burara that they regarded as undesirable and often told me rabel stories stressing the misdeeds of their neighbours. After a long recital of the faults of the Burara, whom he stigmatized as *warniba*, one informant remarked by way of special emphasis, *‘yappa lukka!’*—they cohabit with their sisters. The brother-sister tabu is rigidly enforced in east Arnhem Land. Even to mention the name of a woman in the presence of her brother is a grave ritual offence, called *mimiriri*, and brother-sister incest is a crime for which there is no expiation, punished by the death of both parties.

The charge of incest against the Burara may owe its origin to the fact that these people, unlike their neighbours to the east, had a normal tribal organization, which meant that members of clans of opposite moieties within the tribe and of the appropriate kinship status could marry, since the tribe is not exogamous. Because people between whom marriage was permitted were actually members of the same tribe, the practice would suggest incest to their neighbours of the east, already fearful of the magic of their *kalka* and ready to attribute to these people practices that were to them anti-social and unnatural. This attitude of the Elcho Island people was well shown by the fact that they charged their neighbours with cannibalism and said of them *‘nganak lukka’*—they eat flesh (human)—overlooking the fact that they themselves also practised a form of ritual cannibalism which they regarded as indispensable to a hunter in order to maintain his prowess at a level that could earn for him the coveted title of *tjambait*.

During much of the time—amounting to several years—that I lived in Arnhem Land I hunted with groups of the status of horde, which often claimed one or more *marrgiti-mirri*. I frequently saw these men practising their cult, and was able to make a detailed study of both *marrgiti-mirri* and *kalka* while I lived a nomadic life with these people.

Kalka and Marrgiti

The cult of the *ragalk* or *kalka—kalk* of the Burara—, to which I have referred, is believed to be used to bring about the death of a man who has been made a scapegoat—frequently by a rite of augury—for the death of a member of an enemy horde. Often the victim will be a man against whom the deceased or his group have harboured a grievance of long standing, perhaps because he has failed to honour some payment such as that obligatory to one who has been present at a *ngarra*—or clan totem—ceremony, to make a ceremonial presentation of *ngata*, food (really vegetable food), or of *gerrri*, goods, valuables, to the elders of this clan. Of this obligation they say *‘to pay back that marr’*—to propitiate the *malli* of the culture hero whose totem is involved. This *ngata* and the *gerrri* presented by men who have attended the *ngarra* by invitation, are dedicated to the *wanghai* and are said to be *yarkomiri*, i.e. sacramental. Failure to discharge the obligation to make expiatory payments of the kind that I have mentioned places a man in danger of death by magic, even after a long period of time.

In Arnhem Land the belief is held that the death of any person in full possession of his social personality is due, not to what the white man terms *natural causes* but to the act of an enemy, often a person who is believed to bear a grudge, real or imaginary, against the deceased. Even death from sickness or drowning, from attack by shark or crocodile, and especially from snake bite, is not regarded as the primary cause, but merely the agent used by an enemy, or by a *ragalk* whose aid he has enlisted, to bring this about. The only exception to the belief about natural death is extreme old age, when, in the words of one of my informants, the people say *‘time belong him now’*—his time is spent, he has lived his life. Certain types of swellings and deformities are believed to result from ritual visitation or punishment by the *wanghai*, the totemic ancestors, for the violation, even accidental or inadvertent, of a tabu, particularly on the eating of foods which are prohibited at certain critical stages in a man or woman’s relation to his family or horde, as at initiation, on the death of near kin, or during pregnancy. Boils of a type distinguished as *marlung* are believed to be due to ritual punishment and so held as proof of the violation of a tabu, usually on the eating of food that is *dunyu* (tabu) at critical stages in a man’s life.

A man in east Arnhem Land named Nyarrang pointed to a large tumour on his neck and told me that it was due to the *malli birlma*—i.e. a blow from the ‘shade’ or spirit of an implement called *birlma*—used today as a mallet or hammer in food-preparation by women, and *‘found’*
originally by the Djagauwo sisters—women culture heroes, who, in their progress across east Arnhem Land, thrust their yam sticks into the ground as they walked. From each of the holes caused in this way there gushed a spring of water of a special kind called milmindjarck. Certain tabus restrict the drinking of milmindjarck water and my informant Nyarrang declared that the swelling on his neck was due to ritual punishment in the form of a blow from the mali of the heavy birlama, used by the Djagauwo sisters whose spirits still preside over milmindjarck waters. Some time later, the effect of the blow from the mali birlama had become manifest in the form of a swelling. It is characteristic of these people that when ‘something is wrong,’ when they receive a warning in the form of an omen or portent, or when ‘bad luck’ attends their hunting or fishing expeditions, they look back over their lives for some incident which has caused them uneasiness or concern and which they feel may have incurred the displeasure of the mali wangarr, the spirits of the ancestral culture heroes.

The role of the marrguitarri is twofold: first, to diagnose sickness or to determine the cause of death, and secondly to find a scapegoat by the aid of his marrgit—who, being spirits or ghosts, possess occult powers, powers to see things not visible to mortals, which they communicate to the marrguitarri, who in turn passes the information to the kin of the victim. As a rule the verdict of the marrguitarri is accepted without question and the people proceed to select an avenger. This will be a person within the kinship horizon of the deceased—sometimes a younger brother but often a more distant relation from a clan to which, under an extension of the kinship structure, he has special obligations, which may be reciprocal.

In the marginal area adjacent to the Burara, i.e. close to the territorial stronghold of the rogalk—the marrguitarri looks at once for signs of the tell-tale magic of the dreaded kalka, just as a man does when seeking the reason for what he accepts as ritual punishment.

Even in the culturally homogeneous area of north-east Arnhem Land, the beliefs and ideas about the marrgit and marrguitarri, as well as about rogalk, vary considerably—necessarily so, in a matter which is strongly subjective. The foregoing reference to the role of the marrguitarri discounts Webb’s statement (loc. cit.) that this man ‘possesses no special influence in the life of his horde or tribe.’ It must be apparent that at critical times, when the sentiments of the kin of a sick or newly deceased man are aroused as they are by the pronouncements of the marrguitarri (which, backed by belief in his marrgit, are accepted without question), his influence on the horde in which he lives is one of life and death.

The Kalka at Work

The kalka or sorcerer is believed to be responsible for bringing about the sickness and ultimate death of his victim but he does not profess to diagnose sickness or injury due to magic, which is the role only of the marrgit. In practice, kalka may operate singly but more generally they work in groups of two or three. A sorcerer is likely to be named as a scapegoat by the marrguitarri of a neighbouring group when one of its members has died, and to be killed by an avenger who has been presented with a spear, to which is attached a bone, usually a metacarpal bone, taken from the finger of the deceased. One or more of these metacarpal bones are removed after the body has been disinterred. They are cleaned and decorated with the orange-red feathers of the red-collared lorikeet (Trichoglossus rubritorques), lindirji. One of these maidu-fabella, as they are called, is attached by a short string to the head of the spear and becomes an avenger’s pennant. When a man is presented with a spear to which the maidu-fabella is attached in this way, he is charged with the responsibility of killing the scapegoat. This is usually done by catching the victim off guard and spearing him. Sometimes this man may defer the action for a long enough time for the injured sentiments of the group to be appeased, when a potential blood feud may be averted by an expiatory payment or by a formal ordeal by spear.

In the practice of his cult the kalka is believed by the people of the east to waylay his victim in the bush when he is hunting or to invite him to go on a kangaroo hunt. Sometimes the kalka may induce his victim to accompany him by claiming to have already killed and cached a kangaroo—which was too heavy for him to carry back to camp alone.

Once he has succeeded in getting the victim away from his friends, the kalka has little difficulty in catching him off guard and overcoming him. Generally he will have made a rendezvous with other kalka in the bush. These men overpower their victim by knocking him down, then they open his mouth and pull down his lower lip to expose the alveolar border into which they insert the kandjuruma—made from a long thin piece of ironwood called maipin, or from the long bones of a flying fox or the fibula of a kangaroo, sharpened to a fine point. Informants overlooked the fact that in this approach the kandjuruma would strike the bone of the mandible or lower jaw. To the distal end of this kandjuruma is attached a rope of human hair which is placed in a shallow trough of tea-tree bark called tannia in which the blood drained from the heart is said to be collected. The kalka, now aided by his confederates, has rendered his victim unconscious or comatose. As the kandjuruma is inserted into the heart, which is approached by way of the dorsal aorta, the victim is said to emit a series of deep husky rasping intakes of breath. Each time this occurs the kalka pauses, but as soon as it ceases he thrusts the long, sharply pointed kandjuruma a little farther down the great vessel towards the heart (tortork).

The kandjuruma is guided and shielded by the left hand of the kalka as he uses his right hand to thrust the point down to reach the heart.

Meanwhile one of the kalka places the tannia close to the victim. He now holds the man’s head while the blood runs into it; the kalka then grasps his victim around the waist and squeezes his body so that all the blood is drained from it, after which he removes the tannia and hides it. The blood collected is made into small parcels wrapped in paper bark and either used in ritual cannibalism or rubbed
on the eyes, cheeks and arm of a hunter to make him alert and far-seeing—*mel karrkuluk*—and so to aid him in sighting and approaching game that is difficult to kill, success with which brings prestige to a hunter. The blood drawn by a *ragalk* from his victim, or the flesh taken from the body of a man whose death has been brought about by a sorcerer, has special potency in magic. It is regarded as dangerous, *duya*-tabu in a ritual sense by virtue of its *marr*- *marr dal* (*marr*, spiritual power, *dal*, strong). It must therefore be eaten only with due observance of ritual precautions. In the case of a young man or uninitiated boy, human flesh, particularly flesh from the victim of a *kalka*, may be given to him only by an old man who first applies his own axillary sweat to the mouth, face and throat of the novice so that he will not become sick, and thus ensures that he receives the benefit of the *marr* without the danger that he would otherwise incur. On no account may a boy or a young man touch this flesh or blood with his own hands.

Meanwhile the victim of the *kalka* lies unconscious and is declared by the natives to be dead. They say that his *mali*—his ghost—remains with the body, but that his *birimbir* departs. The *birimbir* is very near to our idea of the soul. It resides originally with the *mali* *ranga*, the spirit or spirit-manifestation of the totem which remains always in the *wangarr kapu manotji*, the totemic well or water hole where it swam until it entered the mother's body at conception. When the *birimbir* leaves the body of the victim of the *kalka*, my informants said that it returned to the *kapu manotji*. And they added: 'All same he die.' It is as if the man has died. For when a man dies his *birimbir* returns as described above, to the *kapu manotji* from which it came and swims there until it is again reincarnated.

The *kalka* now proceeds to restore his victim to life. He takes a white stone from his dilly bag. First he rubs on the body the mucilage of an orchid called *djalkurk*, *Dendrobium diciphum*, and then warms the stone, which he places on the sore—*jii*—or on the victim's chest. He warms the stone again and now places it on the *maiyang* (throat) and chest. Then he draws the skin back into place, heats the stone again and places it on his victim's cheeks, supplementing the stone with the blade of his *mangal*—spearthrower. My informants said that the penis of the victim is erect, the tongue hanging out and the bowel prolapsed, and each of these organs has to be treated and replaced in position. Sometimes one of the *kalka* will climb a nearby tree and break down the leafy nest of a green tree ant (*Ecophylla virens*)—which exudes a strong, pungent odour of formic acid and is believed by the natives to have some therapeutic value. The *kalka* scatters these ants over the prolapsed intestine, which my informant declared to be effective in causing it to retract.

It was a matter of surprise to me to find a number of men who were in possession of the *kandjurna*, which are the stock-in-trade of the *ragalk*, admitted to membership of the cult, and were even willing to demonstrate to me their technique in dealing with a victim.

The natives do not pretend that a man subjected to treatment by *kalka* in the manner described is afterwards unaware of what has happened to him, but they assert that because of their magic he is unable to tell of his experiences when he returns to camp, although he knows that he is doomed, and prepares to die.

After a more or less prolonged treatment to restore the victim and to cover external evidence of his work, particularly in obliterating the tracks to the place where the body lay, the *kalka* wraps leaves—any leaves—around the hook of the spearthrower and waves it over the prostrate body of his victim, especially over his head. The victim stirs. My informant simulated the groans and grunts of a man awakening from a heavy sleep.

As he recovers consciousness, the victim thinks 'I have slept deeply.' He thinks 'I have slept too much.' Meanwhile the *ragalk* has hidden himself behind a tree.

'Think somebody has killed me,' *i.e.* worked magic. The *kalka* now springs out from behind the tree and frightens his victim, telling him that he is doomed and that he will die. The victim recognizes the *kalka* and threatens to kill him. He hooks his spear on his spearthrower but he misses again and again. He has lost heart. He returns to camp, intending to tell his kin what has happened so that they can avenge him. The *kalka*, joined now by his confederates, waylays the victim, and again harries and intimidates him. The man returns to camp but is unable to tell what has happened to him. In two or three days he falls sick. He feels cold and lies all the time close to a fire. He is resigned to his fate and calling his kin around him he says, 'I am going to finish' (I am going to die).

The people, who jump to conclusions, ready to see the *kalka*'s work, call on the *marrngitmirri* who holds him tightly, examining his body. He sees sores—the *malli* of the wounds made by the *kandjurna*—and he sees that the heart blood has been drained. If the *marrngitmirri* is not sure, not ready to accept responsibility for his diagnosis, he will call in others of his cult, or he will wait until morning, when his *marrngit* return to him. These often leave the medicinemen during the day and return to them at night. The *marrngit* sit on his shoulders or in the *matji-tji* (biting bag), a net basket made from strings and filled tightly with down feathers or with down (*ranman*). The *matji-tji* is slung around the neck and hangs down on the chest by a string. It is carried by men during formal ordeals called *makarrata*, and when fighting in single combat, when they put it in their mouths and clamp their teeth on it. *Matji-tji* are often worn by *marrngitmirri* and provide a place of refuge for their *marrngit*. The *marrngitmirri*, after initiation to the cult, is able to see his *marrngit* and talk to them. The people living in the same camp, although unable to see the *marrngit*, claim that they can hear the *kaindjarr*—the sound of swift motion—caused by their wings, or more accurately, since not all use wings as motive power, the sound of motion. The *marrngitmirri* claim to be able to detect the work of *ragalk*, but not to heal their victims, because their heart blood has been drained, the *birimbir* has departed and their internal organs injured or removed.

In the years that I lived with the natives in Arnhem Land I frequently saw the *marrngitmirri* at work. He claims
that his marngit, being spirits—supernatural beings—have the power to see spirit things. The marngitimiri would often approach his patient as he lay on the ground, carrying in his hand a leafy branchlet. From time to time he would sweep the air and the ground, with a forward motion and then step suddenly aside. The purpose of this was twofold—first, because the mali of the ragalik might be lurking near and would reveal itself in dodging the branch, and secondly to drive his marngit inside the body. The marngitimiri would then quickly approach the victim and place one hand over the mouth, the other over the anus. The natives explained that, when the medicineman had driven the marngit to the sick man or dead body, they would enter by the mouth or anus and walk about inside, making a minute examination of the organs. By preventing the exit of the marngit in this way, the marngitimiri could make sure that their examination was a thorough one. Later the marngit would tell him what they had seen, for he claims that, after being tested and adopted by the marngit, unlike the lay members of his group, he is able to talk to the marngit and to hear them when they speak to him.

Some of the marngitimiri said that their marngit remained with them for a long period, often for their whole lives. Sometimes they would be absent for days when they went to look for the honey on which they were believed to subsist, in the caves among rocks which they frequent.

Wilindjango of Mildjini, whose marngit are shown in Plate Jb, said that the warrakan (animals)—adding marngit warrakan—had first come to him when he was alone in the bush. Originally he had only two. They hovered around and then sat one on each of his shoulders, and he declared that they looked like ‘small pigeons.’ They folded their wings like birds as they sat, but they talked like yulogo—humans.

All the marngitimiri with whom I lived and to whom I talked about their cult, agreed that their marngit had come to them suddenly and unexpectedly. Their accounts all agreed that in the beginning they had been either incapacitated by injuries inflicted by the marngit and later restored by them or had been sick and made well again. Some of the marngitimiri said that they had been invited by the marngit in turn to test their own skill by injuring the marngit and trying to restore them. They declared that this procedure, and these visits, had continued for some time—sometimes for weeks—before the marngit had finally adopted them.

The medicinemen, in talking of their marngit, referred to them as warrakan bird (or animal) or warrakan kulong, and declared that the marngit often addressed the man whom they had adopted by the kinship term papa (father). Sometimes the medicineman applied the term yoto, child, to his marngit.

The accounts given by several marngitimiri agree in saying that their marngit did not remain with them continuously but that they visited their marngitimiri in his camp early in the morning and at evening, sometimes remaining with him all night. None of the medicinemen that I met in east Arnhem Land claimed to have a single marngit only, and the number varied from two to four or five or even more, as in the case of Wilindjango, who had six (Plate Jb).

The marngitimiri, as he gains experience in the cult, is able to see on the body of a victim of secret killing spear wounds which are not visible to ordinary people.

As the drawings in colour in Plates I and J indicate, there is a considerable variation in the concepts of the marngit entertained by the marngitimiri, but all agreed that these are wakkinngu—profane, in the sense of non-sacred, with the special implication that they are not associated with, or dedicated to, the wangarr, and so not subject to ritual or supernatural sanctions. The marngit and their cult are regarded, therefore, by the natives of Arnhem Land as apart altogether from totemism. This essential distinction was pointed out to me by my informants themselves. They emphasized it frequently by referring to their marngit as warrakan—animals—a term that they never used for their totems, except in reference to the actual animal form which the totems sometimes assumed in ancestral times—for, being wangarr, they had supernatural powers and were not subject to the restrictions and limitations of ordinary men. They were wangarr, hence supernatural.

The people always described their totems as mali wangarr—the spirits or shades of the ancestral culture heroes—and therefore, yarkomirri, literally with, or having, a name, dedicated ceremonially to the wangarr. On ceremonial occasions the obligatory presentations of ngata (food) are dedicated to the wangarr concerned by the dalkarraniiri, who acts in the role of high priest. And because of their association with the wangarr, all totems or totemic objects are subject to supernatural sanctions and are still watched over by the mali of these wangarr who guard jealously the observance of the rituals associated with the heritage that they left behind.

The demarcation between what is sacred and what is profane, between yarkomirri and wakkinngu, emphasizes the recognition by these people of the essential distinction between marngit and totem, between religion and magic.

Notes

1. The data presented in the paper were obtained when I was under commission by the Commonwealth Government in Arnhem Land, prior to the war, and during the war while O.C. Northern Territory Coastal Patrol and the Special Reconnaissance Unit, Norforce.


4. Tortore is heart in the strictly anatomical sense, but some of my informants declared that it was also the seat of the mali, or shade, a kind of non-material or spiritual manifestation, which has nothing to do with the shadow.
THE SO-CALLED 'GALLA GRAVES' OF NORTHERN SOMALILAND

by

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Lecturer in Social Anthropology, The University, Glasgow

For more than a hundred years there has been discussion of the significance and purpose of the stone cairns which are distributed all over Somaliland and which are so striking a feature of the landscape, especially in otherwise arid and desolate areas.¹ In this article, in which I discuss some former Somali burial practices and report the results of the excavation of three cairns in the British Protectorate, I argue that some at least of these tumuli are of fairly recent construction and contain Somali remains.² The cairns, which are mounds of stones, vary considerably in height from about six to 18 feet and in diameter from 12 to 60 feet. There are two main series.³ The first, which I refer to as Series A and which is the most common, consists of small rough cairns usually not more than eight feet in height. In these graves the outer walls form a circular chamber which contains the corpse and which is roofed over with wood and branches and finally covered with the stones which form the top of the mound (fig. 4). The larger Series B mounds are more carefully and elaborately constructed and appear to consist entirely of stones without internal wooden supports.

The Series A mounds are seen all over the British Protectorate; they occur also in French Somaliland⁴ and in Harar Province of Ethiopia,⁵ and are especially common in the Mijertina Province of Northern Somalia.⁶ They are also found in central Somalia and more sparsely distributed in Southern Somalia,⁷ and they become extremely common again in the Northern Province of Kenya.⁸ The Series B large mounds are also widely distributed but are less frequent and more widely spaced. In the British Protectorate perhaps the most striking group is that in Erigavo District lying along the coast near Mait and extending some distance inland up the escarpment road towards Erigavo (fig. 1). Other similar Series B cairns have been reported from Bandar Ziyada in Mijertina⁹ and occur elsewhere in Somalia. Further south there is a particularly striking cluster near Wajir in the Northern Province of Kenya where they are generally ascribed by the local Somali and Galla to the Madanle, an unspecified people of high stature.¹⁰ Curle has described the excavation of two of these large tumuli at Mandera and Wajir, finding traces of skeletal remains which crumbled at his touch, earthenware sherd s, and a copper ring.¹¹ Baxter has opened other Series B cairns in the Marsabit region but found no remains or artifacts.¹²

In Northern Somaliland both series, and especially the smaller tumuli, have generally been ascribed to the Galla¹³ of whose previous occupation of this Somali area there is now considerable evidence.¹⁴ More tentatively, Puccioni has suggested a possible connexion between the cairns and the various Somaliland Stone Age industries.¹⁵ In most cases, however, the connexion proposed between the mounds and the Galla appears to be the result of a linguistic misunderstanding. It is true that contemporary Somali in Northern Somaliland often loosely refer the cairns to gaalo (sg. gaal), a word which means primarily pagans or non-Muslims and is often applied derogatorily to Europeans. This term, however, is linguistically, at least in modern Northern Somali, quite distinct from the name Gaalla (or less commonly Gaalalawi) by which the Somali refer to the Galla peoples whom, since many are Muslim, they do not regard as pagans (gaalo).¹⁶ Thus while Somali today consider both series of tumuli to be non-Muslim or pre-Islamic, since they differ markedly in construction from Somali burials today (see figs. 2 and 3), this is not evidence that they are Galla graves. Indeed, in general Somali vaguely attribute them to the distant past, to the 'people who were before' (dadki hore) and they are most widely referred to as taf (mounds) or haabal maguur (lit. graves that do not move).¹⁷

The problem of discovering who the cairn-makers were can most profitably be approached after a brief consideration of some Northern Somali burial customs. Today Northern Somali funeral rites are similar to those practised in most Muslim countries and the graves, in which the deceased is buried with his head turned towards Mecca, are marked by two upright stones, one set at each end of the grave which lies in an east-west direction (see figs. 2 and 3). I was told, however, that formerly when a member of a small party was killed or died in a stony region he was often

FIG. 1. SERIES 'B' CAIRN NEAR MAIT

Mait is on the coast of Erigavo District in the British Somaliland Protectorate. The encircling apron of stones can be seen in the foreground. Photographs: I. M. Lewis, 1957
simply placed on the ground and covered with a mound of stones. I was also told by Tise and Gadaburusi elders in the west of the Protectorate that formerly if a person died Muslim junk'he) he was not buried in the earth but simply covered with a pile of stones. This was because it was believed that if a corpse were interred in the earth on a Friday his clan and lineage would also perish.18

These unorthodox burial customs which are said to have been followed in the past and which were discussed somewhat shamefacedly may still persist in some isolated areas, although I have never seen them. They do however suggest that some of the stone tumuli are in fact Somali burials. This conclusion is supported by the results of two excavations which Mr. J. M. Watson, O.B.E., formerly Director of Agriculture, and I made in 1957 in the Protectorate near Gaan Libah (9°52'; 44°48'). Both the mounds examined were of the smaller Series A type and situated on high ground fairly close to the Agricultural Department hill station at Gaan Libah. The first was a rough cairn about five feet in height and 14 feet in diameter which had collapsed a little at the top revealing some of the internal wooden cross-beams which are a feature of these tumuli (see fig. 4). We cleared the top and sufficient of the stone walls to allow us access to the centre of the mound where at ground level we found the skeletal remains of two individuals. The bodies were lying side by side in a flexed position with the tops of the skulls uppermost. We found no other remains in the tumulus. The mound itself was encircled by an 'apron' of stones at a radius of 12 feet from the centre. This again is a common feature of both Series

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**FIG. 2. CONTEMPORARY-STYLE SOMALI GRAVES NEAR SHEIKH**

These lie in desolate country and are protected by a brush fence or zariba.

**FIG. 3. SOMALI GRAVES NEAR SHEIKH ISAAQ'S TOMB AT MAIT**

Some of these graves have the name, date, and often camel brand of the occupant incised on stones placed at the ends of the grave as shown. Many of these typical Somali Muslim graves are 200 years old.

in the season called daalallo (a short wet cold spell during the dry winter (jiilaal) months) it was customary to bury him in the same manner. Again, more generally, it is said that in the past when a person died on a Friday (the

**FIG. 4. PARTLY EXCAVATED SERIES 'A' 'GALLA GRAVE' NEAR GAAN LIBAH**

Wooden supports and skeletal remains are visible.
### Table I. Measurements of Skeletal Remains from Somaliland Graves Compared with Those of Somali and Galla Skeletons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crania</th>
<th>Graves</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>Somali</th>
<th>Galla</th>
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<tr>
<td>Maximum length</td>
<td>180.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>186.2*</td>
<td>177.4*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maximum breadth</td>
<td>131.1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>137.8</td>
<td>134.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frontal arc</td>
<td>124.1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parietal arc</td>
<td>125.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occipital arc</td>
<td>116.2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontal chord</td>
<td>106.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parietal chord</td>
<td>111.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occipital chord</td>
<td>95.8</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Minimum frontal breadth</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
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<td>Basi-bregmatic height</td>
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<td>135.8</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>97.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Basi-nasal length</td>
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<td>Foraminal length</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
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<td>Upper facial height</td>
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<td>16.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal height</td>
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<td>17.7</td>
<td>48.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal breadth</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palatal length</td>
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<td>0.7</td>
<td>48.5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>33.8</td>
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<td>Cephalic index</td>
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**MANDIBLES**

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<tr>
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<td>Minimum rameal breadth</td>
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<td>Bimental breadth</td>
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**LONG BONES**

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<td>Femur, maximum length</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; oblique length</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; shaft girth</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tibia, maximum length</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>(excluding spine)</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; oblique length</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; shaft girth</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Humerus, maximum length</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; oblique length</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; shaft girth</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ulna, maximum length</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; shaft girth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radius shaft girth</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

* These pairs of means differ significantly.

A and Series B cairns and is also found round some contemporary Somali graves especially amongst the 'lise and Gadabuursi of the west of the Protectorate.19

The second tumulus was similar in construction having a height of six feet and a diameter of 24. It yielded the skeletal remains of three individuals. Two were lying at ground level round the sides of the grave and facing each other and had their legs flexed. Some eight inches under the topsoil was the third skeleton lying directly under one of the previous bodies. Again there were no other remains.

These skeletal remains and those of two other individuals from a third grave in the west of the Protectorate were submitted to Dr. D. F. Roberts of the Department of Human Anatomy, Oxford, who very kindly examined and
classified them. All the remains were found to be those of males, three elderly, two middle-aged, and two young adults. Several of the cranial, mandibles and long bones were sufficiently well preserved to permit measurements to be taken, the technique employed being that defined by Morant, Munter, and Trevor. The births of the long bones were obtained and measured on the femur and tibia at the mid point as determined from the maximum length, and on the humerus, ulna, and radius at the point of least circumference. The metrical results from the three graves are shown in the table where they are compared with Somalian and Galla skeletal characters. Unfortunately the information on both Somalian and Galla skeletal characters is very limited and not even entirely satisfactory since in some cases Somalian and Galla skeletons may have been confused. However, on the basis of the available material in only two of the measurements obtainable on the remains (cranial length and foraminal breadth) do the Galla differ significantly from the Somalian. In both of these the means of the graves series occupy an intermediate position, so that it is not possible from the available evidence to decide with which of these two peoples the affinities of the graves series lie (see Table I).

In an effort to gain some idea of the age of the Gaan Libah burials samples of wood from the internal supports of the two cairns were sent to the Research Laboratory at the British Museum for radio-carbon analysis. Only one sample was tested, and for this an age of 100±150 years was obtained. This result means that if the wooden supports and burials are contemporaneous the Gaan Libah graves cannot be older than 250 years. Since, moreover, there is no reason to suppose that there were Galla in this area at so late a date it seems legitimate to assume that the skeletons are those of Somalian.

These results taken with what has been said above of former Somalian burial customs suggest that some, if not many, of the Series A cairns in Northern Somaliland are comparatively recent and contain Somalian remains. If this is generally the case the term 'Galla graves' is a misnomer. This is not of course to suggest that all the small tumuli are of precisely the same period, or that those of other Somalian areas will yield similar results. What is now required is a more extensive examination of these burials and a systematic investigation of the larger Series B mounds, which may well be considerably older.

Notes

2 This paper is based on research carried out in the Somalilands between 1935 and 1937 under the auspices of the Colonial Social Science Research Council, London, whose generosity I acknowledge with gratitude. In addition to Mr. J. M. Watson with whom I excavated the cairns discussed in this paper and to Dr. D. F. Roberts, I am extremely grateful to Mr. L. E. S. Edwards and the Radio-Carbon Dating Advisory Screening Committee of the British Museum for accepting samples from the graves for radio-carbon analysis. For criticism and comments and information on cairns elsewhere in Somaliland I am grateful to Dr. P. T. W. Baxter, Dr. G. Benardelli, and Dr. J. C. Trevor.
4 Jousseaume, loc cit.
5 P. Azais and R. Chambard, Cinq années de recherche archéologique en Ethiopie, Paris, 1931.
6 Cerulli, loc cit.
7 N. Pucioni, op cit., and personal information from Dr. G. Benardelli.
8 A. T. Curle, Prehistoric graves in the Northern Frontier Province of Kenya Colony,' MAN, 1933, 102; also personal communication from Dr. P. T. W. Baxter.
9 Cerulli, loc cit., p. 161.
10 The Madane (or Madine) are a group traditionally allied to the Somali Ajurraan who occupied the area between the Shebelle and Isaba Baidoa in modern Somaliland in the seventeenth century. See M. Colucci, Principi di diritto consuetudinario della Somalia Italiana meridionale, Florence, 1924, pp. 159-61.
11 Curle, loc cit.
12 Baxter, personal communication.
16 See Lewis, loc cit.
17 The word talo is also applied to small piles of stones which are not graves but cairns commemorating a legendary queen called Arawaio who is said to have ruled the Somali country at some time in the unspecified past and is chiefly remembered for her efforts to exterminate the male population by ordering the castration of all male infants. Such Arawaio cairns are sometimes seen at the side of a road or track, especially in the east of the Protectorate, but this belief and the custom of erecting cairns in memory of Arawaio seems to be dying out today. Cf. R. E. Drake-Brockman, British Somaliland, London, 1912, pp. 169-72.
18 This belief may be connected with the common view in Northern Somaliland that Friday is the day of repetition. A gift received on a Friday indicates that more may be received; but a loss suffered on a Friday is likely to lead to further losses.
22 See Lewis, loc cit.
OBITUARY

The President and Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute deeply regret to announce the death, in New York on 2 May after a long illness, of its Honorary Secretary, Dr. Marian W. Smith, who had devoted so much energy and originality to its interests. Full obituary tributes will be published shortly.


A. L. Kroeber, who died in Paris on 5 October, 1960, was one of the most eminent and influential anthropologists that America has thus far produced. Born in Hoboken, N.J., on 11 June, 1876, he received his B.A. at Columbia in 1896 in English Literature and his M.A. in 1897, his thesis subject being the English Heroic Play. He took courses from Franz Boas in linguistics and statistics and, after recording tales from a group of Smith Sound Eskimo whom Peary had brought back to New York, shifted his field and received his Ph.D. in anthropology (the first given by Boas at Columbia) in 1901. In 1901 he founded the Department of Anthropology at the University of California (Berkeley), to which he remained attached until his retirement in 1946.

His early interest in linguistics never lapsed, and he contributed over his active career period of 60 years a large number of studies of aboriginal languages and genetic classifications. His latest interest in this field was glottochronology, a subject on which he published a number of important papers aimed at refinement of methodology.

Kroeber's wide range of interest and competence in the spectrum of anthropology made him one of the few real masters of that discipline — E. B. Tylor and F. Boas may be counted as his peers. Kroeber's Anthropology published in 1923 was the first general teaching textbook of the subject, its only predecessor being E. B. Tylor's work of the same title published in 1881. Tylor and Kroeber, incidentally, both died at eighty-four. Tylor's Anthropology was published when he was forty-eight, Kroeber's at the age of forty-seven. In most of his writings (which number about 325 articles, monographs and books) his chief theoretical interest was directed towards the discovery of patterns or regularities of cultural phenomena. In Kroeber's own words, 'While others have been concerned about the interrelations and impingements of culture and society, or culture and personality, or culture and history, I have tried with cumulative consciousness to extricate the forms and patterns of culture from out the mixture of behavior, events, institutions, individuals, and psychic and somatic relations which constitute the primary and raw material of the historical and social sciences' (The Nature of Culture, 1952, p. 5).

In all his writings this search for cultural patterns and forms obtrudes, whether it concern changes in women's fashion (Amer. Anthrop., Vol. XXI, 1939), configurations of culture growth (1944), Mohave epic tales (1951), classificatory relationship systems (1959), or linguistic categories (1960).

Kroeber was one of the founders of the American Anthropological Association, its president (1917), president of the American Folklore Society (1906) and the Linguistic Society of America (1940). He was a member of the National Academy of Sciences and a number of other societies. He was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1928. He received the Huxley Memorial Medal in 1945 and the Viking Medal in 1946. After retirement he held visiting professorships at Brandeis, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard and Yale. His honorary degrees include Sc.D., Yale (1946), Harvard (1932) and Chicago (1959); LL.D., California (1951) and Dr. Hum. Lit., Columbia (1953).

British anthropologists who did not know Kroeber might learn more about him from one of his books, The Nature of Culture (University of Chicago Press, 1952). ROBERT F. HEIZER

Books by Alfred L. Kroeber

1944 Peruvian Archaeology in 1942. Viking Fund Publs., No. 4.
Sickle-Cell Haemoglobin in a Pathan. By Dr. H. Lehmann and A. Sharif, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, and Dr. G. L. Robinson, Devonport Laboratory, Greenwich.

With four text figures and two tables

'Sickle cells' are red blood cells which contain an abnormal variant of human adult haemoglobin. This pigment has a low solubility in the deoxygenated state. When reducing agents are added to sickle cells the abnormal haemoglobin forms unidirectional crystals—tactoids—which give the cell a spiky and sometimes sickle-like appearance. This human character is inherited as a Mendelian dominant, and heterozygotes possess both normal adult (A) and sickle-cell (S) haemoglobin. The sickling phenomenon is most widely seen in Africa, south of the Sahara and north of the river Zambezi, and in populations derived from these parts.

In 1952 a considerable incidence of the sickling gene was discovered in some of the aboriginal communities of the Nilgiri Hills in Southern India (Lehmann and Cutbush, 1952a).

Since then more reports have come from these and several other Indian populations (Dunlop and Mozumder, 1952; Büchi, 1955; Bhatia et al., 1955; Foy et al., 1956; Lehmann and Sukumaran, 1956; Shukla and Parande, 1956; Sukumaran et al., 1956; Shukla and Solanki, 1958; Swarup et al., 1959). Most of these could be related to the first observations in Vedoid communities because they were made in Harjians. The Pre-Dravidian Indian populations are thought to be the ancestors of both the present-day aboriginal Vedoids in Southern India and of the Sweeper castes. Lehmann and Cutbush (1952b) suggested that the sickle-cell gene in India had not come from Africa, but had, in prehistoric times, come to both Africa and India from a common source in the Middle East. No reports of the sickling gene have, as yet, come from the northern parts of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, though we alone have examined some thousand random blood samples from various parts of this region. However, in 1958 the late Dr. F. C. Hoyte, of Liverpool, passed through Karachi on his way to climb Mount Minapin in the Karakoram Range, where he unfortunately met his death. With Dr. Sarfaraz Ahmad he had collected 76 bloods from patients in the Jinnah Central Hospital; these were sent to London and one of these samples, from a female Sweeper named Husseina, contained sickle cells. Electrophoresis showed this to be a case of sickle-cell trait (haemoglobin A+S).

In February, 1960, a Pakistani seaman was sent, complaining of abdominal pain, to the Seaman's Hospital, Greenwich, where his blood was taken as a matter of routine at the Devonport Pathological Laboratory. There was no anemia. The abdominal pain was thought to be due to ascariasis and disappeared within 24 hours. The occasion was taken to examine his blood for abnormal haemoglobins. This was done in the course of an investigation of all bloods of any available Chinese and Indians.

Of 98 samples so far examined, 30 came from Pakistan; of these 23 came from East Pakistan, four from West Pakistan, and in three samples the exact origin was not determined. In two cases from East Pakistan haemoglobins A and E were found. This is not surprising as haemoglobin E has been found in a survey carried out by Chatterjea (1959) in Bengal in 4 per cent. of over 1,000 individuals.

In this present case sickling was found (fig. 4) when the intact cells were reduced with 2 per cent. sodium metabisulphite. On electrophoresis (fig. 2) two haemoglobins were demonstrated moving in the position of haemoglobins A and S. The same two haemoglobins could be demonstrated by chromatography (fig. 3) on ion exchange resin.

The patient, N.K. (fig. 1), was a Pathan from the village of Koozabandi in the former Swat State. His ancestors had, to his knowledge, all come from this area. The observation of sickling in a Pathan is of particular interest as it might be considered unlikely that African influence has reached this area. In the case of the Vedoids, the blood-group distribution was quite different.

Fig. 1. The Pathan seaman N.K.
TABLE I. Blood groups of N.K.

Determined by Miss C. M. Giles in the Medical Research Council Blood Group Reference Laboratory, London (Director, Dr. A. E. Mourant)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABO Phenotype</th>
<th>Rhesus Phenotype</th>
<th>Probable Rhesus Genotype</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Lu^a</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>Le^a</th>
<th>Le^b</th>
<th>Fy^a</th>
<th>He</th>
<th>Hu</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>cDe</td>
<td>cDe/cDe</td>
<td>MN</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

from that in the sickling populations of Africa. Notably the Rhesus blood group R_0 (cDe) has an incidence of more than 50 per cent. in all African populations tested south of the Sahara.

**Fig. 2.** Paper electrophoresis at alkaline pH of N.K.'s hemoglobin (right) and of hemoglobin 'A' control (left)

It can be seen that N.K.'s hemoglobin separates into two components, hemoglobin A and another more slowly moving band—hemoglobin S. The direction of movement is from the top of the figure.

**Table II. Blood findings**

- Hemoglobin = 98 per cent, or 14.5 grams per 100 ml.
- Red blood cells = 5,280,000 per cu. mm.
- Colour index = 0.94
- Packed cell volume = 45 per cent.
- Mean corpuscular hemoglobin = 28.77.
- Mean corpuscular hemoglobin concentration = 32.5 per cent.
- Mean corpuscular volume = 98 cu. μ.
- Reticulocytes = 0.4 per cent.
- White blood cells = 8,000 per cu. mm.

Differential white count per cent. per cu. mm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N, Polymorphs</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>4,000</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lymphocytes</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3,520</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monocytes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eosinophils</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basophils</td>
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No abnormalities or immature cells seen in the Leishman film.

Hemoglobin:
- Alkaline Resistant Hemoglobin (F): absent
- Sickle-Cell Test: positive
- Electrophoresis: Hemoglobins A + S seen
- Chromatography: Hemoglobins A + S seen

(Mourant, 1954), but not one of 156 Vedoids examined by Lehmann and Cutbush (1952b) was found to possess this character. One can conclude little from the blood groups of one individual, but it was perhaps surprising that N.K. seemed homozygous for the Rhesus gene combination cDe. However, this gene is found at a 4 per cent. incidence in Northern India. Clearly a survey of Pathans for abnormal hemoglobins in general and sickling in particular might yield useful information. Such knowledge would not only be of anthropological interest, but should have a bearing on the assessment of anemia in that part of the world.

**Fig. 3.** Chromatography at pH 6 of N.K.'s Hemoglobin

On passing the hemoglobin of N.K. through an Amberlite IRC 50 column two components are seen, hemoglobin A and hemoglobin S. The direction of movement is from the top of the figure.

**Fig. 4.** Sickle cells from N.K.'s blood

On the addition of an isotonic reducing agent to N.K.'s blood sickle cells were formed. Enlarged × 1,000

**Summary**

The finding of the sickle-cell trait in a Pathan is reported. This is the first account of the occurrence of sickling in West Pakistan. A previous unpublished observation of sickling in one of 76 blood samples collected in Karachi by the late Dr. F. C. Hoyte is mentioned.

**References**

CORRESPONDENCE

‘Kuda Kepang’ in Batu Pahat, Johore. Cf. MAN, 1961, 26

Sir,—Dr. Hooykaas anticipates me in pointing out that the word *tznamidi* is probably more properly *khmērti*, whisp. He is confirmed in this opinion by Professor P. de Josselin de Jong and Dr. Th. Pigeaud—both of whom have graciously suggested the same to me in private correspondence. My oversight.

Dr. Hooykaas’s suggestion that I should have said ‘something about the country of origin of Kuda Kepang, Java’ is puzzling. Dr. Pigeaud has already done this at length. My problem was not seeking other origins: it was something quite different. And this is not the place to repeat myself. If, on the other hand, Dr. Hooykaas’s intention was simply to enter a plea for the more frequent use of Dutch sources, it is most welcome. The trouble is that Dutch publishing concerns do not seem to be as enterprising as others. However, there are good reasons for supposing that in the next few years the work of Dutch scholars will become more generally known and more accessible—which is nice to contemplate.

Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford
K. O. L. BURRIDGE

Function and Prehistoric Art. Cf. MAN, 1961, 84

Sir,—It is difficult to understand Dr. Ascher’s thesis that Vedda art functions ‘within subsistence while appearing within a religious context.’ All the data that he uses are taken from *The Veddas*, 1911, by my husband and myself. Dr. Ascher mentions only pictorial art; he had referred to songs, incantations and dances which would have been correct to say that those activities are central to the ‘religious context.’ We were however unable to discover any connexion between either the process of painting or the objects painted on the Veddas rock shelters and ritual or mythology, nor were they regarded in any way as symbolic. The paintings, which are extremely crude, represent men, women, dogs and both predatory and edible animals, and were mostly made by women. They said that they painted merely for amusement, and this was borne out by the presence of a character representing a man on horseback which occurred several times. Horses play no part in Vedda life or economy and the idea of a man on horseback appeared to them as a curiosity. It is very unlikely that horsemen had been seen riding in the jungle. Though there is a road about eight or ten miles from the rock shelter, none of the women had been to it. It was rare for the men to go on it, so that road traffic of any kind was unfamiliar to them; but one Vedda had been obliged to go to the local government headquarters. On his return he told the women of the strange phenomenon that he had witnessed on his journey—a man riding a horse—so he drew it on the rock. All the evidence that we were able to obtain showed that the paintings were made merely for personal pleasure; there was nothing to indicate that they were a women’s ‘group activity’ as is suggested by Dr. Ascher.

However, the Veddas understood the use of graphic signs for definite purposes. Plate XXII, fig. 2, shows a sign which they cut in the bark of a tree as a boundary mark and Plate XXIV depicts two sign messages that Sinhalese chiefs sent to Veddas instructing them to bring honey and venison, whether as tribute or for barter is not clear.

It may be asked what light the Vedda paintings throw on the interpretation of paintings in the paleolithic caves. The fact that paintings which appeared like the sun and centipedes respectively were to the Veddas realistic representations of a receptacle for the collection of honey and iguanas is a sound warning against easy interpretations or indications of symbolism. The Vedda paintings are found on the back of the rock shelters which serve as temporary homes; and there is no indication of sacredness attached to hearth or home. The rock paintings in the paleolithic caves of France on the contrary are away from the living quarters near the entrance of the caves. Many of them are on the walls of great caverns approached by narrow and tortuous passages. One can scarcely imagine women going into these dark awe-inspiring caverns to pass away the time in an occupation that may perhaps be regarded as doodling.

London, W.14
BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

Ghana and Ancient Egypt. Cf. MAN, 1960, 238

Sir,—Dr. M. A. Murray’s review of my book *The Divine Kingdom in Ghana and Ancient Egypt* is so unfair that a reply is necessary.

She starts by saying that it is quite impossible to equate any religion of today with that of the Ancient Egyptians which died out 2,000 years ago; ‘every country in the world has in that time changed in its social and religious conditions.’ If she had properly read my book she would have seen that the Akan are to this day, as were the Ancient Egyptians, a matrilineally organized people (pp. 15, 31, 40, 49, 94, 228, 231, 232). Changes also took place in Ancient Egypt and I have distinguished between four phases which are analogous to those among the Akan.

Dr. Murray says that my book ‘is an example of the unfortunate result of copying.’ As she condemns modern writers on the religion of Ancient Egypt, I suppose that she means by it that I have copied their opinions and not those of earlier Egyptologists. Furthermore I ‘copied’ the account of the Egyptian *Sed* festival and she tells me that *Sed* means ‘Tail,’ ‘Tail Festival.’ Many Egyptologists do not accept this translation of the word, nor do they agree on the animal to which the caudal appendage belonged. She also reproaches me for not having studied the examples of the *Sed* festival carved on the protodynastic mace heads and slate palettes. True, but then these depict solely cult actions of the king which also appear on later reliefs and I was not concerned with the interpretation of details which Egyptologists themselves find difficult.

She closes her review by saying that 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.’ I suppose that by ‘first-hand knowledge’ she means that I am not an Egyptologist. Under the ‘List of Abbreviations,’ however, she can find the names of 52 works on Ancient Egypt from which I have quoted, apart from numerous articles which have appeared in British, French and German journals.

London, W.2
EVA L. R. MEYEROWITZ
REVIEWS

GENERAL


Nearly 50 invited guests contributed personally and this volume includes papers by 23. Darwin changed for ever the study of man by his conception of its inherent relation to natural history, and Kroeber admirably states in an introductory lecture. In this volume psychological studies play a great part and psychologists wrestle with problems of avoiding misunderstandings, making their complex statements sometimes difficult to understand, but always bringing out the acceptance of Darwin's pioneer work.

The erect posture, freeing the hands to bring food to the mouth, the ensuing jaw reduction, helping to balance the head upright, the shorter jaw, broader at the back, freeing the tongue for more varied speech, the acquisition of tool-making and of fire, use of animal skins as covering and natural selection of diminished hairiness, and parallel with all this the prolongation of infancy and attendant increase of control of sex urges by hormones; all these are early stages accompanying social progress from gathering to more advanced and coherent development of hunting, with its social implications and stimulus to language development involving naming of objects and consequent growth of reflective consciousness and objectivity of thought. Long infancy allowed delay in suture closure and so helped growth of brain following the evolution of tool-making. The later development of food-production in South-West Asia, China and Meso-America is reviewed, and methods of study of preliterate societies are debated at some length.

Some contributors turn to the future and argue about the complex relation of humanian schemes to the maintenance of genetic health. One interesting and formidable forecast pictures the megadecore of the human being as DNA being used to modify biological heredity. Several writers urge the use, as tentative hypotheses, of ideas that may not harmonize with one another in this, still very early, phase of the search for truth about man's place in nature. British contributors are Dr. Leakey, Professor Stuart Piggott, Dr. Critchley and Sir C. G. Darwin.

H. J. FLEURE


This monograph on the ear of vertebrates in general, and of man in particular, collects facts which are distributed widely in the literature, though the references are restricted to only those which are actually mentioned in the text. Professor Clemens Fritz Werner teaches zoology at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig. His own contributions began nearly 30 years ago and have been continuously concerned with both the labyrinth and other organs of the ear in numerous different animals. Professor Werner accepts that events in phylogeny present to us a continuous picture. While it is possible to describe the present state of an ear this must not be an isolated aspect but has to be correlated with the processes of evolution. One has to confess that in this country at least such views do not need defending. It is generally accepted that the function of an organ in one animal may not be the same for this organ in another. For instance the hyomandibular structure becomes first, in the animal kingdom, a carrier of the mandibular joint and only later on becomes an organ which conducts sound. These changes in function, as well as in form, throughout animal kingdom are discussed in great detail and are followed into the ontogeny. The 300-page monograph contains, in addition to the numerous references, 150 excellent illustrations.

H. LEHMANN


The author, who is professor of human paleontology at Poitiers, concludes that, from the earliest times for which we have adequate evidence, man appears as a religious being. He bases this conclusion largely on the fact that many of the cave paintings are in the most recesses of the caves. He says that these recesses must have been regarded as sacred, and could only have been so regarded because they were believed to be the abode of supernatural beings. He also gives reasons for thinking that the so-called sorcerers were representations of supernatural beings and not of men in disguise. He allows that some of the paintings, such as those which show animals pierced with darts, may have represented magical rites, but he holds that magic is degenerate religion, 'a precipice into which religious rites easily fall.'

He enlarges on the dangers of jumping to conclusions from comparisons with the practices of modern savages. The mutilated hands of Gargas, if they are really mutilated and not merely the hands with fingers bent or crossed, may have been mutilated for any or none of the reasons which lead savages to mutilate their hands.

Coming to neolithic times, he holds that the axe, originally a symbol of supernatural power, came to be regarded as a source of power in itself.

The megalithic tombs of Western Europe are undoubtedly evidences of religion, and he mentions as a most remarkable fact that, though
these spread from the Αegian, the advances in material culture which might have followed them were not adopted. This little book, which contains much more of interest to students of early religion, is illustrated by 36 admirably clear drawings.

RAGLAN


The author opens with a full publication, in a new arrangement, of the Kahun pottery in the Manchester Museum. He thinks that the similarities between these Egyptian wares and Middle Minoan vessels from Crete are not close enough to indicate importation, but are sufficiently close to point to manufacture by peoples of common origin. He goes on to consider other innovations which appear in Western Asia early in the second millennium B.C., columnar architecture, portrait sculpture, granulated gold work, polychrome ornament and spiral design. He thinks that these techniques were spread by immigrant groups of people, speaking Indo-European dialects, and coming originally from or through the district of the Caucasus or North Persia. Later waves of migrants from the same area brought comparable techniques into the regions of Greek, Celtic and Saxon culture. Mr. Burton-Brown argues strongly against the explanation of cultural similarities by vague ideas of ‘influence’ and ‘borrowing’ through trade, and makes a long criticism of the orthodox view of the karaus of Kill Tepe as a colony of Assyrian merchants. All this makes a challenging thesis, and it should lead to some healthy thinking about the processes of cultural diffusion in this period. Certainly in historic times in Western Asia it seems to have been very uncommon for imported goods to be copied, while crafts were often spread by the migration or deportation of bodies of artisans. But these did not usually have a very profound effect on the life of the districts in which they arrived. Much more will have to be known about early Caucasia before it can be accepted as the Indo-European ethnic reservoir postulated by Mr. Burton-Brown. At the moment, for instance, it seems more reasonable to take the signs on the Kahun dish No. 478 as examples of ownership marks of the early Αegian type, rather than as alphabetic writing; but if a very early script should be found in Caucasia, then the picture will be entirely altered.

W. C. BRICE


In this excellent textbook—suitable for the student at the outset of his anthropological studies and also for the interested layman—seven formative stages in the development of modern anthropology and European thought are set into estimates of the life work of as many pioneers, whose relation to the scientific thought of their periods is also emphasized. Thus, a summary of progress from the Linnean theory of species onwards introduces us to the recognition of paleolithic man, through the Somme Valley artifacts, by Boucher de Perthes and his collaborators; the art of the cave-dwellers is linked with de Cartailhac (no mention of the Abbé Breuil!), Minoan civilization with Evans; and so on. The style is fresh and lively, and carries the reader well through this long book. It is a textbook of which J. L. Myres might have approved—and can one say fairer than that?

BARBARA AITKEN


The title leads one to expect something in the tradition of G. P. Marsh’s classic, but Wagner is not out for value judgments. He makes a brave bold attempt to write a compendium of human activity among all peoples of the earth. To try to do this in 261 pages means that we get many short statements on large subjects with a characteristic emphasis on environments. At the same time resemblances between mutually isolated remnant peoples are interpreted as heritages rather than as responses to environment. The book might be useful to an author preparing an account of a people or region, as a help to finding out what he may inadvertently have omitted. But such an author must be on his guard lest his book become a heap of bricks, however tidy, rather than a building. Art has its place along with science. The maps are difficult to read.

From the simpler subsistence schemes of life, in which a single social unit functions throughout life, man has proceeded to various grades of exchange economy in which within a broader society groups may coexist together for specific purposes and one person may be a member of more than one group, e.g., amongst us a golf club, a regiment and a church. The complications involved inevitably limit the author’s success in dealing with the more careful complex economies. The author well sees that a person may be dominant in his home territory but subservient out of it, and that change of dominance need not mean change of habit, e.g. the elite in Tunisia still speak French and ask for spiritusi though French domination has ended. Numerous references to the more rudimentary forms of exchange might have included a discussion of potlatch and related displays. Densities of population may be one per three square miles among gatherers, or up to 1 or 1.5 per square mile for more skilled collectors, and they jump quickly to 13 to 43 per square mile among shifting cultivators, rising even to 180 per square mile among settled subsistence cultivators. The author does not discuss the exhaustion of a region by lowly cultivators, and he tends to keep the term peasants for cultivators who use metal and have exchange and market activity.

H. J. FLEURE


It is difficult to refrain from superlatives in writing of this book. At a time when plans are afoot for an international handbook of European folk musical instruments, Mr. Baines has set a standard for the monographic treatment of a single class of instruments which will with difficulty be equalled and surely never surpassed. Part of the excellence of this study resides in the concision and precision of technical description; but it is the insight of the accomplished performer, of the musician with instruments at his finger tips, that confers a living quality, rare in organological literature.

The collection of bagpipes in the Pitt Rivers Museum forms the basis of this survey, and such is the character of that collection, assembled by Henry Balfour and systematically extended by the present Curator, that a mere descriptive catalogue would provide a valuable guide to bagpipes and related folk instruments of the world. Mr. Baines offers us considerably more: a comparative account of bagpipe typology and a preliminary sketch of the history and geographical distribution of various types. His account of the history of the bagpipe invites the attempt to prepare historical distribution maps, at least for Western Europe, for it is evident that primitive bagpipes once extended much further west than the boundary of their present territory. What dynamic interpretation is to be placed on the area maps remains obscure, nor is it likely to become clearer until maps in greater detail are available.

Mr. Baines’s guess that Cheremiss bagpipe technique may be more enterprising than ‘a drone’ (Vertkov) implies is borne out by a recording recently made by Vikár in the Mari Republic, which illustrates two-part playing with both direct and contrary movement. Vikár also reports that the Cheremiss name for the instrument is shohur and hence phonetically even closer to shofar than the alternative (?) shuhur.

Most of the varieties of double chanter illustrated by Mr. Baines occur not only among the types of Greek as from different islands of the Αegian, but also among the Turkish tulum, as reported by Saygun. It may perhaps be mentioned that the ikbarski dialect forms mih and mihnsje, for the diple-with-bag, are strictly local, and that both jezerski and ekavski forms occur elsewhere in Bosnia, Hercegovina and Crnogora.

LAURENCE PICKEN
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In this excellent textbook—suitable for the student at the outset of his anthropological studies and also for the interested layman—seven formative stages in the development of modern anthropology and European archaeology are set into estimates of the life work of as many pioneers, whose relation to the scientific thought of their periods is also emphasized. Thus, a summary of progress from the Linnaean theory of species onwards introduces us to the recognition of paleolithic men, through the Somme Valley artifacts, by Boucher de Perthes and his collaborators; the art of the cave-dwellers is linked with de Carlitilac (no mention of the Abbé Breuil!), Minoan civilization with Evans; and so on. The style is fresh and lively, and carries the reader well through this long book. It is a textbook of which J. L. Myres might have approved—and can one say fairer than that? BARBARA AITKEN


The title leads one to expect something in the tradition of G. P. Marsh’s classic, but Wagner is not out for value judgments. He makes a brave bold attempt to write a consecrative book of human activity among all peoples of the earth. To try to do this in 261 pages means that we get many short statements on large subjects with a characteristic emphasis on environments. At the same time resemblances between mutually isolated remnant peoples are interpreted as heritages rather than as responses to environment. The book might be useful to an author preparing an account of a people or region, as a help to finding out what he may inadvertently have omitted. But such an author must be on his guard lest his book become a heap of bricks, however tidy, rather than a building. Art has its place along with science. The maps are difficult to read.

From the simpler subsistence schemes of life, in which a single social unit functions throughout life, man has proceeded to various grades of exchange economy in which within a broader society groups may come together for specific purposes and one person may be a member of more than one group, e.g. amongst us a golf club, a regiment and a church. The complications involved inevitably limit the author’s success in dealing with the more careful complex economies. The author well sees that a person may be dominant in his home territory but subservient out of it, and that change of dominance need not mean change of habitat, e.g. the élite in Tunisia still speak French and ask for apéritifs though French domination has ended. Numerous references to the more rudimentary forms of exchange might have included a discussion of potlatch and related displays. Densities of population may be one per three square miles among gathering, or up to 1 or 1·5 per square mile for more skilled collectors, and they jump quickly to 13 to 43 per square mile among shifting cultivators, rising even to 180 per square mile among settled subsistence cultivators. The author does not discuss the exhaustion of a region by lowly cultivators, and he tends to keep the term peasants for cultivators who use metal and have exchange and market activities.

H. J. FLEURE


It is difficult to refrain from superlatives in writing of this book. At a time when plans are afoot for an international handbook of European folk musical instruments, Mr. Baines has set a standard for the monographic treatment of a single class of instruments which will with difficulty be equalled and surely never surpassed. Part of the excellence of this study resides in the concision and precision of technical description; but it is the insight of the accomplished performer, of the musician with instruments at his finger tips, that confers a living quality, rare in organological literature.

The collection of bagpipes in the Pitt Rivers Museum forms the basis of this survey, and such is the character of that collection, assembled by Henry Balfour and systematically extended by the present Curator, that a mere descriptive catalogue would provide a valuable guide to bagpipes and related folk instruments of the world. Mr. Baines offers us considerably more: a comparative account of bagpipe typology and a preliminary sketch of the history and geographical distribution of various types. His account of the history of the bagpipe invites the attempt to prepare historical distribution maps, at least for Western Europe, for it is evident that primitive bagpipes once extended much further west than the boundary of their present territory. What dynamic interpretation is to be placed on the area maps remains obscure, nor is it likely to become clear until maps in greater detail are available.

Mr. Baines’s guess that Cheremiss bagpipe technique may be more enterprising than “a drone” (Vertkov) implies is borne out by a recording recently made by Vikár in the Mari Republic, which illustrates two-part playing with both direct and contrary movement. Vikár also reports that the Cheremiss name for the instrument is šovuir and hence phonetically even closer to shofar than the alternative (?) shayhur.

Most of the varieties of double chancers illustrated by Mr. Baines occur not only among the types of Greek asc from different islands of the Aegean, but also among the Turkish tusum, as reported by Saygun. It may perhaps be mentioned that the ikavski dialect forms mih and mihinje, for the diple-with-bag, are strictly local, and that both jekavski and ekavski forms occur elsewhere in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Crnogora.

LAURENCE PICKEN
THE WHALEY SKULL

(a) Posterior aspect. (b) Left lateral view. Parts of the orbit and zygomatic arch are reconstructed with a quick-drying cement. Maximum length, 187 millimetres.

(c) Frontal view. Areas of the frontal and lower margins of the orbit are reconstructed. (d) Upper aspect
AN UPPER PALÆOLITHIC SKULL FROM WHALEY ROCK SHELTER NO. 2, DERBYSHIRE*  
by D. R. BROTHWELL  

Introduction  
The village of Whaley, in north-east Derbyshire, is situated in a limestone area whose caves and rock shelters must have suited the later palaeolithic groups in that region no less than the limestone topography of the Dordogne attracted their French contemporaries.

Armstrong (1949) records that the Whaley site No. 2, which was later to produce such a valuable find, was prospected and work commenced in 1938. It was not until 30 July, 1947, that the labours of Mr. Leslie Armstrong, Dr. Arthur Court and Mr. W. H. Hanbury revealed a human skull. After being photographed in situ, the skull was removed together with the surrounding matrix and taken to the late Sir Arthur Keith. The bones were considerably broken and collapsed, with the result that it was necessary for Sir Arthur to remove and identify 68 separate fragments. Fortunately, the fragments fitted well, and Armstrong was later able to restore much of the vault of the skull (Plate K). Keith then undertook an examination of the specimen, but, although notes and measurements were made by him, he died before a report was prepared. With the recent death of Mr. Leslie Armstrong, his wish to include a description of the skull in his excavation report cannot now be fulfilled, and this is thus published separately.

* With Plate K, two text figures and three tables

Stratigraphy  
Some stratification of the rock shelter was noted, and consists of two lower deposits yielding 'Mousterian' tools, a sterile layer, and a number of layers with tools progressing from Aurignacian to Proto-Solutrian. The Whaley skull seems to have been a deliberate burial in the Proto-Solutrian level, being located in Section C of Armstrong's plan (fig. 1). It would appear to have been a well defined living level, which yielded antler, bone and flint artifacts (personal note by Armstrong). The calvaria was buried with the base directed downwards and its frontal aspect facing the cliff wall. Regarding the chemical composition of the Whaley skull, Dr. K. P. Oakley kindly provided the following information, which forms part of a large collection of data that he is assembling in regard to prehistoric man. The results are given in Table I. It seems reasonable to conclude from this information that it is in no way inconsistent with an Upper Paleolithic date for the Whaley specimen. Cave conditions are particularly favourable to the preservation of collagen, and this accounts for the high nitrogen value in the Whaley skull and certain comparative specimens. Low percentages of fluorine are also not unusual, and it is interesting to note that the Whaley and Reindeer samples are quite similar in this respect.

![Diagram](image-url)

**Fig. 1. General Plan of Whaley Rock Shelter No. 2 as Originally Drawn by A. L. Armstrong**

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The fact that the sutures of the Whaley vault are in the process of obliteration, as is evident on both the endocranial and ectocranial surfaces, shows the person to have been fully adult. However, in view of the recent doubt cast upon aging by suture closure (Singer, 1953; McKern and Stewart, 1957, Genoves and Messmacher, 1959), the estimate of 50 to 55 years by Sir Arthur Keith (Armstrong, 1949) would now seem very doubtful.

Other human remains recorded from this site are vertebrae, phalanges, and the left half of a pelvis (all Lower Creswellian); also a left patella, several phalanges, three vertebrae, and three molar teeth (Proto-Solutrian). I was also able to examine some of these fragments at the British Museum, as well as the skull. An earlier identification by Armstrong would, in fact, appear to have been rather tentative, for only one of the molar teeth labelled as human would seem to be so, and two of the phalanges are likely to be from a carnivore.

Reconstruction and Preservation

It is fortunate that, although considerable fragmentation had taken place, the pieces did not undergo deformity through earth pressure. The colour is generally light brown, but with a few darker patches. Surface preservation is very good, except for one or two minor eroded patches. Small areas of the vault and the lower aspects of the orbits have been reconstructed with a quick-drying preparation (Plate K). The basi-occipital and most of the sphenoid area are missing (fig. 2). Because of the extreme degree of crushing, some of the very small pieces were not put in position, and there are thus eight well defined holes, a feature which will later be referred to again.

Sex and Age

Sexing a skeleton on the evidence of the skull alone is a difficult task even when the range of variability in a population is known. Sex-determination in fossil man, as Genoves (1954) has already pointed out, is particularly liable to error. However, the fact that the Upper Paleolithic European population is in many respects similar to their more recent descendants (Morant, 1930; von Bonin, 1935a) suggests that a similar type and degree of sexual dimorphism is to be expected in the former. Considering, then, the smallness of the supraorbital ridges, moderately developed mastoid process, smooth nuchal area, and absence of a well defined external occipital protuberance, there would seem very good grounds for considering the person to have been female. It may be noted here that not all the British skulls which are probably of Upper Paleolithic age are sexed beyond doubt, and indeed I am of the opinion that the Aveline's Hole O skull could well be female, rather than male, as suggested by Buxton (1924).

![Fig. 2. Basal aspect of the Whaley skull](image)

**Fig. 2. Basal aspect of the Whaley skull**

*Stippled areas have been reconstructed with a quick-drying cement. Drawing by Rosemary Powers.*

Morphology and Affinities

Because the Whaley skull is shortly to be included in a more detailed statistical analysis of Upper Paleolithic material, only general comments as to its affinities to other specimens will be made here. The measurements of the vault are given in Table II, and include a number previously taken by Keith. In the fairly vertical frontal bone, general roundness of the vault, and conformation of the occipital region, the Whaley skull is noticeably similar to the female specimens Aveline's Hole O (Buxton, 1924), Flitjack's Cave 1 (Wells, 1958), and Kilgreamy A (Fawcett, 1928; Martin, 1933). Also, after making an allowance for the difference in sex, there seems no reason to doubt that the Cheddar male (Seligman and Parsons, 1914), Langwith vault (Keith, 1929), and Kilgreamy B skull (Fawcett, 1928; Martin, 1933) represent the same physical type (as far as one can ever judge from such inadequate material). If the other Aveline's Hole skulls are also Late Paleolithic in date, then it can also be said that the male skull A (Keith, 1924) is also very similar to the Whaley specimen. On the other hand, Aveline's Hole B and C contrast noticeably in their
high cranial indices, and this also applies to another skull from this site, briefly mentioned by Palmer (1957). Considering the trend towards brachycephaly on the continent during mesolithic times, one is left wondering whether these latter Aveline’s Hole specimens are also post-paleolithic.

**Table II. Measurements of the Whaley skull**

(All those taken by the author are defined in various issues of Biometrika.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurement</th>
<th>Value (mm)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maximum length</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum breadth</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum frontal breadth</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum frontal breadth</td>
<td>113.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Basio-bregmatic height</em></td>
<td>131.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontal arc</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parietal arc</td>
<td>140.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occipital arc</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontal chord</td>
<td>108.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parietal chord</td>
<td>123.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occipital chord</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biasterionic breadth</td>
<td>109.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bzygomatic breadth</em></td>
<td>125.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auricular height</td>
<td>113.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal circumference</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bimastoid breadth</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opisthonasion</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cranial capacity</em></td>
<td>1325 c.c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Approximate estimates only*

In comparing the Whaley vault with possible British contemporaries, it must not be concluded that more recent vaults differ noticeably from it. On the contrary, the similarity between some of the late Paleolithic skulls from Britain and neolithic crania is quite striking. The mean measurements given in Table III help to demonstrate exactly how close the groups are. This is by no means a new claim, and in fact, Seligman and Parsons (1914) noted a fairly close resemblance between the Cheddar man and the neolithic male skulls from Coldrum. Also, von Bonin (1935b) demonstrated by the method of Pearson’s co-efficient of racial likeness that the Upper Paleolithic closely resembled French neolithic people.

In summary then, the Whaley skull is quite similar to a number of British female specimens considered to be of Upper Paleolithic age, but it would seem to display equal affinities with neolithic female specimens.

**Cultural Aspects**

It is an unfortunate fact that two features which Armstrong noted and published concerning the Whaley skull have, to me, different interpretations. In 1948, he wrote: ‘The maxilla and base of the skull have apparently been deliberately removed, presumably for access to the brain.’ Without definite cut marks, it is in fact impossible to tell whether the absence of base and face was the result of a deliberate act or purely accidental. It must be remembered that the face and cranial base are especially liable to fragmentation if the skull is disturbed, and as the postcranial skeleton was absent we may surmise that the skull had been removed from its original resting place (whether buried or on the surface).

Armstrong (1949) also wrote: ‘Definite evidence of death by violence is provided by square holes which pierce the top and sides of the skull, believed to have been inflicted by spears of wood or bone.’ After carefully examining all the holes in the vault, I can see no reason why the apertures should not be explained by the considerable fragmentation which the vault has undergone. Even in fairly recent skulls, if crushing has been severe, after reconstruction it is unusual to find the skull completely whole.

**Acknowledgments**

I should like to thank Dr. J. C. Trevor for suggesting a number of helpful alterations while the paper was in ms. form. Besides providing the nitrogen and fluorine data, Dr. K. P. Oakley kindly allowed me to examine the original Whaley, Langwith, Aveline’s Hole O and Flint Jack’s Cave skulls, all of which are British Museum (N.H.) specimens.

**Table III. Measurements of the Whaley skull in comparison with those of British and some European female skulls also probably of upper Paleolithic date, and the European upper Paleolithic and British Neolithic female means**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Breadth</th>
<th>Min. Frontal Breadth</th>
<th>Auricular Ht.</th>
<th>Frontal Arc</th>
<th>Parietal Arc</th>
<th>Horiz. Circumf.</th>
<th>B 100 L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whaley Rock Shelter 2</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>113.5</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>140.5</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>69.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flint Jack’s Cave 1</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>71.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aveline’s Hole O</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>72.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilgrayen A</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>73.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aveline’s Hole B</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>78.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aveline’s Hole D*</td>
<td>171.5</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>89.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>78.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solatre I</td>
<td>185.5</td>
<td>146.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>127.5</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>78.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solatre V</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>147.5</td>
<td>101.5</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>110.5</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>81.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oberassell</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>129.5</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>111.5</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>71.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pfeistadt X</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>140.5</td>
<td>102.5</td>
<td>114.5</td>
<td>133.5</td>
<td>134.5</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grotte des Enfants</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>130.5</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>111.9</td>
<td>126.7</td>
<td>126.8</td>
<td>528.1</td>
<td>75.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Upper Paleolithic Mean</td>
<td>186-0</td>
<td>138.9</td>
<td>97.6</td>
<td>115.4</td>
<td>128.7</td>
<td>132.9</td>
<td>515.8</td>
<td>73.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Neolithic Mean (Fereday, 1956)</td>
<td>185.7</td>
<td>135.3</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>115.3</td>
<td>128.7</td>
<td>132.9</td>
<td>515.8</td>
<td>73.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This specimen has been figured by Professor Palmer (1957), and with his permission I recently took the following measurements on the specimen at Wells Museum. It is supposed to have been associated with a barbed antler harpoon, shell bead necklace and typical Magdalenian flints.
ZANDE CLANS AND TOTEMS*

by

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During the last few years I have given much time to Zande history, a history of migrations and wars and the political, cultural and social assimilation of many peoples to the dominant Ambomu, with their Ayovgara ruling house, that they brought about. 1 One of the results of these historical movements has been the wide dispersal of clans and consequently of their mingling. The complexity, even confusion, with which the ethnologist is confronted can be further seen in the totemic situation. In earlier articles I have listed 188 clans and 127 totems for the Azande of the Sudan alone (excluding the Azande of the former Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa). The figure for the totems is probably fairly accurate, but there are certainly many more small clans not listed. As a guess, for I have not counted them, I would say that there must be well over a hundred more; and were the Azande of other regions to be included they could amount to several hundred. In this paper I undertake a broad survey of the totemic affiliations of some of the better-known clans in the Sudan, sample districts having been selected to represent all sections of the population from Tembura in the west to Meridi in the east. 2 Some observations are made which bear not only on the ethnic and social composition of the Azande but also on some features of totemism. In Table I, the clans marked with an asterisk are either certainly or very probably of Mbomu (pure Zande) stock. The remainder of this paper will consist of observations on this list.

1. In all cases except that of the Balingi clan individuals claiming membership of the same clan nevertheless gave different totems. These are not secondary totems, except possibly in the case of the Abandogo clan (the red pig seems to be linked, perhaps for reasons of colour or perhaps because of a linguistic assimilation of the name of the animal—ndogo—to the name of the clan with the red field rat). They are different totems given by persons who call themselves by the same clan name. This fact has long been noted. De Calonne (Azande, 1921, p. 223) remarked that, for example, the Aboro clan have the chimpanzee for totem in some areas and the lumbo (tungbo) others and that the Agbatu clan have the hornet in some areas and the viper in others, and he suggested that this might be an indication of different ethnic origins. Mgr. Lagae (Les Azande ou Niam-Niam, 1926, p. 371) was also well aware that persons of the same clan name give different totems. It is evident from the information given by these two authorities that the situation in the Congo is the same as in the Sudan. To account for the fact we must, I think, accept the historical explanation of the Azande themselves. They say that in the course of war, migration, domination and the displacement and fractionization of clans individuals attached themselves to some clan, other than their own, of some standing in their vicinity, but, in some instances at any rate, carried their original totemic affiliation into it. This accounts for small minority totemic representations. They also say that in similar circumstances groups of foreign stock made similar attachments, either to the socially superior Mbomu clans or to some clan of another foreign people, eventually conquered and absorbed like

* With a table. The Hon. Editor gratefully acknowledges assistance from the Ford Foundation, through the author, towards the cost of publication of this paper.
themselves. This is what is called a kpaniakpania clan, a conglomerate clan, such as the Akowe, the Abadara, the Angbaga, the Aboro, the Avunduo and other clans. Azande assert that it has been a common process in their history for sections of clans to lose touch with their fellow clansmen as a consequence of dispersal and in course of time to regard themselves as separate groups under the names of one of their elders (i na sengi e ku ti bakumba), and as such becoming new clans taking a new name after a nickname given to them by their daughters-in-law (adiya agude sengi pai), and then sometimes fusing with some section of a totally different clan and intermarrying with their original clan. Nobody seems to be very sure of the details of such splittings and fusions, and attempts to explain clan names are, as I have shown elsewhere (MAN, 1956, 62), at least in most cases, quite obviously no more than popular etymology; but all are agreed that splittings and fusions were frequent. So much so, and for so long have they been going on, that uncertainty and contradictions between statements about them can readily be understood. Azande also say that some dispersed peoples have taken on in the process of dispersal the status of clans. The Abasiri are a case in point; the Adio are another. Abasiri and Adio, once distinct peoples with their own languages, are now often given as the names of clans. But the Adio were originally an ethnic group comprising a number of clans, among them the Akowe, and to the Akowe have attached themselves various foreign elements (with totems different from that of true Akowe), now more or less regarded as Akowe, for difference in totem has no great social significance. It may be remarked upon, and it may be taken into consideration in questions of intermarriage or with regard to the obligations of kinsmen in the vicinity to bring beer to a man's feast, but Azande do not think it necessary, or polite, to inquire pointedly into a man's origins.

It must be noted that it is not just a matter of the totem linked to a clan being different in widely separated areas. In the clan census it was found that very frequently persons living in the same local community gave the same clan name but different totems. This may be due to secondary displacements, for Azande are very mobile, only the closest kin living near to each other, and sometimes not even they. It is understandable that in this state of flux and isolation de Calonne (op. cit., p. 190) should have come across Azande of foreign origin who were so cut off from folk of their own stock that they had not only forgotten their language but were often ignorant of their totems as well, an experience, however, which I have not myself had.

2. In addition to this constant movement other circumstances may have added to the confusion. Mgr. Lagae says (op. cit., p. 43) that many individuals declare that their clan has no totem, as also does de Calonne (op. cit., p. 192). I have not myself met a Zande who said that he had no totem, but I would not dispute the statement of the two Belgian writers, for it would seem that some of the assimilated foreign peoples, for example the Abugu or possibly the Abangbinda, were originally not totemic, so it may well be that in some parts of the country they have remained so. This makes a further complication, in that

those of them who have adopted totems may have done so each man according to his taste. Another circumstance is the Zande dogma that a man's totem is that of his biological, not social, father. Consequently a man born of adulterous congress may, if it is known, be thought to belong in a general social sense to his mother's husband's clan or to his maternal uncle's clan, as the case may be, while having as his totem that of his biological father's clan. Furthermore, there is some vagueness about the transmission of totems from parents to children which has not been noted by other writers about the Azande. A common, but not uncontested, statement made to me was that a man takes his totem from his father and a woman from her mother (an opinion which is consistent with a similar notion of inheritance of witchcraft). Then, I was told that it is quite usual for first-born children to change at death (which is what is supposed to happen to a kind of what has been called a body-soul, associated with the right hand) into the totemic creatures of the clans of their mothers' brothers, and it is a common opinion that all children of the daughters of members of the royal Avongara clan change at death into leopards, the totem of the royal clan, regardless of their fathers' clans. In neither case does the opinion appear to lead to a change of clan, totem and clan being thus divorced.

Mgr. Lagae (op. cit., pp. 36-45) is of the opinion that clans have segmented and new clans have thereby come into existence through the adoption by some section of a clan of a new totem, and that this happens so frequently that we can find in it a sufficient explanation of the extreme diversity of clans. He thinks that this could come about by a man finding traces on his father's tomb of an animal other than that of his clan, of an iguana, for example, instead of the make ringbu, and he would therefore conclude that his father must have been a child of adultery and consequently not a true member of his supposed clan at all, in the example the Agiti clan. So he starts a new clan called after his bastard father. Much though I respect Mgr. Lagae's opinion, I must reject the hypothesis. I have myself been told that a man has sometimes found traces on a man's grave of the totemic creature of the dead man's maternal uncle (the totemic animal emerges from the grave and the kin visit the grave from time to time to look for traces of it), but I doubt whether any Zande would reach a conclusion from spoor on a grave that his father was a bastard, nor can I imagine him telling people that his father was a bastard, even were he puzzled. Mgr. Lagae offers no evidence of such an event ever having happened, and he does not even suggest that any Zande has ever offered this explanation of clan segmentation, leaving us to suppose that it is no more than a just-so explanation of his own. I received the impression from what Azande told me that they do not take inspection of the grave for signs of the totemic creature very seriously, nor are troubled if there are none. Besides, it is common sense that, especially since the graves are dug in, or close to, homesteads, there frequently cannot be traces of totemic creatures on them and that when there are traces they are quite likely to be of animals other than that of the dead man's totem, so that
new clans would be formed almost daily, and there is no evidence that they are. Indeed, some totemic creatures, or their traces, could never be seen on graves or anywhere near them—some even do not exist—yet they continue to be totems. I have earlier remarked that Mgr. Lagae says that many individuals declare that their clans have no totems and he attributes this to the same cause. A man searches the grave of his father for traces of an animal in vain and concludes that his father was descended from someone who had no totem, so he starts a new clan without a totem. If this were really how a Zande would act there would be endless clans without totems, which is certainly not the case. And if there is no evidence that a change of totem has led to clan segmentation there is equally no evidence that segmentation has brought about a change of totem; nor, it must be added, is such evidence likely to be found in a society where, outside the royal clan, few people know anything about their forbears, even their names, farther back than their grandparents and probably nobody could state his descent back for more than three or four generations. In this respect the Azande are like most of us.

3. It is evident from the table of clans and totems that it is by no means always easy to state categorically that the totems of such-and-such a clan is such-and-such a creature and that those who have different totems are assimilated elements. One can, however, combining numerical preponderance with Zande statements, legitimately speak of a certain animal as being the totem of a certain clan in some cases, as for instance those of the Akow, the Agbambi, the Angumbo, and the Abangan; but not in other cases, as for instance those of the Avoombo, the Angali, the Abadara, the Ambata, and the Abamburo; and here it must be pointed out that the clans selected as samples are not only among the best-known clans in the Sudan but also those with the highest numerical representation and also for the most part those considered to be the 'best' clans socially; and they are therefore those in which assimilation of foreign elements is most likely to have taken place, and on the largest scale. It will, moreover, at once be seen how fatal it can be to ask only a few persons, perhaps a single person, for the names of clan and totem and then to say that this clan has that animal for totem. A statement of the kind to have any validity must be based on a very wide survey, both numerically and geographically. Errors have undoubtedly been made by taking too small a sample. Thus it is simply not the case that, as de Calonne says (op. cit., p. 187), the Aboro's totem is the chimpanzee and that of the Abadara the tortoise (his notes were in any case left in a very confused state and he did not always distinguish between what he calls tribes and what he calls clans). Mgr. Lagae (op. cit., p. 37) says that the thunder-beast is the totem of the Aundu, the Agbambi, the Akow, the Avundukura, the Angbadimo and the Agiti among other clans, an identification of clan with totem certainly not borne out by the survey here presented. Dr. Czekanowski, whose studies in the Nile-Congo area have been of considerable ethnological importance, did not have the lengthy experience of Zandeland of de Calonne and was without the added advantage of Mgr. Lagae's knowledge of the Zande tongue and so, not being aware of the diversity of totems sometimes given by persons claiming to be members of the same clan, he has all the more easily fallen into the same trap. Thus he gives (Forschungen in Nil-Kongo Zwischengebiet, 1924, pp. 43-6) as the totem of the Abakundo the bara, lizard, as that of the Agbambi the thunder-beast, and as that of the Agiti the leopard; but naturally, on the other hand, and by good luck, he is very often right in his identifications. However, his remark that the number of different totems is very small is, it must be said, wide of the mark. The early travellers in Zandeland—Piaggio, Schweinfurth, Junker, Casati, etc.—some of whom resided for years among the Azande, do not seem to have been aware that they have clans, far less totemic clans.

4. Although he was well aware of the almost insuperable difficulties of the task, de Calonne (op. cit., pp. 11f.) thought it possible that the evidence of what he called the pseudo-totemism of the Azande might enable us to reconstruct some of their history, in that if one finds the same totem among different clans it could indicate a common origin, at least in the case of creatures like the chameleon, the hornet and the monitor lizard, for he adds that other species are so frequent as totems and are found among peoples of so diverse origins that 'leurs croyances zoologiques à ce sujet perdent toute valeur indicatrice.' It is necessary to agree with him on this last point, and I would go further and say that an attempt to reconstruct ancient history from the thousands of bits and pieces is a hopeless attempt. Clans have been so broken up, and then their fragments have been so broken up again, individuals, families and groups of kin being scattered in the course of a couple of centuries of movements, both of peoples and individuals, that it is no longer possible from present conditions to reach certain, even probable, conclusions about clans of earlier times. Indeed, so considerably have the clans been shaken up that of the better-known ones probably the only one in which all the members give the same totem is the royal clan of the Avongara. No case was recorded in the samples examined of a member of this clan giving any other totem than the leopard. The reason for this is doubtless that it would be impossible for any commoner to identify himself with this aristocratic class. The historical importance of the confusion lies rather in the further evidence which it provides of the correctness of Zande traditions about their development, a political society emerging from wars, migrations, political domination and cultural and social assimilation of foreign peoples on a large scale; and also in the further fact that the present circumstances of clans and their totemic affiliations cannot be understood without some knowledge of that development.

5. It will have been noted that no less than 21 out of the 42 clans listed have (in the numerical sense already defined) as their totem rungu, a long black snake with a narrow head, a fact which disposes of the idea that it is a function of totems to distinguish one clan from another, as is evident also in the case of other totems. Moreover it cannot adequately be accounted for by a hypothesis that the clans which have this snake for totem could be branches of a
once single clan which have separated out from it, if only for the reason that, as can be seen in the tables, while most of them are of Mboomu, or true Zande, stock, others belong to foreign peoples. It may be worth pointing out in this connexion that a snake is the most appropriate totem among the Azande on account of their belief that the body-soul emerges in its totemic form from the grave of the deceased, a notion which it is easier to entertain in the case of snakes than, for example, chimpanzees or red pigs. However, suited to the belief though a snake may be, this would hardly account adequately for its preference as a totem, for snakes figure prominently, as totems or in other symbolic ways, in the thought of many African peoples who have no such beliefs. A psychological explanation is probably here required.

Whatever the explanation may be, it is a remarkable fact that 12 out of the 21 clans which have the runghu as totem are probably Mboomu clans, while two others have the, presumably non-existent, rainbow-snake as totem. This makes a snake, and especially the runghu snake, the Mboomu snake par excellence. Of the Mboomu clans listed only the Angbapiyo and the Abadarra have non-snake totems, two out of 16. We may go further and say that the runghu snake is the most representative totem of these 42 well-known and numerically important clans, for it is also the totem of 9 clans which are probably not of Mboomu, but of foreign, origin, while a tenth (Abakapata) has another snake (ngbukupa) as its totem. There is also what we might call a substantial minority representation of snake totems in clans which have a majority representation of some other totem. Altogether out of the sample of 3,071 individuals 1,645, more than half, have snake totems, 1,464 of them the runghu snake.

6. The lack of sharp differentiation between clans by totems, and the giving of different totems by persons claiming to be members of the same clan, are not only evidence of intermingling and dispersal of peoples on a vast scale, which we know to have happened, but also of the unimportance of totemism among the Azande, an unimportance that caused de Calonne to speak of pseudo-totemism. It must be appreciated in the light of the intermingling and dispersal, for it is difficult to see how clan totemism can have much meaning where there is so much mobility. As Mgr. Lagae remarks (op. cit., p. 40) 'Les Azande ne témoignent aucun culte, aucune marque de respect pour l'animal totem.' Almost all the totems are either inedible or, where edible, belong to the class of creatures called nyakorokupu, unclean, which are not eaten, at least by any respectable person, unless he be very aged; and those which are valued as food, such as the waterbuck, the pig, the buffalo and the domesticated fowl, are, I was informed, in fact eaten by everyone, including those whose totems they are. I admit that it was difficult to make certain of the accuracy of the information, and it is true that in theory, whatever may happen in practice, people are supposed to abstain from eating their totems, as Mgr. Lagae (op. cit., p. 40) observes, though he admits that they can kill them with impunity, which is certainly the case; and if they kill them would such great lovers of flesh as the Azande abstain from eating them? In any case, with the exception of the red pig, the totem of the Abandogo, the other animals habitually eaten by Azande appear in the census as totems so rarely that they have little significance. Then, sharing the same totem is in itself no bar to intermarriage, and here again, though in theory having the same clan name and the same totem is a bar, in practice such marriages sometimes take place, though, apart from marriage within the royal clan, it would be difficult to determine how often. On the other hand, not having the same totem does not necessarily make a marriage permissible between persons with the same clan name. It may do so if it is known that the spouses are of different ethnic origins; but it will be remembered that it is a common opinion that men take their totems from their fathers and women from their mothers so that a man and his sister can have different totems, so strictly speaking it could be said that even fellow clansfolk do not have the same totem. Opinions on this matter are, however, vague and lack unanimity. We may therefore agree with de Calonne (op. cit., p. 192) when he says that even in an isolated compact group, as distinct from isolated individuals, knowledge of the totem may 'passe au rang des préoccupations secondaires.' We can readily understand this state of affairs when the totem is little more than a word, or a name, and if this is possible with compact groups it is not at all improbable that individuals may be uncertain about their totems—I have myself noticed hesitations on the part of men asked for their totems—and that they may therefore pass from one to another, for example, from one snake to another, under the influence of their social environment, difficult though it would be to prove this.

7. Absence of cult, absence of marks of respect, etc., may, however, be regarded as signs, rather than as causes, of the lack of significance which totems have for Azande. The cause is undoubtedly that clans are not in any degree localized and have no corporate functions. Clanship can have some general social interest for the individual (he is expected to behave in certain ways to not only all his own clansmen but to those also of his in-laws, his mother's brother, his blood brothers, his circumcision tutor, etc.) and a man may feel some contentment at belonging to a Mboomu clan, not that that gives him any privilege. But clans as such are so amorphous that they mean little to Azande. If we except close kinsmen, who are seen as kinsmen rather than as clansmen, and clansmen who are close neighbours, seen as neighbours as much as clansmen, it would be no more than a slight exaggeration, if that, to say that membership of the same clan means little more to Azande than to Scotsmen of today. There is little beyond the common name: there are no lineages, and descent counts for so little that commoners neither know their descent nor feel embarrassed at not knowing it. Zande society is essentially a political society in which political status, authority, functions, office and allegiances count for more than membership of a clan, and in which clans have no political status or functions. The only clan which is important, as such, is that of the Avonga, and that is because its members are everywhere the ruling aristocracy.

different ethnic origins all jumbled up—the ethnologist in Africa may sometimes sigh for some neat little Polynesian or Melanesian island community!

Notes
2. In the areas ruled by Renzi in the old kingdom of Tembura, by Ngindo, Ganganu, Richita and Dika in the old kingdom of Gbudwe, and by Ndoruma in the country once ruled by his father Menge. The survey was conducted during fieldwork between the years 1926 and 1930.
3. Major P. M. Larken, whilst in agreement with regard to the Abagara, says ('Zande Notes,' Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. VI, 1923, pp. 236-40) that the Abangbinda were totemic, as also the Abarambo, another people now completely assimilated in the Sudan to the Ambomo. When assimilation has reached an advanced stage it is difficult to be certain one way or the other in such matters.

OBITUARY

Jacob Kunst: 1891–1960. With a portrait

Through the death on 7 December, 1960, of Jaap Kunst the young discipline of ethnomusicology has lost one of its most vigorous pioneers. He was born on 12 August, 1891. Sometimes workers in this field are said to fall into those who collect and those who work on the collected material, a division which very often seems to correspond to real conditions. If, however, there is an example of the two species meeting in one individual, this individual certainly was Jaap Kunst. He came to know the joys of fieldwork at a very early age and developed into an excellent analytical scholar somewhat later. There is a wonderful story of how on Terschelling he got hold of a special song in the possession of a certain fisherman who was not inclined to divulge it. One day the two men were out fishing on the mudflats around the island when they were caught by the oncoming tide and only just managed to get back to safety, drenched to the skin. Under the influence of a few hot (and strong) drinks the silent man’s tongue loosened up and so Jaap got his wedding song after all. His natural ability to make friends was a precious and, for a folksong-hunter, indispensable quality. In addition to this he had a remarkably accurate ear, a fine sense of rhythm, an indomitable energy and a very strong constitution which could stand up to any amount of fatigue and—of course—his violin which could establish contact if everything else failed. He played as well as any bewitching fiddler at a fair. As a matter of fact, his intense enjoyment of music in all its forms, combined with his abundant supply of human sympathy, certainly were his most valuable assets as a fieldworker.

Like so many other pioneers in this field Kunst was not a professional musician. He had a classical education at the Gymnasium in Groningen, in which town his father was a highly esteemed teacher at the school of music, and then entered the university as a law student. After obtaining his degree, he tried life as a bank clerk in Utrecht, an experiment which lasted only three months, after which he needed a long trip in the country hunting folksongs in midwinter. Another attempt at a regular paid existence as a clerk in one of the municipal offices in Amsterdam lasted a little over a year, but quite clearly did not promise any satisfaction either. So he decided to break with all this and went with two other adventurous musicians to Java on a concert tour. His musical training had been extensive. He had passed an examination for Qualified Music Critic (a course organized by the Netherlands Society for Musical Education (Muziek Paedagogisch Verbond)) and, during his student days, he had played as a supernumerary violinist in the municipal orchestra of his native Groningen under an excellent conductor, which had greatly enriched the experience that he had gained as a solo violinist. Fieldwork done on the island of Terschelling from 1910 onwards had resulted in the publication of a very successful book Terschellingen Volksleven as early as 1915 and it was quite clear that this really was the kind of work for which he was made. It would be some time still, however, before he could prove that he was not only a folksong-collector but also an ethnomusicologist in the fullest sense of the word. That development came after he had been caught by the beauty of the music of the Indonesian archipelago. It so happened that, towards the end of the highly successful concert tour, he was present at a gamelan performance at one of the Javanese courts, and this experience decided the further course of his life. He stayed on in Java when his companions sailed back to Holland in 1920, in order to devote himself to the study of this music. His
ject to the needs of the new Museum for Indonesia (government headquarters for the Indies). In 1955, he was appointed as a University lecturer. His activities in this field will be sorely missed. His animated lectures made him well known and beloved on both sides of the Atlantic. He was chosen as Curt Sachs's successor as Hon. President of the American Ethnomusical Society. He succeeded Ralph Vaughan Williams as President of the International Folk Music Council. In his own country he was elected as a member of the Netherlands Academy of Sciences in 1958 and was one of the few members of that select group who were not full professors. Kunst's death leaves a gap which can never be properly filled.

A. A. BAKÉ


On 16 February of this year Colonel D. H. Gordon, D.S.O., O.B.E., the distinguished soldier and archaeologist, died suddenly and unexpectedly at his home at Hingham, Norfolk.

Douglas Hamilton Gordon was born in 1895, was educated at Wellington and the R.M.C., and went out to India in 1914.

JAAP KUNST

home leave in 1934, but an appointment as a conservator at the Colonial Museum (now Royal Institute for the Tropics) in Amsterdam in 1936 enabled him to continue his constructive work and to build up a second musicological collection and a very extensive library of documentation. Kunst was a very methodical man and card indexes, kept up to date with the greatest care, made his Ethnomusical (3rd ed., 1959) and its Supplement (1960)—with more than 5,000 entries from all over the world and additional extensive reference registers—an invaluable help to all serious workers. His scholarly activities were always directed towards the establishment of the importance of music in the framework of human culture and his comparatively early work Music in Java (final edition—in English—at Martinus Nijhoff's, The Hague, 1949) already contains many sound and stimulating suggestions and ample evidence of painstaking and arduous detective work. His keen intellect, backed by a choice collection of demonstration material, made him an excellent teacher (since

DOUGLAS HAMILTON GORDON

After service in Mesopotamia, in which he earned the D.S.O. at the battle of Kut, he returned to India where he served with the 36 Sikhs until his retirement in 1946. Most of his soldiering was in the N.W.F. Province, and he knew the sites between Peshawar and Rawalpindi as intimately as any man. He was frequently seconded from his regiment and when stationed at Pachmarhi and Jabalpur, he and his wife discovered many caves with rock paintings and many microlithic flaking sites. He also spent some time touring the region round Maski, and during many hot-weather periods of leave in Kashmir did much archaeological work in the
field. After his retirement archaeology became his main occupation. He was an Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India and external examiner and referee for Indian Archaeology to the University of London. His writings will be familiar to readers of MAN to which and to several other journals he was a frequent contributor. His archaeological interests were wide and included everything in Europe or Asia which seemed to him to bear on the Indian problem. Though primarily specializing in prehistory and the early historical period, his long experience gave him a deep understanding and appreciation of all things Indian. In 1958 his only book The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture was published, an admirably clear, concise and original statement of all that has some claim to be called fact in Indian prehistory. The most important of his numerous papers are those on rock paintings and the long contribution to the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (Vol. XII) on 'Early Indian Terracottas', which still remains the only real attempt to come to grips with the subject.

Jock Gordon was a man of great personal charm. His friendship was candid and sincere, and he was especially kind to his juniors both Indian and English with whom he was always ready to share his vast experience. Modest to a degree, he could however be formidable to the pretentious or the slapdash. Like his great predecessor General Cunningham he was proud of his amateur status: he was contemptuous of official judgements and indifferent to professional reputations or expertise, subjecting everything to the sober scrutiny of his own quiet but quite devastating common sense. His death is a great loss, and not only to his regiment and his archaeological friends. He leaves a widow, who shared all his work, a son and a daughter.

DOUGLAS BARRETT


David Reginald Hay-Neave, Hay of Leys, who died on 1 January, 1961, at the age of 48, was probably known to only a few Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute in spite of his 12 years of membership. He was not an anthropologist by training or profession and made no pretence of being one; but he was a born collector, blessed with flair and instinctive discrimination. During his career in the Foreign Service he collected in each country to which he was posted, gradually forming a homogeneous group of objects, usually of types which had not been extensively collected before and were obsolescent. Three notable collections of this kind were presented by him to the Department of Ethnography of the British Museum, from the Chin tribes of Burma, from Nepal and from Java. He was also a benefactor of the Department of Oriental Antiquities.

Those fortunate enough to have been his friends will remember a man of buoyant and engaging personality, of great charm and of wide interests.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

SHORTER NOTE

The ABO and Rhesus D Groups of 304 Tibetans, Tested on Eldoncards. By H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, Dr. Knud Eldon and Dr. J. Balslev Jørgensen.

With a text figure and two tables. (From the work of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia)

The purpose of this investigation is partly to give the blood-group data of 304 Tibetans examined in Kalimpong in the years 1956–57 and partly to refer in more detail to the technique used (Eldoncards).

The only reliable data available so far concerning human blood groups in Tibet were the 150 tests made by Büchi in Kalimpong in 1932. One of us (Prince Peter), working in Kalimpong at the time as an ethnologist, found that this was a great opportunity to continue the blood-group research there for the sake of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia. Unfortunately it was not possible to set up a serological laboratory with proper equipment. Furthermore transportation from Kalimpong to the nearest laboratory would have taken so much time that the samples would have deteriorated during the journey.

Faced with these difficulties, it was found worth while to try to utilize Eldoncards for blood-groupings which could, later on, be controlled in a laboratory.

The Technique of Grouping on the Cards

The card has four panels with dried reagents containing, respectively, anti-A, -B, -D (Rh) and -AB serum with no antibodies. The fourth panel is a control panel which reveals possible non-specific pen- or auto-agglutination.

Each reagent is dissolved in one drop of drinking water. A tiny drop of capillary blood is thoroughly stirred into it and subsequently spread all over the panel. After an interval of one minute the card is tilted very slowly to all sides for three minutes, being held vertically for 10–15 seconds on each side four times every minute. The result is then read (fig. 1).

The Control of Cards

A total of 309 cards was used and returned to one of us (K.E.) for inspection and eventual control. Five cards were not readable owing to strong agglutination, presumably auto-agglutination, in all the panels; these cards were excluded from the material.

FIG. 1. THE ELDONCARD

The remarkable frequency of blood with auto-agglutinating activity in this population may have contributed to the too high frequency of group-AB Tibetans found by Tennant (quoted by Boyd, 1939, and, with caution, by Mourant, 1954).

The remaining 304 cards all showed clearly positive D(Rh) reactions. 271 cards had also retained clear-cut ABO reactions and had been correctly read. On 29 other cards the dried ABO reactions were less distinct but the control absorption tests confirmed the previous reading. Finally, the ABO group of four cards
with the ordinary clear-cut agglutination in the D panels, but moreover with traces of agglutination in all the other panels including the control panels, had been wrongly evaluated, presumably because of some misunderstanding of the meaning of the parallel reaction in the control panel. These cards obviously carried Rh-positive blood of group O, but with a slight tendency to non-specific agglutination. The absorption tests confirmed that the blood did actually belong to group O.

The Technique of the Control Absorption Tests
The dried mixture of blood and reagent in a control panel was dissolved in 4+4 drops of a dilution of one drop of an anti-A serum and one drop of an anti-B serum in 28 drops of physiologic saline solution. After four times freezing and re-thawing the centrifuged and then titrated and tested against known group A1 and A2 and B cells. Cards with known blood of the different ABO groups were included as control. Negative reactions from the first tube of the titration row showed that the antigen in question had been present in the dried blood and had absorbed the corresponding antibody. On the other hand, the first two tubes at least in the titration showed agglutination of the corresponding test cells whenever the antigen had not been present in the dried blood.

ABO Groups
Out of the 304 Tibetans grouped on cards, 284 came from the great provinces, Kham, Lhasa ( علين) or Tsang, 14 from other places in Tibet (8 from Amdo (A:1, B:4, O:3), 6 from Hor (B:3, O:3)) and 6 from different localities.

The blood-group distribution in the main provinces is shown in Table I. It is seen that major differences do not exist. This was expected, for it is known that the populations from different parts of the country intermingle to a great extent.

As already mentioned the only reliable comparative figures for Tibetans are Büchi's of 1952. It would be very interesting to compare the results from Tibet with those from other countries of Central Asia, but only very few are available. From western China there are none at all; from southern Siberia there are only figures from the Irkutsk area (Burjatia) (Boyd, 1950); from

Nepal, we have the recent investigations of Bird et al., 1957, and from North-Eastern India, Gupta's of 1958.

In Table II all these results are given for comparison. It is not possible to draw final conclusions from these rather small and scattered observations, but the two Tibetan series seem to be definitely most closely related to each other as well as to the Burjats, whereas there are clear differences between them and the peoples south of the Himalayas.

The Rhesus Factor D(Rho)
The cards showed 100 per cent. Rhesus positives, which supports the conclusion drawn from the ABO-group determinations that the closest relatives of the Tibetans are the central and East Asiatic peoples.

Table II. Gene Frequencies in different Asiatic Populations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locality (Investigator)</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>r</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tibet (present series)</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>0.154</td>
<td>0.242</td>
<td>0.600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibet (Büchi, 1952)</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0.147</td>
<td>0.212</td>
<td>0.641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal (Bird et al., 1957)</td>
<td>2809</td>
<td>0.245</td>
<td>0.190</td>
<td>0.565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riang (N. Ind., Gupta, 1958)</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0.230</td>
<td>0.298</td>
<td>0.472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tippera (‟ „ „)</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>0.319</td>
<td>0.210</td>
<td>0.471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rankhali ( „ „ „)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.218</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td>0.671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burjat (Boyd, 1950)</td>
<td>1320</td>
<td>0.136</td>
<td>0.277</td>
<td>0.570</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References
—, Genetics and the Races of Man, Boston, 1950.

CORRESPONDENCE

Indonesia and Africa. Cf. MAN, 1961, 10

Sir,—Mr. A. T. N. Tracey (referring to J. R. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. LXXXIX, Part 2 (1939), pp. 155-68) tells your readers not to believe my musical evidence for Indonesian influence in Africa, first because 'throughout there is the assumption that the African normally uses 'nature's own scale,' i.e. a Western scale,' which statement he then applies to the tunings of instruments.

I said no such thing; he has misunderstood me. My 'nature's own scale' referred specifically to African vocal music, which, it is not difficult to show, by large contains two approximate semitones in the octave, and these occur in the same relative position vis-à-vis the whole tones as do the semitones in our major scale. My point was that, per contra, xylophones do not show this feature—nor do they.

Secondly, he says that my thesis is non-proven because I base it on only 'a few examples [of xylophone tunings] seemingly selected at random.' Yet in support of his own views he gives not a single
example of tuning intervals at all. Like the conjuror, he keeps referring to the tunings hidden in the African Music Society's hat, but unlike the conjuror, he does not produce them. It is curious, is it not, that such of that Society's tunings as have been published support my thesis, and I include them in my ever increasing evidence.

Mr. Tracey wants to know if I think that one boatload of Indonesians would supply sufficient genes to account for the widespread phenomena I report. No, I do not: in fact it never occurred to me to reinforce my evidence by invoking biological speculation on the genetic origin of scales. But if genes are needed, I provide them in plenty. For I think, not in terms of one boatload, but of a definite colonization by Indonesians of both the Congo and the Niger basins, consisting of successive migrations and lasting perhaps quite a number of centuries, with eventual assimilation through interbreeding, by the local African population.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

A. M. JONES


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Sir,—Dr. Watkin's language is not very clear, but he seems still to claim Williams, etc., as purely Welsh surnames. He will, however, hardly deny that the other names derived from Williams—Wills, Willic, Wilkins, Willcocks, etc.—are purely English. It would have been odd if the most obvious one had been left for the Welsh, and in fact it was not: Bardsley, for example, cites two men called 'Williams' in the reign of Henry VII.

Dr. Watkin suggests that all the Joneses, Roberts, etc., in England are the descendants of emigrants from Wales, but the Welsh acquired the custom of bearing surnames from the English, and probably adopted the forms most popular in the adjacent English counties. If it had occurred to them to form a patronymic from Robert, they would no doubt have stuck to the Welsh form Probert (ap Robert) and not adopted the English form Roberts.

That the termination in -s is English and not Old French seems clear from the fact that nearly every -s form has its corresponding -son form—Wilkins and Wilkinson, etc. Dr. Watkin will hardly deny that -kin is English.

I may have been wrong as to the distribution of the Williamses, etc., but this does not affect the question of origins, for the Welsh stuck to one out of the many forms derived from William. Nor does it affect the question of the possible Norse settlement in Little England. Williamses there may possibly be of English origin, but may also be from other parts of Wales. As for those bearing such names as Price and Proser, I should say that they are certainly from the Welsh-speaking parts. Price is from ap Rhys and Proser from ap Rosser (the Welsh form of Roger) and it is highly improbable that English-speakers in an English-speaking area should have taken purely Welsh surnames.

The practice of deducing ethnic origins from surnames is one to be used with the greatest caution. The seventeenth-century Huguenot immigration has left its traces in our surnames, but the large sixteenth-century immigration from the Low Countries has left none. It would be difficult to find in America evidence in surnames for immigration from Africa. Another fact to be remembered, though Dr. Watkin seems to have forgotten it, is that people have mothers as well as fathers.

Now a word as to place names. Dr. Watkin cites the Castlemartin peninsula as a particular area of Norse settlement. Charles, in his Norse Ceremonial Place-names in Wales gives for the Hundred of Castlemartin about 115 names which are not Norse, and only seven which are or may be. Of the former some are modern, but a large proportion are original settlement names, and this suggests that few of the original settlers were Norse.

Raglan, Monmouthshire

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Cruiciles from Tanganyika: A Forager at Work? Cf. MAN, 1960, 180

Sir,—In her valuable article 'Some Cruiciles and Associated Finds from the Coast of Tanganyika,' Miss J. R. Harding suggests that the Kilwa finds may well be connected with the Kilwa mint, and this I accept. As to those from Kisiu, I do not follow her in connecting them with 'Mafia, where so many coins of the Kilwa type have been found.' The Kilwa Coinage has been described in detail by Dr. John Walker, 'History and Coinage of the Sultans of Kilwa,' Numismatic Chronicle, 1936, and more recently by myself, 'Coinage in East Africa before Portuguese Times,' Numismatic Chronicle, 1957, recording more recent finds. There is no difference in the type of the finds at the two places which would suggest separate mints at both.

I would venture that the purpose of the Kisiu cruiciles may have been for forgery. I give only one example—others could be adduced—of 'Ali ibn al-Hasan of Kilwa, who reigned for only 18 months during 1478-9. During that period he is represented by no less than 14 different copper issues, all of approximately the same size and weight, but with some variations of script and legend. It is scarcely conceivable to me that all of these were official issues. May it not be that Miss Harding's finds are to be interpreted as showing that a forger operated at Kisiu?

The Secretariat, Aden

G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE

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Sir George Robertson. Cf. MAN, 1961, 5

Sir,—In his interesting paper on Sir George Robertson, Professor Adam Curle states that Robertson's 'place among anthropologists has been consistently ignored.' It is perhaps worth calling attention to the tribute of a French scholar. In La civilisation iranienne (Paris, Payot, 1952, pp. 240-3), Professor E. Benamestie has a short essay on the Afghan province of Nuristan (formerly Kafiristan) in which he describes Robertson's Kafirs in the Hindu Kush as having 'une valeur exceptionnelle.' 'C'est l'unique description que nous ayons d'une civilisation dont presque rien ne survit sur place.'

Cappagh, Co. Waterford

W. E. D. ALLEN

REVIEWS

AFRICA


This is a useful summary record of over 70 papers circulated in mimeographed form and discussed at the Second Conference on African history and Archeology, held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1957, under the chairmanship of Dr. Roland Oliver. A general introductory section ranges over the entire field covered by the Conference papers and discussions. Special emphasis is placed in the Introduction on the problem of meeting the demand of Africans for documentation of their past. The problem includes not only the collection, analysis and publication of the data, but also the recruit-
more summary reportage of Part II is nowhere stated. The emphasis in the Introduction on more recent African history helps to restore the balance, and is, therefore, doubly welcome. An Appendix lists the papers submitted and the discussions which occurred during them, and reproduces the concluding statement and series of eight resolutions adopted at the end of the Conference, and gives the names and institutional affiliations of Conference Members—truly an international gathering. A subject index concludes the report.

Two minor points. In view of the highly summary nature of the work, the title (or sub-title, perhaps) should include the phrase 'A Report on' or 'A Summary of' the Second Conference, etc. The present title and sub-title fail to indicate that Conference papers and discussions are not reproduced in their entirety. Secondly, "Aburis praecox" belongs, I believe, to Leguminosae; on p. 21 it is referred to as a grain.

In general, the substance of the Conference papers and discussions is not nearly as much out of date as the lapse in time from 1957 to the present might indicate. Many of the papers presented in 1957 were reports of work-in-progress or proposals for research, and of these certainly more will be heard at the coming Third Conference on African History and Archaeology to be held in July of this year, once again under the auspices of the School of Oriental and African Studies. It is hoped that this Third Conference also will result in a summary report similar to the present work, which succeeds so well in delineating major problems and goals of historical and archaeological research in Africa, and is, thereby, itself a document of some historical interest.

FRANCIS P. CONANT


Professor Boxer, who is among the most eminent authorities on the history of Portuguese overseas expansion, has newly translated three contemporary narrative accounts of shipwrecks and their repercussions in the trade triangle between Lisbon, Goa, and the African coast. Since the greater part of all three narratives is concerned with the overland journey through Kaffraria after the wreck, it is to be regretted that Professor Boxer was not able to make greater use of them to throw light on contemporary political and social conditions in those regions. His footnotes and references on such matters are drawn largely from G. M. Theal and H. A. Junod. It is true that Portuguese writings of this genre usually contain some such statements as this: 'although it would not be out of place to describe the barbarous customs and laws of these Kaffirs, I will not do so here, because it is foreign to my purpose.' But there are numerous published and unpublished narratives similar to these three and a careful correlation of the information in them should throw valuable new light on the peoples of south-east Africa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A. F. C. RYDER


This is a volume of essays on the law in Africa at the present day. It contains a great deal of learning on an assortment of important African legal topics, and is a useful reference book. The first two chapters concern themselves with the reception of the law of England and its modification in different African territories, and the varying degree of authority of English decisions in different colonial courts. Next, the customary law of Africa and its judicial ascertainment is discussed. Is there an African law? The author seems too confident that there is, but the discussion is rather unnecessarily superficial. There follow essays on the history of native courts in Ghana, and on arbitral proceedings in customary law. In my opinion the term 'arbitration' is usually a misnomer in regard to native systems of procedure, but the treatment of the topic is learned and interesting. One of the most attractive parts of the book deals with the extent of the operation of customary law in Africa, and the persons over whom it has jurisdiction in different territories. There follow essays on the Ghana law of marriage and divorce, and on the topic of internal conflicts between different bodies of law operating within the same jurisdiction. Lastly come two chapters on important questions of Ghana land law—the effect of writing and the treatment of long possession of land.

The law described is that prevailing on 31 December, 1958, and there are doubt much has happened since. But the chief question that emerges from these essays is as to the future relations between received English law and native law in these countries. Commonly, the superior courts of a territory administer a modified English law and the local courts native law. It is not possible for a new emergent state to exchange its system of law overnight for another (any more than it was possible in Israel when the mandate for Palestine ended). What will be the future relations between the two local systems? How can they be adapted to one another and to the future? These are heavy questions.

A. S. DIAMOND


In this book Dr. Smith has presented an orderly and informative account of the hitherto obscure events and processes in the dynamic history of the Zaria kingdom of Northern Nigeria. The ethnographical exposition follows a general theory of government which the author has developed in a separate chapter, and in which he has refined conceptualization of such terms as power and authority, politics and administration, legitimacy and legality, among other things.

But whatever praise might be given to the author for his ethnographical sophistication, I expect that the greater part of his energy went to devising methodology and here he has developed an important research technique. To state it in the briefest terms, he has organized his material in such a way that he has been able to apply the comparative method in diachronic analysis to the successive Habe, Fulani and British suzerains in Zaria. There is, of course, an obvious advantage in comparing 'units' along a single historical continuum rather than societies which are dissimilar and unrelated, although the former method is beset with unfamiliar traps and pitfalls. Nevertheless this is a method which deserves careful study by future scholars who are able to obtain the necessary data.

While Dr. Smith's method is of great importance, readers will also be interested in the laws of structural change which are postulated, particularly since knowledge of change is so rudimentary. There are three laws of structural change and each has its corollary—the law of differential resistance, the law of self-contradiction in change, the law of structural drift.

The book is not easily read, owing largely to the complexity and richness of the material, but also because of lapses into obscurity. For example, 'These conclusions follow from the fact that political action and process are defined by the relativity of power relations among the competing components, and such relativism is neither consistent with an exhaustive concentration of power, nor with the cessation of political competition' (p. 18). But such is a minor carp, for the book richly repays concentrated reading.

C. EDWARD HOPEN

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There is a scarcity of up-to-date, comprehensive studies on the Indians of Canada, and the present study is therefore doubly important. Carried out at the request of the Canadian Federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration, it provides the reader with a general idea as to the conditions of life among the Indian groups in British Columbia, and it allows the specialist to assess how well these groups are known. There is no doubt about the success of the study as a general introduction to the present social conditions of life among Indians of British Columbia. Two years after its publication, the study is already in its second printing. It provides information on practically all important questions about social or administrative problems concerning the groups in that Province. Its 31 chapter headings cover practically everything from demographic questions to social welfare—about half of the chapters being concerned with administrative problems, and thus making the book much more useful to government officials, welfare agencies and other organizations interested in the Indians as a minority group in Canada than, we regretfully add, to anthropologists or sociologists.

Without lessening in any way the importance of the book as a survey of social conditions it can actually be said that, although it does contain a number of facts of interest to social scientists, it does not further the ethnographical knowledge of Indian groups in British Columbia, or the elaboration of scientific theories. In fact it can be said that, as far as anthropological or other theories are concerned, some of the generalizations made in the study are too categorical to be readily accepted. For instance, the study states (p. 12): ‘Our research takes as axiomatic that the acculturative change of the Indian is irreversible and is going to continue no matter what is done or desired by anyone. If the present trends are maintained, change will go on to a final point of nearly complete cultural assimilation and racial amalgamation.’ This is highly questionable. In Eastern Canada, for instance, with nearly 200 more years of acculturation and intermarriages this is still not so, although the relationship between Indians and French-Canadians is far more favourable to acculturation than between Indians and English-speaking Canadians. The same weakness of hasty over-generalizations can be found in a number of chapters. For instance, in the chapter on the family, the authors state (p. 284): ‘The rise of the entrepreneur has been and will continue to be hindered by the extensibility of Indian family responsibilities.’ This kind of relationship between economic entrepreneurship and family structure has been, for some time now, rejected as not valid. As pointed out by Bert F. Hoselitz (Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth, Free Press, 1960, 139–158), ‘entrepreneurship can develop only in a society in which cultural norms permit variability in the choice of paths of life.’ Family life of the type described by the authors for the Indian groups of British Columbia is not a direct hindrance, nor a help, for the development of entrepreneur mentality. The lack of entrepreneurship exists in society with very limited family structure, as with the Eskimo. On the contrary, entrepreneurship can exist with widespread family solidarity and structure, as with the Chinese.

The study, therefore, while it is to be regarded as a good government report, very useful to government officials, is not, however, to be classified into the category of ‘applied anthropology.’ As far as the theories are concerned, there is a certain ‘naive’ approach which distresses the academic mind. For instance, as a last example, why should the authors write: ‘The Indians, in common with most people who have lost the administration of their own affairs, attach a considerable almost pathologically great importance to some subtle nuances of behaviour of the personnel of the administration.’ Is it necessary to refer to the findings of industrial sociologists to point out the universality of this behaviour? It is necessary to refer to Microcosmographia academica to point out what the authors know of the life of their own university.

PHILIPPE GARIGUE

This book is the first of a series on contemporary Javanese life, the research for which has been sponsored by The Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 'The fieldwork on which these monographs are based was conceived as a team project, a concerted effort by students of sociology and anthropology to study a segment of what was known to be a highly complex society.' According to the Appendix, 'A note on methods of work,' Dr. Geertz studied 'the Indonesian language (i.e., Malay) at Harvard University for nearly a year. He then consulted the scholars and libraries in Holland and during one whole session immersed himself in the language and culture of Java at the Gadja Mada University at Yogyakarta. Thus equipped he spent nearly 18 months at Modjokuto,' situated approximately on the border of Central and Eastern Java, a city of 20,000 inhabitants. Apart from a few weeks spent in the capital, Jakarta, where he sought information at the Ministry of Religious Affairs, he restricted himself to 'his' town and immediate surroundings.

He sorts the inhabitants into three major groups, and describes Javanese religion accordingly. The first one, that of the less cultivated people, the 'Abangan' group, stands out on account of the slaman, communal feast, and the importance attached to it. Concerning this group he deals with beliefs in spirits, curing, sorcery and magic, ending with a modern abangan cult. The second one, that of the conscious Muslims, he calls the santri group. This group reads the Koran in the mornings to elaborate on religious education, the antithesis of old-fashioned and puritan, the development given on during the last 50 years, the problem of Islam and the State, and the santri ritual pattern. The third group deals with the Priyagasti, small nobility and intellectuals of Western education. At this point the author reveals what is characteristic of Javanese culture: the etiquette, the linguistic etiquette; he devotes a chapter to Classical Art, followed by one on Popular Art and finishing up with 'Mysticism' and 'The Mystical Sects.' He ends his book with the chapter 'Conclusion: Conflict and Integration' (Part Four = Chap. 22).

The author has confined himself strictly to both place and period; he has vigorously divided his material into chapters and paragraphs and has thus succeeded in writing a well balanced and most readable book. For many of the chapters he found the basic studies available in Dutch, for many of the others he had to collect his own material, find his own way in it and subsequently show this way to us. As far as I am concerned I am quite in agreement with his approach and results; however, I have a few comments to make.

I would like to have seen a treatment of the Kabatian movement and Neo-Buddhism; is the latter confined to the Indo-Chinese part of the population dating as from Dr. Geertz's stay? What is the situation of the ancient religious sects amongst the Javanese and their anticipations of the Messiah? The information given on Ratu Adil on p. 330 and Djojopahio on p. 366 is rather short. What about kramat, holy graves and their visitors, and the theosophical literature which the big publishing firm of Tan Khoen Swie in the nearby Kadir pours out over Java? Too much literature about Java is only available for those who can read Dutch, but would it not have been helpful to the reader to find at least a few references to books and articles in English?

Far from wishing to detract from the merits of the valuable book I only suggest some desiderata, in the expectation that a second edition will be needed soon.

C. HOOGKYNS


This useful bibliography of over 2,000 books on the anthropology of India is based primarily on the material in the Indian National Library in Calcutta, but is not confined to the library's contents, as a minopographed draft list was sent to anthropologists outside India for their comments. Some important material was added in this way, though perhaps a wider circulation of the draft could have filled in some of the remaining lacunae. The list however does not aim at being other than eclectic or at including very much that has not been published in book form. Even so it cannot but invite some comparison with Elizabeth von Furer-Haimendorf's Anthropological Bibliography of South Asia, much wider in scope though that is. Containing much less it is naturally handier and easier to use than that comprehensive volume, and has the advantage of not suffering from the same dichotomy at 1940. On the other hand, being to an appreciable extent likewise based on Mandelbaum's Materials for a Bibliography of the Ethnology of India (1943), it has several of the same omissions as the Haimendorf bibliography, and rather unexpectedly omits books published in Calcutta which must be, or have been, in the Bengal Secretariat Library, if they are not also in that of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. However, any selection must omit something, and the important fact remains that the Librarian of the National Library, Calcutta, has produced a very useful and well ordered first volume of a series which is clearly going to be of very high value to Indologists. The volume is conveniently arranged and well indexed. The entries are often accompanied by a short extract, generally from some review of the book, which gives some indication of its authoritative value. Pages 125 to 128 were unfortunately missing from the copy sent for review.

J. H. HUTTON


This book is the sixth in the series on World Cultures prepared mainly from information available in the Human Relations Area Files, affiliated with Yale University. This series would be useful if it dealt only with small and little-known countries when it would be helpful to students unable to gain access to the original documents. In dealing with such a large area as China, however, the generalizations required are often so broad as to be almost misleading. Moreover, information supplied by the writers is often determined by the books available rather than by a critical knowledge of the true situation. For example, in dealing with primary schools we are given information about school-teacher's salaries but not as to whether education in People's China is free or compulsory up to a certain age, or even whether the government has made these its aims.

In the more sociological sections, instead of the author either confining himself to facts or else to good footnotes (omitted in the text but mentioned in the diagrams and statistical tables) he tries to straddle both worlds. For example on p. 160 he states that 'the relationship between mother and son had special significance because in large measure a wife's status depended upon her producing male offspring,' whereas all that is required is the statement (if it be true) that a wife's status depended on her producing male offspring and that there was a close relationship between mother and son. In some matrilineal societies a 'close relationship' also occurs between mother and son so there may well be numerous explanations for this, not least a psychological one. Thus an implied theoretical assumption is added to information the source of which is not clearly given.

Thus this book falls between two stools. On the one hand while providing a general background, it fails to give the references in sufficient detail to estimate the degree of credibility for each statement. This is especially important in dealing with information from Communist sources where a great deal of specialist background information is necessary to sift the wheat from the chaff. On the other hand it frequently introduces theoretical statements as facts where there is often a great deal of disagreement between experts in the field.

The book has a bibliography only of books written in English. Incidentally, on p. 380 the same book is written down twice with different romanization of the author's name. The ex-secretary of the Chinese student Y.M.C.A. has his name written Chiang and Kiang, thus having a double entry on the same page, without cross reference.

In summary, the book is so general as to be almost valueless in the absence of original references to Chinese sources but the bibliography may give leads to an absolute beginner in Chinese studies.
EZOMO'S BRONZE IKEGOBO OR ALTAR OF THE HAND

Height c. 16 inches. Photograph: W. B. Fagg, 1958
(a) The late Ezomo Omoruyi with his son, now Ezomo Asemuota, and his collection of bronzes; in front, Ezomo Ehenua's iron war gong, with a modern replica; at right on bench, a bronze plaque supposed to date from Ehenua's time.

(b, c) Further views of Ezomo's ikogobo

EZOMO OMORUYI AND HIS COLLECTION OF BRONZES
Photographs: W. B. Fagg, 1958
(a) Two ikegobo from the house of the Onogie of Obazagbon

(b) An ikegobo with stand in the house of the Onogie of Obazagbon

(c) Chief Ogiamie’s shrine of the Hand (aru-obo); at right, old car springs and other scrap iron forming part of the adjacent shrine of Ogun

(d) The aru-obo; of the reigning Oba of Benin, Uku Akpolokpolo Akengua II, C.M.G.

WOODEN IKEGOBO OF TYPE ‘B’

Photographs: Dr. R. E. Bradbury
The bronze 'shrine of the Hand' (ikegobo or ikega-obó, i.e. 'ikega of the hand') illustrated here (Plates L and M), one of the most ambitious, if not technically the most accomplished, castings known from Benin, is still in the possession of the Ezomo of Uzbe. The Ezomo, one of the seven hereditary nobles, Uzama Nhinron, who constitute the highest order of chieftaincy in the Benin Kingdom, was, in the past, one of the two supreme military commanders.

In this paper I shall not be concerned with the technical or aesthetic qualities of the casting. I propose, rather, first to show its meaning for its owner as a supposed 'historical record' and secondly to consider it and other ikegobo as ritual objects in the context of the Benin cult of the Hand.

**Benin Bronzes as Historical Records**

While it is still not clear what proportion of the Benin plaques and other bronzes were intended to record particular, rather than types of, persons and events, a considerable number are either certainly or very probably narrative in intention. By 'narrative' I mean simply that they were intended to convey some information about specific events or particular persons. Provided that they can be properly dated and interpreted such bronzes are potential sources of certain kinds of historical information, but dating and interpretation present many difficulties.

With few exceptions bronzes of this type belonged to the Oba of Benin. Most of them were removed from his palace during the Benin Expedition of 1897 and nearly all are now in museums or private collections in Nigeria, Europe and America. While it is possible to confront informants with a few objects, and show photographs of others, the interpretations evoked are, on the whole, disappointing. Even with the best informants (and the only person that I have met who had an intimate acquaintance with the palace bronzes before 1897 died in 1939) it is not always possible to distinguish between a remembered and a spontaneous interpretation. Faced with a bronze plaque a good informant, out of his own experience of Benin culture and traditions, can easily convince himself, if not always the enquirer, that he knows exactly what or whom it represents. This problem is, of course, being tackled 60 years too late, but it would be idle to suppose that anyone in Benin, even in 1897, would have been able, in the case of objects two or three centuries old, always to give an accurate account of the artist's original intentions. Such accounts must always have been subject to the same modifying influences as other kinds of oral tradition. Nevertheless it remains true that the bronzes contain much potentially valuable information about Benin society, culture and history over a very long period and no opportunity should be lost to find out what the Benin people themselves say about them.

In this respect Ezomo's ikegobo seems a good subject for enquiry. There is no doubt of continuous ownership in the same hereditary line since the object was made, though, its antiquity is questionable on stylistic grounds. What the late Ezomo Omoruyi (who died, a very old man, in September, 1960; see Plate Ma) had to say about it is almost certainly not very different from what he was told by his father, Osarogiabon, who died in old age in 1914. Through him, then, we can perhaps gain some idea of how such objects were regarded when they were still a living element in Benin culture. In order to do this it will be necessary to give a little of the social background.

**The Ezomo**

Only four certain examples of bronze ikegobo are known to me. Apart from bells, hip masks, bird-headed staffs, ornaments and charms, cast bronzes were, in the past, the almost exclusive preserve of the Oba. That the Ezomo should have a casting of such size and complexity is in itself remarkable and this is recognized in the story that it was made secretly (see below). However, the Ezomo, in certain respects, stands apart from all other Benin chiefs and, while not the highest in formal rank, he must in many ways be regarded as next to the Oba in prestige and status.

Third in formal order of precedence among the seven Uzama (Bradbury, 1957, pp. 35f., 43f.), the Ezomo had for long been the wealthiest and most influential of them when Benin City was captured in 1897. He lived in semi-independent state in his own town of Uzbe, just outside the inner wall of Benin City, where he kept a court which was a smaller and simpler version of that of the Oba. There he ruled his own subjects with little interference from above, creating titles and re-awarding them without reference to the Oba. Apart from the Oba, Iyoba (Oba's mother) and Edaiken (Oba's heir) the Ezomo alone is permitted to wear a coronet of red stone or coral beads. His wives, like the Oba's, are called iloi and they are subject to similar restrictions and rules of conduct. These and other attributes of kingship set him apart from other chiefs. On the most important ceremonial occasions the Ezomo and Edaiken...
used to support the Oba’s arms, one on each side; this
group is said to be illustrated on many bronzes.

The Ezomo owed his pre-eminence to the fact that he
was a supreme war chief, conducting most of the more
important military campaigns on the Oba’s behalf. As a
result of these campaigns, and of the fact that the title was
hereditary by primogeniture without any division of
property, successive Ezomo were able to accumulate much
wealth, especially in the form of slaves, who were put to
work in farm camps. Their wealth and influence were
further extended by the fact that they administered a large
number of villages and vassal chiefdoms from which they
derived tribute and services in addition to those that they
organized and collected for the Oba.

In spite of his position and advantages the Ezomo
is portrayed in tradition as being, for the most part, loyal
to the Oba. A ‘king’ in his own right at Uzebu and when
conducting his campaigns—for once outside Benin City his
powers over his men were absolute—he is said nearly always
to have remained faithful. In this respect he is sharply
contrasted with the other great war chief, the Iyase. The
Iyase was the non-hereditary head of the ‘town chiefs’
(Eghaevo n’Ore) and in the nature of the political structure
of Benin he seems almost inevitably to have come into
conflict with the Oba and ‘palace chiefs’ (Eghaevo n’Ogbe).

The way in which it came into being is important for the
interpretation of the ikegobo, whose central figure is believed
to represent Ehenua, the founder of the line.

Ezomo Ehenua and Oba Akenzua I

The following traditions concerning Ezomo Ehenua
have been collected mainly from Chief Omoruyi, the late
Ezomo, though they are widely known with but slight
variation:

Ehenua is said to have been the illegitimate first son of Oba
Ewukpe and not, therefore eligible to succeed him. Ewukpe
later had another son, who was to become Oba Akenzua. While
the latter was still young his father told him about his brother,
whose relationship to the Oba was kept secret, and asked him to
treat him kindly if ever they should meet. Ehenua was brought up
by Ode, the Iyase of the day. While Ehenua was still a boy Iyase
n’Ode was warned by a diviner that he would die at Ehenua’s hands.
He therefore plotted to kill him, but Ehenua heard of this and fled
to Ishan where he grew up into a strong and powerful man.

Meanwhile Akenzua became Oba after defeating his brother
Ovbiozuere who, with the support of Iyase n’Ode, his maternal
relative, had usurped the throne. The Iyase retired to a village 20
miles north of Benin and Ovbiozuere fled, both continuing to have
hostile relations with the Oba.

While the Eghaevo n’Ogbe were essentially courtiers,
owing their status to their position in the palace
organization, the leading Eghaevo n’Ore tended to be men of wealth
and influence who had made their way in life independently.
The Uzama, as a group, stood somewhat aside from the
day-to-day affairs of the state. Like the kingship, their
titles pass from father to senior son, in contrast to the
Eghaevo titles which are open to any man with the right
qualifications, whatever his descent. There is some differ-
ence of opinion as to whether succession by primogeniture
was always followed for the other Uzama titles, but the
Ezomo title is generally agreed to have been hereditary
for only eight generations including Ezomo Omoruyi.
The present line, at any rate, goes back only thus far and

One day Ehenua, who was now living in the Isi District, in the
north-east corner of the Benin kingdom, came to Benin as
the leader of a group bearing tribute to the Oba. Acting on a diviner’s
advice Akenzua kept him behind. Akenzua was at that time badly
served by his people and Ehenua was ashamed to see him sending to
the market to buy food for his wife. He asked the Oba for some
strong men and proceeded to make war on the rebellious villages,
sparing them only if they promised to send tribute.

In return for these services, and with his father’s words in mind,
Akenzua made him the Ezomo and eventually he agreed that the
title should be hereditary in his line. According to one version
Ehenua proceeded to defeat and kill Ovbiozuere who was still
giving trouble. What is more generally accepted is that he finally defeated the powerful Iyase n'Ode who had been the main obstacle to the Oba's full control of his kingdom.

Ehenua went on reconquering and expanding the kingdom and it was largely through his efforts that Akenzua became one of the wealthiest and most powerful of Obas.

Ezomo Omoruvi was the eighth holder of the title in direct line of descent from Ehenua, and the names and some of the military successes of the intervening Ezomo are well remembered. The present Oba is the ninth since Akenzua I, who reigned in the early part of the eighteenth century.

**Description of the Ikogbo**

Ezomo Omoruvi explains the bronze *ikogbo* in terms of the story of Ehenua and Akenzua I. The figures on the vertical surface of the cylinder represent Ehenua himself surrounded by his warriors and attendants. On top sits Akenzua I making offerings to his ancestors for the success of the campaign, or giving thanks for victory. The heads of the sacrificial animals form the frieze round the pedestal.

The shrine is cast in four pieces. The pedestal, the figure of the Oba together with the dais on which he sits, and the leopard which stands in front of him were cast separately from the main cylinder and its surrounding group of figures attendant on the Oba. The leopard, a symbol of kingship, is free-standing and the holes in its feet have never been used to secure it to the top of the cylinder. There is no indication as to whether it formed part of the artist's original conception, but if so, it is difficult to see why it was not cast in one piece with the cylinder itself.

The pedestal, cylinder and Oba-on-dais are made to fit together. Both cylinder and pedestal are hollow and open at the bottom. In the upper surface of the pedestal is a rectangular hole made after the casting was completed and situated below a cast hole in the top of the cylinder which is covered by the Oba's dais. Through these holes pieces of kola nut, palm wine and other offerings were dropped when the shrine was in use. The iron 'peg' projecting from the upper surface of the cylinder, which is used to support a carved tusk, appears to have been burnt in after the casting was complete.

I propose to divide the figures and objects shown into three main groups:

1. The figures on the vertical surface of the cylinder. These represent Ehenua and his followers and are numbered according to the diagram (fig. 3).

1. The large central figure is said to represent Ezomo Ehenua dressed for war. In his left hand he holds ropes attached to five severed human heads. Ezomo's explanation is that on only five occasions did the battle become so severe that Ehenua himself had to take part in the fighting. Each time he cut off a head. Four times he did it with a single stroke but the fifth time the first stroke slashed his enemy's face; this slash is shown on the middle head. Nearly all Ehenua's followers carry a single head and it is interesting to note that these heads vary considerably in such matters as tribal markings and hair styles, indicating that they represent people from different areas.

On his head Ehenua wears a helmet of cloth or leather to which are attached three tiny calabashes (ukokogho), of the kind which are filled with 'medicines' and worn by priests, magicians, warriors and others seeking magical protection. Such medicines were prepared for the Ezomo by a special group of 'doctors,' *Ewaise*, who occupied a separate ward in Uzubu, though the services of 'doctors' from outside would also be called upon. The *Ewaise* were responsible for the shrine of *Osun-okei* (*Osun*, god of medicine, *okei*, war) in Ezomo's compound. Some of the other figures also wear *ukokogho* on their caps or round their necks.

The symbol on the front of Ehenua's cap is called *onwe vb'kee*, 'the sun and the moon.' Ezomo explains that it was a charm with a protective purpose. Just as the sun and moon always reach their destinations in the evening and return the next day, so will the warrior return safely from his campaign. Another informant puts it thus: 'What you throw at the moon cannot strike the moon. What you throw at the sun cannot strike the sun. Death cannot kill the sun in the sky,' the emphasis here being on the warrior's immunity from his enemies' weapons. The armlets (*egba*) round Ehenua's arms have the same purpose. They are stowed in a medicine which gives them the power of diverting gunfire or protecting the warrior from wounds if struck by a sharp weapon. They are of the type known as *egba n'iri n'iruvi* — armlet of the rope that the spirits tie —, a reference to the endless knot motif, a knot which cannot be untied by man.

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**FIG. 3. KEY TO FIGURES ON VERTICAL (ABOVE) AND HORIZONTAL SURFACES OF EZOMO'S IKOGBO**

Not to scale. To the left of the peg are the feet of a missing figure.

To ropes tied round his neck are attached what appear to be small stone celt. These too are a symbol of power and strength. Celts are to be found as altar objects in many cults. They are believed to be thunderstones and they are particularly associated with *Oggun* (King of Death) the deity who controls the thunder, though they are also important in connexion with the gods of iron (*Ogun*) and medicine (*Ogun*). All these deities are, of course, concerned with war.

The weapon in Ehenua's right hand is a two-edged sword or *opla* (also the name for the all-purpose machete) whose sheath, *aku-opia*, is tucked under his left arm. The circles of beads round his neck (*ika* or *ikele*) and the beaded anklets (*iruawe* or *egun*) denote his chieftain rank.

Flanking Ehenua's head are a pair of skulls, probably those of sacrificial rams or he-goats.

2. & (19) The two figures to the right and left of Ehenua's head are ritual attendants, *Ewaise*, holding charms. Chief Ezomo calls these charms *esxuwe*, i.e. consolidated lumps of pounded medicine, oval in form, which are kept in the *Osun* shrine and used to give power to curses or blessings. In this case they would be licked and held out in the direction of the enemy, a curse would be pronounced and then the holder would blow along them. From their shape, however, the objects held are almost certainly another kind of charm, *ukokogho n'ogido*, in the form of a curved calabash, filled with medicines and with the narrow neck open. *Ogido* means...
'guide' (gie, 'to point out', ade, 'the road, way'). When the calabash is held with its open neck pointing towards the enemy it will guide the curse to its destination. Some informants say that it would guide the warriors themselves to the enemy.

(3) The object held by this figure looks like a clutch of sheathed spears. I am assured (but not completely convinced) that it represents a large pestle, of the type used for pounding yam, with a specially carved handle. It is called ovbedo ne-wi'i-eyoko (the pestle that is not lost in war) or ovbedo gya y'ebina to-y'ova (the pestle that, when it has been used in a fight, goes home). That such pestles were taken on campaigns is widely known. The symbolism is as follows: when a quarrel breaks out between two neighbors or members of the same household it is not unusual for one of the parties to pick up one of these heavy pestles and use it as a weapon. But when the fight is over it returns to its mortar and its task of pounding yam (this is, in fact not always so; pestles that have been used in fights are sometimes to be seen on shrines to Oggun or Osun). In the old days pieces of a pestle which had been used to fight were broken off, ground up and incorporated in a medicine which was rubbed on a ceremonial pestle of the type shown here. This was kept in the Osun-okuko shrine and it would accompany the war chief on his campaigns. Warriors would touch it in the belief that as the domestic pestle returns to its mortar after a fight, so they would return home from the war.

(4) This short figure carries a shield (asa). Such shields were constructed of a strong light wood and covered with leather. It appears to have a protective calabash attached to it.

(5) & (16) Drummers. Their drums are probably the war drums, izaduna.

(6) & (14) Warriors carrying curved single-edged swords (umuezu).

(7) & (13) Warriors carrying bows (unumbo) and arrows (femwe). The crossbow, which was known in Benin from the sixteenth century, does not appear on this object.

(8) to (13) Six figures of warriors (gyoko or iyibiyoko) are arranged symmetrically round the back of the cylinder. They are almost identical each, like Ehenua, is armed with an opia, though in every case but one it has been broken off. In distinction from the other figures, which represent Ehenua's personal and ceremonial staff, the warriors wear helmets with magical calabashes, and protective armlets. The objects hanging round their necks may be (as Ezomo says), bells used for identification in the fighting, or nkokioghe, or leather amulets containing protective medicine.

(17) This figure is an omada or sword-bearer. The ada which he carries is a symbol of authority. In Benin City the Oba alone can have an ada carried in front of him in public. It is a mark of Ezomo's special status that he can do so at Uzebu and when he is away from Benin on his military campaigns. Generally speaking the Oba's gift of an ada to a subject chief indicates the delegation to the latter of powers of life and death over his own subjects.

(18) This figure carries a long spear (asoro). Round his neck he wears a pouch of protective medicine.

(20) An attendant beating an iron gong (eggogo).

II Oba and attendants. (1) The central figure on top of the shrine is Obe Akenzua I seated on a dais (ogihp). His lack of ceremonial costume indicates that the sacrifices which he is making are contingent ones rather than part of an annual festival (ugie). Ezomo's interpretation is that he is sacrificing to his ancestors for Ehenua's success in war. In his right hand he holds a kola nut—an indispensable part of any ritual offering—and in his left a ritual staff (uxarhe), which in most cults is the most direct symbol of the power of the god or spirit. It is banded on the ground to emphasize prayers, blessings and curses. Also in his left hand is the end of a rope to which are secured a cow (a), he-goat (b) and ram (c) tied up ready for sacrifice and standing round three sides of the dais. On the dais to the Oba's right is an ekpene—a big round wooden bowl with lid, containing kola nuts and other offerings—and to his left a calabash of palm wine for pouring libations. Between his feet is a cock's head with a disproportionately large piece of kola nut on each side of it.

(2) A trumpeter, ikpakohe, blowing an elephant-tusk horn (akohen).4

(3) An attendant carrying an ekpene or box-stool, made of wood, leather and bark and consisting of two cylinders, each on a circular base, one of which fits over the other. They are used to contain valuables, for carrying offerings and ceremonial gifts, and as 'thrones' over a wide area formerly subject to Benin influence.

(4) One of the Ewaise (Oba's doctors) carrying an iron staff, osum-enmut, which embodies the power of the god of medicine. These staffs have branch-like proliferations at the upper end, often worked in the form of bells, birds, chameleons and other animals. This one has a non-human skull attached to it and its purpose is to protect the Obas against evil intentions.

(5) to (8) Four beaded figures apparently representing European soldiers in tunic, trousse and helmets, and carrying guns. No special reason is given for their presence in this context, but they are clearly acting as the Oba's bodyguard.

III The pedestal. The frieze on the pedestal has heads of cows, rams, he-goats and cocks, interspersed with segments of kola nut, bottles or calabashes, and a bird. The bird apart, these are the usual sacrificial offerings to ancestors.

Ezomo's Ikegobo as a Historical Document

In considering Ezomo's ikegobo as a historical record we must take care to distinguish its significance for the owner from the value that it may have for the historian. Ezomo Omoruyi had no doubt that the two main figures represented Ehenua and Akenzua I and that some, at least, of the others were particular men whose names have now been forgotten; but, although it apparently portrays a triumphal return from a campaign, the Ezomo's interpretation of the five severed heads carried by Ehenua and the fact that the heads denote varying tribal origins suggest a generalized account rather than a particular incident.

There is no indication that it refers directly to the struggle between the Oba and Iyase n'Ode. It represents a memorial to a great warrior who has conquered far and wide rather than the victorious outcome of a specific conflict. For Ezomo Omoruyi the bronze ikegobo was a tangible record of, and a focus for his pride in, the martial deeds and qualities of the founder of his line and I have little doubt that it played some part in keeping the story of Ehenua fresh in his mind.

For the historian and the ethnographer the ikegobo is a valuable concrete expression of certain features of Benin culture and society in the past. It dramatizes the ideal relationship between the Oba and his military commander. It indicates the elaboration of ritual and magical devices for procuring success in war and the remarkable degree of dependence upon 'medicines.' (Ezomo Omoruyi claimed that his ancestors were never defeated in war because they never fought until they were sure that their 'medicines' were strong enough to give them victory.) It emphasizes a head-getting element in Benin warfare which is hardly mentioned in oral tradition—except to say that the heads of conquered rulers were brought to the Oba—and this is important for a proper understanding of the Hand cult in Benin, and for comparisons between it and the Ibo ikenga cult.

If the ikegobo were contemporary with Ehenua and Akenzua I it would provide information about the types of weapons, dress, ornament, ritual apparatus, etc., in use at the time, and the presence of European 'soldiers' would be directly significant. Unfortunately this is unlikely to be so. Its late owner firmly believed that Ehenua himself
had it made and used it in worshipping his Hand, and the account of its casting is of some interest. The rule that large bronzes were not to be cast except on the Oba's orders was apparently nearly always rigidly adhered to. It was the practice, however, for warrior chiefs to take bronze-casters with them on their campaigns to repair guns, cannon and other equipment, and Ehenua is said to have had one of these cast his ikego secretly. On stylistic grounds it is virtually certain that at least the main casting and its surmounting figures, and the figures of the Oba and leopard, are of much more recent date than the early eighteenth century. Mr. William Fagg, who has examined the castings, suggests that the pedestal may be older than the rest and if so this may mean that the rest was a replacement for an earlier casting which had been destroyed. The evidence of informants—and persistent enquiries have been made both in Ezomo's family and among the bronze-casters—makes it very unlikely that the present casting was made during this century or indeed, from Ezomo's age, less than seventy years ago. If the main casting is a replacement then the question arises of how true a copy was attempted, and to what extent errors and anachronisms crept in. In dress, at least, all the European figures have a distinctly nineteenth-century flavour. It is, of course, possible that the ikegbo was made by a nineteenth-century Ezomo for his own use and afterwards attributed to the founder of the line.

The European figures remain an interesting problem for there is a distinct possibility that Europeans took a hand in the internal conflicts of the Benin Kingdom in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Nyendael (see Ling Roth, 1903, p. 14), who was in Benin in 1699 and 1701, describes a situation remarkably similar to the conflict between Akenzua I and Iyase n'Ode of Benin tradition. The Oba of Nyendael's account had been at conflict with one of his 'street kings' for ten years and the latter was, at the time of Nyendael's visit, living two to three days' journey from Benin, an uneasy peace having been patched up by 'the mediation of the Portuguese.' Egharevba's approximate date for the death of Akenzua I, 1735, is probably very close, for Dutch sources have recently revealed that an Oba died in 1734 or 1735. His accession, which Egharevba places in 1710, would, however, have to be put back to about 1690 in order to fit in with Nyendael's account and while this is not impossible there is no positive evidence one way or the other.7 A relationship, however tenuous, between the Ezomo's ikegbo and an actual passage in Benin history recorded by a contemporary chronicler thus remains a tantalizing possibility.

The Cult of the Hand

The cult object known as ikenga or ikenga is found, in various forms, over a wide area of the central part of southern Nigeria on both sides of the Niger. It is known by the same name, with slight variations, among at least the Benin, Ishan and Urhobo-Isoko sections of the Edo-speaking peoples, over a large part of Ibo country, among the Igala and among the Western Ijaw.8 Everywhere it is associated with the hand or arm (the right arm is frequently specified), and with the prowess, strength and enterprise of the individual worshipper. A detailed comparative study is called for but is beyond the scope of this paper, which will be confined to ikegbo deriving from Benin City and the villages in its immediate neighbourhood. The wooden ikegbo, which I shall describe below, are all carved by, or in the style of, the Igbesanuwa, a guild of carvers who occupy a separate ward in Benin City, and whose primary function was to carve for the Oba and the royal court.

In Benin the word ikenga, more frequently heard in the form ikegbo, has two connotations. First, it refers to that aspect of the worshipper's individuality which is associated with the hand or, rather, with the whole arm, for the words obo includes the hand and the arm. In this sense the words ikenga and obo are synonymous. The right arm is not usually specified and some informants explain ikenga as being 'the power of both hands together.' It will be seen from Plate N that both hands are depicted on the carved ikegbo. Melzian gives ikenga as meaning 'wrist' but it is not in general use in this sense. It is true, however, that, when speaking of ikenga informants invariably grip the right wrist with the fingers of the left hand to indicate firmness and power.9 Secondly, ikegbo denotes the cult object itself.

The Hand is one of three Benin cults which have, as their object, some aspect of the worshipper's own individuality. To understand its place in the Edo view of human personality and of the individual's position in society, it is necessary to refer briefly to the two other cults, those of the Head and the Ehi.10

Every living person has an Ehi which is, in one sense, his or her Destiny, and, in another, a counterpart and guide in the spirit world. Omua (the living person) and Ehi are the two halves of a single being, indissolubly linked through successive incarnations. Before birth each individual is believed to predestine himself (hi) by making a statement before Osanobua, the Creator, setting out a life programme and asking for all that will be needed to carry it out successfully. Ehi stands by to prompt and, after the individual is born on earth, remains in the spirit world to act as a guide and intermediary with Osanobua. Misfortune, and especially continued misfortune, can, therefore, be explained in terms of a failure to 'hi well' or to keep to the chosen life programme. The sufferer is said to have a 'bad Ehi' and prayers and offerings must be addressed to the Ehi asking it to intervene. At one level the Ehi represents the innate potentialities for social achievement with which each individual is believed to be endowed. Predestination is seen as a limiting factor on the individual's capacity to achieve success through his own actions. Though one who has a stroke of good luck should, and often does, thank his Ehi, it is more often invoked in contexts of failure and misfortune. In operation the cult of the Ehi can be shown to have a particular association with the ability to beget, or bear, and keep, healthy children; that is, with the parent-child relationship. Here it is only necessary to say, in support of this statement, that in most lineages parents and children of the worshipper are not
allowed to be present when he or she is addressing rites towards his or her Ehi.11

The Head (Uhunnu) symbolizes life and behaviour in this, the capacity to organize one’s actions in such a way as to survive and prosper. It is one’s Head that ‘leads one through life.’ It is the seat of thinking (iroro), judgement (enawae) and will or character (exoe), of hearing, seeing and speaking; and on the successful co-ordination of these faculties individual fortunes depend. While Ehi implies a rejection of personal control over one’s fortunes, Uhunnu admits a greater degree of responsibility for them. The characteristic rite is that of ‘blessing’ the Head, first thanking it for survival and prosperity, then asking it for further favours. On a man’s Head depends not only his own well-being but that of his wives and children; and, since this dependence is reciprocal, he serves their Heads at the same time as his own. Thus the Head cult has a particular association with family headship. At the state level, the welfare of the people as a whole depends on the Oba’s Head which is the object of worship at the main event of the state ritual year; and the Oba, in turn, sends out his own priests to bless the Heads of the chiefs through whom he rules.

While, in the past, the Head and Ehi were actively worshipped by the great majority of adults, the cult of the Hand was less universal. Today, a moderately successful man, asked if he has an ikedogo, will often reply: ‘Why should I serve my Hand? What has it done for me?’, indicating that it would be presumptuous of him to do so. General statements often imply that only people of wealth and high rank have ikedogo but this is not strictly so. A poor man, whose practical affairs are going badly, or who, more simply, injures his arm or hand, may be advised by a diviner to ‘serve his Hand’ (ru Obo). He will acquire an ikedogo from a carver, dedicate it, and begin to make offerings over it to his Hand. It is, however, unusual for a man to have an ikedog until he is at least established as a householder with a wife and child; and women rarely have them unless they are of very high rank or are important traders. While a child’s Ehi may be served ‘through his Head’ before a shrine is installed—the Head needs no shrine, though important chiefs have Head shrines—children do not serve their Hands.

The Hand, then, is regarded as a more positive symbol of wealth and social achievement than either the Ehi or the Head. While it is common to speak of an unfortunate person as having a ‘bad Ehi’ or a ‘bad Head,’ ‘bad Hand’ is not used in this sense. Indeed, the characteristic attitude of Hand-worship is one of self-congratulation and self-glorification. The diviner may advise a man who is meeting with failure in some enterprise to serve his Hand, but in doing so, as the following diviner’s verse clearly shows, he implies the consultee’s personal responsibility for his fortunes, and counselling self-reliance:

Owugua says you should complain to your Hand
If you do not want the weeds to spoil your farm.

‘It is in your hands’ translates directly from English to Edo.

Again, the cult of the Hand is less concerned with the worshipper’s roles in the kinship system than either the Ehi or the Head. It refers, rather, to his position vis-à-vis society and the world at large. While it is incumbent on a man to serve his Head for the good of his dependent kin, whether he makes a sacrifice to his Hand is entirely a matter of personal choice. The Edo themselves say: ‘Igwe is performed for our children, Ihiezu for our slaves.’ At Igwe, the annual rite of blessing the Head, the performer’s chief co-participants are his wives and children; at Ihiezu, the annual rite for the Hand, it was slaves who fulfilled this role. Both domestic and farm slaves came, bringing gifts for their master, who feasted them in return. A sacrifice was made and the master rested his hand on the ikegobo while it was smeared with the blood. When the sacrificial animal had been cooked it was served with pounded yam, a large loaf of which was placed on the ikegobo (or on the master’s hand which he rested on the ikegobo). It was the head slave who removed the yam and shared it with his fellows. Ihiezu was performed only by craftsmen and people of high rank and wealth, and it is generally described as having been an opportunity to show off wealth in slaves and property. Slaves, it is explained, represent par excellence ‘the things man has got with his own hands,’ things that belong to him alone, as an individual, rather than as, say, a father or a husband. Unlike the worship of the Oba’s Head, which was the central public rite of divine kingship, the Oba’s Ihiezu was not a public ceremony. The explanation given is that Oba Ewuare who, according to tradition, rose, by his own efforts, from inauspicious beginnings to be one of the greatest Obas, said that his Hand had done so much for him, that to do it justice in a public ceremony he would have to dissipate all he had gained.

In general, then, the Hand is associated with the success, judged in terms of wealth and prestige, of the individual in the context of human society and the world in general. It symbolizes his vigour, enterprise and industry in farming, trading or any other activity to which he turns his hand. It implies personal responsibility and self-reliance in a highly competitive and relatively individualistic society. All this is summed up rather well in the following Edo saying: ‘If one’s father does something for one, he makes one ashamed (i.e. by telling everyone how much one is beholden to him); if one’s mother does something for one, she makes one ashamed; but if one’s hand does something for one, it does not shame one.’12

The Hand, as one might expect, has a more specific meaning for those who are especially dependent upon manual skill or physical strength, that is for craftsmen, warriors and hunters. Smiths and carvers have ikegobo on which are depicted hammers, tongs, adzes and other tools of their trade. Ihiezu was particularly important for blacksmiths, who stopped work for seven days each year when they performed it, and both blacksmiths and warriors worshipped the Hand in conjunction with Ogun, the god of iron. In many houses the shrines of Obo and Ogun are adjacent to each other. According to some informants Ihiezu used to be performed in conjunction with Isiokwu, the great state war ceremony, and Ezomo Omoruyi
confirmed that his father used to worship his Hand and Ogun just before Isiokwu, and prior to setting out on a campaign.

There are, indeed, some grounds for supposing that Hand-worship at Benin may once have had a more specific connexion with warfare. Many of the larger ikegobo, in both wood and bronze, whether or not they belonged to warriors, represent men dressed and armed for war. Here, it is worth recalling that, among the Ibo, ikenga have strong warrior connotations. Talbot (1926, Vol. 11, pp. 142f.) writes; 'The Ika pray to the Ikengga for success in trade, war, hunting and farming. The heads of all leopards and of every enemy killed in war are offered up before the symbol,' and in Okigwi district the first sacrifice by a man who has killed an enemy in war is to the ikenga. Meek (1937, p. 39) is more specific: 'But Ikenga is not a cult of much importance at the present time as it was formerly associated with the practice of head-hunting. . . . When a young man first obtained the head of an enemy in war he asked a lucky old head-getter to establish for him an Ikenga.' Some of Jeffrey's informants, too, confirm the warfare and head-getting themes in the ikenga cult. One of

All this is consistent with the general interpretation of the Hand cult which I have given above. In a warrior society fighting skill and bravery, and particularly head-getting, are supreme tests of individual enterprise and prowess, a point of view clearly expressed in Ezomo's ikegobo and in the damaged one illustrated by von Luschan (1919, Plate XCII). But in pre-1897 Benin society large-scale farming (with slave labour), trade, 'medicine', craft specialization and especially political power and influence were, for most people, easier roads to prestige than skill in battle, though this last retained its glamour. Wealth, rank and political power, rather than personal daring, were the measures of social success and this fact must for long have modified any more exclusive connexion with martial virtues that the cult of the Hand might have once had.

Typology and Iconography

We are now in a position to review briefly the types of Benin ikegobo. In the neighbourhood of Benin City we can distinguish four main types:

A. Small, round, stool-like blocks of wood (up to about 6 inches high without the projecting peg) carved with representational and geometric designs, but not, normally, with human figures, on the vertical and, sometimes, upper surfaces.

B. Larger, wooden objects of the same general shape usually between 8 and 12 inches high (excluding peg), carved on the vertical and upper surfaces with figures, objects and other motifs. 13 Ikekopo of this type are usually provided with a carved stand, as shown in Plate Nb.

C. Bronze ikegobo similar in design to type B but without a separate stand though the ikegobo itself may be cast in two or more pieces as is the case with Ezomo's.

D. Terra-cotta objects of similar design. I am grateful to Mr. William Fagg for calling my attention to the only known example, which is in the British Museum. Benin teracottas were produced almost exclusively in the bronze-casters' (Ikuneremu) ward and, from the tools depicted on it, it is certain that this example must have belonged to one of the titled smiths (fig. 5).

Ikekopo of type B and many of those of type A have, projecting from the upper surface, a 'peg' whose purpose is to support an ivory tusk. The bronze ikegobo of the Queen-Mother and of the Oba (Read and Dalton, 1899, Plate IX, Nos. 1 and 2) have, in place of a peg, a hole running down through the cylinder into which a stick could be inserted, the tusk being supported on the stick. It seems probable that such was the case, originally, with Ezomo's ikegobo and that its iron peg was burnt in at a later stage. 14

As far as is known only the Oba, Iyoba (Oba's mother) and Ezomo ever had bronze ikegobo; the original ownership of the one illustrated by von Luschan (1919, Plate XCII) is unknown but it clearly belonged to a warrior. The distribution of the two wooden types is a function of rank and the circumstances in which they were acquired. Those of type B are usually to be found in the second public room of large, traditional, chiefs' houses on altars built of mud, polished and painted white, often beautifully
moulded and with sculptured mud figures described as 'servants' or 'slaves' of the Hand. This type is acquired only by titled men and it is generally passed on from the original owner to his lineal heirs. In the house of the Onogie of Obazagbon, a hereditary village chief of the royal clan, there are remnants of about five ikegbo of type B. Ezomo Omoruyi recalls that, though Ehenua's was the only bronze one, there were, before 1897, a row of ikegbo belonging to past Ezomo. Ikegbo of type A are found in the houses of craftsmen and others who have been advised by diviners to serve their Hands, or who have wished to mark their own achievements. These small ikegbo do not, normally, have altars of their own, but are placed on, or near, ancestral altars or, in the case of women, on altars to Olokun or some other deity. In the shrines of some deities are to be seen ikegbo representing the Hand of the deity itself.

Type A ikegbo are specific to their original owners and should be buried with them. 'You cannot leave your Hand behind,' it is said. Some say that, in the past, owners of large ikegbo would have smaller ones made to be buried with them; otherwise the circle of cowries which is tied round the cylinder or slipped over the peg, is buried with the corpse. A son who inherits a type B ikegbo in no sense continues to worship his father's Hand. He should have a smaller one made for himself, and this is kept on or near the inherited one.

The representational content of all types of ikegbo may be summarized as follows; the list is not exhaustive but it will serve to convey the range of symbolism involved:

1. The hand itself is the most common motif. It is invariably carved including the wrist, in an upright position, showing the ventral side, but with the fist clenched and the thumb pointing upwards and outwards. The treatment ranges from near realism, in what are probably earlier examples of type B, to a more formalized, blocked-out form. Ezomo's ikegbo is very unusual in having no hand shown in this way.

2. Figures in ceremonial costume, representing the original owner with attendants (who may be warriors), one or two of whom generally support his hands, a mark of high rank. The Oba's bronze ikegbo (Read and Dalton, Plate IX, fig. 2) also shows the Oba's mother and her attendants and two of his wives. The figures kneeling beside the Oba are probably Olukoton and Olukohi (otun and osi are the Yoruba words for right and left hand), two chiefs who have special duties at the Oba's Ihiexu.

3. Figures of warriors with swords, spears, shields and ritual and ceremonial apparatus. They are often shown with a head impaled on a spear and this motif also occurs by itself. The bronze ikegbo in von Luschan (Plate XCI) is unusual in that it depicts warriors actually engaged in fighting, others holding severed heads, a figure killing a leopard, and birds picking at beheaded corpses.

4. Craftsmen's tools such as smith's hammers, anvils and tongs; and carvers' mallets and adzes.

5. Marks of rank and wealth including (apart from the costumes and regalia of the figures) padlocked chests and boxes, casks of palm oil, beads, strings of cowries—the former currency—, and female genitalia. The last were explained by the chief Ijesanmuwa carver as indicating that a man would not serve his Hand until he had wives and children. The commonest emblem of rank represented is a feather of the vulturine fish eagle (ogho) called ikan-ogho no-k'uhunu'ivie-'the eagle's feather that tops the head,' a reference to the fact that chiefs wear such a feather projecting above their head bands. This motif is often latitudinally distorted but is usually to be found following the curve made by the wrist and thumb of the hand. The leopard occurs as a symbol of kingship on Ezomo's ikegbo, on that of the Oba and on those belonging to village chiefs of the royal clan.

6. Symbols of physical power, principally crocodiles which appear in pairs on the upper surface of stands of ikegbo of type B, encircling the main cylinder; and stylized elephant heads. In the latter the trunk ends in a hand holding a leaf or branch. The Edos think of the end of the elephant's trunk as having the form and function of a hand, and the leaf is said to refer to the elephant's habit of tearing off the leaves of young palm trees to get at the tender new leaves at the centre.

7. Sacrificial offerings, including kola nuts, alligator pepper pods, pieces of coconut, fish, calabashes and bottles of palm wine, crocodiles and the heads of fowls, goats, rams and cows. A bowl of kola nuts is sometimes shown held by a servant or slave, usually female. Fish, kola nuts and alligator pepper are regarded as the most appropriate offerings on 'ordinary' occasions. The fish may be shown whole and coiled (iikehen) or as a slab of fish with the head cut off. Human sacrifices are not shown (unless in von
Luschan, fig. 469), though the Oba and Ezomo could, in the past, make human sacrifices to their Hands.\textsuperscript{16}

*Ikegobo*, then, symbolize the whole range of notions underlying the cult of the Hand, and they do so with a directness that is unusual in African religious art. They illustrate rather well that quality of matter-of-factness that is characteristic of much Benin court art which, within the limits of its conventions, is more concerned with accuracy of representation, formal symmetry, and the satisfaction of the client's self-regard, than with the free play of the artist's imagination. While it has a more specific focus in the context of manual skill and physical prowess, Hand-worship can, in one sense, be regarded as the ritual expression of self-esteem, and this point of view is stated uninhibitedly in the iconography of the cult object. Ezomo's *ikegobo*, though unusual in some features of its design, fits this general picture well. Apart from its associations its attractiveness lies in the unusual liveliness of the figures and a more fluid and imaginative design than one generally finds in Benin court art.

**Notes**

\textsuperscript{1} The material for this paper has been collected at various times during periods of fieldwork financed respectively by the Royal Anthropological Institute (Emile Hordiman Anthropological Scholarship Fund), the International African Institute, and the Benin Historical Research Scheme, University College, Ibadan (directed by Dr. K. O. Dike). To each of these bodies and to the C.S.S.R.C., the Nigerian Federal Government and the Carnegie Corporation, which jointly provided funds for the Benin Scheme, my thanks are due. I have derived much benefit from discussions with Mr. William Fagg who has, in addition, kindly provided photographs of Ezomo's *ikegobo* to illustrate this article.

This article is intended as a tribute to Chief Omoruyi, the late Ezomo (Plate Ma), whose house guest I was in 1953-54. A man of great dignity and kindness, and of an infinite gentleness which seemed to belie his warlike ancestry, he was yet filled with pride in the deeds of his forefathers. He was a great patron of the Benin bronze-casters and when the bronze figures of his ancestors were stolen in 1958 he commissioned a series of plaques depicting the seven Ezomo of his line who preceded him. These he added to a plaque showing himself, and another earlier one in memory of his mother.

\textsuperscript{2} See Read and Dalton, 1899, Plate IX, Nos. 1 and 2. These two examples undoubtedly belonged to the Iyoba (Oba's mother) and Oba respectively. On stylistic grounds they can be fairly confidently attributed to the nineteenth century; Read and Dalton remark that they appear to be 'of comparatively modern manufacture.' See also von Luschan, Plate XCI, and figs. 468, 469 (pp. 322f.), for a very unusual example.

\textsuperscript{3} Any children born to the future Oba before he had passed through a particular *rite de passage* were regarded as 'children the leopard has thrown away' and disposed of or disowned.

\textsuperscript{4} There is a firm tradition that the *akothen* was introduced by Oba Eresoyen, the son of Akenzua I. It is probable, however, that other kinds of tusk-horns were in use before that time.

\textsuperscript{5} It is possible that all the heads were meant to be those of rulers whom Ehenua conquered, but this does not seem very likely.

\textsuperscript{6} Personal communication from Dr. A. F. C. Ryder. It is virtually certain that Akenzua I's grandson, Akengbuda, was reigning when Landolphe visited Benin in the 1770s and 1780s. Landolphe (Vol. I, pp. 98-102) describes the Ezomo (*le capitaine-général des guerres*) in 1778 as living in considerable state: 'ce capitaine était le plus riche de toute la contrée... son pouvoir balançait celui du roi... il possédait plus de deux mille esclaves... marchant aux combats il avait toujours cinquante à soixante mille hommes sous son commandement... [il] n'avait guère plus de trente ans... sa démarche aussi grave qu'imposante, son ton et ses manières pleines de noblesse, annonçaient la grandeur des fonctions dont il était revêtu.' This was almost certainly Ekeneza, the grandson of Ehenua.

\textsuperscript{7} For a fuller discussion of this problem see Bradbury, 1939, pp. 273f.

\textsuperscript{8} I have to thank Mr. and Mrs. Philip Leis for calling my attention to the presence of *ikegoga*, otherwise called *amabara*, among the Kabowe ijo.
9 Melzian gives, as a secondary meaning for ikega, ‘anklet of cows which is worshipped as Obo . . . women keep it on their (trays) for carrying merchandise in order to prevent things being stolen and for quick sale.’ These circlets of cows may be called ikega but only, I believe, when they represent an ikotido on which they are normally kept. Other women use similar charms named after other deities. A case can be made out for deriving the word ikega from two roots, ike- and ga, both implying circularity. Ga means ‘to surround’ and is found in iega, ‘to move round.’ Ike- appears in such words as ika or ikele, a circular bead necklace, ikgaha, bridle, and ikore, a broad brass or ivory armlet. There is, therefore, a faint possibility that ikega originally meant ‘wristlet’ (ikego would mean ‘something that goes round the arm’) and, by association, the wrist itself. Every ikegbo in use should have a cowry circlet round it and when the owner dies this may be buried with him instead of the whole object. I would not, however, press this etymology as a ‘pure’ origin for the word. One of Jeffrey’s informants (1954, p. 30) gives what appears to be a more satisfactory etymology from Ibo.

10 A long essay is in preparation dealing with these three cults in detail.

11 For my interpretation of the Ehi I lean heavily on Fortes’s (1959) treatment of similar beliefs among the Tallensi.

12 Translated from Eguavon, p. 37, No. 673.

13 Apart from the illustrations to this article see also Pitt-Rivers (1900), Plates XXXIV (figs. 258-60) and XXXIII (figs. 333-5); and von Luschan (1919), Plate CXXXIII, for examples of ikego of type B.

14 A word must be said about the possible relationship between the tusk-supporting peg, and the pair of horns of the typical Ibo ikena. Jeffrey’s characterization of the Ibo ikena as a ‘ran-headed god’ does not hold good for Benin, where I have been able to find no evidence of a specific association between ikena and the ram (or the sun). It is true that titled chiefs sacrifice rams to their Hands but this is a function of their rank rather than of the cult in itself. Moreover, many people hold that the sacrificial victim par excellence is the crocodile, and fish is the commonest form of offering. The association here is with Okun, the god of the sea and of riches.

It is true, nevertheless, that between Benin City and the Niger, among both the Isan and the western Ibo, ikego or ikotido can be found representing every intermediate stage between Benin types A and B, on the one hand, and the typical Ibo horned figure on the other. In some Isan examples a pair of horns projects directly from the top of what is otherwise virtually a Benin type A ikego. Moreover, if we consider other Benin tusk-holding shrine furniture, such as bronze and wooden heads, we find that the ‘hole-and-stick’ method of supporting tusks is far more typical than the peg method.

There are, therefore, some grounds for supposing that the peg on ikegbo may be derived from an original pair of horns. On the other hand, as Mr. J. S. Boston pointed out to me, the stool-like character of Benin ikego is (though with considerable variation in the actual form) a more constant feature than the horns. The Ibo horned figure is often seated on a recognizable stool or stand on something clearly related to the form of the Benin ikega. Mr. Robin Horton writes to me, of Western Ibo ikena: ‘There are two cults in the Delta which seem related to your Benin ikena. One is called ikena or the other amahra . . . Ana bra (right arm) is a personal cult connected with good fortune. So far as I can remember, cultivation of physical prowess is stressed. The cult object resembles a stylized form of the Ibo two-horned ikena. Ikena . . . is a personal cult of much the same significance. The cult object resembles a shallow stool, usually with stylized human eyes and nose carved in low relief on the top. Sometimes both types are loosely referred to as ikena, and sometimes the labels are reversed; but the above is the most usual combination.’

Further study is clearly essential but it seems possible that we may be dealing with two, originally separate, cults which have impinged on each other; or with a single cult which, at an early stage, split up into Ibo and Benin varieties which, however, continued to exist side-by-side and influence each other.

15 The oghohon symbolizes longevity—from the fact that its feathers are all white. The wooden heads (uhumwele) that decorate ancestral altars are furnished with igam-oghohon. See, e.g., Ling Roth, p. 68, fig. 74.

16 It is amusing to recall that Pitt-Rivers identified type B ikegbo as ‘execution blocks.’

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NORTH AFRICA AND MOUNT CARMEL: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS*

by E. S. HIGGS and D. R. BROTHWELL

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SOME PLEISTOCENE FAUNA OF THE MEDITERRANEAN COASTAL AREAS

166 The cave of Haua Fteah on the Libyan coast has yielded bones and artifacts which date back from Roman times to 100,000 B.C. During this time considerable fluctuations in the relative percentages of the main food animals have occurred, particularly in the importance of the large Bovines (cattle and buffalo).

Today cattle are confined to the coastal strip of Mediterranean vegetation near to the perennial water supplies. Further south the nomads on the desert steppe have only sheep and camels, which require less water. In the past, in times as dry as the present day, the coastal water holes would have attracted the number of cattle to the coast during the dry summers. That the Large Bovines are

* A more detailed report will be appearing in the 1961 volume of the Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.
associated with dry conditions in the past on the Mediterranean coast is confirmed by sites of the Caspian industry in Tunisia, where in a dry time the cattle are more frequently represented than any other animal except the antelope and by Cueva del Toll (Barcelona) where the bovids increase in warm dry periods. Similarly at Haou Fteah there is a high Large Bovine content associated with a higher mean temperature than that of today, prior to 50,000 years ago. In wetter times at Cueva del Toll increased pine forest, determined by pollen-analysis, caused a decrease in the numbers of large bovines present in the deposits. At Abou Halka there is evidence that Bos is infrequent in wetter times. At Haou Fteah low mean annual temperatures are shown to have occurred with a low large-bovine content in the deposits. The cattle probably moved southwards, as the rock paintings suggest that they did in neolithic times, to areas at present arid and away from the ungenogial vegetation of the coast.

A consideration of this evidence suggests that before 50,000 B.C. there was a dry time in North Africa. Between 49,000 B.C. and 41,500 B.C. it became colder and wetter. Between 40,500 and 30,000 B.C. it was drier and warmer. Between 30,000 and 10,000 B.C. it became wetter and colder, conditions which probably caused a great faunal change in the zone of Mediterranean vegetation round the Mediterranean sea, and the extinction of the hippopotamus in Italy, as at the cave of Romanelli in Italy, and on the coast of Spain and of Palestine.

The evidence at Haou Fteah also shows a large bovine peak about 11,000 years ago which is contemporary with a sudden increase in temperature which it has been suggested was probably of world-wide significance, but which lasted only 1,000 years.

These fluctuations may be, on the evidence of Carbon-14 dating, associated with the advances and retreats of the ice sheets in the Northern Hemisphere during the Last Glaciation. From this evidence it is also considered that the skeletons from the cave at es-Skhu (Mt. Carmel) are probably associated with the Göttinger interstadial and are not contemporary with or a little later than those of the Tabun cave at Carmel, but probably at least some 10,000 years later, and that the main faunal break at Carmel occurred with the onset of the Main Würm and not at the beginning of the Last Glaciation.

E. S. HIGGS

THE EVOLUTIONARY STATUS OF THE MOUNT CARMEL GROUPS

The probability that the human remains from the cave of Mugharet es-Skhu are 10,000 years or so later than the fossil men from Mugharet et-Tabun demands that a reassessment be made of the affinities of the Mount Carmel people with other Upper Pleistocene hominids. The most important fact resulting from the new dating evidence is that it would now seem quite unnecessary to postulate the hybridization of a ‘Classic’ Neandertal form with an early true H. sapiens group. Moreover, even accepting a certain amount of morphological variability in the Skhul and Tabun groups, I think that it is now quite reasonable to think in terms of two taxonomically distinct and relatively homogeneous populations. The earlier Tabun inhabitants, together with those from Shanidar and Galilee, could represent a Palestinian ‘Classic’ variety of Neandertaler, being gradually replaced by a robust ‘Proto-Cro-Magnon’ type as exemplified by the Skhul people. This is not to say that the Skhul population need necessarily have been a direct forerunner of the Upper Paleolithic European one.

Brief mention should perhaps be made of the features which do not at first sight entirely fit the idea of complete homogeneity in both Mount Carmel groups. In the case of Skhul I, the child of about 44 years, the symphysial area of the mandible lacks the incipient chin usually found in modern children, although it is not receding as in the Gibraltar child. Damage to the lower border of the mandibular body of the Skhul child does however obscure some details of its morphology in this region. The stature estimate, limb proportions and the form of the skull vault of Skhul I nevertheless fall near to those of a modern child of comparable age. In the case of the Tabun II mandible, the reverse is in fact the case, there being a slight degree of chin development, whereas all ‘Classic’ Neandertals lack even this amount of symphysal prominence (with the possible exception of the specimen from Oehos in Moravia). It is interesting that in both instances it is the anterior part of the mandible which is atypical. Was the morphology of this region particularly variable during the period of late Neandertal and early H. sapiens divergence? Considering, then, the ‘total morphological pattern’ of each Mount Carmel group, there would seem to be no important reason why they should not now be regarded as representative of biologically distinct populations, even though both are associated with Mousterian industries.

D. R. BROTHWELL

Notes

1 Excavated by Dr. C. B. M. McBurney over three seasons.
2 Isotopic mean temperatures of sea water are based on readings by Professor C. Emiliani (personal communication).
3 Absolute dates by Dr. C. B. M. McBurney are based on a number of C14 dates related to the rate of deposition of the cave deposits (personal communication).
4 It should be noted that the similarities between the Tabun and Shanidar specimens are not only to be found in characteristics of the skull, but also in the pelvis, where there is a thinning and lengthening of the superior ramus of the pubis, and an enlargement of the obturator foramen (T. D. Stewart, Smithsonian Report for 1958, pp. 473–80; Amer. J. Phys. Anthropol., 1956, p. 393).
5 A recent study of fossil hominid deciduous teeth provides further evidence of the likeness of the Shanidar group to the ‘Classic’ Neandertals, and of the Skhul people (as evidenced by the Skhul I milk dentition) to more recent man (Senyurek, Public. of the Division of Palaeoanthropology, Ankara, No. 2, 1959, pp. 174).
OBITUARY

Wilhelm Koppers: 1886-1961. With a portrait

Professor Wilhelm Koppers died suddenly on 23 January, 1961, a few days before he was to give his farewell lecture in the University of Vienna. He was born in 1886 in the Rhineland, and in 1908 entered the Societas Verbi Divini. After studying theology and philosophy in Rome and the missionary college of St. Gabriel near Vienna, he took up the study of ethnology and Sanskrit at the University of Vienna. In 1913 began his long association with Anthropos, the journal founded and at that time still edited by Father Wilhelm Schmidt. In 1921 and 1922 he joined Father Martin Guisinde in an expedition to the Fugians, and his fieldwork experience in this society of foodgatherers and hunters determined an interest in very primitive societies which Professor Koppers maintained throughout his career, and which found renewed expression in his last book Der Urmensch und sein Weltbild (1949). In 1924 he was appointed Privatdozent at the University of Vienna, and it was largely due to his efforts that ethnology, hitherto administratively linked with physical anthropology, was accorded an independent status in the departmental organization of the university. In 1928 he was appointed professor of ethnology, and in 1929 he took charge of the newly founded Institut für Völkerkunde. In those days Professor Wilhelm Schmidt was the recognized head of the Vienna school and main champion of the Kulturkreislehre whereas Professor Koppers, the junior partner in many projects and publications, devoted himself wholeheartedly to the tasks of teaching and administration. Under his determined guidance the Institut für Völkerkunde developed into one of the principal anthropological centres on the Continent, which attracted numerous students from European countries as well as the U.S.A., Japan and other overseas countries. Among them were Clyde Kluckhohn, Douglas Oliver, Helmut Petri, Masao Oka, and a good many other prominent anthropologists whose early association with the Vienna school is perhaps not generally known.

As joint author of Völker und Kulturen (1924) Professor Koppers had committed himself to the support of the Kulturkreislehre, and many of his earlier publications, such as Anfänge des menschlichen Gemeinschaftslebens (1921) and numerous articles in Anthropos derived their inspiration from this basic hypothesis. But in some of the more specialized studies, and particularly those connected with his indological interests, he pursued ideas only marginally connected with the postulates of the Kulturkreislehre. "Die Religion der Indigenermen" (Anthropos, Vol. XXIV, 1920) and 'Pfeiferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indigenermen" (Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, Vol. IV, 1936) are characteristic examples of such studies, which embraced data and problems normally outside the purview of anthropologists. Professor Koppers's wide range of interests expressed itself not only in his own writings, but also in the publications which he sponsored and edited. Apart from acting as sole editor of Anthropos from 1949 to 1952, he founded in 1930 and edited for many years the Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, and acted since 1950 as joint editor of Acta Ethnologica et Linguistica.

At the time of the German occupation of Austria, it was only to be expected that as a Catholic priest and uncompromising critic of the ideology of national socialism Professor Koppers would be deprived of his chair in the University of Vienna. However, the Rockefeller Foundation enabled him to utilize this period of premature—and fortunately only temporary—retirement for fieldwork in India. A detailed study of the Brahminic tribe resulted in the publication of the monograph Die Bhil in Zentralindien (1948) and a number of articles, some of which reflect Professor Koppers's continued interest in indological problems.

During the years 1940 to 1945 he stayed at Froideville near Fribourg (Switzerland) where the Anthropos Institute had found a new home. But immediately after the war he returned to Vienna to resume his chair and the direction of the Institut für Völkerkunde, whose head he remained until his retirement in 1957. Yet, even as professor emeritus he continued to lecture and take an active interest in the affairs of the Institute. He still travelled widely and many of his colleagues saw him for the last time during the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences at Paris in August, 1960.

There have been few anthropologists whose energies were dedicated to the furtherance of their subject as totally and unreservedly as those of Professor Koppers. He had virtually no private life, and devoted his entire time to academic and administrative interests. The number of his publications, of which only some of the most significant could here be mentioned, exceeded 200, and his knowledge of the literature of disciplines cognate to anthropology was surprising. Even those who did not agree with some of his conclusions never questioned his intellectual integrity and breadth of vision. His quiet and dignified bearing won him many friends among scholars of all countries, and his students and junior colleagues were deeply appreciative of the generosity and readiness with which he would give advice, moral support and very often material help. He will be greatly missed in many of the international bodies and learned societies to whose work and activities he had contributed for well over 40 years.

C. von FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

WILHELM KOPPERS
SHORTER NOTES

Dimple-Based Pottery from Uganda. By Merrick Posnansky, Ph.D., Curator, Uganda Museum, Kampala. With two text figures

Recently the wide distribution of Dimple-based ware has been indicated by Hiernaux from Ruanda-Urundi and Kivu Province of the Congo, by Nenquin from Kasai Province of the Congo and by Smolla from Sandawe in Tanganyika. The similarities of this ware with the channelled ware of the Rhodesias have also been indicated by Hiernaux whilst the implications of the widespread nature of this ware have been discussed elsewhere by me.5

Hiernaux, Smolla and Nenquin have focused attention particularly on the use of channeling, cross-hatching, scrolls and circles as decorative motifs and on the bevelled nature of many of the rim forms. Several of the Congo pots do not have the dimple base characteristic of the type area of Central Kavirondo, Kenya. It would possibly be better archaeological practice to rename the ware after its original find site of Urewa or simply call it Kavirondo ware.

Though finds have long been known from Nsongezi rock shelter in Ankole and from islands in Lake Victoria,7 there has hitherto been a gap in the evidence between the Kavirondo type area of Kenya, where Mary Leakey8 first defined the ware, and the Ruanda border. During re-sorting of the Uganda Museum archaeological collections several sites where the ware occurs in Uganda have been noted (see fig. 1).

At Mwiri Hill near Jinja, Busoga (reg. No. A53.27), parts of an undecorated pot (fig. 2 (1)) with a dimple base and a bevelled rim were found in the early nineteen-forties when an underground water tank was being built. Mwiri Hill is a flat laterite-capped hill near Lake Victoria some seven miles from the industrial town

FIG. 1. DISTRIBUTION OF DIMPLE-BASE WARE IN UGANDA, KENYA AND RUANDA

FIG. 2. DIMPLE-BASE WARE FROM UGANDA
1, Mwiri Hill; 2, Nchwanga; 3, 4, Waiya Bay; 5, 6, Nsongezi Island

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of Jinja. The pot, a small bowl, has a bevelled rim, is relatively poorly fired and browned in colour.

At Nabigereka rock shelter at Nhewanga some seven miles south of Kukumi in Mubende District, Mr. E. C. Lanning found in 1953 the fragment of pottery (reg. No. A53-66) illustrated in fig. 2 (a). Though it is only a body sherd, the channelling, the cross-hatching, diminutive loops and dots all occur. The sherd, part of a bowl, is badly fired with a buff to orange exterior and dark grey inner core. At Waia Ya Bay, Entebbe, a collection of pottery was made many years ago, presented to the Geological Survey and finally given to the Museum in 1955. Altogether there are now 18 sherds (reg. No. A.5391-1-18). Included amongst them is one dimple base, various sherds with parts of scrolls or with channeling and typical bevelled rim fragments. The two illustrated sherds (fig. 2 (j, 4)) are typical again of the ware. The larger belly sherd has well pronounced grooves, a scroll and cross-hatching.

At Nsongezi on an island in the Kagera river, the proprietor, Mrs. T. Nunti, and Mr. A. L. Job, the Inspector of Mines, found a mass of pottery whilst foundations were being sunk for a new guest house. No complete pots have been found. The sherds include both Dimple-based ware and the Renge or Type B ware of Hiernaux. The larger sherds have been published elsewhere. The pottery is better fired than the other Dimple-based pottery, invariably black and sometimes burnished. Two sherds (reg. No. A.63126) only are illustrated (fig. 2 (5, 6)) and both again illustrate typical features associated with the ware, the bevelled rims, channelling and dots. It is hoped that extensive excavations later in the year will reveal the exact nature of the site and the relationship of the Dimple-based to the Renge ware. At Nsongezi rock shelter I am convinced, from a re-investigation of the site, that the Dimple-based pottery postdates the Wilton industry and is succeeded by a different pottery higher up the sequence.

At Buloba Hill near Kampala and at various sites near Entebbe pottery has been found with certain Dimple-based-ware features. At Buloba, channeling and simple bevel rims are found, at Hippo Bay rock shelter some channeling and a dimple base and at Jinja golf course cross-hatched pottery. It is probable that particularly around the Lake the influence of the Dimple-base ware survived into succeeding wares. In inland parts of Western Uganda the Bigo culture succeeds the Dimple-based ware and provides the chief influence for the pottery in the succeeding hereditary Kingdoms.

These recent finds following on the evidence from other parts of Africa are important in indicating one of the few Iron Age cultures with a wide African distribution. It is tempting to agree with Hiernaux and suggest that this could represent the 'Bantu' expansion into the sparsely populated parts of Africa, probably in the early part of the first millennium A.D. I would further suggest that the expansion of people with a knowledge of iron-working and agriculture was greatly facilitated by the introduction of the banana and the Asian Yam from South-East Asia by the Great Lakes route suggested by Simmonds and that these provided crops suitable for cultivation in the more heavily vegetated parts of Africa close to the Great Lakes and on the fringe of the Congo equatorial forest.

Notes
3 Gunter Smolla, 'Prähistorische Keramik aus Ostafrika,' Tribus, Vol. VI (1957), pp. 35-64.

4 J. Hiernaux, 'Recent Research at Proto-historic Sites in Ruanda, the Belgian Congo (Katanga Province) and in Uganda (Kibiro),' Uganda Miss. Occ. Paps. No. 4, Kampala, 1959, p. 26.
7 Nenquin, loc. cit. The only island from which Dimple-base pottery is certainly known is Lolui (Coryndon Museum Collections).
11 J. Hiernaux, in a paper given to the XIV Pan-African Prehistory Congress at Léopoldville, 1959.
12 Posansky, loc. cit. in note 10.
14 Since the preparation of this note considerable further collections of pottery have been made at Nsongezi Island which include dimple bases and coarser wares.

Creation of the Chad Centre for Social Science
The Minister for National Education of the Chad Republic has announced the creation of a Chad Centre for Social Science by the Council of Ministers, with Dr. Jean-Paul Lebeuf as its first Scientific Director. It embraces all activities relating to the social sciences, viz., prehistory and archaeology, history, ethnography, ethnology, sociology, psychology and linguistics; it will undertake research and arrange publication of documents, train research workers and welcome the assistance of workers in all countries, propose measures to protect and undertake an inventory and classification of objects of archaeological, historical and ethnographical interest, and work in liaison with the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris. The Scientific Director will maintain contact with other centres of research and is empowered to examine the establishment of the future Chad Museum.

Association of Social Anthropologists of the British Commonwealth. Communicated by Dr. M. P. Banton, Hon. Secretary
A meeting of the Association was held at St. Antony's College, Oxford, on 23 and 24 March, 1961, at which the following papers were read: Dr. Lucy Mair, 'Clientship and Social Stratification'; Dr. F. G. Bailey, 'Social Stratification in India'; Dr. Burton Benedict, 'Stratification in Plural Societies'; Dr. Mary Douglas, 'Economic Pre-Conditions of Stratification'; Dr. James Littlejohn, 'Stratification in Transitional Societies'; Dr. Ronald Frankenberg, 'Britain and the Marxist Concept of Class.' Two guests, Professor T. H. Marshall and Mr. T. B. Bottomore, also made formal contributions.

The membership of the Association (by invitation only) is now 151.

Formation of the Museums Association of Tropical Africa. Communicated by Mallam Liman Ciroma, Acting Deputy Director of Antiquities, Nigeria
The Inaugural Session of the Museums Association of Tropical Africa (Association des Musées d'Afrique Tropicale) has recently been held at Livingstone, Rhodesia.

A draft constitution was approved by the Conference for circulation to the Governments of all countries in Africa between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn for their consideration. It is hoped that it will be universally ratified and that all museums will
join the Association which is dedicated to the development and improvement of museums and their services to the public throughout Tropical Africa. The Association will also foster research in museums and facilitate the circulation and exchange of published material and co-operation between staff. The official languages of the Association, whose title is abbreviated to A.M.A.T./M.A.T.A., are English and French. It is hoped, with the help of U.N.E.S.C.O., to establish a Pilot Project for the training of museum technicians, at a Training Centre soon to be chosen, probably in West Africa. It would be the first of its kind in the world.

Mr. Bernard Fagg, Director of Antiquities, Nigeria, was elected President of the new Association and Dr. Merrick Posnan-

**CORRESPONDENCE**

**The Bindibui and Others,** *Cf. Man,* 1960, 228; 1961, 2

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Sir,—Having on several occasions carried out anthropological fieldwork in Central Australia, I read with interest Dr. D. F. Thomson’s recent accounts of the Bindibui (*Man*, LX, No. 228, and LXI, No. 2). I feel, however, that several of his statements call for comment.

1. Dr. Thomson’s assertion that in Central Australia *kurdaitja* shoes ‘served only a ceremonial or magical role’ (1960, 228) might very well suggest that these objects neither are actually worn nor have any practical function. In fact, among tribes such as the Walbiri, the Yanmadjari and the Yalyuwara at least, men bent on murder commonly wear such sandals, which are stoutly made of hair string and emu feathers, and they do so primarily to disguise their footprints. This is a necessary precaution among people who, as I have often observed, can identify without hesitation the footprints of most, if not all, of their fellows. Consequently, no matter how far a homicide expects to trail his victim and no matter how rough the country he will traverse, he is likely to don *kurdaitja* sandals early in the journey and to retain them until he is far from the scene of the killing. A situation of this kind received some publicity in Alice Springs about seven years ago when several Yalyuwara men were tried for the murder of a Walbiri man. Although the culprits had made *kurdaitja* sandals and had worn them for miles before surprising and shooting their victim, they afterwards erred in removing them in sandy ground during the return journey. Aboriginal trackers were able later to identify the naked footprints and to establish their continuity with the tracks of the sandals.

2. In the same article Dr. Thomson says that the relative isolation of the Bindibui is ‘intensified by the depopulation of the neighbouring tribes, such as the Walbiri on the east’. The Walbiri, who today number between 1,500 and 1,500, are one of the largest tribes extant in the Northern Territory, and there is no evidence to suggest that the tribe has suffered any noticeable population decline in the past 30 years. Indeed, my investigations between 1953 and 1955 indicated that in a sample of 880 Walbiri the rate of natural increase was between 2.5 and 3 per cent. per annum—roughly twice the corresponding rate for the Commonwealth of Australia.

3. In his second article Dr. Thomson describes the Bindibui practice of chewing quids made from leaves of an indigenous tobacco mixed with the burnt leaves of a grevillea. He asserts (1961, 2) that, although many Aborigines of inland Australia chew the leaves of *pituri* (*Daboisia hopwoodii*) mixed with ash, only the Bindibui treat wild tobacco in this way. I must point out that chewing the dried leaves and stems of wild tobacco is common among the Walbiri, who prepare the tobacco and ash just as Dr. Thomson describes for the Bindibui, and among some at least of the Pidjandjara peoples farther south. Moreover, unlike Dr. Thomson, I take W. E. Roth’s statements in his *Ethnological Studies* (1897, p. 100) to mean that the Kalkadoon of north-west Queensland also treated wild tobacco in this manner.

M. J. MEGGITT

Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney

**Welsh Surnames.** *Cf. Man,* 1960, 193; 1961, 106

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Sir,—Lord Raglan raises a number of points which leave scope for argument but he evades what appears to me the crucial question, i.e. whether the surname technique, when applied to substantial numbers, enables one to distinguish between the English and the Welsh elements in the population of England and Wales. That the technique has its limitations few would deny, but whatever its theoretical drawbacks one should review it in the light of the results obtained in practice. It has been shown both in England and in Wales that when the population is divided into those bearing the surnames Jones, Evans, Davies, etc., on the one hand, and those having English surnames, on the other, a significant difference in *ABO* gene frequencies is observed. These differences have been regarded by R. A. Fisher, Janet Vaughan, Fraser Roberts and myself as being racial in origin, the surnames Jones, etc., representing the Welsh element. If the surname technique is as unreliable as Lord Raglan seems to imply, what alternative explanation does he offer for the genetic differences observed?

Abertyreith, Cardiganshire

I. MORGAN WATKIN

Hon. Editor’s Note

The above letter has been shown to Lord Raglan, whose reply is as follows: ‘For Dr. Watkin’s surname technique to be valid it would first be necessary to establish that the English and Welsh are distinct and recognizable homogeneous races; that such names as Jones and Williams have never been borne by persons of non-Welsh origin, and that men bearing the selected surnames, and their ancestors, have always married women in the same surname group. Even, however, if these could be established, the task of proving that none of the pedigrees concerned have been affected by infidelity, bastardy, adoption or change of name, which cause many persons to bear names other than those of their actual male ancestors, would be an impossible one.’

This volume on Shang China is a worthy sequel to Vol. I (reviewed in MAN, 1959, 273). In the bibliography Dr. Cheng lists 230 works, the majority of which have been published in China during the last decade. As these are not available to European scholars, Dr. Cheng's résumé of the historical records of Shan China is especially welcome.

The first ten chapters deal with the excavated sites and the objects found therein. Numerous sites have been excavated, mostly in the neighborhood of Cheng-chou and Anyang, and four levels have been identified, viz. Proto-, Early, Middle and Late Shang. Details of palaces, royal tombs, dwellings and cemeteries, skeletal remains of humans and animals, as well as the stone, bronze and pottery industries are described.

Chapter XI deals with writing. From the evidence of archeology and the deciphering of the famous 'oracle bones' a clear picture of Shang culture is now built up. The script on these ox scapulae and tortoise shells was discovered, and the first article on them published in 1903. Now more than 300 Chinese scholars are engaged on this important task. Not only has the evolution of the earliest Chinese script been traced, but also records in the Shih-chi (Records of History), written in the Han period about 1,500 years later, have been verified and amplified. There are very few discrepancies between the lists of the 30 Shang kings and their 14 ancestors given in the Shih-Chi and the records derived from the oracle inscriptions. Moreover, much of the information dealt with in the next four chapters, concerning social and political organization, agriculture and the observation of nature, has been obtained from the casual inscriptions on the oracle bones.

The first centralized government was established in Early Shang times, with its capital in the neighbourhood of Anyang, later moved to Anyang itself; military headquarters and royal hunting grounds have been located. Considerable information concerning the feudal system has come to light, and eight ranks of feudal lords are recorded. Wu-tsing, the twenty-second king, had a large harem; elder wives served as important officials, some with sacrificial duties, others as royal representatives; three were given the title of Fu (queen) and granted feudal states which they governed themselves. Some royal princes were enfeoffed, and trustworthy generals were given lands on the frontiers in order to keep watch on hostile barbaric tribes. Some tribal chiefs were ennobled to rule over their own territories, and the agrarian nobility formed a separate rank.

The decimal system was established and cowries were used as a medium of exchange. The extent of trade connexions can be seen from objects excavated in the Shang capitals: jade from Sinking, tin and turquoise probably from the Yangtze valley, cowries and whale bones from the east and giant tortoise shells from the south.

The complete history of military expeditions has been reconstructed from the oracles taken for their welfare. These give details of equipment, engagements, prisoners taken, etc., also the rewards made to successful commanders.

Although the economy was based on agriculture, implements were almost as primitive as in the neolithic times. There is no indication of a plough or of irrigation. Agriculture was the concern of the king; he made the due sacrifices, divined for rain, and sent superintendents to organize farm labour, to store and distribute implements and to harvest the crops. Sometimes prisoners of war were sent to work on the land. They could serve also as victims when human sacrifice was considered necessary. The calendar system played an important part in the regulation of agriculture, and the king and his diviners were responsible for observation and ritual. The divisions into hours, days, months and years were regulated; the year had 365.25 days. Eclipses of the sun and moon were recorded.

Regular sacrifices were made to Shang-ti, the god of heaven, and other heavenly gods and the ancestors. The royal ancestral worship was organized on an elaborate system with its specific sacrifices. Many rituals are described on the bones, including dances in which female shamans took part and many types of musical instruments were used.

The magnificent ritual bronzes and bronze decorations for chariots and harness of the Shang period are well known, and they have never been surpassed, in either design or workmanship. Most of these come from the neighbourhood of Anyang. Until a few years ago they created an insoluble problem, but recent excavations have thrown some light on the subject and some development of the art has been traced. The dynastic capital at Anyang falls in the Middle and Late stratigraphical period, but it is suggested that the Shang culture flourished some time before the foundation of the great Shang City, probably several centuries before the dynastic period (1,500 till 1,000 B.C.). The pottery forms of the neolithic times continued and were further developed; they were the prototypes of the traditional bronze forms. Kaolin clay and glaze were introduced in the Middle Shang period. There is some evidence that silk culture may date to the Proto-Chinese period. At Early and Middle sites bronze foundries, crucibles and moulds have been found, and also vessels more primitive but of the same type as some of those made later. Articles of pure metals, copper, lead and gold, have been found, and Dr. Cheng considers that from casting them the use of alloys arose, and that, with the advantage of the resulting increased hardness, the bronze industry commenced and developed.

Dr. Cheng suggests that the Shang culture arose directly from the agricultural neolithic tribes. He ends the book, which is packed with detailed information, with the following paragraph:

'The excavations of Shang remains in China may be said to light the origin of the Chinese civilization. There is plenty of evidence to show that the Shang culture had already attained some of the most fundamental Chinese characteristics. It has been abundantly verified that the early historical Chinese civilization is essentially a north China creation of the native inhabitants. The region is continental, and by the time of the Neolithic period, a series of individual cultures had been developed only to stimulate each other towards progress. Chinese culture was created by the activities of the Shang people in absorbing all the useful cultural elements within and beyond their kingdom. The Shang culture was the most prosperous as well as the most progressive one of its time, laying the foundation for an even more prosperous civilization in the following dynasties.'

There are 53 text figures and 46 excellent plates, all of them illustrations of objects mentioned in the text. The 3 appendices will be of value to Sinologists.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

THE GOND AND BHUMIA OF EASTERN MANDLIA. By Stephen Fuchs.


This exhaustive monograph starts with an apology for writing a monograph on a tribe as an outdated and superseded form of contributing to anthropological knowledge. If that indeed be so, it is probably only because the great majority of modern anthropologists have neither the opportunity to stay long enough in any one field nor the necessary background in different branches of their science to be able to report on a tribe in all its aspects. It is very much to be hoped that there will long be found anthropologists who can spend such a period of time with one tribe as to be able to report on it at length in its varied activities as Father Fuchs has done in this volume of near 600 pages on the Gond and Bhumia. He is not the first in this field for the Bhumia are
Congo Tribes & Parties

by
Daniel Biebuyck
University of Lovanium

Mary Douglas
University of London

48 pp. 4 maps

This pamphlet, the first of a series which will also include, among others, papers on Laos, Kenya, Zanzibar, and New Guinea, sets out the ethnic background to the present position in the Congo, and presents much new material.

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Congo

Tribes & Races

For

Daniel Freeman

Amer. Museum of Nat. History

New York

1915
a subtribe of Baiga, and Dr. Verrier Elwin published *The Baiga* in 1939, but the approach of these two anthropologists is so different that their works are rather complementary than repetitive, even in such a matter as 'inheritance.'

After an introductory chapter on the Geographical and Historical setting, Part I deals with material, Part II with social culture—kinship, inheritance, caste and the village community. Part III describes the life history of the individual—birth, marriage, sickness, death and the magic needed for protection from tigers. Part IV, which is twice the length of each of the first three, treats of religious beliefs, the world of magic, and of the effects of contact with modern civilization—this latter a sombre picture of exploitation, of dispossession, and of shameless extortion by minor officials. This is followed by a bibliography and indices of authors and of subjects; the endpapers provide maps of the Gond and Bhuma distribution in Madhya Pradesh, and there are a score of pages of photographs.

Father Fuchs writes with insight and sympathy, with authority, and with meticulous care, and his work is thorough and scholarly throughout.

J. H. HUTTON


This book is concerned with the Thakurs of North Konkan, who inhabit the ghats of Western India. Its limitations are aptly put by Dr. Chapekar in his own Epilogue (p. 211) when he says: 'The foregoing description is full of items reflecting the influence of Brahmanic culture on Thakur life.'

These items, collected at intervals from 1940 to 1945, are not described within a theoretical framework, nor does Dr. Chapekar discuss any of the assumptions underlying his account of social change.

Dr. Chapekar uses the terms caste and tribe without defining them. He discusses kinship and marriage without the aid of genealogies, and is content to say that there are 'certain families which cannot marry certain others, though my informants could not give any details.' He defends an active social policy of 'Hinduization' as opposed to 'Segregation' on its psychological effects, and says: 'The Thakurs of Vaghachi Vadi, who once used to quail before a junior forest guard, talk today to a forest officer or to a police officer with equanimity and a sense of equality.'

The book contains much curious information (e.g. 'According to Thakur belief, both men and women used to have the periodical blood flow. Their only explanation for its absence now in males is that God willed that males should not suffer from this handicap and

transferred it to the teak tree'), and reminds one strongly of some monographs written in India before Independence.

To find a book published in 1960 in a 'sociology series' so bereft of theory, struck me as odd, and it certainly does not conform to the standard conventions which obtain in sociology and social anthropology today. Ethnographical studies have no perspective and acquire meaning only within a framework provided by sociological theory or history.

HUGH GRAY


What is Worcester? A cathedral city, a woollen material, a kind of porcelain. Above all, for those interested in ships or in the cultural history of China, Worcester is *Junks and Sampans*, and we now have a charming volume of reminiscences, adorned with drawings and photographs to set beside the 'five uninteresting technical books,' the by-product of eight years spent in Chinese nautical research at the behest of the Inspector-General of Customs. This is not a profound book, but it conveys something of the spirit which infected the nature of the Old China Hand who was genuinely interested in the country in which he worked and enjoyed himself in the process of finding out more about it. The training of cormorants, the technique of the footboat rower, the Chungking flea trap, the brine wells of Tschiutung (an admirable account of Chinese deep drilling techniques), the crooked-bow junk, irrigation in Chengtu, navigation of the Hsin T'an, sausage casings, the Chinese paddleboat, the wheelbarrow (man-powered with auxiliary sail) all there, and a myriad other things were noted, understood, appreciated. Mr. Worcester stresses in his preface that he writes of the old China which has gone for ever. Undoubtedly this is true, but to the dispassionate reader it will be clear from the narrative that the virtues of the Chinese which Mr. Worcester notes, and their vices too, are abiding qualities which continue even if the wheelbarrow is replaced by the diesel, the sedan chair by the jet. Dr. Needham is giving us, volume by volume, a history of Chinese invention and achievement: Mr. Worcester has highlighted in the course of his delightful book some aspects of their attainments and may persuade the general reader that there is a great power in the East of which he is ignorant and ill informed. He may even be persuaded to try to rectify this state of affairs. But if he does no more than read the book, he can scarcely fail to capture something of the writer's enthusiasm for a remarkable people of whom he writes with affection, exasperation, understanding, and, always, without patronage.

ANTHONY CHRISTIE

EUROPE


This latest addition to the shelf of literature on race relations in Britain grew out of a series of small-scale investigations into the growth and conditions of several minority groups in London, including West Indians, planned by the Centre for Urban Studies in 1957. The material on West Indians was collected in 1958-59, and, perhaps because of the Notting Dale and Nottingam disturbances of early autumn, 1958, grew like Topsy until it achieved the dimensions of a full-length study.

In her preface Mrs. Glass disarmingly refers to the two main reservations which a reviewer might feel about her latest book on the West Indian migrants in Britain. In the first place as a result of its original scope it is not completely or only a book about West Indians in London; it is based on material which seems richer as regards the somewhat special North Kensington area than other areas of coloured settlement in London and on statistical data afforded by a sample taken from the records of the not necessarily typical minority of 3,000-odd migrants who consulted the British Caribbean Welfare Service between 1954 and 1958.

Secondly Mrs. Glass makes no bones about her own 'bias' in approaching coloured-white relationships in England. She does not claim to be dispassionate on the subject and regards the 'concept of tolerance not in a passive but in an active sense, in keeping with the traditions of European thought and politics.' Readers who are in day-to-day contact with migrant problems may feel that this admirable attitude sometimes leads her to interpret attitudes and behaviour on both the migrant and the local side in terms of black and white, often in terms of colour prejudice, without regard to the many other factors, economic, cultural and otherwise, that condition them. It may also lead to an unduly harsh judgment of the passively tolerant ('benevolently prejudiced' in her term) British majority against the touchstone of a cosy and xenophilic egalitarianism which simply is not part of their present mores. Ideally the ordinary Briton should invite his workmates home, converse with strangers on the bus or train, be active in his parish, and join social clubs. In fact this rarely happens, nor can it easily be induced to happen, and it is usually immaterial whether the other individual is, to use a frequently heard phrase, 'white, black, green or khaki.'

With these two reservations in mind the reader will find a great deal of valuable material in the book. The analysis of the 'London Sample' indicates that there are as yet no 'coloured quarters' proper in London and that there is considerable formal occupational
'down-grading' amongst migrants (which may be more fully explained by different levels of skills in the two societies, and the get-rich-quick attitude of the newly arrived migrant than the book suggests). There is also an interesting analysis of some recent public opinion polls, a detailed account of the Notting Dale disturbances and a vivid survey of the main 'Keep Britain White' groups, although field-work material from Brixton, Willesden and elsewhere suggests that the influence of this lunatic fringe may not be as widespread as is suggested here.

Like most students of race relations in Britain Mrs. Glass is an advocate of anti-discrimination legislation, both in its broad directive to the hesitant British majority in the matter of jobs and publicity for minority groups and the point stressed by her, to dispel the uncertainty and insecurity felt by so many migrants in the present climate of ambivalence.' In her postscript Mrs. Glass states the basic practical issue for the receiving society:

'About fifty years from now, future historians ... will presumably devote a chapter to the coloured minority group in this country. They will say that although this group was small, it was an important, indeed an essential one. For its arrival and growth gave Britain society an opportunity of recognising its own blind spots, and also of looking beyond its own nose to a widening horizon of human integrity. They will point out that the relations between white and coloured people in this country were a test of Britain's ability to fulfill the demands for progressive rationality in social organisation, so urgently imposed in the latter part of the twentieth century. And the future historians will add that Britain had every chance of passing this test, because at that period her domestic problems were rather slight by comparison with those of many other areas of the world.'

She concludes on a note of some doubt:

'All this can be anticipated. But it is still uncertain how the chapter will end.'

SHEILA PATTERSON


In their earlier study of Bethnal Green the authors revealed how, in a district of long-term residential stability, kinship ties beyond the elementary family could acquire considerable significance; they went on to sketch the changes in family life caused by the rupture of these ties when people were moved to a new housing estate. In this short report (134 pages of text) they repeat some of the same questions for the outlying middle-class suburb of Woodford. Where Bethnal Green provided a people-centred culture and the estate a council-house-centred life, Woodford is a realm of home-ownership. Men identify their houses with themselves and their class position; they spend much time and money on the house and help with domestic work. The process by which industrialization weakens the marriage relationship has been halted; perhaps the trend is even being reversed. Most of the material presented derives from interviews with a basic random sample of 969 residents and from another sample of 210 persons of pensionable age. The authors found from these interviews that just as many old people in Woodford have a married child living within the same borough as do old people in Bethnal Green, but that this comes about in different ways. In Bethnal Green the two households move to within easy reach of the other. Old people are rather more likely to stay with married daughters than with married sons; Willmott and Young re-emphasize their earlier suggestion about the stressing of the mother-daughter tie deriving from the common interest women have in children and housekeeping, but their argument is not elaborated sufficiently. It would have been practicable to include some measure of this in the general interview and to check upon the variations; going one step further, it would be of particular value to see how the patterns vary in the case of daughters who have made a career in a masculine occupation.

The authors classified their informants according to the Registrar-General's five classes and then regrouped them into manual and non-manual. They did this because they thought Woodford people felt their borough to consist of two classes—'middle' and 'working' or 'lower.' This justification, and the arguments deriving from the two-fold division, carry little conviction. The authors themselves emphasize the growing homogeneity of the style of life of different income groups and that Woodford and Bethnal Green are but the extremes of what is the East London continuum of class. Other research has shown people's perceptions of the class structure to vary appreciably, partly in association with the subjects' own class position; while it is a fact of common experience that behaviour patterns do not coincide with a simple two-fold division. The reader is therefore bound to conclude that this division is usually a verbalization of popular discourse and only the roughest of rough approximations to a complex reality. What matters most is the significance which social class has for behaviour in specified social situations. The authors maintain that the nearer the two classes come objectively the more middle-class people liable to pull them apart by exaggerating the differences subjectively regarded.' (p. 122). This is the only reason given for the continued existence of class differences. Later it is shown that nearly half of the children of manual workers have climbed into the non-manual group (pp. 161f.).

The Woodford middle class, it would seem, accepts newcomers who can and will adopt its style of life. It is those who cannot or will not who are categorized as working-class. Class differences are not fabrications of the mass media but institutionalized expressions of differences springing from a relatively enduring mode of social organization, and if the differences provide material for a chapter on 'The Tensions of Social Class' so the similarities merit one on 'The Comforts of Social Class.'

For social anthropologists, any assessment of this book must turn on its conceptualization. Mr. Willmott and Dr. Young define their research problems in language which the man in the street might use. They present their material in similar fashion so that, aided by their own skill in writing, the book will appeal to a wide circle of readers. There is much to be said for such an approach in our present state of ignorance, but many of the difficulties in the study of family and class are created by popular modes of speech and thought, and can only be solved by the elaboration of concepts that provide a less subjective framework of analysis. The authors cannot do justice to their material so long as they fail to grapple with this problem.

MICHAEL BANTON


Social Stratification in Polynesia, published in 1958 for the American Ethnological Society, is a book which demands the attention of all those interested in the social anthropology of Polynesia. The publishers describe it as a pioneer study in the field 'for the first time, an entire culture area is the subject of ecological analysis and explanation.' Sahlins, they assert, 'demonstrates how differences in social systems (i.e. in Polynesia) arise by adaptation to varying ecological conditions.' This claim, if true, would make the book a major contribution to anthropological literature. In this review I want to give reasons why I find Dr. Sahlins's conclusions unacceptable.

Sahlins's study is divided into two distinct parts. In the first part (Chapters 1–9), "it is shown that, other factors being constant, the degree of stratification varies greatly with productivity." In the second (Chapters 8–11 and Appendix) Sahlins defines three different
kinds of social organization in Polynesia and then proceeds to correlate them with the sociotechnologies and environments.

In the first part of the book Sahlin groups 14 Polynesian societies into four major categories of stratification: Group I, Hawaii, Tonga, Samoa, Tahiti; Group IIa, Mangareva, Mangai'a, Easter Island, Uvea; Group IIb, Marquesas, Tikopia, Futuna; Group III, Pukapuka, Ontong Java, Tokelau. On pp. 116 ff. he lists (for each of these four major categories) a series of characteristics, and in Chapters 2–5 presents his ethnographic evidence. Nowhere, however, is there precise and objective definition of the criteria on which the author’s ranking of the 14 societies is based. Indeed, on p. 10 he describes the criteria he uses to estimate the amount of stratification as ‘rough and qualitative.’ It is not, he notes, a very decisive test. It should be placed on the major groupings than on any finer discrimination,’ but both on pp. 116 and in Table I, he does list the 14 societies in serial order, and this becomes important in view of his conclusion that ‘the degree of social stratification varies directly with productivity.’ In the absence of precise and objective criteria it is usual to test one’s own ranking against the independently made rankings of a number of other informed judges. There is no indication that this was done, and the ‘stratification gradient’ produced by Sahlin, remains, in my view, open to question.

Having produced this ‘stratification gradient’ Sahlin goes on to define productivity as ‘the ability to acquire and to support goods from the external world,’ adding that productivity is best understood in terms of ability to produce food, and particularly ‘immediate surpluses.’ For ancient Polynesia, argues Sahlin, ‘other things being constant, a fairly accurate indication of the ability to produce an immediate surplus may be gained by considering the greatest number of people encompassed in a single redistributive food network, and the frequency per annum of overall redistribution in such a net-work’ (p. 109). On this basis Sahlin ranks his 14 societies in terms of their ‘productivity,’ from Hawaii at the top of the list with 90,000 units to Tokelau at the bottom with 1,500 units. Sahlin then asserts that his gradients of stratification and productivity ‘show a remarkable correspondence,’ and reaches the conclusion that ‘stratification varies directly with productivity.

I find it difficult to make sense of Table I in which Sahlin sums up the evidence for this ‘major generalization.’ If one accepts the Table at its face value then the per capita productivity of Hawaii at the top of the gradient and of Tokelau at the bottom is the same at 3 units per head. It is my view that Sahlin is really not dealing with productivity at all. The NAtulos which he lists under this heading are no more than the very rough estimates (for the evidence on this matter is very poor) of the number of persons engaged in redistributive activities during a given period. Now, the number of individuals in a redistributive net-work, of itself, tells one nothing about their productive capacity, yet Sahlin glides from one to the other as if no problem were involved. If Sahlin wishes to correlate social stratification with economic productivity he must first produce an adequate measure of productivity—a measure of a kind that would satisfy economists. This, in his present analysis, he singularly fails to do.

In the second part of his book Sahlin divides Polynesian societies into three types (ramage, descent line and atoll) and then co-relates these types of social organization with highly specific natural environments, claiming that they can be understood as adaptive variations.

Because my space is limited I shall confine my discussion to the two types of social organization that Sahlin supposes to exist in the high islands: ramage organization and descent-line organization. According to Sahlin ‘a ramage is a non-exogamous, internally stratified, unilineal—in Polynesia patrilineal—descent group;’ and ramage organization is found in Hawaii, the Society Islands, Tonga, New Zealand, Marquesas, Tikopia, Easter Island, Mangareva and Mangaia. Having defined ramage organization in this way (which I accept) Sahlin at once goes on to contrast it with what he says was something entirely different—the descent-line system of social organization and stratification. This system, he asserts, was the form of aboriginal social organization in Samoa, Futuna and Uvea and has been overlooked in the ethnological literature of Polynesia. ‘In contrast to the ramified systems, descent-line societies,’ writes Sahlin, ‘are composed of local groupings of small, unrelated lineages, descent lines. Descent lines hold one or more titles on the territorial councils which govern the group. Primogeniture is not the rule of succession to the familial title. Rank implied by seniority of birth is absent or not significant; rather rank is dependent on the traditional, mythological standing of the family’ (p. 251). Sahlin’s main evidence for the existence of a descent-line system is from Samoa, and I shall confine my attention to the Samoan evidence.

Sahlin’s principal contention (his whole case rests on it) is that a Samoan village consisted of unrelated patrilineal descent lines, it is not possible to assess his evidence for this is he cites none. Yet it is a contention which conspicuously needs detailed documentation restating the testimony of 2-3 contemporary chroniclers. Morton Moal, on whose account of the social organization of Manu’a Sahlin much relies in other matters, writes of the existence in Samoa of ‘genealogies of the Polynesian type,’ of the ‘splitting up of lineages,’ and of their ‘branches.’ The German authorities are more explicit. Schultze describes Samoan society as being divided like a clan into families, aiga, which again are split up into groups or branches, and writes of ‘relationship in the sense of the German legal term “agnation’.” Krämer’s classic work Die Samoa-Inseln abounds with aiga and fa’alupega containing the clearest evidence for the existence of genealogically interrelated descent groups. My own evidence in Western Samoa (1940 and 1946) confirms the conclusions of Schultze and Krämer. In Sa’anapu, for example, one of the villages in which I worked, the main aiga were those of ‘Anapu and the To’alima (all titular aiga). The To’alima (comprising 10 segments in 1943) were all descendants of the sons of La’a, and all of them were unanimous in recognizing La’a as their common agnostic ancestor. Similarly, the Fatetolu (consisting of five related aiga) were all descended from a common ancestor, Tuigaleala. The Sa’anapu was a segment of a major lineage (of about ten generations’ depth), the Sa’u Tunumafo, segments of which existed in the neighbouring villages of Satao, Lotofoa, Nu’usuaia and Vaie’e, all of which (together with Sa’anapu) were known throughout Samoa as the Sa Tunumafo. Comparable segmentary lineages (or ramage) exist throughout Western Samoa.

There are numerous other inaccuracies in Sahlin’s account of Samoan society (e.g. his treatment of the fono, succession, segmentation, the ‘flexibility’ of the Samoan ranking system, etc.) with which I have not the space to deal; instead, I shall follow the main course of his thesis.

Having set up his two types of system (ramage and descent line) Sahlin launches on an a priori hypoethical argument. It is asserted that ‘the ramified system is adapted to the exploitation of different widely spread resource areas, which adaptation on an economic level is manifest in sporadic, seasonal, or total specialization of familial production’ This assertion depends, it would appear, on the unverified assumption that kinship ties between groups tend to be maintained if these groups become specialized, or semi-specialized, in the production of surplus goods’ (p. 202). It is then deduced that a ramified system will develop if such groups move into or gain access to a resource area which can be efficiently exploited to produce strategic surpluses. It is also asserted that descent-line systems are adapted to ‘exploitation of similar resources by the different lines’ with any variations in the amounts of familial surplus being equalized by a community distribution involving all the families of the locale. Just where these assertions are derived from or on what empirical evidence they are based we are not told. Sahlin continues: ‘If these deductions be correct, empirical evidence (other factors being constant) should show ramified systems in islands in which there is a variety of scattered resource zones differentially exploited by families or small groups of families,’ whereas descent-line systems would be most frequently found ‘where resources are clustered in time and space so that a single familial group could cope adequately with the total range of available exploitative techniques’ (p. 203). Sahlin then proceeds to ‘test’ these expectations.

He reaches the conclusion that ‘the available evidence largely, but not definitively, supports these deductions.’ In most cases, he states, ‘nearly perfect correlation was obtained . . . ;’ though ‘inexplicable exceptions’ to the hypothesis (e.g. Tikopia, Easter Island
of those concerned with the methodology of comparative study. However, so fundamental are the flaws in his analysis that his conclusions must be rejected.

J. D. FREEMAN


This book contains useful characterizations of several movements of ‘cargo cult’ pattern in the north coast area of Australian New Guinea, especially those led by Mambu and Yali, set in contexts of traditional and changing custom, also of the modern history of administration, mission work, trade and the impact of the Second World War. The principal group dealt with is the Tangu, living inland from Bojiga; secondly, some materials from Manam island are reported. The book brings together the contents of a series of papers, and this may account for the fact that the presentation tends to be involved and repetitive. The factual data are interspersed freely with patches of generalizing discussion on cargo-cult phenomena, the charismatic leader, myth, dream, ritual, dynsmony, guilt, repentance and reaction to failure, the Kanaka-administrator-missionary ‘triangle’, and the moral European. The main cement is an interpretation of the cargo cult as a ‘myth-dream’. This is related supposedly in the Tangu case to four alternative versions of a Primal Myth, corresponding vaguely to alternative lines of action in cargo cults. The explanatory terminology is heavily psychological, yet adheres to no disciplined psychological system, and the writer acknowledges that his central concept of ‘myth-dream’ does not ‘lend itself to precise definition.’ This work can usefully be read along with a book-length field report on the Tommy Kabu cargo cult among the Purari Delta villages on the south coast (R. F. Maher, New Men of Papua: A Study in Culture Change, 1961).

FEHLICK M. KEESING


Of recent years, a great deal of attention has been paid to the description and analysis of messianic cargo-cult movements in New Guinea. Far less attention has been paid to complementary phenomena, such as movements of secular social reform and economic development under the influence of charismatic leadership. For this reason, Maher’s study of the Tommy Kabu movement of the Purari Delta is to be welcomed. But it falls short of the promise inherent in the subject matter. One-third of the short monograph is devoted to the recapitulation of cultural and historical materials derived mainly from Williams and Patrol reports. The 23-page description of the genesis and growth of the movement adds little to the known facts, and begs the main questions. We are told, for example, that ceremonial was deliberately destroyed, and that residence patterns were altered. How did Tommy Kabu achieve this? What political, religious and other arguments took place? What was the social and economic cost? We can only infer answers.

The most original material lies in a chapter entitled ‘The Consequences.’ Among the major points singled out for treatment is a useful series of data on the distribution of wealth. But it seems to me that this is typical of rural Papua, both contemporary and modern. Similarly, I doubt whether the author has allowed sufficiently for the difference between ideal and practice in the operation of kinship systems. He states on the one hand that the system has broken down, and on the other he obtains a facile confirmation of Williams’s theory. The main difference between Williams and Maher is that the latter checked the ideal with the technique of counting. (The genealogical evidence is suspect—of course incest figures disappear in genealogies.) I hope that Dr. Maher will continue his examination of such movements, and provide us with more penetrating studies. Case histories of this type are among the most difficult of all field-work operations, since history has the habit of refusing to be recaptured.

CYRIL S. BELSHAW
(a) Kalash women of the Birir valley waiting to dance. The two girls at left are sitting apart from the others because they are menstruating.

(b) The bashali of Brun in the Bemberet valley, Chitral

(c) Altar with Dezalik's statue in the bashali of Brun

DEZALIK, A KALASH DIVINITY, CHITRAL

Photographs: P. Graziosi, 1960
The second Italian anthropo-ethnographical mission in Chitral was carried out, under my direction, during the summer of 1960. The aim of the mission was to complete the research which I had begun in 1955 on Kafir populations (Kalash and Kati), research whose particular object was the study of the physical anthropology of those people.

The ethnographical documentation assembled last year was also rich from the iconographical viewpoint (in photographs and films) and is now under examination. I only wish to make a few advance observations on a document that appears to me of particular interest, since it is described for the first time as one of the artistic-religious manifestations of the Kalash, viz. a wooden statue representing the goddess Dezalik, patron of women in confinement. This divinity corresponds to Nirmali in the pantheon of the Afghan Kafirs, as Robertson knew them at the end of the nineteenth century, immediately before their complete, forced conversion to Mohammedanism. To my knowledge none of the very few scholars who have approached the Kalash up to now have seen the above mentioned statue, and its very existence was generally doubted. The interesting anthropomorphic statues of the Kalash, placed in the cemeteries or near villages, are all, as is well known, funereal or commemorative. They represent the deceased standing or on horseback, and are then placed next to the sarcophagus, or seated in an armchair and soaring on top of a wooden pillar, in which case we find them at the entrance of a village or not far from it.

None of the still numerous divinities of the Kalash pantheon are represented today by an anthropomorphic image, to my knowledge. It was said that an image of the goddess Dezalik was kept in the bashali, or women's house; Siiger had heard of it, but it had not been possible for him, or for any of his colleagues who had visited the Kalash valley, to penetrate that building, where women are relegated when they are in a state of impurity, i.e. during menstruation and confinement.

One day during the month of September, 1960, a fortunate circumstance occurred, allowing me to enter a bashali. I was in the Bomberet valley with the other members of the mission and the Mohammedan interpreter who accompanied us, and we passed in front of the bashali of Brun and Anish (Plate O). It was about midday and all its inmates were at work in the fields. We pushed the door of the small building and it gave at once, so we entered the dark room where, upon an altar in a corner (Plate O), we saw the wooden statue of the divinity who protects childbirth (fig. 1). I was thus able to photograph, sketch and measure the statue, draw up a plan of the room, and sketch it and its scanty furniture.

Bashali are scarce nowadays in the three Kalash valleys, and are due to disappear with all the cultural traits of the pagan Kalash, as these are converted to Islam.

To my knowledge only five bashali remain in the three Kalash valleys: two each in the valleys of Birir and Bomberet, one in the Rumbur valley. In the Birir valley, the bashali are near the villages of Guru and Gasr Guru; in Bomberet, there is one near Krakal and another (the one which I visited) between the villages of Brun and Anish. Another bashali existed near Battrik, but I was told that it was abandoned long ago and I saw its ruins. In Rumbur, the bashali is located between the villages of Grom and Batek.

According to local reports, in the Birir bashali there are no statues of Dezalik, whereas the goddess's image is to be found in the Rumbur bashali.

The limited number of bashali is related to the present scarcity of the Kalash population and to the restricted

* With Plate O and two text figures
limits of the inhabited area, which allow one bashali to be used by different villages. In the Rumbur valley, where the four villages inhabited by Kalash are contiguous, the only existing bashali can easily be reached by the women of all four villages.

The custom of confining Kalash women in the bashali was reported by the few European travellers who visited the three valleys. All reports are in accord, and also agree with the information which I gathered in my two expeditions.

FIG. 2. PLAN OF THE BRUN BASHALI
(1) Outdoor veranda; (2) entrance; (3) fireplace; (4) altar on which the statue is placed; (5) the goddess Dezalik.

Schomberg, in his well-known book, mentions bashali more than once, and describes the state of strict confinement in which women are kept, and the purification rites which a person accidentally entering the bashali area must be subjected to. Siiger, in the short preliminary article on his ethnographical research among the Kalash, gives the same information and lists the rules and way of life observed by the bashali inmates, as well as by the women who attend them. 'The Bashali,' he says, 'the birth house reserved for parturient and menstruant women, can be found in most villages close to the river. This house and its inmates are protected by the goddess Dezalik, whose name is also used for a Yoni statue said to be there.'

Kalash women are obliged to leave the village during menstrual periods. They are in a most impure state, liable to contaminate all those who come into contact with them. They must therefore spend the night and cook their food in the bashali which, as we mentioned, is outside the village and surrounded by an area forbidden to all. The women remain in the bashali during the whole critical period. Schomberg says that they must spend six days and six nights there.

The segregation of women during the menstrual period and at childbirth is of course practised among many different peoples. The horror felt for their state, considered impure, leads primitive communities to take all the necessary precautions to avoid dangerous contacts between the impure women and all other members of the group. Thus, a woman in this state must not eat with the others, must not touch certain objects or common food or domestic animals, must abstain from certain kinds of food and must comply with other strict rules. The obligation to live in separate rooms of the house or in isolated huts is scrupulously observed by many peoples, for example, as Lowie reports, by the Idaho Shoshoni, and, to refer to a people of the Indian sub-continent, by Todas, who confine menstruating women in a room behind the house and women in childbirth in a hut in the forest. The same custom is in use, as Montandon reports, among numerous jungle populations, which is to say in inferior culture groups, as well as among Ostiaks and Gilyaks. Many other similar examples could be mentioned.

To return to the Kalash, the confinement of the bashali inmates does not exempt them from working in the fields or from attending, at least nowadays, collective dances. However, they must not approach other women who are not in their condition. The photograph which we publish (Plate Oa) represents a group of Birir valley women about to begin a dance which we asked them to perform. One can see two girls, at that time in an impure state, seated apart from the others.

During their confinement, food is brought to them and left near the bashali, and they cook it inside their temporary abode.

Should a man, even inadvertently, pass through the area considered part of the bashali, he is obliged as mentioned above, to submit to purifying rites, among others the sacrifice of a goat.

Before re-entering the village, the bashali inmates must bathe in the river. All births occur in the bashali. Often, while I was taking anthropometric measurements, the subject under examination when asked where he was born (meaning the name of his village) would answer, 'In the bashali.' At the moment of childbirth, as Schomberg and Siiger pointed out, an old woman from the village goes to attend the woman in confinement. Before entering the bashali she must undress, leaving her clothes outside the small building, and when her midwifery is accomplished, before re-entering the village, she must bathe in the river, even in the depth of winter.

The woman in childbirth must submit to complex purifying rites and, for a certain time, to particular limitations relating, for instance, to the use of domestic implements. A woman who dies in childbirth in the bashali is buried without ceremony in a secluded area, or in an area set apart in the common cemetery. In the cemetery of
Brun, the area for women dead in confinement is at the extreme end of the burying ground.

The bashali which I had the unhoped-for opportunity of visiting, and which was used by women of Battrik, Brun and Anish, lies half a mile from the last two villages, near the river and at the edge of a wood.

The trunks of some large plane trees which grew near the site of the bashali were covered by engravings cut into the bark, representing diamond shapes and hand forms, which appear to repeat the hand forms and white spots painted on the doors of some Kati homes of Bomberet and Rumbur. When I questioned them on the meaning of these engravings, the natives told me that they were only a pastime. This answer did not fully satisfy me.

The bashali consisted of a small building with unplastered walls, with only one room and two verandas, one in front of the wall where the door opened, the other to the left of this wall (Plate Ob). It lacked a hole in the roof to allow smoke to escape, and was not provided with any aperture at all connecting the room with the outdoors. The door was closed by a sliding fold which moved with difficulty on its rails.

The interior consists of a dark room 4·70 metres by 4·40, and 1·95 metres high (fig. 2). The ceiling is supported by four wooden pillars, roughly squared, placed in the middle of the room at a distance of about 1·80 metres from one another. As with Kalash buildings in general, the four pillars support two rafters running along the whole length of the room. On these rest the small beams which support the roof. In the centre of the room a fireplace is marked by five stones limiting a pentagonal space 60 centimetres by 55.

In the right-hand corner we find a sort of parallelepiped 1·30 metres by 1·35 and about 40 centimetres high, built with unplastered stones and covered with abundant ashy dirt (Plate Ob).

On this rough kind of altar the crude statue of the goddess Dezalik is placed, in the corner formed by the two walls (fig. 1). It is carved from a thick plank of deodor wood and appears like a figure with a carved profile rather than a sculpture in the round. It is 98 centimetres high, 21 centimetres wide and 6·7 centimetres thick. The figure is schematic. The head consists of a diamond shape enclosing another diamond shape, deeply engraved. The shoulders are pointed, the legs rigid, in bas-relief. On the thorax and abdomen three concentric oval figures are deeply engraved. A groove runs vertically down the breast and abdomen of the figure to the groin. Here it widens and forms a triangular cavity enclosing a triangular prominence, also engraved, representing a large vulva. The two legs are separated by a deep, rectangular groove. The statue has no arms or feet. At the extremity of the legs the tree trunk from which the statue was carved continues, forming a kind of pedestal. This pedestal was buried in the ashes of the fireplace. The figure appears to be very old and is covered in soot. On the altar at the statue's feet I noted many bunches of grapes and a basket made of osiers. In the wall behind the statue, at the height of its head, is a rectangular niche and, on the same wall but at the opposite end of the room, a similar recess in which leafy branches were driven, here and there, in the interstices between the stones, in different places of the wall.

In the right-hand corner, upon entering, was a schist slab surrounded by stones, probably used to knead chapati. Near it, a flat basket. This is all that I noted in the bashali of Brun.

It appears certain that the small stone building on which the statue was placed is to be considered a kind of altar, for the real, functional fireplace is located, as in all houses, in the middle of the room. Therefore the bashali takes on the value of a proper place of worship, and not only of a confinement building. The presence of grapes and of ashes on the altar of Dezalik speaks to us of offerings made by the inmates of the 'women's house' to the goddess who protects childbirth.

To my knowledge, in the whole territory inhabited by the Kalash today there is no anthropomorphic image of any divinity. Other scholars' reports confirm this, excepting Morgenstierne's above mentioned statement reported by Siiger, whereas the statues of Imra and other divinities of the Kafir pantheon are often mentioned by Robertson in Afghan Kafiristan. It might therefore be imagined that among the Kalash of today, a kind of religious aniconism exists, contrasting with the findings in nearby Nuristan. But this theory is evidently contradicted by the existence of the clearly veristic, though greatly stylized, reproduction of the important goddess Dezalik in the bashali of Bomberet.

There is much to say on this subject, particularly on the significance given to the religious manifestations of the Kalash by the existence of an image of Dezalik. But all this will be dealt with elsewhere. For the moment, it is enough to have presented the reproduction of the statue of this Kalash divinity, and to have described it summarily.

Notes
1 I was accompanied by Mr. Simone di San Clemente and Mr. Giovanni Verusio, assistant professor at the University of Florence, as well as by three representatives of the Pakistan Government: Mr. Shakur, Director of the Museum of Peshawar, Mr. Idris Sidiqui of the Department of Archaeology of Karachi and a photographer of the same Department, Mr. Sidiqui. I thank them very much.
3 Siiger states that he was informed by Professor Morgenstierne that in 1929, when he carried out his linguistic mission in Chitral, a carved head could still be found, looking like a man's head in the 'hole of one of the shrines' of Mahandeo (H. Siiger, 'Ethnologische Field Research in Chitral, Sikkim and Assam,' Historisk-Folkologiske Meddelelser udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Vedenskabernes Selskab, Vol. XXXVI, Part 2, 1956, p. 17) but that these heads had disappeared when he visited the Kalash in 1948 (p. 32).
4 During this last mission, thanks to the courteous co-operation of Mr. Shakur, Director of the Peshawar Museum, who accompanied us on our journey, I was able to have a census of the Kalash and Mohammedan inhabitants of the three valleys of Bomberet, Rumbur and Birir taken by a Mohammedan from Rumbur village, whom I had engaged for this purpose. From this it appeared that in September, 1960, the Kalash numbered 1,391 against 2,230 Mohammedans. From information gathered during my previous mission in 1955, it seemed that the number of Kalash nearly reached 2,000 at that time. This estimate, if correct, shows the steady progress of the conversion of the Kalash to Islam.
6 Siiger, loc. cit., p. 18.
7 Schomberg, loc. cit., p. 46.
A NOTE ON NJAMAL KIN-TERM USAGE

by

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University of Chicago

Introduction

In this note I describe and analyse the kinship terminology of the Njamal (Nyamal) tribe of north-western Australia, and briefly discuss (a) some relations between the terminology and the social organization and (b) the general problem of identification of a society's customary social positions.

The Njamal are a small tribe that probably numbered around 500 people living directly east of, and adjacent to, the celebrated Kariera tribe at about lat. 20°, long. 130° (see Tindale, 1940, tribal map). So far as I know, the Njamal are first mentioned in ethnographical literature by Withnell (1901) and by Clement and Schmely (1903). Radcliffe-Brown (1912) and Bates (1913) visited the Njamal in 1911 and they each mention the Njamal tribe, indicating that they (along with other neighbouring tribes of Western Australia) had, in 1911, a kinship system and social organization which were more or less isomorphic with that of the Kariera tribe, as first described by Radcliffe-Brown in his classic paper, 'Three Tribes of Western Australia' (1913). Radcliffe-Brown (1930, pp. 208–211) tentatively classified Njamal kinship and social organization as conforming to what he called the Kariera type. However, this classification was made on the basis of incomplete information. To date no detailed description of Njamal kinship terminology and behaviour has been published. This paper is intended, in part, to fill this gap in our ethnographical knowledge of the aboriginal cultures of north-western Australia.

I collected the information about Njamal kinship and kinship terminology given herein from four members of the tribe in June, 1953, at Marble Bar and Pilgangoora, in north-western Australia, in connexion with certain anthropological research which was part of the programme of the University of California—University of Adelaide Anthropological Expedition to Australia, 1952–1954.1 In 1953 there were probably no more than 100 full-blooded Njamal tribesmen remaining in or around traditional Njamal territory. At this time the majority of the remaining Njamal were living with the remnants of 16 aboriginal tribes who had recently banded together and were living as a more or less ‘corporate’ group at Marble Bar and Pilgangoora. Pilgangoora is in traditional Kariera territory, whilst Marble Bar is in traditional Njamal territory. Though at present living in close association with many other tribes the Njamal people nevertheless have retained much of their traditional culture and still consider themselves as being a discrete tribe or social entity or both. A very few Njamal women are now ‘married’ to local Europeans. Considerably more have had children by Europeans.

Although many Njamal tribesmen are now married with members of neighbouring tribes, they still, commonly, use their traditional kinship terminology when addressing or referring to their relatives or kinsmen. However, as assimilation to the social customs of other tribes and to those of European society is now taking place at a rapid pace it seems not unlikely that Njamal kinship terminology will shortly change, or even disappear altogether. Njamal kinship terminology is thus both of ethnographical and sociological interest. In the sections that follow it is described and analysed as completely as is possible on the basis of the information now available to me. So far as I was able to determine, the Njamal kinship system and social organization, prior to sustained European contact, was more or less isomorphic with that of the Kariera tribe (see Radcliffe-Brown, 1913, and Romney and Epling, 1958). Thus I am able to confirm Radcliffe-Brown’s tentative classification of Njamal kinship and social organization.

It would appear very likely that the kinship terminology described herein is that which obtained traditionally, and which was, therefore, an integral component of the traditional Njamal kinship system and social organization. However, for ethnographical accuracy it should be understood that the terminology described here is that which was currently in use amongst the majority of Njamal tribesmen in 1953.

Preliminary Remarks on Kin Terminologies

It is now quite generally understood by anthropologists and comparative sociologists that a kinship terminology functions (meaning by function ‘adaptive role’ or ‘purpose’) primarily as a signal system used between social actors of a society, to discriminate (and signal) certain customarily recognized social positions (statuses, roles) or what Nadel (1957) calls ‘kinship roles’. There is no known society that does not have a kinship system and accompanying kin terminology: it is certain that kinship and the associated kin terminology are truly a common denominator and universal aspects of human societies and cultures. Since the middle of the nineteenth century anthropologists have recognized that each society’s kin terminology is, more or less, a discrete or unique system, though comparison of many terminological systems (e.g., Morgan, 1871; Murdock, 1949) has demonstrated that kinship terminologies the world over share many structural features in common and, moreover, that all are based upon a limited number of traditionally recognized ‘kinship categories’ or dimensions of difference between relatives or kinsmen. Kroeber (1909) seems to have been the first to delimit explicitly the principal and most common ‘dimensions of kinship differences’ utilized by societies throughout the world. As Loubsbury (1956) points out, Kroeber’s
early analysis provides the foundation upon which our contemporary analyses of kin term usage are based. In the present paper we will, among other things, show how some of the dimensions of difference between kinsmen, enumerated by Kroeber in 1909, are applied by the Njamal people. Some recent applications of certain linguistic techniques of analysis (Goodenough, 1956, Lounsbury, 1956) have admirably demonstrated that the ‘simple’ translation of kin terms (such as social anthropologists most frequently provide) from a native language into, e.g., English, utterly fails to reveal (1) the precise ‘meanings’ and semantic content of the terms (i.e. simple translation does not reveal the semantic content of the linguistic forms) and (2) the underlying customary sociological principles or rules and the functionally associated principles for discrimination of differences between relatives and kinsmen. These two important aspects of Njamal kin terminology are here explored in a preliminary way.

For purposes of structural and semantic analysis it is helpful if we conceptualize any kinship terminology as being a linguistic segmentation of a portion of an individual actor’s social environment. In one sense a system of kin terms reflects and signals various social positions that derive from a society’s customarily recognized differences between kinsmen. Thus a kinship terminology conveys and carries a good deal of important information for orderly social interaction for each social actor and for the society as a whole. In some societies (e.g. the aboriginal Australian) the great majority of social interaction occurs within a matrix formed of the social positions (statuses, roles) that are discriminated between and signalled by kin terminology. A kinship terminology is, in short, a most important aspect of a society’s overall construct for orderly social interaction, i.e. of its ‘social structure.’

As Radcliffe-Brown (1930) has stressed, in aboriginal Australian societies, the system of kinship social positions, and the terminology thereof, is overwhelmingly the most important aspect of the social structure; the kinship system may be said to carry an extremely heavy ‘functional load,’ in aboriginal societies. So important a feature or aspect of a society’s social structure must be well understood before we can proceed to analyse various social structures and, ultimately, to gain understanding of the process of social life.

**General Features of Njamal Kin Terminology**

In its general configuration the Njamal system of kin terminology conforms to what Radcliffe-Brown (1930, p. 207) calls the Kariera type. This type is very common in Australia, representative cases being found throughout the continent (see Radcliffe-Brown, 1930, Map II). This type of kinship terminology, aside from a few minor differences, is also to be found amongst certain American tribes, e.g. Ojibwa, Ottawa Cree, Sauteau-Ojibwa, Naskapi, etc. (see, e.g., Eggnan 1955, pp. 519-48 and Hallowell, 1928, 1937). The Kariera type of kin terminology may be considered as being quite normal Australian type. Amongst other things the Njamal is ‘classificatory.’ Like that of the Kariera tribe, it is used between all individuals of the society who have any social intercourse and is what Romney and Epling (1958, p. 68) have termed a ‘closed system.’

Sixteen discrete Njamal kin terms are listed in Table I, in an approximate phonemic orthography, along with some of the genealogically close kin types that each term denotes or refers to or both. These kin types are, of course, only approximate translations of the terms.

**Table I. Njamal Kin Terms with Some of the Kin Types Which They Denote**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin Terms</th>
<th>Some Kin Types Denoted by the Terms (Male and Female Speaking)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maili</td>
<td>FF, FFB, MMB, MFWB, FMH, MMSH, FMBWB, etc., ss, ss, ss, Bsd, Bsd, ddH, dd, dW, dsW, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FF, FFB, MMB, MFWB, MMSH, FMBWB, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabidi</td>
<td>MF, MFB, MMH, FFSH, FFWB, ds, dsB, dd, ddS, smW, ssH, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MF, MFB, MMH, FFSH, FFWB, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabali</td>
<td>FM, FMS, FFWB, MFS, MMBW, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FM, FMS, FFWB, MFS, MMBW, etc., ss, ss, ss, Bsd, ddH, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandari</td>
<td>MM, MMS, MFH, FFS, FMWB, etc. (MS)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MM, MMS, MFH, FFS, FMWB, etc., ds, dd, ssH, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mama</td>
<td>F, FB, MBMB, FFB, MB, FFS, FMBMB, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F, FB, MBMB, FFB, MB, FFS, FMBMB, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngardi</td>
<td>M, MS, MB, BSS, MBMB, FFS, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M, MS, MB, BSS, MBMB, FFS, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karna</td>
<td>MB, MBB, FSH, MB, FFS, etc., EF, SHF, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MB, MBB, FSH, MB, FFS, etc., EF, SHF, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midari</td>
<td>FS, FSS, MBW, FF, MBMB, etc., WM, WMS, SHS, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FS, FSS, MBW, FF, MBMB, etc., WM, WMS, SHS, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurda</td>
<td>EIB, FBE, MIE, etc., EF, EIB, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EIB, FBE, MIE, etc., EF, EIB, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turdu</td>
<td>EIS, FBE, MIE, etc., EF, EIB, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EIS, FBE, MIE, etc., EF, EIB, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maraga</td>
<td>YnS, FBYs, FBYn, IYnS, MSYn, etc., EF, EIB, etc. (MS and FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Njuba</td>
<td>W, MB, FSD, MMS, FFS, MBMB, BW, FBW, BSS, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H, MB, FSS, MMBB, FFS, SH, BSBW, FBB, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngarbari</td>
<td>WB, SH, MB, FSS, MMB, FBB, B, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julburu</td>
<td>BS, BW, MB, FSS, MB, FBB, B, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngaraja</td>
<td>Sd, WBD, SW, dHS, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sd, WBD, SW, dHS, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tjilja</td>
<td>s, d, Bsd, Sd, WSB, dHs, etc. (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s, d, Bsd, Sd, WSB, dHs, etc. (FS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TABLES I AND III**

F = father, M = mother, S = sister, B = brother, s = son, d = daughter, H = husband, W = wife, El = elder, Yn = younger, Sib = sibling, 'I' = in-law, (MS) = male speaking, (FS) = female speaking
Linguistically, each term is best considered as a morph, i.e., a distinct irreducible form associated with one particular 'meaning.' These kin terms are used both in the vocative (address) and referentially, though it seems probable that linguistically the terms should be considered as being primarily vocative forms. Usually when one of these terms is used referentially it is accompanied by a possessive construction of some sort, e.g., ngadju = 'my,' though the terms can also be used alone in reference. So far as I was able to determine the Njamal most commonly refer to relatives using their so-called section system, i.e., their section terminology, instead of using the 'vocative' kin terms. This is identical with Kariera usage, as has been discussed by Romney and Epling (1958, pp. 63-5).

A glance at Table I shows that the Njamal consistently classify 'affinal' relatives (kin) together with 'consanguineal' kin, or, to put it another way, the Njamal make no terminological distinction between what English-speakers understand as 'affinal' and 'consanguineal' kin: amongst the Njamal all relatives (kin) are treated as 'consanguineals' of some sort. This is a structural feature common to all Australian aboriginal kin terminologies and is a convenient diacritical characteristic thereof. Table I shows also that the Njamal make no distinction between 'lineal' and 'collateral' relatives. This is the defining feature of so-called classificatory kin terminologies and is also common to most Australian terminologies.

As with the Kariera and other Australian tribes the Njamal people, in addressing and referring to every individual with whom they have any social intercourse, use their 'vocative' kin terminology and their section terminology. Every member of the tribe is treated as some sort of relative or kinsman and is (as the occasion arises) addressed or referred to or both in the course of interaction. Thus the 'range' of the Njamal kinship system and its terminology is universal. To repeat: in relation to any Ego every member of the tribe or society is a relative or kinsman of some sort. As will be shown in detail below, in Njamal society relatives are also classified and discriminated as being either agnatic or non-agnatic kinsmen, as belonging to some generation, as being either a male or a female, and so forth.

As pointed out above, the Njamal kinship system (and the terminological system which expresses and signals it) may be regarded as a 'closed system' in contradistinction to kinship systems which are 'open systems.' The distinction between open and closed kinship systems has already been made and discussed in Romney and Epling (1958, p. 68).

Briefly, the kinship principle which defines this feature of Njamal kinship is based upon whether or not a society recognizes the difference between relatives and non-relatives (kin or not kin) within its boundaries. Most peoples make such a distinction within the boundaries of their society (open systems), while a few peoples do not (closed systems). This kinship principle is very important. It serves to define the kinship universe, as Goodenough (1956) has pointed out. Also, of course, it defines the universe of the kin terminology. The fact that Njamal kinship is a 'closed system' is the major distinctive feature of the system as a whole and serves to differentiate it from many other types of kinship system.

While the information contained in Table I is sufficient for a preliminary understanding and classification of Njamal kinship terminology it reveals to us neither the exact 'meanings' of the kin terms (and the semantic structure of the terminology as a whole) nor the underlying principles of kinship differences in terms of which the Njamal people discriminate various classes of relatives and 'mark off' the various social positions which they occupy. In order to understand this terminological system more fully we shall analyse each kin term (both male and female speaking) in terms of five elementary dimensions of kinship difference which, on the one hand, interact in such a manner so as to delimit or define the various traditional kinship positions and, on the other hand, represent, in their association, the semantic features or components of the terms. These dimensions of kinship difference also, presumably, represent the abstract criteria in terms of which the Njamal people 'think about' their relatives—and ultimately reflect and relate to fundamental sociological principles of Njamal society. (Some of the relations between the dimensions of discrimination of the terminology and principles of Njamal social organization are briefly discussed in the concluding sections of this paper.)

Componental Analysis of Njamal Kin Terms

Njamal kin terms have been preliminarily defined and described by naming various kin types referred to and denoted by each term (Table I). Such a description, as has been pointed out, does not provide us with accurate translations of the terms and, furthermore, does not accurately reflect the native 'meanings' of the terms. Nor, from such a description, are we able to discover the underlying principles of kin discrimination and how these are applied. Our task in this section, then, is to arrive at definitions in terms of a minimal set of dimensions of kinship difference, to show the components (semantic features) of each term and thus to show the semantic structure of the whole set of Njamal kin terms.

The Njamal kin terms in Table I can be defined as being the products of components or resulting from a small number of dimensions of difference between kinsmen. The components in turn can be viewed as semantic features. It is assumed that in relation to either a male or a female speaker all kin terms are in contrast, and that each kin term differs from all others by virtue of at least one component or a distinctive semantic feature. As will be shown by this analysis, certain kin terms of the set have different semantic contents ('meanings'), in relation to the sex of the speaker. That is, in some cases the same term 'means' a different thing, depending upon the sex of the person using the term.

The five dimensions of kinship difference recognized by the Njamal people are listed in Table II. Each kin can be defined as the product of components derived from and or based upon these five elementary dimensions of kinship difference.

The dimension of generation of kinsman (Table II, No. 4) can be subsumed under the dimension of agnate vs. non-agnate, thus simpli-
fying our descriptive formulae somewhat. Generation of kinsmen, relative to Ego, is hereafter expressed as a subdivision of the agnatic vs. non-agnatic dimension of discrimination. Thus we have 'agnatic and non-agnatic generations,' where generation categories are subclasses of both the agnatic and non-agnatic classes of kinsmen. We have then: $A^1$, $A^2$, $A^3$, $A^4$, $A^5$, $A^6$, $A^7$, $A^8$, $A^9$, $A^{10}$, where $A^9 = A^8 + g$, relative to Ego. This is to be read as $A^9$: 'agnate of the second ascending generation,' and so on.

**Table II. Dimensions of Njamal Kinship Difference**

1. All people (Njamal) are some sort of consanguineal kin. Njamal kinship is a 'closed system,' wherein all members of the society are considered as being relatives and the kin of some sort. (In a sense all Njamal are 'cognates.') Kin terms (and kin behaviour) are extended so as to embrace all members of the society: every individual is defined as a kinsman (K). This dimension serves to define the Njamal kinship universe.

2. Aagnatic vs. non-agnatic kinsmen. All Njamal (kinsmen) are either agnates (A) or non-agnates (N). Agnates are kinsmen to whom relationship can be traced directly or entirely through males. Non-agnates are kinsmen to whom relationship cannot be directly and entirely traced through males. $A + A^9 = 2$.

3. Sex of kinsmen. There are two sexes of kinsmen: males (M) and females (F). This is an absolute distinction.

4. Generation of kinsmen. Every kinsman belongs to one of five generations, relative to Ego: second ascending (G9), first ascending (G8), Zero or 'own' (G7), first descending (G6), and second descending (G5). This dimension is subdivided into the dimensions of agnate vs. non-agnate.

5. Age of kinsmen, within a single generation, relative to Ego. Certain kinsmen (agnates only) are distinguished as being older than Ego (S) or younger than Ego (T) in terms of their order of birth relative to Ego.

**Explanation.** Five Njamal 'dimensions of kinship difference,' or 'principles of kinship difference' are listed, along with the symbols to be used for each dimension.

**K =** kinsman, $A =$ agnate, $N =$ non-agnate, $M =$ male, $F =$ female, $G^6, G^7, \ldots G^{12} =$ generations of kinsmen, $S =$ older than Ego and $T =$ younger than Ego.

For ethnographical comparison, Table II should be carefully compared with Table I in Romney and Eplinger (1958, p. 68) which lists Kariera dimensions of kinship difference. Njamal dimensions (3), (4), and (5) above correspond directly with Kroeger's (1909) 'categories' (1), (3), and (5) respectively. Dimensions (1) and (2) above are not explicitly enumerated by Kroeger. Dimension (2) above corresponds exactly to that enumerated by Lounsdry (1956, p. 186). The precise manner in which these dimensions are applied is shown in Table III.

**Maili** ('father's father,' etc.). For a male Ego the maili class of kinsman includes such diverse kin types as FF, MM, MS, and S, etc. This term is self-reciprocal, i.e. Ego (male or female) addresses FF as maili and FF addresses Ego as maili in return. For a male Ego this term signals a class of kinsman defined in terms of the following components: $K^A[1 - M + A^1 + (M + M)]$. For a male maili is a composite class: 'all male agnatic kinsmen of the second ascending generation together with agnatic kinsmen, of either sex, of the second descending generation.' For a female Ego the maili class is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all male agnatic kinsmen of the second ascending generation.'

**Mabidi** ('mother's father,' etc.). For a male Ego this class is the reverse of the maili class. Like the term maili it is a self-reciprocal. For males the mabidi class is: $K^B[1 - M + A^1 + (M + M)]$, i.e. 'all male non-agnatic kinsmen of the second ascending generation along with all agnatic kinsmen, of either sex, of the second descending generation.' For a female Ego the mabidi class is: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all male non-agnatic kinsmen of the second ascending generation.'

**Kabali** ('father's mother,' etc.). For a male Ego the kabali class is: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all female non-agnatic kinsmen of the second ascending generation.' Kabali is also a self-reciprocal term. For a female Ego kabali is defined as: $K^A[1 - M + A^1 + (M + M)]$, i.e. 'all female non-agnatic kinsmen of the second ascending generation along with all non-agnatic kinsmen, of either sex, of the second descending generation.' The term kabali is a compound term for females.

**Kandari** ('mother's mother,' etc.). Kandari is also a self-reciprocal term. For a male Ego the kandari class is: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all female agnatic kinsmen of the second ascending generation.' For a female Ego the kandari class is: $K^A[1 - M + A^1 + (M + M)]$, i.e. 'all female agnatic kinsmen of the second ascending generation along with all agnatic kinsmen, of either sex, of the second descending generation.' Kandari is a compound term for female.

**Mama** ('father,' etc.). The mama class includes such important kin types as F, FF, etc. It is the same for both male and female Egos. For both male and female Ego mama is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all male agnatic kinsmen of the first ascending generation.'

**Ngardi** ('mother,' etc.). The ngardi class is the same for male and female Ego. It is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all female non-agnatic kinsmen of the first ascending generation.'

**Karna** ('mother's brother,' 'father-in-law,' etc.). The karna class is the same for both male and female Ego. It is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all male non-agnatic kinsmen of the first ascending generation.'

**Ngardi** ('father's sister,' 'mother-in-law,' etc.). The ngardi class is the same for both male and female Ego. It is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all female agnatic kinsmen of the first ascending generation.'

**Kurda** ('brother,' etc.). The kurda class is identical for both male and female Ego. It includes such kin types as ELB, FBEL, MSEL, etc. The kurda class is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all male agnatic kinsmen older than Ego of Ego's own generation.'

**Turdu** ('sister,' etc.). This class is the same for male and female Ego. It is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all female agnatic kinsmen older than Ego of Ego's own generation.'

**Maraga** ('younger sibling,' etc.). This class is also the same for both male and female Ego. It includes kinsmen of either sex. It is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all agnatic kinsmen, younger than Ego of Ego's own generation.'

**Njuba** ('mother's brother's daughter,' 'wife,' etc.). For a male Ego the njuba class includes such kin types as MB, FSD, W, BW, etc. For a male Ego the njuba class is: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all female non-agnatic kinsmen of Ego's own generation.' For a female Ego the njuba class is: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all male non-agnatic kinsmen of Ego's own generation.'

**Ngardari** ('wife's brother,' etc.). This term is used only by males. It is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all male non-agnatic kinsmen of Ego's own generation.'

**Julburu** ('brother's wife,' etc.). This term is used only by females. It is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all female non-agnatic kinsmen of Ego's own generation.'

**Ngardari** ('sister's daughter,' 'daughter-in-law,' etc.). This term is used by both males and females. For a male Ego the ngardari class is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all female non-agnatic kinsmen of the first descending generation.' For a female Ego it is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all female agnatic kinsmen of the first descending generation.'

**Tjilja** ('child,' etc.). The term tjiija is used by both male and female Egos. For a male Ego the tjiija class is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all non-agnatic kinsmen of either sex, of the first descending generation along with all male non-agnatic kinsmen of the first descending generation.' For a female Ego the tjiija class is defined as: $K^A - M$, i.e. 'all non-agnatic kinsmen of the first descending generation, of either sex, along with all male agnatic kinsmen of their first descending generation.'

Table III is a summary of the foregoing sections. Each Njamal kin term, along with the definition thereof in terms of its component, is listed in the table. The table
Table III. Componential definitions of Njamal kin terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KIN TERMS</th>
<th>SEMANTIC COMPONENTS OF THE KIN TERMS</th>
<th>FOR A MALE SPEAKING</th>
<th>FOR A FEMALE SPEAKING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maili</td>
<td>'Father's father,' <em>son's son,</em> etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{+}M+A^{-}(M+\bar{M})}$</td>
<td>'Father's father,' etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabidi</td>
<td>'Mother's father,' <em>daughter's son,</em> etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{+}M+\bar{A}^{-}(M+\bar{M})}$</td>
<td>'Mother's father,' etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabali</td>
<td>'Father's mother,' etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Mother's father,' etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandari</td>
<td>'Mother's mother,' etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Mother's mother,' etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mama</td>
<td>'Father,' etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Mother,' etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngardi</td>
<td>'Mother,' etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Mother,' etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karna</td>
<td>'Mother's brother,' <em>father-in-law,</em> etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Mother's brother,' <em>father-in-law,</em> etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karna</td>
<td>'Mother's brother,' <em>father-in-law,</em> etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Mother's brother,' <em>father-in-law,</em> etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midari</td>
<td>'Father's sister,' <em>mother-in-law,</em> etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Father's sister,' <em>mother-in-law,</em> etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurda</td>
<td>'Elder brother,' etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Elder Brother,' etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turdu</td>
<td>'Elder Sister,' etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Elder Sister,' etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maraga</td>
<td>'Younger sibling,' etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Younger sibling,' etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Njuba</td>
<td>'Mother's brother's daughter,' <em>wife,</em> etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Mother's brother's son,' <em>husband,</em> etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngarbari</td>
<td>'Mother's brother's son,' <em>wife's husband,</em> etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Mother's brother's daughter,' <em>brother's wife,</em> etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julburu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngaraja</td>
<td>'Sister's daughter,' <em>son's wife,</em> etc.</td>
<td>$K{A^{\bar{+}}M}$</td>
<td>'Brother's daughter,' <em>son's wife,</em> etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Tjilja    | 'Son,' *daughter,' *sister's son,* etc. | $K\{A^{\bar{+}}M\}
|           | | $K\{A^{\bar{+}}M\}$ | 'Son,' *daughter,' *brother's son,* etc. |

Explanations. Each Njamal kin term is listed, along with some primary kin types that it denotes and its definition in terms of its semantic components, for both male and female Ego. The table illustrates the semantic structure of the whole set of Njamal kin terms, and also shows the 23 Njamal kinship social positions. Table III should be juxtaposed with fig. 1. The kin types listed above each term represent only 'simple' (gloss) translation of each term, and should not be taken as either 'meanings' or definitions.

Kin Terminology and Principles of Social Organization

The description and analysis of Najmal kin-term usage in the preceding sections indicates that the Njamal customarily recognized and linguistically discriminated 23 kinship positions (and or classes of kinsmen), in terms of kinship categories derived from five elementary dimensions of kinship difference (Table II).

As I have pointed out, the Njamal people customarily considered all members of their society (the tribe) as being 'consanguineal' kin of some sort. As we have seen (Table III) all relatives (kinsmen) are distinguished by Ego as being either agnates or non-agnates. This is the fundamental discrimination of Njamal kin terminology: it is
present, as a component, in every kin term. Now the Njamal tribe (society) is divided into two unnamed divisions or moiety groups, X and Y. As with the neighboring Kariera tribe (see Romney and Epling, 1958, pp. 60-2) these two moiety groups are simply agnatic descent groups, i.e., moiety affiliation is agnatic. The two moiety divisions are, in reality, nothing more than a reification of the fundamental kinship discrimination between agnates and non-agnates which cuts across the whole of Njamal society. This fact is of some ethnographical interest: 'moieties' such as those of the Kariera and Njamal tribes are structurally and functionally) somewhat different from, e.g. moieties found among various Amerindian tribes. On the one hand, the moiety is solely a class of kinsmen, on the other, it is besides being a class of kinsmen, a named corporate 'group'.

Our data show that the Njamal kinship system includes the 'whole society.' Every member of the society with whom Ego has social intercourse is addressed and referred to by a kin term according to his or her kinship position in relation to Ego and every individual is a kinsman. It has no doubt been noted by the reader that 'affinal' relatives (e.g. Wf, Wm, Hf, Hm) are classified by the Njamal as 'consanguineal' kin (e.g. Wf = Mf, Wm = Ms, Hf = Mf, Hm = Ms, W = M8, H = MS, etc.). Some anthropologists (notably Lévi-Strauss, 1949) have supposed that such terminological equivalences are 'functionally associated' and correlated positively with certain forms of preferred cross-cousin marriage. A cursory examination of a kin terminology such as that of the Njamal tribe might very well 'logically' lead one to 'explain' such terminological equivalences as above in terms of a set of marriage rules. However, as the present analysis shows, such an explanation is unnecessary and at the same time somewhat misleading. For example, the Njamal 'have' so-called preferential symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, coupled with brother-sister exchange, and, of course, the terminological equivalences as above. However, there is no rule (or even a decided preference) for such marriages amongst the Njamal people. The marriage rule of Njamal society is simplicity itself, to wit: Ego must ideally marry within the society (endogamy), within his or her own generation (endogamy) with a non-agnate of the opposite sex (exogamy). Now in terms of the Njamal kinship system and terminological distinctions, this means that Ego will always marry a person (njuha) who, in relation to himself, belongs to the class of kinsmen termed njuha. For a male Ego this class includes, as we have seen such kin types as Mbd, Fsd, etc., i.e. 'all female non-agnatic relatives of Ego's own generation.' But this class also includes many other kin types: Fsd8, MMBd, MFSd, MM8d, etc. Thus both in terms of the way the Njamal classify kindred and in terms of their simple marriage rule, every Ego will, necessarily, be married to some sort of 'cross-cousin' whom he (or she) addresses as njuha, the simplest rough translation (gloss) for which is 'cross-cousin of the opposite sex.' Cross-cousin marriage is, however, in no way a 'determinant' of either the kin terminology or the kinship system and it is more than misleading to 'explain' Njamal kin term usage (or parts thereof) in terms of such a marriage rule.

The manner in which the 23 linguistically discriminate Njamal kinship positions are factually interrelated is shown in fig. 1. It is of some ethnographical interest to compare

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**Fig. 1. Interrelation of Njamal Kinship Positions**

Above, male viewpoint; below, female viewpoint. Triangles = males. Circles = females. Equational signs (=) indicate marriages. Parallel lines link agnates of the same generation (siblings). Perpendicular lines link agnates of different generations (i.e. show descent). A circle inside a triangle indicates a male or female. Certain kinship positions (mail, 'mabidi,' and 'tijla') are repeated for diagrammatic consistency. Each symbol (male and female) represents a kinship social position and a class of kinsmen, as defined and discriminated by Njamal kin terminology, not real social actors, i.e. real persons.) Figs. 1 and 2 should be compared with Charts I and II in Radcliffe-Brown (1913, p. 148ff) and Chart 2 in Romney and Epling (1958, p. 69) for comparison with the Kariera kinship system.

Briefly the Njamal kinship terminology (and system of kinship positions) with that of the Kariera tribe. One should compare fig. 1 with Charts I and II in Radcliffe-Brown (1913, pp. 148f).

A cursory comparison of the two terminologies shows that the two systems bear many structural features in
common, and even share many terms in common. However, the systems also differ in some important respects. Each society discriminated kinsmen in terms of the same five elementary dimensions of kinship difference. Differences in exact terminological usage result from a slightly different application of these dimensions of difference. For example, whereas the Njmal (male speaking) group s, d, and Ss under one term (tjilja), the Kariera distinguish each of these kin terms terminologically (mainga, kundal and kuling respectively). Thus the dimension of sex of kinsman is recognized in the latter case whilst it is 'ignored' in the former, and so on. Overall comparison of the two terminologies suggests that they are 'partially isomorphic.'

Kin-Term Usage and the Identification of Social Positions

It seems not inappropriate to call attention once again to the point that 'simple' translation (i.e. listing of glosses of kin terms, as was done here in Table I) is not a very trustworthy or accurate guide for the comprehension of a society's system of kinship positions or kinship roles. The problems encountered in adequately understanding both the 'meaning' and underlying principles of a society's kin terminology are intimately related to a more general problem facing social anthropologists, to wit: the problem of identification, 'meaning' and underlying principles of social positions in general. In short it seems not unlikely that lessons learned from the analysis of kin-term usage will be of more general value to social anthropologists.

One of the central descriptive-analytical concepts of social anthropology is that of 'social structure' (see Nadel, 1957). As yet, however, there is no general consensus amongst anthropologists as to the exact definition of this concept. Nor is there as yet any general agreement as to the methods and techniques to be used in the description and analysis of social structures. However, there is a growing body of common theory about social structures which, it seems to me, is most closely in accord with the general notion of structure and structural analysis and, which, at the same time, is likely to yield important and meaningful understandings of human social activity.

This body of theory about social structures posits that the structures of all human societies (or the social structures of any society) are always composed of the same type or kind of 'structural units,' where social structure is narrowly defined. These elementary structural units are variously called 'roles,' 'statuses,' 'offices,' 'social positions,' etc. I shall call such units social positions, as this usage seems to me to be in accord with the majority of current definitions of the units of social structures.

In illustrating the concept of social structure Radcliffe-Brown (1952, p. 11) says that '... we may say that when we are dealing with a structural system we are concerned with a system of social positions ...' (my italics), meaning by system '... a set of relations amongst ... [things] ...' (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 6). Thus Radcliffe-Brown indicates that a social structure consists solely of social positions and their interrelations. Sarbin (1954, p. 224) holds quite similar views: '... persons are always members of society (defined as an aggregation of persons with common goals), and societies are structured ... [in terms of] ... positions or statuses or offices' (my italics).

It has been suggested above that a society's kin terminology functions primarily as a signal system—signalling between social actors various kinds of social positions which are 'defined' in terms of dimensions of kinship difference. We identify (and partially understand) these social positions precisely by analysing the linguistic structures which serve to signal positions for the actors themselves. Similarly, we identify other non-kinship social positions by observing actors in interaction and by description and analysis of linguistic structures which signal social positions.

In a discussion of the social anthropologist's task of identification and understanding of the structural units of social structures, the necessary first step in the description of social structures, Nadel (1957, p. 20) observes that 'no society exists that does not ... classify its population ... in short, every society gives ... linguistic notice to the differential parts ... (i.e. to our social positions) ... individuals are expected or "briefed" to play.' He goes on to suggest that roles (social positions) are at least initially identified by the anthropologist via description and analysis of a society's linguistic notice of differential parts, without, however, indicating that such language structures should be analysed semantically. From a slightly different point of view Edmonson (1958, p. 3) suggests that 'phenomenal status, as indicated by the existence of a native term for a particular social, does not necessarily cover all forms of interaction in a given society, but it should prove to be an accurate reflection of all those forms of interaction of which the people of the society are explicitly aware' (my italics).

The analysis presented here, along with other recent analyses of kin-term usage (e.g., Goodenough, 1956; Lounsbury, 1956), suggests that the problem of identification and 'understanding' of a society's social positions, as both defined and signalled by various linguistic structures, is likely to be manifestly more complex than either Edmonson or Nadel indicate. This can be appreciated by a brief consideration of the relatively simple case of kin-term usage.

Consider the example of the Njmal kin-term tjilja. We have already noted that in some instances the same Njmal kin term means a quite different thing (and signals a different social position) depending upon the sex of the person speaking the term. Simply to state that the Njmal kin term tjilja "means," roughly "child," "sister's son," "brother's son," etc., is somewhat ambiguous and misleading. In one case (male speaking) tjilja signals a kinship position defined as 'all agnicline kinsmen, of either sex, of the first descending generation along with all male non-agnatic kinsmen of the first descending generation,' and in the second case (female speaking) 'all non-agnatic kinsmen of either sex of the first descending generation along with all male agnicline kinsmen of the first descending generation': clearly the term tjilja signals two different social positions at the same time in the same society. Conventional translation of such a kin term as tjilja does not reveal this
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important difference both in meaning and in the social positions signalled.

Situations analogous to that of the meaning of the kin term *tjilja* are presented by many English terms for social positions. Consider, for example, the English terms 'doctor' and 'captain.' The term 'doctor,' e.g., denotes among other positions: a medical practitioner, 'a person with a Ph.D. degree,' a priest who has finished divinity school, and so on. Likewise the term 'captain' denotes 'a particular rank in the Army,' 'a master of an oven-going vessel,' 'leader of an athletic team,' etc. Clearly these two English position terms signal quite different social positions, depending upon various outside factors. Social anthropologists being entirely conversant in English and being actors in English society are able to understand the various signalled social positions. However, the shoe is, more than likely, on the other foot when the social anthropologist is studying a society other than his own: yet it is just such differences in social positions between which he must discriminate for his description and analysis of social structures.

The identification and understanding of social positions other than those defined in terms of 'kinship' is an important problem which needs further study. Analyses of kin-term usage suggest that it is a difficult and complex problem which will, undoubtedly, require the joint efforts of linguists and social anthropologists for its resolution.

Notes

1 I wish to acknowledge the generous support and guidance given me by Professor J. B. Birdsell, and by Mr. N. B. Tindale, Curator of Anthropology, South Australian Museum. The identification numbers of my Njamal informants on kin terminology are: R313, R366, R399 and R407. Extensive genealogies for each of these individuals are on deposit at the South Australian Museum.

2 The section terms of the Njamal are: Banaka, Burung, Karimera and Milanka. Section terms are ego-absolutes, each individual belonging to the four sections. Individuals refer to various kinmen by their section affiliation (e.g., MBD = 'Banaka,' MB = 'Milanka,' etc.). Section affiliation amongst the Njamal is always agnatically determined, ego belonging to a section [of a couple] different from that of his father. The couples are: Banaka ↔ Milanka ↔ Karimera ↔ Burung. The terms are used as free forms.

X-Y represents the class of things which are both X and Y in the intersection between the two classes. The dot (.) indicates class intersection, so that X-Y-X, i.e., a class product. The symbol + indicates a composite class and is to be read as 'or,' 'together with' or 'either.'

References


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SHORTER NOTES

The Frequency of Anti-A and Anti-B Haemolysins in Bristol, Bombay and Hyderabad.

By Dr. E. R. Gold, South-West Regional Transfusion Centre, Bristol; Dr. H. M. Bhatia, Blood Group Reference Centre, Indian Council of Medical Research, Bombay; Col. G. W. G. Bird, Poona; Dr. R. Thayuman, Blood Bank, Osmania Hospital, Hyderabad; and Dr. M. Votino, Hematological and Blood Transfusion Centre, Bucharest, Roumania. With three tables.

The present investigation was undertaken to ascertain if the predominance of anti-A over anti-B which is found generally in Europe, where there are more individuals of group A than group B, is also present in populations in which this proportion is reversed.

Materials and Methods

Sera. Only blood of healthy donors was used. In Bombay only blood of voluntary donors bled for the first time was investigated. All sera were clear, free of haemolysins, 24-48 hours old and kept in the icebox at 4°C until tested. In the experiments performed in Bristol the sera were tested for complement with sensitized sheep cells and only sera with a normal amount of complement were...
investigated, but there were only very few sera with a sub-normal amount of complement.

Cells. Fresh cells of known and equal antigenic strength were used. They were washed four times in normal saline and used as a 2 per cent. suspension.

Method. Four volumes of serum were mixed with one volume of cell suspension. In Bristol, the mixtures were allowed to stand for 4-hour at room temperature (20°C) and then transferred to the incubator at 37°C for a further 4-hour, in Bombay the mixtures were incubated for one hour at 37°C and in Hyderabad for one hour at room temperature (33–36°C). The degree of haemolysis was read macroscopically and was recorded as follows: c = Complete, i.e.s. = Incomplete strong, i.e.w. = Incomplete weak.

Results

(1) Bristol. In a series of 27,614 bloods the frequency of the blood groups found was: group O 45.90 per cent., group A 42.32 per cent., group B 8.46 per cent. and group AB 3.32 per cent. The frequency of anti-A and anti-B haemolysins is given in Table I.

(2) Bombay. In a series of 4,000 bloods the frequency of the blood groups found was: group O 34.5 per cent., group A 26 per cent., group B 30.8 per cent. and group AB 8.7 per cent. The frequency of anti-A and anti-B haemolysins is given in Table II, Part 1.

Details of the findings in samples in which the simultaneous presence of anti-A and anti-B haemolysins was noted are given in Table II, Part 2.

(3) Hyderabad. In a series of 10,000 bloods the frequency of the blood groups found was: group O 35 per cent., group A 26 per cent., group B 32 per cent. and group AB 7 per cent. The frequency of the anti-A and anti-B haemolysins is given in Table III.

(4) Poona. In a series of 8,764 donors tested, the frequency of the blood groups found was: O 32.41 per cent., A 24.32 per cent., B 34.22 per cent. and AB 8.85 per cent. In 2,836 group O bloods tested, 1,611 were found to contain anti-A and anti-B haemolysins.

The relative strengths of anti-A and anti-B haemolysins were as follows:

- Anti-A and anti-B haemolysins of equal strength: 517 (32.1 per cent.)
- Anti-A haemolysin stronger than anti-B haemolysin: 298 (18.5 per cent.)
- Anti-B haemolysin stronger than anti-A haemolysin: 796 (49.4 per cent.)

In comparing the results from Bristol with those from India one sees that in Bombay and Hyderabad as well as in Bristol the anti-A and anti-B haemolysins are more frequent in group O bloods than in group A and group B bloods, but the difference in Bombay is greater than in Hyderabad. This corresponds to the fact that in Europe generally the agglutinin titres in group O sera are higher than in group A or group B sera and also that 'immune-type' agglutinins are more frequently found in group O bloods. The rate of simultaneous presence of anti-A and anti-B haemolysins in group O bloods and the frequency of ABO haemolytic disease are high in Bombay. This suggests a causal relationship between them, but exact figures of the incidence of haemolytic disease in Bombay are not yet available.

Of further interest is the fact that in Bristol where there is a considerable difference between the frequency of group A and group B in favour of A, the frequency of anti-A haemolysins is greatly in excess of anti-B whereas in Bombay and Hyderabad the differences are smaller and in favour of the B group and anti-B haemolysins.

The results obtained in Bristol are in full agreement with investigations carried out with the same technique on a small number of cases in Vienna and on 200 cases in Bucharest. They correspond also to the results obtained by Schiff and Mendlowicz, Thomsen and Kette14 and Kette15 in their investigations of the agglutinating titres of anti-A and anti-B many years ago in Germany and Denmark and by Tovey who examined 90,000 bloods for haemolysins in Bristol a few years ago. It is also current knowledge in the Blood Transfusion Centres of Europe that the titres of anti-A agglutinins are on the average higher than anti-B.

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The origin of 'natural' anti-A and anti-B is still unknown in spite of much experimental work and speculation concerning it. The debate is old and the two extreme views are that the antibodies are either wholly genetically determined or wholly the result of immunization. According to the latter view the 'natural' isoantibodies are hetero-immune antibodies formed in response to stimulation by A-like or B-like antigens, while 'immune' anti-A and anti-B are iso-immune antibodies. It may also be that the ability to produce 'natural' antibodies is due to some inherited factor, but the actual formation of antibodies is the result of immunization in early life and the strength of the antibody depends on the degree of exposure to the respective antigen. It has also been claimed that the distribution of the ABO groups is causally related to blood-group-like antigens in the sense that the endemic presence of a microbe containing such antigens prevents a high frequency of the corresponding blood group. The results of the present investigation can be interpreted in different ways. If 'natural' anti-A and anti-B are hetero-immune antibodies whose formation depends only on the exposure to the antigen, the results would indicate that in Bombay and Hyderabad the exposure to B-like antigens is higher than in Bristol and that the exposure to A-like antigens is also high. If we admit also that an inherited factor must be present, our results would mean that the factor and exposure to B-like antigen must both be more frequent in Bombay and Hyderabad than in Bristol. During the preparation of this paper, A. S. Wiener has published a study of blood groups of chimpanzees. The sera of the sero group O chimpanzees were found to agglutinate human group A and B red cells but the anti-B titre exceeded the titre of anti-A and also exceeded the anti-B titre of all 10 group A chimpanzees. Our results show also that the method of determining blood groups without tests cells and test sera based on the higher frequency of anti-A haemolysins is applicable only in areas where the frequency of group A exceeds that of B.

Summary

(1) The frequency and strength of anti-B isoagglutinins are higher in Bombay and Hyderabad (India) than in Bristol (England).

(2) The interpretation of the frequencies of the anti-A and anti-B haemolysins in these cities is discussed.

Acknowledgments

We are greatly indebted to Dr. A. E. Mourant, Director of the Blood Group Reference Laboratory, Lister Institute, London, for his helpful criticism and advice and to Dr. V. R. Khanolkar, M.D. (London), Director of the Indian Cancer Research Centre, for facilitating the work carried out under his direction.

Notes

1 E. R. Gold, unpublished observations.
2 E. R. Gold and M. Fotino, unpublished observations.
5 Kettel quoted by A. S. Wiener in Blood Groups and Transfusion, 3rd edition, Baltimore (Thomas), 1943.
6 L. A. D. Tovey, 'The role and significance of the immune anti-A and anti-B antibodies with special reference to the haemolysins in clinical medicine,' M.D. Thesis, University of Bristol, March, 1957.
7 P. Holländer, personal communication.
8 J. Moullé, personal communication.
10 Furuhabata, quoted by Wiener (see note 5).
12 A. E. Mourant, personal communication.

Some South Arabian Instances of Polydactyly.* By Professor A. M. Honeyman, Department of Oriental Languages, University of St. Andrews

In the beginning of 1950 at an encampment of the Bal-Harith in the Wadi of that name—which is the continuation of the Wadi Beihan north-eastwards to the Ramlat Sabatîn—somewhat north of 'Asellân (c. 45° 49' E., 15° 0' N.), my attention was directed to a tribesman of the Bal-Harith who had six toes on each foot. The two feet were alike, and the feature did not perceptibly accommodate the man, the thumb of the sandal passing in the usual way between the great toe and the first of the five smaller toes. The man, who was about 50 years of age, could not adduce any other instances in his family, and amongst the members of the encampment it was regarded simply as an anatomical oddity rather than as a hereditary endowment or the physical mark of any particular quality.

The phenomenon of polydactyly is well attested from various parts of the world. Julia Bell, in discussing 'Some New Pedigrees of Hereditary Disease' including polydactyly in Annals of Eugenics, Vol. IV (1930-31), refers (p. 41, note) to the Biblical instance of the Philistine giant of Gath (II Samuel, xxii, 20, II Chronicles, xx, 7) with 12 toes and 12 fingers, and speculates as to the case being 'probably associated with pitiatory disorder evidenced by gigantism,' but offers no genetic arguments and adduces no analogous cases. As to the association there can be no doubt; the lineage of the man of Gath is expressly traced to Hā-Rā-phî(1), i.e. to the indigenous giant stock of Western Palestine. But the association belongs to the realm of popular belief rather than of genetic science, and the 12 fingers and toes, like the gigantism, were held to be a physical token of the generally heroic endowment. Thus the hexadactyly of the family of the Sultan of Pontianak in Borneo, adduced by Boine and Gates (loc. cit.) without reference, is said to have been regarded as a mark of royal distinction. Sith Thompson refers to an Irish cult hero who is characterized by seven pupils of the eye, seven toes and seven fingers. The Bal-Harith trace their lineage to the royal house of Kinda, which intermarried frequently with the Himyari and Lakhmid rulers. From Landberg we learn that according to Deffers hexadactyly is not infrequent among descendants of the ancient Himyari. In this connexion mention should be made of the Arab tradition that one of the last of the Himyari monarchs, Luhây'at, the predecessor of Dhu Nuwas, known as Dhu Shanatir, 'the fingered,' because he had six fingers. In the Fadli Sultanate of Shuqra hexadactyly recurred with such regularity that the lack of the characteristic extra little toe or little finger was held to be a sure sign of illegitimacy. Gates, following Boine (loc. cit.), makes a similar statement about 'the Foldi family of the Arab tribe of the Hyabites,' but as neither writer favours the reader with a supporting reference it is impossible to say whether or not the Fadli line in Abyan is meant.

* In accordance with the usual practice of MAN, the Arabic orthography has been simplified by the removal of most of the diacritical marks.
A final example of polydactyly from Arabia Felix may be cited, the case of the Yemenite poet Hurthban b. al-Harith al-Adwani of the tribe of Jadila who, according to Ibn al-Hajib (A.H. 570-646= A.D. 1174-1249) was known as Dhu l-Isa, 'the one with the finger' in view of the fact that he had a sixth finger on one hand. These observations and traditions suggest that with the development of medical services in the federated Emirates, etc., of the Aden Protectorates this area—along with the Yemen—might, particularly in view of the relatively uncontaminated character of a large part of the population, afford a promising field for the investigation of genetic and other aspects of polydactyly.

Notes


2 The terminus technicus—with the variant 'polydactyly'—in accepted use from Aristotle onwards, and in English from 1865—though 'hyperdactyly' would have been a more precise term for the possession of toes or fingers in excess of the normal complement, since Greek poly- may properly be used for any number beyond two. Gates (cf. note 1) is still more specific in using the term 'hexadactyly'.

3 The standard examples are given by R. Ruggles Gates, Human Genetics, Vol. I (1946), pp. 41ff.; but without full references and mostly after E. Boisot in Revue de Médecine, Vol. XVIII (1898), pp. 317, etc. Further cases are cited in Notes and Queries, Vol. CLXXX (1949), pp. 140, and of f. 6th Series, Vol. X (1884), p. 308. Mr. D. MacArthur, Librarian of the St. Andrews University Library, informs me that, as an example of the long arm of coincidence, the story is told of a Scottish surgeon who, in the course of an operation in the Lewis Hospital, Stornoway, observed that his patient, a fisherman from the Northern Isles, had six fingers on one hand. From conversation with his patient some days later he discovered that the fisherman was the selfsame one who 40 years previously had saved him as a boy in Shetland from drowning and whose polydactyly had made a lasting impression upon his mind.


5 Contrast Vol. IV (1957), Motif No. K 512.2.2.4.1, where, without any suggestion of mutilation, the sixth toe of a boy is cut off by a compassionate executioner to be produced as 'proof' that the boy had been put to death.


10 The tradition, however, cannot be accepted outright at its face value. In the first place Lulayat's name appears without a patronymic and he may well have been an 'outsider' (Hartmann, op. cit., p. 495). And, as my colleague Mr. M. A. Ghul points out, the meaning of sharanit, pl. of shantura, is disputed. According to the Taj and the Qamus Dhu Shanait is 'the man with the extra fingers', but the Lisan and other lexicographers give the phrase the meaning 'the man with the earrings'. Both interpretations seem to be based exclusively on the lines of a Himyarite poet who tells of a woman who was killed by a wolf (gillaub—a South Arabian word) and devoured except for certain parts including one shantura. Cf. Barbier de Meynard in Journ. As., Series X, Vol. IX (1907), p. 399.

The oldest reference to polydactyly in the Semitic world, apart from the Biblical legend, is in a tablet of the Summa taḫru series in which omens are drawn from monstrous births and the like. The tablet in question (Kouyunjik No. 2007, published by Rawlinson in The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vol. III (1870), Plate LXV, obverse, and again in Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum, Part XXVII (1910), Plate XVII), which is probably, as Mr. D. J. Wiseman of the British Museum informs me, of the ninth-eighth centuries B.C. and was incorporated into the royal library of Ashurbanipal (685-626 B.C.), makes reference to human beings born with six fingers (obv., ib. 30) or six toes (obv., ib. 32). Cf. M. Jastrow, Babylonian-Assyrian Birth-Omens and Their Significance (1907). A less likely explanation for such ichthyic verities he and Verweyen, in Beiträge zur Verwandtschaft der Götter im Schichtenlande (Berlin, 1914), p. 55; together, La médecine de l'Egypte et de Babylone (1938), p. 150ff.


13 While Nöldeke, Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (1904), p. 102, is right in interpreting the name Abu Usaybi as meaning 'father, i.e. possessor, of a little finger' and while the Greek transliteration δέκαπεξ (ibid.) has a similar etymology, in which one can detect an attempt to interpret it to which the name might have reference I cannot follow Landberg, op. cit., p. 435, in giving a polydactyly explanation.

14 From other parts of the Arab world I have these recent examples: Colonel Frank Haugh reports that at 'Ibri in Oman he had a soldier who possessed a rudimentary second thumb on one hand; and Mr. M. A. Ghul states that in the village of Silwan in Jordan he knew a man, the eldest son of an otherwise normal family, named Ahmad Ya'qub Sharaf, who had six fingers and was accordingly known as Abu Sitt, 'father of six'.

15 For the sobriquet of the sobriquet is given by other writers to the effect that he was bitten in the fingers by a serpent whereupon he personally amputated the affected hand. Cf. Barbier de Meynard in Journ. As., Series X, Vol. IX (1907), p. 385ff.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Ritual Stools of Ancient Ife. Cf. MAN, 1960, 155

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SM,—In the course of my work in Ife I have recently discovered some information which bears on the article by Bernard and William Fagg on the stools of ancient Ife.

They suggest that the Type 1 stool is derived from the bark boxes used to store ceremonial objects. In June, 1961, I observed such a box containing the paraphernalia of Ifa divination on a shrine at Oke Igeyi, the site of the original Ifa temple in Ife. I was told by several informants that this type of box was called apere, which means a stool, because they are also used as stools. Now this same word apere is used for the stone stools which the authors describe (as indeed they report in the case of the stone 'stool,' apere Anhuogba, near Iwo—see note 1), but for no other kind of stool (which would be apoti). This further evidence I believe to be complete confirmation of their hypothesis.

The stools given to Sir Gilbert Carter by the Ooni Adelekan came from the shrine of Olu Orogo. The account given by Dennett, referred to in the authors' first footnote, appears to have become confused, probably due to his interpreters. The story usually recounted in Ife is that Olu Orogo 'possessed the book of heaven (o ni iwe orun) and carried messages between heaven and earth. He is one of the 'white gods' (and related to Obatala), so his possessions are white. The three stools are in fact made of white yem quartz. The son of Moremi was called Tele, not Alashe as Dennett says. Alashe is the title held by the priests of the Gbellu. He apparently took the stools to the palace of the Ooni for safe keeping during the wars with the Modakeke, either about 1850 when the Ooni was
A Notice to All Subscribers to MAN

The Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute has regretfully decided that it is necessary to increase the price of MAN by sixpence a copy from 1 January, 1962. The general subscription rate will therefore be thirty-six shillings, and the reduced rate to Fellows of the Institute thirty shillings.

Printing costs have risen very steeply in Great Britain since the general subscription was last increased in 1952, but the Institute has until now been able to 'absorb' these increases without excessive losses, thanks to a steady rise in circulation and to some fortunate subventions. But this has become more and more difficult, and the latest substantial rise in printing charges, already in effect, makes it impossible without crippling other activities of the Institute. MAN is still among the least expensive of the world's anthropological publications and readers may like to be reminded that with the impending increase its price will still be only 50 per cent. above that prevailing in 1948, or 80 per cent. above that prevailing in 1921. Considering the excellent standard of production, which is maintained, this is surely a remarkable record. Moreover, readers will have noticed that every opportunity has recently been taken of increasing the number of pages published whenever special funds make this possible, and the Institute, which is engaged upon a most active programme of publication, will certainly continue this policy.

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William Fagg
Hon. Editor of MAN

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W. C. & Sons, Ltd.
Stone Age Techniques in Nineteenth-Century India

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Sirs,—I wish to draw the attention of your readers to the following paragraphs from E. H. Man's The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands (London, Royal Anthropological Institute, 1885, p. 160) regarding the technique of chipping and flaking by first heating the stone, for which I find no reference in any of the books dealing with Stone Age techniques; and also to lend support to the find of a beer-or-wine-bottle-glass microlithic core by myself in Western India (Stone Age Industries of the Bombay and Satara Districts, reviewed in MAN, 1960, 135) and document the late continuance (until the nineteenth century on the Andaman Islands) of the Stone Age techniques on the 'areas of isolation' in India:

3. Chips and flakes are never used more than once; in fact, several are generally employed in each operation: those having a sharp blade-like edge are reserved for shaping, while others with a fine point are kept for tattooing or scarring; when done with they are thrown on a refuse heap, or otherwise disposed of, lest injury should befall anyone inadvertently treading on them. Flaking is regarded as one of the duties of women, and is usually performed by them.

4. For making chips two pieces of white quartzite are needed; the stones are not pressed against the thigh, nor are they bound around tightly so as to increase the line of least resistance to the blow of the flaker, but one of the pieces is first heated and afterwards allowed to cool, it is then held firmly and struck at right angles with the other stone; by this means is obtained in few moments a number of fragments suitable for the purposes above mentioned. A certain knack is apparently necessary in order to produce the kind of chips which are at the time required; the smallest flakes are obtained in the same way and never by pressure.

5. Glass chips are generally used by all who are in communication with themselves, in preference to those of flint, as they are sharper and more effective, the method in which they are obtained is the same, the thick lump of glass forming the bottom of beer and wine bottles being selected for the purpose, and never the thinner portions.

This eyewitness evidence of the direct association of the stone tools to a surviving tribe is the best available evidence of a late survival on the mainland of the Late Stone Age techniques. It is also evident, from the description of the material culture by E. H. Man, that the Stone Age hunter-fisher folk economy depended extensively on bone, shell and plant products (especially bamboo), at least in areas climatically similar to India; and that these raw materials were much more important and useful than stone, the remains of which so fortuitously make us believe otherwise.

S. C. MALIK
M. S. University of Baroda
Reader in Anthropology

REVIEWS

GENERAL

The general quality of the journal is well indicated in an article entitled 'Fallacies Inherent in Polymorphism' by the editor, R. Gayre of Gayre. It does not seem too much to expect that the author of a paper with such a title should at least be acquainted with the concepts of modern genetics, but there is no evidence of this. Apparently, even the terminology of the subject is not understood. For instance, it is more than misleading to say 'Polymorphism is due to mutations' when the whole point about polymorphism is that the different forms do not occur merely as a consequence of recurrent mutation. Admittedly in this case the error does not matter very much since, so far as can be judged, the subject of the paper is not essentially concerned with polymorphism at all. The main theme is that there exist a number of completely discrete races of man and that geneticists and anthropologists are incompetent if they happen to see that the pattern of human variation over large geographical areas shows a continuous gradation of change with
polar types connected by populations displaying practically every degree of intermediacy. As far as the scientific issue is concerned, then, Gayre of Gayre is really discussing the nature of human polymorphism, since it is apparent that every population could be polymorphic for every character and yet each population be genetically unique. But he does not appear to know what polymorphism is: defining the term as 'the state of more than one type of any given character in any single race.' Such particular errors as this can easily be pointed out, but to evaluate the general substance of the paper is impossible unless one is trained in the art of criticizing nonsense. Few anthropologists or geneticists can claim this distinction. If it be considered that this judgment is under any circumstances too severe, the reader, it seems to me, is referred to a review by Gayre of Gayre of Th. Dobzhansky's paper in A Century of Darwin. To attempt so to besmirch the great contribution that Dobzhansky has made to anthropology is really unforgivable.

Many of the other contributions to The Mankind Quarterly bear the hallmark of 'Fallacies Inherent in Polymorphism.' C. Gini in a paper entitled 'The Testing of Negro Intelligence' advances the following 'theorem' as though it were some fundamental discovery: 'If in a stable environment, two groups of individuals differentiate themselves by virtue of a character which, at least in part, is hereditary and which, at least in one of the two groups, is subject to natural selection, then the group which, in fact, is the other will in fact rise in part in the environment.' What this presumably means, if it means anything at all, is that there is a necessary relationship between how a difference within a population is determined and how a difference between two populations is determined. This is no theorem; a relationship often exists but, in a character which has any environmental liability, it is certainly not a necessary one, as is clearly indicated by all the experimental evidence. Gini completely ignores this evidence, and instead goes on to conclude, as might have been expected, that racial differences in intelligence must be partly genetic, since the character has been shown in white populations to have a heritable basis. The approach of H. E. Garrett to the same problem is even more naive. His basic argument in a review of 'Klineberg's Chapter on Race and Psychology' seems to be that the difference in the psychology of African Negroes and whites is so great that it cannot possibly be due to environment alone. Yet it is surely obvious to anyone that there can be no a priori limits to the magnitude of an environmental effect. This review is also full of inconsistencies. For example, in considering comparative performance in intelligence tests Garrett criticizes Klineberg for not mentioning that 78 per cent of the Negro children studied with I.Q. greater than 120 reported some white ancestry. Such an error, of course, must be pointed out, but it is evident that Garrett also believes the white ancestry to be responsible for the result and presumably he is therefore of the opinion that hybrids can perform intelligence tests better than at least one of the parental races. Yet he goes on to make the following unqualified statement, 'The weak disease-ridden population of Egypt offers dramatic evidence of the evil effects of a hybridization which has gone on for 5,000 years.' As far as I know there is no evidence that the Egyptian population is more 'disease-ridden' than others in comparable environments, nor incidentally, any that this population has been exceptionally affected by hybridization. If such evidence exists, then surely it should be presented.

Statements like that of Garrett's, which are by no means confined to his particular paper, reveal very clearly the true nature of The Mankind Quarterly. It is impossible to reconcile them with the remarks by R. Ruggles Gates, an Associate Editor, that the journal affords a place in which 'problems of racial origin and racial relationships can be quietly discussed without rancour or bigotry and with the primary aim of elucidating facts.' The primary aim of many of the contributions seems to be to elude the facts. (Perhaps it might be mentioned here that the journal is shabbily produced and there are many typographical errors.)

A large number of the other papers, not surprisingly, are concerned with racial psychology and intelligence, in which, of course, the differences between Negroes and whites figure prominently. Although not all are quite as bad as the ones already referred to, most are trivial and third-rate. None of the authors rigorously and objectively appraises the limitations of the tests he uses—as is so necessary for worthwhile progress in this difficult field—and the few that formulate testable hypotheses appear only to be critical of that evidence which fails to support what they want to demonstrate. The fact that every contribution is concerned with discrediting 'environmentalist' conclusions strongly indicates the editorial policy. What is particularly insidious in a supposedly scientific journal is the use of words with overtones of moral judgment. For instance, in some rank speculation on the effects of geography on behaviour U. R. Ehrenfels in a contribution entitled 'North-South Dichotomy' writes of the 'roughness' of character of cold-climate people and the 'softness' of those who live in warm zones.

It is very probable that inherent differences in mental attributes of different populations, similar to the physical ones, will ultimately be proved to exist. But it is not the province of science to make judgments of moral value. This, however, is being done either explicitly or implicitly in so many of the contributions to The Mankind Quarterly. After reading them one can well understand why professional anthropologists have tended not to undertake studies of race psychology and the effects of miscegenation. How right they are to fear the use to which their findings might be put!

In fairness, it must be mentioned that the journal contains a few papers of value. In particular, a review by Sir Charles Darwin on 'World Population' is an excellent analysis of the factors determining population growth and the consequences of the tremendous increase in numbers which is now occurring. There are also instructive papers by Mohd Naseer Khan and W. S. Cruickshank about the demography of particular areas. R. Ruggles Gates gives interesting, if somewhat cursory, accounts of his various studies on different racial groups and a number of other articles are, at least, without rancour. However, the few worthwhile contributions cannot justify the publication of the rest of the journal and it is earnestly hoped that The Mankind Quarterly will succumb before it can further discredit anthropology and do more damage to mankind.

G. AINSWORTH HARRISON

AFRICA


This excellent production is divided into four sections, dealing with the rock paintings of Mashonaland, the rock art of Matabeleland, the rock paintings of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and a composite contribution on the rock carvings of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Each contributor treats the subject from a different angle, with the result that the three approaches which have been applied to the parietal art of Southern Africa are all represented.

Elizabeth Goodall deals with the paintings of Mashonaland from the romantic viewpoint of an imaginative artist, thus following the pattern established by Frobenius, Breuil and Battis. In his study of the Matabeleland paintings, C. K. Cooke employs the method used by Schofield, Burkitt, Walton, Willcox and Mason of interpreting the scenes wherever possible in the light of known or existing paralles from Bush and Bantu cultures and of linking these interpretations with such archaeological evidence as is available. Dr. Desmond Clark follows the same method but, in view of the schematic character of the rock art of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, he relies more on archaeological evidence in the absence of ethnological parallels.

The romantic approach adopted by Mrs. Goodall in her treatment of the Mashonaland paintings, some of the finest in Southern Africa, detracts considerably from the value of this section. In describing the remarkable painting at Diana's Vow, near Rusape, she says: 'Certainly, this is the memorial to a deadking,' who is painted much larger than all the other figures and above a lively scene which
fills the lower part. Deceased persons are frequently painted in an
attitude similar to that shown. Certain peculiarities are noted; the
figure holds an oval object in the hand; the body is elaborately
wrapped in bandages and ready for burial. An astonishing aspect is
the mask covering the face. The study of masks is an important
ethnographic subject, customs of their usage reach back from the
present day to prehistoric times. The deceased is not absolutely
dead, his spirit can observe and influence the living.

There is no 'certainty' about any single statement in this desc-
cription which completely ignores local ethnological evidence,
particularly that of von Sicard, who has shown that the position
adopted by the large figure in this painting is that still employed by
certain Rhodesian tribes at initiation. The mask is also a feature of
Bantu initiation and so are the body decorations which are here
described as bandages. In Plate LVI the body patterns are represented
as bands, which might well look like bandages, but this is far from
an accurate copy of the painting, in which the bands are clearly
depicted as a series of rows of dots. My own copy of this painting
and my photographs show these bands as dots and so does the copy
published by Frobenius (Kulturgeschichte Afrikas, Plate L, p. 508).

There is a growing body of evidence to indicate that the painting
at Diana's Vow, the earliest polychrome paintings at Ha Rhotso in
Basutoland, and the so-called 'White Lady' painting in the Brand-
berg, South-West Africa, do represent initiation scenes, but this
evidence is completely ignored in Mrs. Goodall's treatment of the
Mashonaland paintings.

It is unfortunate that the rock paintings in Mashonaland, which
are the finest in the area under consideration, were not studied from
the same scientific approach which Cooke and Clark have applied to
the paintings of Matabeleland, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasa-
land. Roger Summers, in his editorial capacity, has attempted the
difficult task of correlating the various viewpoints. He puts forward
the following chronology for the rock art of Central and Southern
Africa:

About 4,000 B.C.: The oldest possible date for any Rhodesian
or Nyasaland rock art; the date is considered far too early for
any existing paintings.

First millennium A.D.: Beginnings of rock art in Southern
Rhodesia.

About 1,000-1,500 A.D.: Matabeleland Style 2 passes south
to South Africa.

Sixteenth century onwards: Most Northern Rhodesian
paintings.

During sixteenth century, and sixteenth to seventeenth
century: Matabeleland Styles 3 and 4; the peak of Matabeleland
painting.

Mid seventeenth century: Rozwi invasions disturb Matab-
abeleland painters, some of whom flee westwards and paint in
Brandberg; classical styles in Mashonaland.

Seventeenth to eighteenth century: Great period of polych-
rome art in Basutoland—Drakensberg area.

Nineteenth Century: 'Dirty White' paintings in Northern
and Southern Rhodesia; geometric engravings in Melsetter?
Decay of rock art throughout Central and Southern Africa
following disturbances due to Zulu aggression (1810-1820).

This is a chronological summary with which I personally largely
gree. I also feel that the late John Schofield would have given it
his support, as no doubt would Wilcox and Mason. But it is not a
chronology which would be universally accepted. In view of this,
one would have expected to find references to the works on which
it is based, many of which are not mentioned anywhere in the book.

JAMES WALTON

(Éditions Érasme), 1959. Pp. 161, 39 text figs., 3 maps,
232 photographs. Price 450 Belgian francs.

The Flemish edition of this book was published in
1946, based on a manuscript which had been completed in 1940.
The French edition of 1959 is an almost exact replica of the original.

Dr. A. Maesen has added a short preface and the translator has
broke up some of the longer paragraphs, but the body of the
text (pp. 9-129) follows the original pagination.

The book is divided into two parts of unequal length and im-
portance. Part I (pp. 21-94) is aptly called 'The morphology of the
work of art.' It is a detailed analysis of 'style' in the strictly realistic
sense in which Frans Ollbrechts understood it. Style to him was
mainly the sum of factors like posture, bodily proportion and anat-
atomical detail in a given figure or set of figures. This method,
which has stood the test of time remarkably well, Ollbrechts' group-
ing and zoning of Congo sculpture is still considered to be
substantially correct, as confirmed by Maesen: 'Malgré le nombre
de documents nouveaux rassemblés depuis vingt ans et les quelques
essais de rectification tentés par lui-même et par certains de ses
élèves, le schéma traced par Ollbrechts n'a pas sensiblement varié
(Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale, 2nd quarter, No. 44, 1959, p. 88).

Part II (pp. 95-129) is called 'The function of the work of art.'
Here the author had to rely on secondhand information for the
three chapters (out of seven) which actually describe some of the
social functions of Congo art. But he was clearly more interested in
iconography. The longest and best chapter is on 'motifs.' This
subject offered plenty of scope for making precise and direct
observations about the imagery on a large number of carvings.
Masks are given very little space in the whole book. This is prob-
ably because they contain fewer figurative details on which to base
a stylistic inventory, since they have no bodies.

The photographic material is plentiful and well indexed. The
drawings by J. van Noten, with their swiftly westernized facial
expressions, would have been better replaced by photographs,
especially since a very large number of wrong reference numbers
relating to these drawings have been carried over from the first
edition, with some new errors added. This is the only criticism of
an otherwise well produced and fluently translated text of an
important standard work.

GUY ATKINS

The Luapula Peoples of Northern Rhodesia. By Ian Cuminum.

Dr. Cuminum worked among the peoples of the
Luapula Valley for some 26 months between 1948 and 1951. He has
already published a monograph and several notable papers on
various aspects of their political life and religious activities and in
this book describes 'those institutions which maintain and overcome
the internal divisions of the society.' Cuminum sees these as 'inter-
mediate' institutions, for they exclude on the one hand the kinship
and the formal all-embracing political organization, and on the
other hand the household and domestic kinship organization. 'This
area of social life is one of the hardest to analyse convincingly, for
it lacks the simple theme of national survival which characterizes
the life of states, at least in their external aspect, and at the same time
does not have the cyclical quality imposed on kinship organization
by the inexorable passage of the generations. It is an area in which
there are seemingly many possible solutions to problems of social
organization, and this lack of determinism comes out clearly in
Cuminum's book. He describes with clarity and in considerable
detail the way in which the population of the Luapula Valley is
divided into tribes, clans, lineages and chieftains, and how members
of these various units are linked both ritually and by relations of
power and authority. But it remains a picture of what is, or some-
times of what was, and never becomes a picture of what must be.
It may well be that in this area of social life there is room for a great
deal of variation that does not greatly affect other aspects of social
structure, but I think that for the Luapula the position would be
 clearer if Cuminum had published more on domestic and economic
life before tackling the subject matter of this book. On the Luapula,
social life at this intermediate level is characterized by what might
be called ritual symbiosis and by an interest in historical narratives
which provide a charter for present group relationships. But these
narratives buttress only one part of contemporary social organiza-


The author has with great courage set herself the herculean task of 'bringing order into the chaos of Egyptian prehistory.' With a dogged perseverance worthy of all praise she has visited every museum in Europe and America which contains such material, and has identified, measured and described each object, and has thus traced to their present location many otherwise lost items of scattered tomb groups. She has visited all the accessible sites in Egypt where predynastic objects have been found. The results of these painstaking preparations are seen in this publication. The objects are classified according to the material—metal, stone, flint, pottery, and so on. Each item is recorded under its appropriate sub-section, with all the information about it that can be obtained, and, where necessary, a discussion as to its probable use. Particularly interesting is the discussion on the so-called 'disc maces.' These have always been a puzzle and it is still uncertain how they were used. The author has however pointed out that they are always partly-coloured, being made of naturally variegated stone or of white stone with markings on black paint. Curiously enough she seems to have misunderstood the use of green eye-paint, which she calls 'a cosmetic.' But it was not used to beautify the wearer, for when mixed with water, or possibly with fat, it is a germicide, a preventative against the eye diseases so common in fly-ridden countries. The author's method of presentation makes for easy reference, and her careful attention to detail gives great value to her work and makes it one which all students of predynastic Egypt must study.

Unfortunately when one turns to her interpretation of the pictorial evidence there is carelessness and what appears to be almost willful ignoring of the evidence. She has not attempted to answer any of the fundamental questions, showing that her work, so different from what she has done on the material remains, is superficial and has little depth. As an example of what can only be regarded as careless copying, she takes the hieroglyphic sign of the rope handle which reads Th for the hand D, a totally different sound. As to fundamental questions, every Egyptologist knows that the maceheads and the two carved slate palettes were found at Hierakopolis, but there is no proof that they were of local manufacture. One must look in vain in the south for any early dynastic relief carving; the earliest, after the slate palettes, is in the north, chiefly at Saqqara, the cemetery of Memphis. No one appears to have enquired why important events should be recorded on giant pear-shaped maceheads. The evidence points to Memphis as focal point for the origin of the early civilization of dynastic Egypt. Mrs. Baumgartel complains of the scantiness of information on the period which she has been studying. But the evidence is there, though it requires long years of study to find it. It must be borne in mind that the study of religion is very different from the study of a material civilization. This is true for both anthropologists and archaeologists. To understand a religion one must realize what the artists and other workers were trying to convey. The study of a religion means research into the soul of a people. It is particularly important to understand what archaeologists should realize that a study of an ancient religion is a search for the truth, not a field for picking up a few isolated facts to bolster up a theory, which appears to be the present method of explaining an ancient religion. Mrs. Baumgartel has shown in her study of the material culture that she has the necessary patience but not the necessary knowledge to produce a book that would be the standard for the early religion of Egypt. Memphis and the Delta offer an untouched field for investigation, but the investigation must be undertaken with an unbiased mind.

J. A. BARNES

ASIA

The Daflas of the Subansiri Region. By Brahmo Kumar Shukla. Shillong (North-East Frontier Agency), 1959. Pp. 139, 8 pls, 1 map, 19 line drawings, 1 map. Price Rs. 4

This slim but well-produced and illustrated monograph on the Daflas of the hill country west of the Subansiri and south of the Kamla River does credit both to the author and to

M. A. MURRAY

those officials of the North-East Frontier Agency who sponsored a continuation of the pre-war policy of encouraging anthropological research and the publication of ethnographical works on the hill tribes of Assam. This policy, most vigorously pursued in the days of Professor J. H. Hutton and the late J. P. Mills, has found a new champion in the person of Dr. Verrier Elwin, who holds the position...
of Adviser for Tribal Affairs, North-East Frontier Agency. His sympathetic attitude to the tribesmen no less than his sense of style and literary form seem to have been imparted to the young Indian research officers whose important task it is to study the populations of areas newly taken under the administrative control of the Government of India. As one who faced a similar task when the systematic exploration of the Subansiri region was inaugurated in 1944 and 1945, I can appreciate the difficulties of Mr. B. K. Shukla's work as much as the great value and opportunity of sustained anthropological research among tribes of such individuality and interest as Dafas and Apa Tanis.

There can be no doubt that, within the limitations of a book directed to the educated layman rather than to the academic anthropologist, Mr. Shukla has made a valuable contribution to ethnographical knowledge. The present monograph, which happily is but a forerunner of a more comprehensive volume on the Dafas already planned by the author, begins with a brief account of the distribution, myths of origin and documentary history of the tribe, which in the area under review has an estimated strength of well over 40,000 souls. This is followed by an informative chapter on material culture and economic activities, including the crafts of pottery, weaving and metallurgy. Though both iron and a soft alloy of silver, copper and tin have to be obtained from the plains of Assam and Tibet, Dafas are experienced in the workings of iron as well as in the casting of ornaments by the cire perdue process. These activities represent almost the only example of occupational specialization, but the social status of the craftsmen does not differ from those of ordinary men engaged in agriculture.

The chapter on social organization confirms my own view that the entire population of the Subansiri region, with the exception of the tribes of Apa Tanis and Sulungs, forms one segmentary endogamous society, whose fundamental unity is rationalized by the fiction of descent from a single ancestor. This society comprises a number of groups speaking different dialects, some of them barely mutually understandable, but a network of marriage relations extends across geographical barriers less than linguistic frontiers. In the section dealing with the social unit represented by a long house, one would have liked some more concrete data on the inter-relations of the members of such a cluster of families. The author states that the families living under one roof are 'not necessarily subject to the head of the house,' and it is indeed a well-known fact that each family has its independent cultivation, grain store and cooking hearth. But in a society where the individual long houses are virtually the only permanent political units, the inhabitants of a settlement co-operating neither in common defence nor in the administration of justice, it is difficult to visualize how such units can retain cohesion if the head of the house exerts no authority. Another point on which further information is required is the position of women. According to the author 'Dafa customary law is silent over the rights of women,' but it is a fact that the ownership of many of the valuable ornaments rests with women, and that most of such ornaments pass from mother to daughter in the form of dowries that remain the property of married women. The author does not mention that unmarried women may own cattle and even slaves, and accumulate stores of grain by engaging in cultivation of their own. This fact, to which I drew attention in my Himalayan Barbarity (p. 180), seems of great significance, and it is to be hoped that in his further study of Dafa society Mr. Shukla will analyse the legal position of women in greater detail.

There is an extremely interesting chapter on warfare, feuds and the settlement of disputes. It is fortunate that these subjects could be studied at a time when conditions before the establishment of government control were fresh in the minds of the tribesmen, and feuding indeed still continues in many parts of the hills. In a society without any established authority capable of imposing sanctions, it is difficult to see how 'customary law' could be enforced, but I agree with the author that the Dafas have certain definite notions about right and wrong, and that the whole system of settling disputes by negotiation is workable only because the negotiating parties argue within the framework of generally accepted ideas of equity. The system has its limitations, however, and there is no real check on the depredations of a war leader supported by powerful kinsmen and followers.

The book concludes with a chapter on religion, and in this too the author shows his skill in distinguishing the basic features from the welter of details. His interpretation of the Dafas' soul concepts differs to some extent from the one which I have advanced in my Frazer lecture (J. R. Anthrop. Inst., Vol. LXXIII, Part 1, 1953, p. 43), and the difference revolves round the question whether the Dafas think of two distinct soul elements surviving after death, as I had suggested, or whether orum, translated by the author simply as 'soul,' stands for the personality of the deceased that enters the land of the dead, as well as for that aspect of the departed which remains in touch with the living and can affect their welfare. Further research is required to solve this problem, and Mr. Shukla's continued presence in the North-Eastern Frontier Agency permits the hope that he will himself provide us with an even fuller analysis of Dafa eschatological beliefs. Meanwhile his monograph will serve as a readable and competent account of a tribe so far virtually unrepresented in the ethnographical literature.

C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

Archeological Finds on Lamma Island near Hong Kong.

By Daniel J. Finn, S.J. Hong Kong (Ricci Hall, University of Hong Kong), 1938. Pp. 278, plates, text figs. Price $1.50.

Between 1933 and 1936 there appeared a series of articles (the last one posthumously) by Father Finn in The Hong Kong Naturalist. These articles, of fundamental importance for the early history of some sites, are always difficult to find, have now been reprinted through the care of Father Ryan on the urging of Finn's friends, especially John Galvin whose association with him in his research was of long standing. Although, as Father Ryan notes, much further work has been done on the problems with which Finn was concerned, these studies remain essential for the understanding of the development of historical cultures in the region of Hong Kong and its hinterland. Indeed, they concern more than this, for by its position, the area of the Canton delta contributes to our knowledge of the complex interrelations between regions as far apart as Japan, Manchuria, Yunnan and Indonesia. The careful observations and the amply documented comparative studies which Father Finn made cover a period of crucial importance for the history of the Far East. The Chinese expansion southwards was bringing them into contact and conflict with the Nan Yuch. The bronze cultures of Yunnan and Tonkin were developing, perhaps under the influence of the South China bronze industry of which we still know little. A new wave of cultural influence was reaching the Philippines, to move out into the Pacific. The Yueh culture (in Eberhard's sense) stretched from Japan to Indo-China. And all these events, and others too, are reflected in the archaeological record of Hong Kong to which Father Finn dedicated so much time and learning, in the company of his friends, Heaney, Herklotz, Schofield and Shelshear. One does not have to subscribe to all their conclusions in order to recognize the importance of the work which they achieved and to be grateful for the act of piety which has led to the republication of these papers. The Society of Jesus has a long and honourable history of Chinese scholarship: Father Finn's work is worthy of the Hall which bears the name of his great predecessor.

ANTHONY CHRISTIE

The Cult of the Dead among the Natives of the Amur Basin.


The name of this book is a little misleading. There is no prominent cult of the dead among the Amur tribes—Buryat, Tungus (Evenki), Manchu, Goldi, Olichi, Gilyak and others. The author dedicates ten pages to the 'deification of the dead,' and that seems to exhaust the subject. It is obvious that by 'cult' he understands all the ideas, customs and rites that are associated with the dead body. This is an unfortunate terminology which ought to be abandoned.

Nevertheless, the author, well known for his earlier research in
the Amur Basin and in Western North America as well (the Kitimat or Haisla), has here collected a good deal of valuable information on the Amur tribes, particularly the Goldi whom he obviously knows best. We are introduced to the ideas prevalent amongst these tribes about soul, death and afterlife, and we are furnished with detailed descriptions of burial customs and funeral rites. All this adds to our sketchy knowledge of these peoples. It is, furthermore, a contribution to that branch of social anthropology which for such a long time has been neglected in so many places, comparative religion.

It is to be regretted, however, that the comparisons made are loose and rather meaningless. The author has recourse to the old scrap-book method so severely criticized decades ago, and superficial similarities in different places in America and Asial are used as tools to build up rather bold theories of the structure and evolution of ideas and customs. Thus we are told that the natives of the Amur Basin have a doctrine of three souls in man, and that this concept developed in the Near East and from there spread to China, the Amur Basin and North America (pp. 42f). The whole argumentation is startling; problems to which students recently have dedicated years of research are here easily `solved' in a few lines. Lopatin is happily unaware of Paulson's thorough studies of North Eurasian soul conceptions and of my analyses of the soul ideas of the North American Indians. The same unscientific ignorance with relevant scientific discussion is apparent when he deals with American Indian myths of the origin of death without even quoting Boas. More examples could easily be added.

If the author's data on the Amur death rites, in themselves a valuable contribution, had been investigated in comparison with the corresponding rites in adjoining areas, the results of this study would have been more satisfactory than is now the case.

AKE HULTKRANTZ


This is the fifth in the highly useful series of translations of Dutch studies on Indonesia published by the Royal Tropical Institute of Amsterdam. It comprises a 73-page general introduction to Balinese culture especially written for this volume by Dr. J. L. Swellengrebel, author of the well-known Kerk en Tempel op Bali (1948), and translations of ten famous articles and monographs by Goris, Korn, Grader and Franken, viz. 'The religious character of the village community,' 'The temple system,' 'Holidays and holy days,' 'The consecration of a priest,' 'The state temples of Mengwi,' 'Pemayun temple of the Banjar of Tegal,' 'The festival of Jayaprana at Kaliangkèt,' 'The irrigation system in the region of Jembrana,' 'The position of the blacksmiths,' and 'The village republic of Tenganan Pègèringgan.' The texts are integral translations except in the cases of Grader's essay on the Pemayun temple, in which slight omissions and summarizations have been inevitable, and Korn's study of Tenganan Pègèringgan, which is considerably abridged. The collection has been thoroughly supplemented by biographical notes on the authors, bibliography, glossary and a good index.

It would be impertinent to review these classical studies by such renowned authorities, and one can only applaud their re-publication in a language more widely known than Dutch. Certain small matters, however, call for some comment. It is always inconvenient to have footnotes relegated to a separate section at the back, and in this case there is even much in them which a reader exasperated by flicking pages back and forth may well miss. Individuals of the scholarly tastes catered for here, and especially librarians specializing in Indonesia, would probably be grateful to pay the higher price entailed by printing footnotes on the pages to which they relate. The second matter concerns orthography. On the whole, a sensible and generally acceptable form has been adopted, but w for u, though exact in a Dutch transcription, is less so in an English. 'Wisnu,' for instance, occasions a slight hesitation in the mind of the English reader accustomed to the usual 'Vishnu.' A less disputable point concerns the spelling of the plural in Indonesian languages. The ethnographical convention is not to use anglicized plurals and the use here of such forms as pandès wést ("blacksmiths") is thoroughly retrograde.

The translations themselves, though occasionally failing in small points of English idiom, are very competently done. The collection forms a uniquely valuable handbook to some of the most important aspects of Balinese culture, and is an essential acquisition for anyone at all concerned with this stupendous and captivating civilization.

RODNEY NEEDHAM


This is a heavy book in every sense. It is uncomfortable in the hand and the contents are lengthy and ponderous, four enormous chapters making up the bulk of the work. These deal successively with the early history of the Muses, the Sirens, the beginnings of the hexameter and the transition from magical formula to epic verse which the author supposes to have taken place, on evidence which seems to me too scanty to prove anything. The connection of the first two chapters with the pro- fessed subject of the book, or indeed with Greek literature at any stage, is not easily seen. The hexameter of course is, as Maróti rightly sees, considerably older in its origins than Homer. As to the alleged magical formulae, they consist largely of some lines which rhyme their middle and ends and regularly introduce an enumeration of some sort, notably Hliad, II, 484, which leads up to the famous Catalogue of the Ships. That this ever had anything to do with magic, or that a rhyme, notoriously an ornament of elaborate Greek prose and not normally of verse, had similar uses is positions both unproved and unproveable. All this is not to say that the book is without value, especially as it contains, in a better-known language than Hungarian, a great deal of interesting fact and theory. It is heavy, but valuable reading.

H. J. ROSE
DR. MARIAN W. SMITH: 1907–1961
HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, 1956–1961

With Articles 202–204. Photograph taken in Seattle in 1951
(a) Coastal marae with dressed stone in ahu and platform wall: Site ScMO-129

(b) Enclosing wall of marae with 'flat facing' and capped by selected slabs: Site ScMO-124/5

'MARAE' IN THE OPUNOHU VALLEY, MOOREA
MOOREAN ARCHAEOLOGY: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

by

ROGER C. GREEN, B.A., B.Sc.
American Museum of Natural History, New York

Programme

200 The prehistory of the Society Islands, once a subject for speculation among ethnologists and archaeologists, is now under investigation. The results from one of the first among these investigations, a survey and excavation of prehistoric sites on the island of Moorea, are the subject of this preliminary report.

In the Society Islands an earlier study of the stone remains by Emory furnishes the present-day archaeologist with an invaluable point of departure. However, what is customarily a second point of departure, a balanced treatment of material culture based on field work and museum collections, is lacking. In addition no modern stratigraphic excavations had ever been undertaken. The archaeological programme on the island of Moorea from March to September of 1960 was conducted with these factors in mind.

The programme began with a survey of all stone remains within the Opunohu valley. Its aim was the development of a concise picture of settlement inland. This type of survey for a single valley, would serve, it was felt, in a complimentary and corrective capacity to the broader but less intensive study by Emory. Whereas his primary emphasis lay on the group-wide distribution of the more prominent religious structures or marae, the emphasis here was on recording all types of remains and, what is more important, studying the relationship between agricultural areas, household dwellings, and various religious constructions. From study of this data it is hoped that some estimation of land use, distribution of settlements, social organization, and population inland will emerge. At present additional excavations to provide a sounder chronological framework for the various structural types and studies of comparable situations inland in Tahiti are necessary to assess what are suggestive results from the Opunohu valley of Moorea.

Not only is a comprehensive study of the material culture unavailable, but many museum specimens from the Society Islands lack adequate documentation, so that there is a pressing need for published descriptions of collections where the locality of each specimen is known and the association with any prehistoric remains noted. Success in this direction was obtained by recording specimens in private collections whose exact location within the Papeto’ai district could be given. Their number was more than doubled by surface collecting both in the Opunohu valley and along the coast. In all 196 artifacts distributed among 22 descriptive types were recorded.

The second important phase of the programme was a series of controlled excavations. In April operations were begun at one of the better house sites in the Opunohu valley. The site consisted of a large round-ended dwelling with a well preserved pavement in front, and a smaller rectangular building on the east side. The excavations revealed the post holes, breadfruit pits, and ovens associated with these dwellings. They also provided evidence of a house with similar features associated with an earlier period of occupation.

In July and August six weeks were spent in investigations at six points in the extensive but thin coastal midden which runs along both sides of Opunohu Bay and extends around the point into an even more extensive midden which underlies the present-day village of Papeto’ai. Each site produced a quantity of faunal material, especially shell, associated with artifacts ranging in time from the thirteenth century A.D. into the era of early European contact. Outstanding in the collection are finished portions of one-piece and bonito-lure fishhooks, and incomplete examples showing the various stages of manufacture. Less numerous but present were stone adzes, shell chisels, pounders, pearlshell coconut-graters and files. Accompanying this material was sufficient charcoal to collect 95 carbon samples, two of which were submitted for radio-active analysis and date. These samples from the base of cultural deposits in two sites located within Papeto’ai village yielded ages of 790 ± 80 and 540 ± 75 years ago (A.D. 1200 ± 80 and 1420 ± 75).

Preliminary Results of Opunohu Survey

Because the various ruins, excavations and collections will be the subject of subsequent articles, in the remaining space I should like to summarize briefly the types of structures found in the survey and indicate something of their nature and significance.

The Opunohu valley is roughly coincident with the crater portion of the volcano that formed the island (map, fig. 1). A central ridge descends into the valley from Mau’aroa dividing the upper portion of the valley into two unequal sections. The larger eastern side the natives call Vaipohe, the smaller western side Amehi. Each side is well watered and drained by a main stream that branches into innumerable dendritic tributaries at its upper end. At the lower end where the two streams join, the valley floor is low, broad, nearly flat and filled with a rich alluvium. While this condition continues up both the main valleys, farther inland the ground rises gently and then breaks into a series of fern-and-tree-covered ridges separated by narrower tree-choked valleys with small running streams.

In the broad flat at the end of the bay one finds only a few poorly preserved evidences of occupation and no religious structures. Presumably the less imposing household dwellings, agricultural areas and smaller religious shrines could all have been destroyed by European cultivation and building projects, floods, and burial by alluvium.
I find it hard to believe, however, that all traces of the more imposing marae could have similarly disappeared without notice. Along the coast, even where sites are almost totally destroyed, local knowledge of them persists. However, natives know of no former marae in this locality and early visitors like Tyerman and Bennet, who describe their journey down the bay and up the main stream, make no mention of any marae. At present there is no indication of extensive settlement immediately inland from the end of the bay.

In the western portion of the valley, the first cluster of ruins starts about one and a half kilometres inland where the floor begins to rise gently and the main stream branches for the first time. Above this central area are other smaller and less extensively inhabited clusters, each occupying one of the larger and less steeply sided valleys and separated one from the other by open fern-and-brush-covered ridges. More scattered ruins prevail along smaller adjoining valleys, while those valleys deep within the interior with steep slopes and room for little more than the stream in the valley floor are not settled at all. In general, moderately sloping incipient valleys, where the chances were greater of controlling the run-off and preserving structures from destruction by periodic flash floods which are frequent in the larger valleys, seem to have been favoured locations.

The western side of the eastern portion of the valley yielded surprisingly little evidence of settlement. In contrast, one locality of roughly oval shape, a kilometre and a half in diameter, and covered for the most part by a rather dense grove of Tahitian chestnut, contains more than 90 per cent. of the structures recorded. The first ruins begin three kilometres inland at an altitude of almost 100 metres.

A sizeable portion of this locality is bounded by a wall between two and four feet in height and two to three feet in thickness. If viewed from its geographical context, the locality appears as a confined area within a much larger valley containing other equally promising areas for settlement. When the content and function of the structures within the locality are considered, the conclusion seems almost inescapable that it represents an important inland centre.

An idea of the remarkable nature of this centre can be gained from the following description. Emory reports approximately 100 marae of all types from Tahiti, about 20 from Moorea exclusive of Opunohu, and 114 from the Leeward Islands. In this group an additional 89 marae from a single valley bulks very large. Of these, 69 lie within a locality of less than two square kilometres, giving some idea of the concentration involved. Add to them 34 shrines other than those attached to marae, 16 round-ended houses, 28 rectangular houses, five raised and elongated platforms, three smaller raised platforms, three archery platforms and scatter them as yet uncounted agricultural terraces, numerous living terraces and pavements and you have a fair picture of the situation within this centre.

The structures indicate a fair amount of sociological complexity. Among the marae are two with worked stone facings in the walls and ahu, one of which is clearly of the 'coastal' type. Emory correlates them directly with the higher status groups of ari'i and ra'atira. It constitutes the first recorded instance of such marae occurring so far inland. Other marae have cut coral blocks as facing for the ahu and fall within Emory's intermediate class, but the large majority fall into his inland class. Some of the less complex among these are clearly family marae. Like the 'coastal' marae, the assembly platforms, large round-ended house, archery platforms and boundary walls indicate an area with substantial settlement of members from the higher-ranking status positions. Even the place names like Titiroa and Apareaitu suggest association with those who were captives and warriors.

There are no villages, but on every knoll and ridge flat, and in the base of every incipient valley there are one or more ruins in endless succession. One early observer who recognized their significance was Baessler. Trips into the interior of Moorea led him to comment that formerly the interior of the island was the most important area of habitation, but now the villages exist only on the coast. More recently Handy, in order to substantiate his theory that 'a considerable portion of the earlier stratum of the native population had taken refuge in the hinterland of Moorea,' spent time in exploring the interior of the Opunohu and Papeto'ai valleys. The evidence, however,
does not support his contention that the *ariʻi* as conquerors drove earlier inhabitants into the interior; rather, on his own criteria, it would appear that people of this rank lived there. On the evidence of every type and variety of *marae*, it would further appear that it had been an important centre from a very early period and continued in this role to the point of European contact. In this case at least, the theory that the *manahune*, or those from the lower status positions, occupied the interior, while the *raʻaita* and *ariʻi* holding higher status positions resided on the points and coast does not stand up against the archaeological evidence.

**Classification of Stone Remains**

At present no exhaustive classification of ruin types has been attempted. This aspect of the data will have to await completion of the analysis, and the additional information from further excavations. However, it has become obvious from the variation and distribution encountered in *marae* that Emory’s types of ‘coastal,’ ‘intermediate’ and ‘inland’ as divisions of a continuous series may in name prove misleading and as divisions may better be seen as broad classes under each of which there are a number of types and varieties.

An idea of the range of ruins in the Opunohu valley may be gathered from Table I and the brief descriptive notes that follow.

Group I, *agricultural terraces*: Terracing, which form its location, extent, and association with other structures, seems to have been primarily for agriculture, is present throughout the valley. The wet terrace designed to hold run-off in an incipient valley is probably the most common type usually involving from three to six terrace walls. More extensive systems, located on gently sloping land and associated with a running stream nearby from which the water could be diverted into the system, are represented by three excellent and other more questionable examples. In contrast to these are a number of dry terraces which receive only the moisture that falls on them, but do not appear to have been constructed as living sites. In general they cover a much smaller area than the wet-terrace system. The larger number of agricultural areas indicated for the western side is more representative of their proportion among the total number of structures, because, in the time available, I found it impossible to record all the terraces on the eastern side. It would not be unrealistic to double the number of wet terraces on that side.

Group II, **residence areas**: A second group includes all those constructions that define areas for shelter and daily life. They range from simple household dwellings to elaborate buildings associated with community activities. As noted above, no attempt is made here to classify them on this basis.

Sites with house walls outlined completely or in part by undressed but selected stone curbs are common. They are usually associated with small pavements. On sloping land, one or more terrace walls serve to retain the dirt fill and form a level area, although neither pavements nor terrace walls are invariably accompanied by footings. The remains have been distributed among areas in which either rectangular or round-ended houses are clearly defined, and those in which a terrace with a portion of pavement or an incomplete wall defining (or both) indicates a former dwelling.

In all cases the dwellings are built directly on the ground or level earth fill of the terrace, supporting the statement of most early observers that the floors were of earth covered with grass and mats. There is no evidence that the few examples of either large or small raised and paved stone platforms were ever intended as the base for a dwelling.

Beside construction clearly recognizable as residence areas, there are a number of what I have termed living flats. Their location and manner of construction, either as a slightly raised area in a flat outlined on one or more sides by stone, or as a large broad dry terrace unsuited to agriculture, place them in this group. If these and many of the isolated pavements, some of which definitely indicate former dwellings, are added to what is already a respectable number of residence areas, they become the most commonly encountered group of remains.

**Table I. Summary of Stone Remains in the Opunohu Valley, Moorea**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Descriptive Type</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Agricultural Terraces</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Wet or run-off</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Dry</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Residence Areas</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Rectangular house remains</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Round-ended house remains</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>House terraces</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Living flats</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Religious Structures</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Detached shrines</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>'Coastal' marae with:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Worked stone in stepped <em>ahu</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>'Intermediate' marae with:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Attached and stepped <em>ahu</em> with coral block facing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Attached <em>ahu</em> with coral block facing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Attached <em>ahu</em> with banded facing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Attached <em>ahu</em> with coral veneer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Detached <em>ahu</em> with coral veneer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Paved platform with <em>ahu</em>, no enclosing wall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Primary up rights on pavement, no enclosing wall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Unclassified marae</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Specialized Structures</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Archery platforms</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Elongated, raised, paved platform</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Small, rectangular, raised and paved platforms</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Boundary walls</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Functionally Unassigned</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Isolated pavements</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Enclosures lacking definitive features</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Disturbed sites</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>194</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group III, **religious structures**: In this group a distinction is made between a shrine and a *marae*. A shrine in this definition is a rectangular and uncrowned pavement whose longest dimension is in general less than 20 feet, the average size of the pavement being about 10 by 15 feet. If intact, a shrine exhibits one or more rows of three uprights at one end of the pavement and a backrest at the other.

In the Opunohu slightly more than half of the 108 structures occur as separate structures from the *marae*; the remainder are attached to the longer sides of almost half the larger *marae*. Thus while an attached shrine is characteristic of certain *marae* in Moorea at present, it is known for only a few published examples from Tahiti.
The following are the main features of each form of *marae*:

I. a rectangular raised pavement with wall facing of dressed curbs and round-ended stones. At one end of the pavement an *ahu* with a similar facing rises in two steps (Plate Qa and fig. 2).

IIc: other *marae* in which dressed stones and curbs appear as facing in the *ahu* or enclosing wall, but the *ahu* lacks steps.

IIIa: a rectangular enclosing wall usually with 'flat facing' and capped by selected stone slabs (Plate Qb); a stepped *ahu* with coral blocks as facing is attached to the enclosing wall and extends completely across one of the shorter sides.

IIIb: a large rectangular enclosing wall usually with 'flat facing' and capped by selected slabs; the *ahu* with a facing of coral blocks stands as high as or higher than the enclosing wall to which it is attached.

IIIc: a large rectangular enclosing wall usually with 'flat facing' and capped by selected slabs; the *ahu* which is separated from and slightly lower than the enclosing wall is faced with bands of dyke stone laid sideways alternating with coral blocks; a cist or vault lies within the long wall at the opposite end from the *ahu*.

IIId: a carefully laid rectangular enclosing wall to which a stone *ahu* lower than the wall is attached, usually in one corner, the front wall of the *ahu* is commonly decorated with a thin layer of coral veneer.

IIIe: a carefully laid rectangular enclosing wall with a low and detached stone *ahu*, generally with a thin layer of coral veneer across the front of the *ahu*; in a few cases a cist exists in one of the longer walls.

IIIb: an enclosing wall around a pavement without *ahu*; only uprights and backrests lie within the court.

IIIc: a rectangular paved platform or terrace platform on one end of which is a low *ahu*; in front of the pavement are uprights and backrests.

IIIc: a rectangular pavement or terrace platform without *ahu*; only major and subsidiary sets of uprights and backrests occupy the pavement.

I: *marae* which for a variety of reasons are unclassified.

Group IV, specialized structures: A number of structures are identifiable on their restricted occurrence and form as playing special roles. The three archery platforms, the first to be recorded outside the Papeno'o valley, are in general of the same form as those from that valley.

The elongated, raised and paved platforms which do not lie far from one of the more complex *marae* are, I believe, the *tahu* or chief's platform. The function of the small raised and paved platforms is more difficult to determine. Two of them had larger than usual backrests along one side.

The question of boundary walls, especially around the village of Papeto'ai, has long been ascribed to those of chiefly status, but it was difficult to assess its antiquity. The occurrence in this valley of similar walls, which from their position are almost certainly of the pre-contact era, lends belief to the former existence elsewhere of walls bounding important centres of the *ari'i* just as they did the area of the *marae*.

Group V, functionally unassigned structures: In the present list certain ruins were not capable of more functional descriptive classification. The majority are isolated pavements which are either destroyed shrines or paved areas in front of former dwellings. Most of the enclosures are destroyed *marae*, although others may be pig pens as our workmen jokingly maintained. The disturbed sites are either formless areas of scattered stone or partially buried structures that require excavation.

Summary

Results of an intensive survey and selected excavations of sites in the Opunohu valley of Moorea and along the coast bordering on the Opunohu bay mark the first step in recovering the prehistory of that island. They are sufficient...
to show that a great deal of valuable data is available for both inland and coastal settlement.

The first dates from the coast of this island, while indicating a respectable antiquity for the settlement along the coast, will not satisfy those who on theoretical grounds predict a much longer period of settlement in the group. While dates from the interior are at present unavailable, an equally long or longer record may be expected. Nevertheless, knowledge of the last 800 years will aid considerably in sorting out a vast bulk of material.

The problem brought out most strikingly by these preliminary results is the totally unexpected diversity and concentration of settlement in the interior of the island, a subject on which there are at present few comparative data. An investigation of the contrast between this settlement and that on the coast is absolutely vital to our understanding of Tahitian society; it will only come from intensive investigations in both areas. Finally, in the not too distant future, those who without benefit of archaeology have written of the prehistory of these islands may find themselves forced to consider new theories based on more substantial evidence than was formerly available.

Notes


One programme under the direction of Dr. D. L. Oliver and students from Harvard University is covering the modern ethnology, ethno-history, and archaeology of the group. A second programme under the direction of Dr. K. P. Emory of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum is concerned primarily with archaeology.

I wish to express my thanks to Dr. D. L. Oliver and Dr. H. L. Shapiro for their stimulus and support throughout this work. A grant from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences made possible the survey. The excavations were undertaken for the American Museum of Natural History who underwrote the expense of the carbon dates. Permission to carry out the work was given by the Governor of French Polynesia and the property owner, Mr. Medford R. Kellum Jr. To the Kellums, Mr. and Mrs. Roy Rappaport, three Tahitians (Nai, Hu'a, Tapia) and especially my wife I owe a real debt of gratitude for invaluable assistance.


Dates determined by Isotopes, Inc., from samples I(AMNH)-188 and I(AMNH)-189 respectively.

James Montgomery, editor, Journal of Voyages and Travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyrerman and George Bennett, Esq., deputed from the London Missionary Society to visit their various stations in the South Sea Islands, China, India, etc., between the years 1821 and 1829, Boston, 1832, Vol. I, pp. 796.

Emory, op. cit., 1933, p. 28.

Arthur Baessler, Neue Südsee-Bilder, Berlin, 1900, p. 94.

Handy, op. cit., 1930, pp. 82ff.


Emory, op. cit., 1933, pp. 89, 95.

Baessler, op. cit., 1900, p. 119.

VETERANS AND FACTIONS IN PUEBLO SOCIETY

by

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One of the most important questions for the student of Pueblo society is that of survival—not only the survival of the Pueblos in the face of the direct impact of outside interference, but their survival despite internal disension (though no doubt the latter has been largely a result of the former). It is interesting that many of the Pueblos have not presented a united front to the 'outside.' ‘Progressive’ factions have been only too willing to accept the ways of the various conquerors, and even in those villages which have consciously tried to keep their culture intact, pervasive factional disputes have threatened the social fabric (Eggan, 1950; Siegel and Beals, 1960; Fenton, 1957; French, 1948). The factions are usually labelled 'progressive' and 'conservative' or something such, and are characterized on the one hand as being those who are willing to accept 'Anglo' ways, reject the authority of the traditional leaders, and generally concur with the breaking-up of some of the traditional Pueblo way of life: and on the other hand as being the supporters of the old ways and the old leaders. Each Pueblo adds its own flavour to this basic recipe—Protestantism versus Catholicism and democracy versus theocratic authoritarianism being some of the issues.

A further factor which, it would seem, threatens the integrity of Pueblo culture is the influence of returned veterans with their taste of wider experience and their broader knowledge. Siegel and Beals point out that these veterans have been 'oriented to more reference points more intensively than have the prevailing theocrats.' In Taos Pueblo they represent one of the major sources of factionalism because they have been 'at a disadvantage in gaining experience requisite for traditional power positions.' What is more, Eggan maintains that 'None of the Pueblos is organized to cope with factional disputes in any constructive way.' I want here to examine the impact of veterans on the Pueblo of Cochiti and its consequences for the factional situation there.

Lange (1959) summarizes the main features of Cochiti factionalism. At about the turn of the century several Indians who had been educated in schools away from the Pueblo returned with adopted 'Anglo' names and proposed several changes in Pueblo life. These were: refusal to accept
the authority of the traditional officers of the Pueblo (cacique, war captains, medicine-society heads and their nominees the civil officers); repudiation of all aspects of the native religion, in particular the Katsinas, masked dancers representing the tribal deities, and the supernatural powers of the medicine-society heads; strict adherence to the doctrines of the Catholic Church. They found a number of supporters, largely from one moiety (usually referred to as a 'Kiva' after the semi-underground chamber which the moiety uses for ceremonies, etc.), the Pumpkin Kiva. Many Pumpkin members and most of the members of the other Kiva, Turquoise, remained 'Conservative' and opposed the stand of the self-styled 'Progressives.' The Church and Indian Service backed the Progressives, but the latter seemed to get the worst of the battle as the Pueblo officers still had some sanctions at their disposal to bring the offenders into line — largely the confiscation of land. As the original leaders of the progressive movement died the faction lost its drive and members gradually slipped back to the old ways. At the same time the medicine-society heads and older conservatives have died and a more moderate state of affairs prevails. Progressives now help to manage ceremonies even if they do not actually take part, and on second thinking, as old age overtakes them, some have even returned to the religious practices of their youth. There still remain, however, the two poles of opinion, and occasionally bitter disputes bring out latent resentments and align families against each other. That great levener of disputes — intermarriage — has succeeded in bringing together several families otherwise opposed and has softened the disputes in some directions. Most of these marriages are, however, contracted by veterans, which brings us to the place of ex-servicemen in the system.

Just before the Second World War the situation in the Pueblo was pretty much as described above. The war caused considerable disruption of Pueblo life. Many adult males were taken from the village and some never returned. The following table gives the figures for the two campaigns, 1940-45, and 1951-53 (Korea).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>In service</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Retired</th>
<th>Returned to Pueblo</th>
<th>Returned to near Pueblo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940-45</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-53</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1938-39 there were still some 20 veterans living in Cochiti out of an adult male population of approximately 107. Few had returned to their previous farming occupations and most were either working for wages outside the Pueblo or doing paid work of some kind in and around it. Some were in fact farmers, but others were silversmiths, timber workers (at a nearby sawmill), draughtsmen, janitors, school bus drivers, workers on 'Anglo' farms, etc. Thus to add to their experience in the forces they had permanent contact with the outside world in large measure. This hindered their participation in Pueblo affairs, owing to the rule that officials must reside in the Pueblo and have no work outside it.

What has happened to the veterans in the Pueblo is interesting in terms of the factional situation. Many were the sons of conservatives and their earlier teaching does not seem to have left them. Of the veterans of 1940-45, most have returned to participate in a large part of the ceremonial life, dancing Katsina and becoming members of the Kiva drum cults and 'managing societies. At the same time they have tried to introduce many innovations into the Pueblo, often in the face of opposition from their older conservative relations. But the fact that they are themselves the sons of conservatives has helped to lessen the old people's opposition. In a sense they are a disappointment to extremists in both factions. They are avowedly nativistic but also demand material improvement and changes in organization which are at variance with the ideas of the older, more conservative men. Their nativism antagonizes the hard-boiled Progressives who would like to see them go the whole hog with their 'Anglo-cization' of the Pueblo. It is fascinating to see how some veterans treat the progressive attitude as 'old-fashioned.' Their effect has been to produce a 'third force' in Pueblo life, a nativistic but progressive force which seems to be providing a vigorous alternative to the other two spent factions and to the moderates who either sat on the fence or took a 'plague on both your houses' view. What is more they have provided a reference group for younger people who, by taking their stand, have avoided being torn between the more extreme demands of the factions. The prestige of veterans as returned warriors is high and they are listened to with respect.

What all this suggests is that a unidimensional view of factionalism in Cochiti is no longer valid. The two factors of nativism and progressivism have to be separated out in order to explain all the positions taken. This is illustrated in the following diagram:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conservatives</th>
<th>Veterans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nativism</td>
<td>Moderates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absentees (voluntary)</td>
<td>Progressives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By nativism here is meant the acceptance of the positive value of the native religion and ceremonialism, a pride in Indianness, and a desire to preserve 'the old ways' as much as possible. Progressivism means the acceptance of changes made necessary by the assimilation of all the material benefits of 'Anglo' culture, including electricity, water, sanitation, hospitals and doctors, motor transport, etc. Progressives and moderates tend to be more tolerant of anthropologists and to have a more positive attitude to many aspects of 'Anglo' life. Now the veterans have managed to combine both these stands and therein lies their strength. But the question of why they were able to do this in Cochiti and not elsewhere still remains.

The clue to this lies in the previously mentioned decline
of the medicine societies. No veterans to my knowledge have joined any of the medicine societies. These are the most conservative of the religious and political institutions in the Pueblo. They have failed to recruit new members, however, and it is contrary to Pueblo ethics to force membership. Had they still been flourishing, then the veterans might well have had a lot more trouble settling in after their return. The medicine societies, unlike the Katsina cult, were also political organs, nominating the secular officers of the Pueblo. Their ritual functions were concerned largely with healing and hence came into specific conflict with the Indian service medical programme and also helped to keep alive belief in witches as sources of illness. In their political role they conflicted with the Indian Service Administration and with 'outside' influence generally. To accept, for example, hospitals and health services and Indian Service Administration aid wholeheartedly, would, if the medicine societies had flourished, have made it impossible to be fully nativistic in my sense. The Katsina and Kiva dance rituals on the other hand are less specifically in conflict with any 'Anglo' institutions. Their conflict is with the Catholic Church. This conflict has been resolved on the one hand by keeping the Katsina dances secret and apart from the church; and on the other by incorporating the animal and rain dances into the calendar of the church. Thus the returning veterans could fit into the nativistic side of Cochiti life without too much conflict, in the absence of pressure from the once all-powerful medicine societies. At Rio Grande Pueblos where these are still powerful and yet have failed to gain veteran support there is a great deal of conflict; e.g. at Santo Domingo, where the veterans have been forced into the ultra-progressive camp and have formed a branch of the American Legion. There is no American Legion branch at Cochiti.

The decline of the clan system and of agriculture also played their parts in rendering veteran participation easy. The tendency towards nuclear households and a more thoroughly bilateral kinship system, and the lack of extensive agricultural activity, have meant that traditional demands and sanctions have lost their force. This gives the veteran more freedom of action and hence lessens resentments which he might otherwise have against the 'old ways.' It is important to note that the changes that we cite here took place before the war and are not a consequence of veteran activity. Had agriculture and the clan system still been effective social forces when the veterans returned, the rule that Pueblo officials have to live and work in the Pueblo would have been irksome to them. Most of them want to earn more than would be possible under a system of subsistence agriculture and co-operative farming, with obligations to clan and other relatives, and to the community with respect to irrigation works. The absence of these pressures has enabled veterans to take up money-earning occupations within the Pueblo and so qualify for official posts there. The place of the Catholic Church in this set-up is important. In fact Catholicism should be a third dimension along with nativism and progressivism. Becoming less nativistic does not necessarily mean becoming more Catholic. However, the older factional dispute led to a cleavage between the progressive supporters of Catholicism and the conservative supporters of the native religion. When the struggle was at its height there was almost a complete split, the conservatives, if pushed, being ready to leave the church. But in a curious sense the church has been a focal point of unity rather than dissenion. As long as the Franciscan fathers kept within what the majority of Cochiti thought were their proper bounds (serving mass and performing the other church rituals and 'leaving us to run our own lives') then the Indians were ready to pronounce themselves devout Catholics and support the church. Thus for most of the time there was a common meeting place and a common ritual for all sections of the village. The veterans too are devout Catholics (with some exceptions) but their wider experience has in many ways helped them to be more vigorous and positive towards the church than the non-veteran villagers have ever been able to manage. They feel less intimidated and over-awed than the non-travelled natives, and in many cases their experience is wider and more impressive than that of the priests. They are able to take the church in their stride and it looks less important to them than to the others.

Thus it is that the experience gained by the veterans, far from disrupting them and hence the Pueblo at large, has given them the knowledge, ability and confidence to make the best of several worlds, or rather to make a new world out of the remnants of the old ones. One put it to me, 'I'm a good Catholic and a good Indian, and I'm going to be both.' In one or two interesting cases, however, there has been an even more extreme reaction against the church than even the most ultra-conservative would have contemplated. The attitude of one young ex-navy veteran has shocked the most nativistic in its extremism. This young man, the son of a much respected moderate who swung between the two factional extremes, had had some education at college level on the G.I. Bill. He had studied philosophy and the history of New Mexico and the combination of these had turned him against the church, but in keeping with what seems to be peculiar in veteran experience, also against those conservatives who desired no changes at all. He has considered the relative merits of Catholic and Indian philosophy and considers the former deficient. He has worked out a theology of nativism which, despite its anti-Catholic flavour, includes God as an explanatory principle. (He is equated with the Sun Father and the Katsinas are 'like saints.') To him all aspects of nativistic religion were symbolic of various aspects of Pueblo life and 'celebrated' these. His objection to Catholicism was that it failed to symbolize properly the Indian way of life. He read books on Pueblo religion and made copious notes on prayer sticks and Katsinas. When he knew enough, he claimed, he would start to practice the religion. He told the priest to his face that he didn't need his religion, 'I got my own.' He never went to church and urged his peers to do likewise—with conspicuous lack of success. They resented him, and while showing the typical Pueblo tolerance of opinion in these matters, they tended to
laugh at him behind his back. In some ways they seemed to fear him, and most avoided him with a muttered 'He talks too much.' They were always reluctant to enter into discussion with him, one of them maintaining, 'It doesn't do any good to talk about these things we don't understand anyway.' The unity which they were busily forging for themselves was a unity of practices, not of concepts. They had no need for, and were rather annoyed by, the ex-naval anti-Catholic veteran's attempts to make a rational system out of what was a pragmatic behavioural compromise.

This was one kind of deviation from the veteran norm. Others who could not adapt either left the Pueblo or took to drink—usually at times of stress for the individuals concerned, e.g. just before ceremonies in which they were to participate. The firm veteran stand is typified by the silversmith who set up a workshop in the Pueblo and who sells his work outside as well as to visitors. He goes to museums to study old Pueblo designs to incorporate into his work, but also makes rosaries, crosses, etc. He has modernized his house and become a member of the civil government, at the same time joining his Kiva drum cult and participating in Katsina rituals. Along with other veterans he has held various posts in the village government. At the last change-over of officials, veterans occupied all the major posts in civil offices and have participated in all regimes since the war.

There is no class-consciousness amongst the veterans. They have never recognized themselves as a group with interests. In fact, they tend to think of their relations to each other in terms of the ready-made categories of group membership and even as deadly rivals, e.g. in the baseball teams (Fox, 1961). But there is a covert unity of attitude and action amongst them which is having a marked stabilizing effect on Pueblo life and helping to make the transition from the old to the new less painful. They provide the bridge across which acculturation can travel, rather than the spearhead of change as in other Pueblos.

The integrative effects of veterans in Cochiti has shown the importance of timing in veteran influence. The veterans became a potent force in Cochiti society at a time when the various institutions which might have pushed them into an extreme position were dead or on the wane. They were also aided by the fact that they were mostly the sons of conservatives. This combination of circumstances, coupled with prestige, has made them the best hope for painless acculturation in Cochiti. A comparison with Santo Domingo and Taos shows how the reverse could easily have happened. Probably the small size of Cochiti (less than 300 permanent inhabitants) has a lot to do with it, as this helped to undermine the older institutions by restricting the number of recruits for the medicine societies and by making unworkable the complex system which was suited to a larger population.

The full answer to this whole problem will only be known after a thorough comparative study has unearthed all the important variables. What the Cochiti case has shown is that it is possible to be progressive, i.e. to embrace positively many aspects of 'Anglo' material culture and organization, and yet to be nativistic, i.e. to enter enthusiastically into many aspects of the native religion and to preserve much of the traditional way of life. In all Pueblos there are moderates who are equally enthusiastic about any extreme position. The Cochiti veterans and their followers differ from these in seizing both extremes, and because of their active enthusiasm have managed to steer the Pueblo away from a state of apathetic moderation which could have led to withdrawal and decline. It may well be that even the veterans will not be able to stop the drift of its most able members away from the Pueblo which is the real danger to its survival, but any future decline will not be their fault.

Notes
1 The field work on which this paper is based was carried out mostly in the Pueblo of Cochiti, New Mexico, in 1958–59, and was made possible by the Social Science Research Council, and the Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University. The help of Charles H. Lange, Evon Z. Vogt, Dell H. Hymes and the late Clyde Kluckhohn is acknowledged.
2 Vogt (1951) and Adair and Vogt (1949) have tackled some problems of veteran reintegration from a slightly different angle from that of the present one.

References
Eggan, Fred, The Social Organization of the Western Pueblos, University of Chicago, 1950.
Lange, C. H., Cochiti: A New Mexico Pueblo Past and Present, University of Texas, 1939.

OBITUARY

Marian Wesley Smith: 1907–1961. With a portrait, Plate P

Marian Smith's appearance, with her gentle smile and soothing manner, tended to conceal the fact that she was a woman of brilliant intellect whose work, both in the field and in the study, led to the production of a large number of authoritative papers on archaeology, social anthropology and folklore. Her fieldwork was done mostly in the north-west of Washington State and the adjacent parts of British Columbia. She wrote on the archaeology of the Columbia Fraser Region, on house types and basketry, and on various aspects of the social life of the Indians. Later, fieldwork in the Punjab produced a number of papers on Indian village life and on various aspects of Indian religion and folklore. Her miscellaneous writings included an admirable paper on American Indian warfare.
All her writings were characterized by extreme clarity and economy of words, and they are often cited in scientific publications.

She became Honorary Secretary of the Institute when I was President, and a pleasanter person to work with could not be imagined. She threw herself wholeheartedly into the work of the Institute, soon got to know all about it, and was at all times cheerful and unfurled. She made so little of her physical disability that one hardly realized how great an effort it was for her to get about in the way that she did. She was admired and loved by all who knew her and she was one of the rare people of whom it can truly be said that she has left a gap which can never be filled.

RAGLAN

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Dr. Marian W. Smith was associated with the Department of Anthropology of the London School of Economics for nearly ten years. She was a member of the part-time academic staff, an arrangement which suited her very well because of her other preoccupations, including latterly the Honorary Secretarieship of the Institute. She was a respected colleague in the School, and we in the Department derived much benefit from her broad, scholarly approach to anthropological problems and from her wise counsel in administrative matters. Usually with us for only a part of the academic year, she then gave much time to our activities, in teaching, in participation in seminars, in advice to students—especially those with an interest in India—and in the general affairs of the Department. One aspect of our work in which she took a very active part was as a member of the Editorial Committee for the publication of our Series of London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology. She also took a prominent part in the Inter-Departmental Seminar which regularly draws together members of the Anthropological Departments of the Colleges of the University of London, contributing papers in which she drew upon her field experiences on the American North-West Coast and in India.

Lecturing, Dr. Smith gave two regular courses, on Psychology and Social Anthropology and on Current Trends in American Anthropology. The first dealt with the ethnographical problems which had given rise to modern applications of psychology to social anthropology; the use of projective and other psychological tests in anthropological fieldwork; studies of children and adolescents; and theories of personality and culture. The second examined from the American point of view such questions as inter-disciplinary studies in anthropology; the effects of evolutionary theory on the understanding of man's place in nature; the concepts of culture, culture growth, culture change, acculturation, cultural relativism; the study of values and the current re-examination of categories of human thought.

In these courses, which attracted the interest of students, Dr. Smith maintained a balance between her American training and her British experience, blending her approach as a cultural anthropologist with the points of view developed in her association with social anthropologists in this country. All of this work was carried on with great cheerfulness and courage despite the physical difficulties and illness from which she was apt to suffer.

As a scholar, teacher and colleague, she will be greatly missed.

RAYMOND FIRTH

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Although she was an American, Marian Smith will surely occupy a special and a highly honoured place in the history of British anthropology, and especially in that history of the R.A.I. which she so much wanted to see written.

Marian Wesley Smith was born in New York on 10 May, 1907.

When she was only three years old she was severely afflicted with poliomyelitis, which left one leg partially paralysed for the rest of her life. Those who knew her do not need to be reminded that every step that she took required a great and often painful effort, which she sustained without mechanical aids or even the support of a stick; but those many Fellows of our far-flung Institute, and other readers of MAN, to whom she was only a distinguished name should be made aware that the courage with which she transcended her disability was a constant source of wonder and admiration to us all, and yet that this was but a small part of the inspiration which she imparted to those who knew her and worked with her.

She used to speak proudly of having been the last student of Franz Boas at Columbia University, where she took her B.A. in philosophy in 1934 and her Ph.D. in 1938. She was a gifted teacher, not only at Columbia but at several other famous institutions on the East and West Coasts of the United States. She had a genius for that branch of applied anthropology which deals with the harmonious cooperation of anthropologists in their learned societies, and before she was 40 had been in turn Secretary-Treasurer, Vice-President, President and Editor of the American Ethnological Society—the R.A.I.'s senior sister, founded a year earlier in 1842. This extraordinary record might well have been equalled in this country if she had not died so young. She also reached high office in the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the American Folklore Society.

Of the high quality and value of her fieldwork among the Indians of north-west America and in Pakistan others can speak far better than I. Unfortunately, only a comparatively small part of her data had been deployed in her distinguished publications—The Psyllup-Nisqually (1940) and Archaeology of the Columbia-Fraser Region (1950), and a large number of articles in learned journals. (In some of these articles she demonstrated that she was one of the very few anthropologists in the world who could see anthropology whole and grasp the philosophical problems which her study presents.) Her devotion to her work for others had left her all too little time, in spite of a prodigious output of work, to document her own field studies. Several times in her last weeks, she said to me that she had hoped during her time in bed to be able to write up some of her material, but that pain and the discomfort of having to lie much of the time flat on her back had prevented her from making a start. At the time of writing this notice, we do not yet know how far it may be possible to prepare her material for publication, but certainly her friends in Great Britain would think such publication the fittest possible memorial to her.

It was in 1952, when she married Mr. H. Farrant Akhurst, a senior executive of British Insulated Callender's Cables, Ltd., that her close association with British anthropology began. The marriage was extremely happy, and a large circle of anthropological and other friends came to know their home at Bickenhall Mansions and later their penthouse in the Marylebone Road. Often, too, Mr. Akhurst's business took them to distant parts of the world, where she always took the opportunity of pursuing her anthropological interests, as notably in Australia. Professor Firth has written of her part-time teaching at the London School of Economics, but it was not until 1956 that she had a chance fully to extend herself in the field of British anthropology.

I had then been Honorary Secretary of the Institute for nearly 17 years (having been first elected just before the outbreak of war), and it had become obvious to me that, with the great post-war expansion of Institute business, and with increasing calls upon my own time, I was no longer in a position to discharge the secretarial function (in addition to that of Honorary Editor of MAN) to my own or the general satisfaction. Being Honorary Secretary is in
some ways like riding the proverbial tiger: unless one subscribes to the philosophy of après moi le déluge, one does not simply resign, but is under a moral obligation to find a suitable successor for the consideration of the Council before doing so. Such a person must be able and willing to devote a great amount of his spare time and energy to the work and, what is even more important and even more rare, to accept and strenuously to support the basic premises of the Institute's existence, ready to foster impartially all the branches of anthropology and above all the holistic view of the sciences of man which preserves anthropology itself from disintegration. This view is not inconsistent with the twentieth-century tendency to greater specialization; on the contrary it is its prerequisite. This is why the Institute must exist, and also why we are sometimes inclined to take its existence for granted. Its officers need not be proficient in all the principal branches of the subject, but they must be interested in advancing each one through the office entrusted to them. After some years of fruitless search for a relief, I thought at last, in the spring of 1956, of Mariam Smith, and soon realized that she was an ideal candidate if only she was willing to stand: not only was she an eminent scholar in the fields of social and cultural anthropology, archaeology, material culture and folklore, but she had even lectured on physical anthropology at Columbia. I invited her to lunch to ask if I might canvass her name, but it seemed so much to ask that I did not put the question until the meal was over; she did not require even half-a-minute to consider and accept the suggestion. She said that she had for some time felt the need for some work which would give more scope to her broad anthropological interests and especially to her continuing interest, developed in her periods of office in America, in the field of the organization of anthropology; and she at once showed her enthusiasm at the idea of serving the Institute. When the proposal was put to the Council by Lord Raglan, its merits were immediately recognized and she was nominated unanimously; and when she took office, she at once secured the Council's confidence to a perhaps unprecedented degree.

Her devotion to the task went far beyond the line of honorary duty; she treated it almost as a full-time job with a cheerful vitality which amazed us all. She took an interest in every detail of the Institute's work, overhauling the traditional machinery wherever necessary, and collaborating closely with the Honorary Treasurer, Sir George Beresford-Stoke, in the crucial sphere of finance and investment policy. No doubt the most important event during her secretaryship was the establishment in 1958 of the Endowment Fund, in which she played a decisive part in close association with Mrs. Brenda Seligman, who made it possible by her extraordinary generosity in offering as a matching fund the £20,000 received from the sale of her famous Benin ivory mask to the Museum of Primitive Art in New York. Mariam Smith, with great energy and resource, worked so successfully to raise contributions that the Endowment Fund approached £20,000 before, to her deep disappointment, illness curtailed and then terminated her efforts.

It is impossible here to give any detailed account of her highly successful term of office as Honorary Secretary, but we may single out, as an example of her methods of promoting the fertility of ideas, the great development of cross-disciplinary symposia which she initiated. Though not entirely without isolated precedent in the Institute's history, they had never before been organized with so much originality, skill and energy. That on race and race relations (with the Institute of Race Relations) produced the book Man, Race and Darwin, and the proceedings of a most interesting meeting on The Artist in Tribal Society are nearing publication now. It was a most exhilarating experience to attend the symposium on Man and Cattle and to see archaeologists, palaeontologists and ethnologists for the first time confronted by the cattle-breeder, with much new insight being acquired on both sides; the proceedings of this conference, in which Mariam Smith took a most notable part, are also in an advanced state of preparation.

She died at the beginning of 1960 in the nature of her illness, a rare disorder of the lymphatic system, but successfully concealed it from all but a few friends for several more months of full activity at the R.A.I. By the late summer she was confined to her home, in considerable pain, but still holding occasional business meetings there and trying to carry on those activities which depended on her personal participation. Later in the year, when she went into hospital, she learnt that she had permanently lost the use of her legs, but far from giving up the idea of serving the Institute, she then discussed with me the possibilities of undertaking editorial work for it when she recovered. But the illness was not responding to treatment and at Christmas time she was flown to New York, where she died in hospital four months later, on 2 May.

If this notice should seem in some respects too personal, it is because I feel that her greatest and most typical quality was humanity. She was deeply loved by her many friends and deeply admired by all who knew her; many Fellows of the Institute who did not know her may be unaware of how much it will always owe to the effects of her brief period of office. We can all best honour her memory by carrying on according to our talents her devoted work through the Institute for the advancement of anthropology; and, more concretely, by contributing to her memory, according to our means, to the Endowment Fund which was of such deep concern to her.

WILLIAM FAGG

CORRESPONDENCE

Archeological Research in Uganda

Sir,—In Geological Survey Memoir No. VI, Part II, Prehistory (which appeared in 1952 or 1953), certain statements were made about the work of the African Prehistoric Research Expedition in Uganda which merit a reply. Unfortunately, this has been delayed because it was felt that a more comprehensive reply might await the apparently imminent publication of Part I of the Memoir, on the Geology. But this has still not appeared, and I feel that any further delay in replying might be taken for acquiescence in some quarters.

The statements in question occur in C. van Riet Lowe's 'Historical Introduction.' On p. 15, he noted that our expedition arrived in Uganda in 1934, and wrote:

'While doing everything he could for O'Brien, Wayland concentrated his energies during the next year at Nsongezi

where in the course of his enquiries, O'Brien camped for a time, while, under Wayland's direction, Mr. H. J. R. Way, of the Geological Survey, supervised extensive excavations not only at Nsongezi itself, but also in various terraces and other deposits in the vicinity. All the information thus gained—and it was very considerable—was placed at O'Brien's disposal.'

On p. 16, van Riet Lowe repeats that 'The African Prehistoric Research Expedition got the full benefit of these extensive inquiries.

While it is not my purpose to minimize the amount of help actually given us by Mr. E. J. Wayland (that help was gratefully acknowledged in my Prehistory of Uganda Protectorate, 1939), I must nevertheless correct the impression conveyed by van Riet Lowe's statements.

In fact, our expedition worked for two separate periods in the Kagera Valley: the first from 12 June until 9 October, 1935, and the
second, shorter, visit from 25 January until 6 February, 1936. During the first, four-month, visit, no other archaeological or geological work was being done in the area.

During this period we dug many pits and trenches in the 100-feet and 30-feet Kagera terraces, and investigated other deposits both upriver and downriver from Nsongozi. With the exception of the Nsongozi rock shelter and one site in the 100-feet terrace, all our excavations and other work were done in places that showed no signs of having been investigated prior to our arrival. The only evidence that I saw of prior research was the rock shelter, the P.W.D. Camp Pit, and the large trench featured in Wayland's 'Rifs, Rivers, Rails and Early Man in Uganda' paper. Both the latter sections were heavily overgrown when we arrived, and the trench largely filled in. Nor were we ever provided with any other written or verbal information concerning these previous investigations beyond that of the published paper referred to, though I had seen a small series of implements from the M Horizon.

The information which we obtained and upon which we based our conclusions about the geological and archaeological events in the Kagera Valley was gained in the course of our own independent investigations, with one minor exception to which I refer below.

On our second visit to the area we did indeed find that the Geological Survey had preceded us, and my Work Diary for 25 January contains this entry:

'To Nsongozi where we want to settle a few points which have arisen since our last visit ... The P.W.D. Camp contains Way of the Geological Survey ... who has been sent here by Wayland to settle some of the very questions we came to look into. Our [the Expedition's] two main considerations were the presence or otherwise of boulder beds in the pre-M horizon beds ... and to roll Kafuian tools in the Fort gravels of the 270' terrace. Fortunately, Wayland also wished to sink pits at the Fort ... as he hasn't a car we were able to help him by transporting his labour, etc. At the Camp pit ... he had reached a heavy boulder bed at about 40' below the M horizon.'

My Diary entry for January 31, 1936, also records, 'This afternoon I took Way to see the section at the Mwirandasul Hydroelectric site just beyond Kikagati, which he had apparently not yet visited.

It is obvious from my Diary entries that he asked whom is perfectly clear, but I willingly concede that the one piece of information that we did receive from the Geological Survey at this time was confirmation of the basal boulder bed in the 100-feet terrace. What I emphatically repudiate is not only that the Geological Survey was working in the area during the greater part of the time that we spent there, but also that we 'got the full benefit' of their labours.

Finally, I come to one other astonishing suggestion concerning our work, on p. 103 of the same Memoir. Here, in a short section entitled 'Modern Stone Implements,' van Riet Lowe describes some artifacts found at Walasi Hill Cave, and used by the Bagishu up to 50 or 60 years ago. The stone employed was nephelinite, a local lava. Van Riet Lowe apparently recognized some 'Levallois' characteristics in the assemblage, but goes on to state:

'No prehistoric could be misled by a collection of these discoidal implements and flakes, yet among the discs there are a few which, when divorced from their setting, would undoubtedly mislead many prehistorians.'

The Footnote to this Section then invites the reader to refer to p. 185 of my Prehistory of Uganda Protectorsate, and the clear implication is that I had indeed been 'misled' into confusing the Bagishu 'implements' with the industry which I called the Walasi Variation of the Walasi Stillbay. Nothing could be further from the truth, for the following reasons:

(a) We excavated in several of the Walasi Hill caves and rock shelters and never found the Walasi Variation in any of them.

(b) It only occurred at open-station sites, away from the Hill, in or under red clays or calcareous sands, in what Wayland had previously called a 'sub-surface drift gravel.'

(c) Walasi Variation tools were invariably made in quartz or, more rarely, in a pale quartzite, never in lava or any other stone.

(d) We had already observed the presence of the Bagishu pseudo-industry in the Walasi Hill shelters, and had recognized it for what it was. In my First Field Report (September-November, 1934) I wrote, 'in one place, a series of holes in the rock, of obvious human origin, thousands of these flakes, chips and cores were strewn about the floor. They were merely the tools employed by the Bagishu for chipping out the salt-impregnated rock of the hill.'

Had van Riet Lowe exercised a little more care in reading my description of the Walasi Variation industry, he would have seen for himself that it bears no resemblance whatever to the recent Bagishu material. The pity is, that by his own confusion of the two, he cast doubt on the very existence of a truly prehistoric industry—one which, it may be added, had been found and recognized as such by Wayland long before we studied it for ourselves.

T. P. O'BRIEN

Notes


2 Though the Walasi Variation originally seemed to me to have some connexion with the East African Stillbay (prepared cores, faceted platforms and bifaced points), I feel that it is better regarded as a local phase of the Magosian. The absence of a microlithic element except in its latest stage suggests that it may have been an early form of that culture.

REVIEWS

GENERAL


If Morgan was not an engaging person, he was certainly an intellectual figure in the development of anthropological thought, particularly in America; though Dr. Resek goes too far when he says that 'Morgan created the science of anthropology' (p. vii), just as he does, it seems to me, in saying that 'The Newton of moral science was Lord Kames' (p. 8). Morgan wrote much, his best-known works being his study of the American beaver (The American Beaver and His Works, 1868), his field study of the Iroquois (League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois, 1851), and his famous theoretical treatises, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family (1870) and Ancient Society (1877). His scientific researches occupied much of his life but he found time to be as well a fairly successful lawyer, company-director, inventor and entrepreneur, and a not so successful politician.

The story of his life is well told in this book, though 'Extracts from the European Travel Journal of Lewis H. Morgan' (Rochester Historical Publications, XVI, 1937), edited by Professor Leslie A. White, should be read also to see how very pompous, prejudiced, and even just silly, Morgan could be. Dr. Resek, who clearly, and rightly, admires much in his Yankee character, admits that during his tour of Europe 'he had filled, by the time he returned, six husky volumes, with closely written, and for the most part useless, observations' (p. 121).

Dr. Resek is a historian. Alas, he is not also an anthropologist; and when writing about anthropological matters he is sometimes out of his depth. For instance, he says: 'Writing five years after the appearance of The Origin of Species, McLennan went on to suggest that marriage by capture had evolved from an earlier custom of polyandry, the possession in common of a wife by several men' (p. 93). The opinion is also attributed to McLennan that 'female kinship characterized all polyandry and eventually exogamous,
tribes' (p. 93). We are told that 'Boas’s students lived in a Polynesian or African village for months and even years, until they fully appreciated its manner and purpose of doing things' (p. 157). Who among Boas’s students lived for years in an African village, or for that matter, in any village anywhere? Of W. H. R. Rivers the author writes: 'But Rivers and most of his colleagues rejected Morgan’s assumption that kinship terms reflect family structure.' (p. 159). Surely this is not correct as far as Rivers is concerned; it is an over-statement. Morgan was 'devoted to his life to disproving Morgan’s postulate of primitive promiscuity.' (p. 159).

He may have disproved it, but he devoted most of his life to better purposes. What is meant by the following remarks: 'But the distinguishing characteristic of European scholarship was its interest in the mythology of primitives and its habit of making institutions that Morgan regarded as economic and political into customs derived from fables. A view implicit in the works of John McLennan and Edward Tylor, it was enshrined in the massive writings of Sir James Frazer, who saw tribal structures and incest laws as a part of the savage’s belief in magic totem and taboo. With the rise of psychiatry after Freud, European anthropologists increased their emphasis on the study of the primitive mind and especially on patterns of sexual behaviour. Morgan’s ideas came to be seen as old-fashioned and Victorian' (pp. 159ff). I do not wish to be overcritical, but it is unwise to write the biography of an anthropologist without being well read in anthropology—past and present. A minor slip, but one which looks very odd to an English reader is: 'A few days later Morgan attended a garden party at Sir John Lubbock’s sixteen-hundred-acre estate near Charing Cross' (p. 125), where he watched Sir John and his brothers playing cricket. In fact it happened that Morgan went by train from Charing Cross to Orpington in Kent, whence he was driven by carriages to Sir John’s house, High Elms, about two miles away.

An interesting problem is whether Morgan, who was interested not only scientifically, but sentimentally also, in the Iroquois, knew of, and made any use of, P. Laiton’s famous books, Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriqueins (1724). Dr. Reseke states categorically in a footnote, to which the learned Father’s volumes are relegated, that ‘Morgan had not read it’ (p. 70). He gives no authority for this statement; nor does he indicate whether this means that Morgan knew of and did not read it or that he did not know of its existence. It is difficult to believe that anyone so interested in the Iroquois as Morgan was would not have heard about, and would not have consulted, an account of them written more than a century earlier. Possibly Morgan knew no French. This may have been so—he appears to have spent savants as ‘savants’ (p. 34). But various passages in this book might suggest the contrary. He apparently knew Greek, Latin and Italian (p. 7), and it would seem to be implied that he knew Spanish (p. 132) and German (p. 133), so it might be supposed that he knew French also. We are told in one place that he ‘had the gift often to observe’ (p. 201). For instance, he is associated to The League of the Iroquois, that he traced briefly ‘three hundred years of Iroquois history gleaned mostly from English and French writers’ (p. 41). Even if these hints turn up a false trail and we assume that he could not himself read French, it is still difficult to believe that a man who had in mind and heart adopted the Iroquois, and who had plenty of money and many learned friends, would not have had a translation made for him. It could be that Morgan had never heard of Laiton’s book. It could be that he had heard of it but had not been able to acquire a copy. Both explanations seem improbable. Morgan was a rich man and he had a large library. If we assume that he did not read the book, the reason could be that, although he knew about Laiton’s volumes and could have acquired them and either read them or had them translated, he just would not make use of them because Laiton was a priest, and what was worse, a Jesuit. Perhaps the author of this book or Professor White, both of whom have done considerable research among the Morgan papers, can solve the riddle.

Anyway, this is a book which every student of anthropology should read. It is impossible to understand adequately anthropological theories without knowing about the persons who have propounded them and the kind of social and intellectual milieu in which they grew up and moved. In the case of Morgan the material for biographical treatment is considerable. It is perhaps unfortunate that in the past his writings have been so largely and enthusiastically used by Marxists. It is a strange irony that the theories of this typical representative of American bourgeois, capitalist mentality should have received such favourable attention from that quarter.

E. E. EVANS-Pritchard


These papers display Lowe’s strength and his weakness. His strength lay in his great knowledge of the American Indian cultures which he spent so much of his life in studying, and the ability with which he communicated that knowledge. His weakness was a lack of interest in other subjects. Even the papers with titles which suggest a more general survey, such as ‘Family and Sib,’ or ‘Cultural Anthropology: A Science,’ deal almost exclusively with the American Indians. Sometimes this treatment is justified, as in the paper on ‘Oral Tradition and History,’ in which he demonstrated from his own fieldwork that oral tradition does not and could not have any historical value, but too often it merely shows his limitations.

He was for long an adherent of the ‘anthropological Monroe Doctrine,’ and was apt to exaggerate the differences between Old and New World cultures. Thus in 1911 he wrote: ‘The time has come to recognize that an ethnologist who identifies a two-class system in Australia with a two-class system in America, or totemism among the North-western Indians with totemism in Melanesia, sinks to the level of a zoologist who should class whales with fishes and bats with birds.’ Institutions in the Old and New Worlds, that is to say, have the same names, but are nevertheless to be regarded as belonging not merely to different species but to different phyla. And in 1915 he wrote of the predominance of Four as the mystic number in North America, and said that in the Old World it was overshadowed by Three and Seven. But four as a mystic number is not only at least as common in the Old World as three and seven, but it occurs in the same contexts—the four winds, the four colours, the four guardians of the quarters—as in the New.

By 1951 he had modified his views. He expressed a guarded approval of Tyler’s opinion that the game of patolli had been carried across the Pacific and thought it probable that the Mexica, or Aztec, had learnt it from the Chinese art of catching ducks by swimming with one’s head in a gourd.

In the same paper he quoted an earlier statement of his own which had infuriated Malinowski but which is worthy of the widest publicity: ‘When we do not know the distribution of a phenomenon, we know nothing that is theoretically significant.’

In an interesting paper he tells us that he was brought up bilingualy, and describes the advantages and disadvantages, chiefly the latter, of this; his English style, however, left little room for improvement.

It may be said of him in general that he had all the qualities necessary for the making of a genius, for geniuses are made and not born. He had a brilliant intellect, great clarity of mind and abundant energy; it is much to be regretted that excessive specialization prevented him from developing his great gifts to the full.

RAGLAN


After a graduate seminar a group of Bryn Mawr women selected articles for reprinting and added a large bibliography. Hallowell’s introduction on Beginnings of Anthropology in America emphasizes in sections on linguistics, social systems and archeology the pioneer scientific thought of Thomas Jefferson. For his intimate knowledge of American life, which owed a lot to his highly intelligent part-Indian wife; others similarly considered include Catlin, the artist, Crallatin, who began under Jefferson, L. H. Morgan, J. W. Powell and F. W. Putnam. The World’s Fair, 1893, was a major event in anthropology thanks especially to Put-
This indicates only too clearly that physical anthropology is now such a wide and rapidly advancing subject that no one man, however competent, can adequately be conversant with all its aspects. So far as future textbooks are concerned the only answer seems to lie in joint authorship.

G. AINSWORTH HARRISON


This primer of the subject is extremely comprehensive and, considering its length and range, appears to contain very few inaccuracies. The only outstanding error noticed is on p. 291 where it is stated that flint, obsidian and similar stones have definite lines of cleavage. But an introductory work of this sort should define and illustrate the main technical terms of the subject. It does this fairly well in the realm of physical anthropology, but less satisfactorily when it turns to material culture. The index, for example, makes no mention of convergence, skeuomorph, or parallel evolution. On the other hand, certain unfamiliar and difficult terms are introduced with regard to cultural anthropology; on pp. 238f., for instance, the distinction between explicit and implicit culture is certainly not immediately clear.

The book generally leaves a false impression that the authors to the main problems of anthropology are already known. It might be argued that to bring in contradictory theories would lead to confusion at the stage of teaching for which this text is intended. But simply to define religion as patterns of behaving designed to guard against the unexpected (p. 528), with no mention of other theories, may be quite misleading. On more specific issues, there are several cases where an alternative thesis is so convincing and widely accepted that it should certainly be mentioned, even if only in a footnote, along with the apparently orthodox view. For instance, the Dravidian race is described as Archaic Caucasianoid with Negrito immixture. But Hutton's work in the 1931 Census of India left little doubt that this race is immigrant Mediterranean, altered over a relatively short period by adaptation to the climate; the presence of a Negrito strain has never been really proved. Again, the Polynesians are presented as immigrants from the Old World, with no reference to the powerful arguments for the alternative view. The usual American theory of the emergence of several neolithic centres is also given as if there were no fear of serious challenge. The general result of this attitude is that the book may satisfy a student who wants a simple summary of the subject which he can digest without much inquiry or doubt; but it will not convince a beginner that anthropology is a profitable subject for research, with well-established methods of procedure, and numerous unsolved issues on which they can be exercised.

W. C. BRICE


This is a welcome paper-back edition of the book reviewed in MAN, 1957, 192. The 16 essays by different authors provide an excellent survey of current thought and method in all branches of anthropology. Three contributions, by Childs, Benedict and Redfield, have a special value as being among their last writings.

W. C. BRICE


This addition to the Synopsis Series admirably fulfils its stated purpose, to provide a wide, though necessarily superficial, view of the whole field of Public Health and Social Medicine. Although designed for students taking examinations in these subjects, it also provides a useful reference book for the layman. Its value to both the professional and the lay reader would have been improved by an increase in the number of references to works giving more detailed information. Consultation of such works is essential as a corrective for the dogmatic presentation unavoidable in this type of work.

M. LUBRAN

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For this collection of writings on Nigerian peoples in the pre-colonial period Thomas Hodgkin has used a wide variety of sources, including the Arab geographers; indigenous chronicles, diplomatic correspondence, poetry and recorded traditions; the writings of expatriate westernized Nigerians such as Equiano and Horton; and the first- and second-hand accounts of European travellers. The history of Nigeria is the history of a conglomeration of political and cultural entities of endless diversity, very unevenly covered by written records. This creates problems of presentation which are solved by selecting five major geographical and cultural ‘themes,’ viz. Kanem-Bornu, the Hausa States and the Fulani Empire, the Yoruba states, Benin and Warri, and the Delta states and their largely Ibo hinterland. The anthology is divided into eight sections dealing, respectively, with origin legends, the period up to the fourteenth century, each succeeding century up to the eighteenth, and the two halves of the nineteenth. Each ‘theme’ is represented in each section insofar as the sources permit and are relevant to the aim of illustrating the main currents of historical development in the area as a whole.

Like most anthologies Nigerian Perspectives will be most valuable to those seeking information and guidance outside their own immediate fields of specialization. Specialists in particular areas of Nigeria will inevitably quarrel with some of the author’s selections and omissions. Thus, after 1700, Benin is represented only by a rather inconsequent extract from Adams while the excellent descriptions of Landolphe, King, Burton and Punch are ignored. Nor is the Yoruba record after the fall of Old Oyo so barren as its treatment here would suggest. The use of unpublished material would have irreparably complicated Mr. Hodgkin’s task but Johnson’s accounts of the fourteenth century wars and Anna Hinderer on Ibadan would have helped to fill out the picture. On the whole, however, the balance is very well preserved and it is particularly valuable to have so many of the fugitive records of the Muslim North in one volume.

Mr. Hodgkin is not concerned simply to highlight significant events but to illuminate their social, political, economic, religious and intellectual background. The result is a very rich collection from the ethnographical as well as from the historical point of view. Not the least of its delights is the remarkable variety of literary styles, each faithfully reflecting its period and cultural background—from the suave flattery of the Kanuri ‘Song to the Kaigama’ to the laconic, hard-headed pidgin of that eighteenth-century Efik extravert, Antera Duke; from the enlightened conservatism of Uthman dan Fodio on ‘Islam and Women,’ reading, in translation, like the Knox Bible, to the racy wit of the most unconventional woman of her period, Mary Kingsley, revelling in the wiles of the no less resourceful Mrs. S. of Opobo.

In a long introduction Mr. Hodgkin discusses, with authority, the characteristics and limitations of the various kinds of sources which he uses, and gives a very accomplished summary, century by century, of the main themes in the historical development of the Nigerian area. One is struck, from time to time, by the difficulty of evaluating local chronicles without a close acquaintance with the culture from which they spring. The Benin historian, Egharevba, for example, does not simply record traditions but tries to synthesize them with the accounts of early European travellers, often coming to conclusions which the trained historian would avoid. Some of these conclusions are quoted as if they were genuine historical evidence. Such lapses are of little account, however, compared with the usefulness of the total picture which emerges. Mr. Hodgkin is at pains throughout to show that pre-colonial Nigerian societies were subject to normal processes of historical change (and to suggest what were the main ‘precipitants’ and directions of change); and to emphasize that the diverse peoples who now make up Nigeria existed in isolation neither from each other nor from other societies outside the present national boundaries. These are obvious enough truths but they are frequently ignored in studies of pre-literate societies. Mr. Hodgkin’s approach is refreshingly dynamic and optimistic and it should do much to suggest and guide new lines of research.

Some of the boundaries on the maps are drawn rather more boldly than the information warrants but this does no great harm. It is strange, however, that Idah should twice appear on the wrong side of the Niger.

R. E. BRADBURY


This is an excellent descriptive account of Kalabari religious festivals, laced with penetrating interpretation and illustrated by lively photographs. Though aimed at a lay public it is full of interest for professional anthropologists.

The first two chapters set the scene with a brief characterization of the village community and an outline of the Kalabari world view. The Kalabari ‘gods’ fall into two groups or ‘systems’ comprising (a) Tamuno and So, ‘Arbiters of Form and Process’ who, under various aspects, create and control everything in the material world; and (b) the Dead, the Village Heroes and the
The study was made while the author was a lecturer in social psychology at the University College of the Gold Coast, during the four years preceding Independence. Its core is an analysis of questionnaires administered to a cross-section of the population of southern Ghana (there is some over-representation of literates) and supplemented with more general observations. For example, Dr. Jahoda has a gift for quoting the appropriate press clipping. The sample was small, two hundred or so adults and an unspecified number of school-attenders, and, because of obvious practical difficulties, not randomly selected. More significant than the statistical correlations based on such a small sample is the rich material elicited from informants, in response to the well-constructed questionnaire, by the undergraduate assistants. Here Dr. Jahoda was fortunate for all of his five assistants have since either obtained or are working for research degrees.

The book starts with a neat summary of the history of the interaction between Europeans and Africans on the Coast. Then in three short chapters it describes the various stereotypes of Europeans held by primary and secondary school children and adults. These chapters, which isolate the elements which contribute to the confusion in attitudes, are probably of most interest to social anthropologists, because they are relevant to the study of changing value systems. For example, the 'benefits' brought by Whites listed highest by members of all categories were education and 'progress' (technological improvements), i.e. the sources of modern power, while, conversely, the White-introduced 'evils' listed highest were the obverse of these same benefits; promiscuity, drunkenness and crime. The problem of reconciling the realities of modern life with traditional values is the source of more openly expressed puzzlement than anything else in contemporary Ghana.

Next the varying stereotypes are described as they operate in political and in work situations. Here again, as with the previous chapters, a shift in emphasis has taken place, but this remains an illuminating chapter for anyone who wishes to interpret the contradictory statements which often appear simultaneously in the Ghana press. This same chapter illustrates the weakness of the questionnaire method: that is, an overemphasis on the verbalization of attitudes at the expense of consideration of structural conflicts within the social system.

Finally a tentative, triple-category typology is erected, in which correlations are established between the types of 'value system' (tribal, divided, integrated), the 'degree of fusion' (nil, intermediate, high), and 'orientation to whites' (dependent, inferior, autonomous)—forward-looking educated men being most consistent in their attitudes. This typology seems to me a handy mnemonic device, or a classification of the expanding-file type, rather than one which will be of use in considering self-images or attitudes and stereotypes concerning whites' in other places. But to have achieved this much in a pioneer study is quite an achievement.

One small point, a more explicit reconciliation of the apparently contradictory statements that children of mixed descent 'were always regarded as Africans' (p. 24) and that 'they are always regarded as having in some ways the attributes of whites' (p. 81) would, perhaps, have further illuminated the ambivalence of African attitudes to whites, by showing how the response is conditioned by the social situation in which it is invoked.

Finally it is a pity that a copy cannot be slipped into the overnight bags of all Foundation and Agency men on brief exploratory flights to West Africa. If they read it on the plane, resident black and white men, literate and illiterate, might be spared some of the less meaningful questions, and, righteously, admonitions, which are present on the pages here. Indeed some of the tripwires might discover that books are still cheaper than air tickets, and stop off somewhere and read one.
understanding of man—as did W. H. R. Rivers. The combination of these two disciplines provides a view of the person in the totality of his condition and subject to pressures coming both from within and from without. It may also further a sense of the basic unity of all men, however different the cultures to which they belong, however mad or sane they are deemed to be.

With Lewis, getret into the forest—his ruthless curiosity marks Dr. Field's book Search for Security. This is a study of mental illness amongst the rural people of Ghana, seen against the background of the community's prevailing social and economic conditions, their supernatural beliefs and the 'psychotherapeutic' provisions. During the last 30 years 200 shrines have sprung up in Ashanti, apparently in response to a growing sense of insecurity. These shrines are all privately owned, profit-making concerns. There are two types: one, the abobum-brofo, derives from the traditional Ashanti shrine and in it the god is consulted while the priest is in a state of spirit possession. The other, the 'drinking shrine' is an adaptation of the Northern Ghana earth shrine and here work is done through divination rather than spirit possession. Among the pilgrims supplicants there appear to be many suffering from one form or other of mental illness. Dr. Field attached himself mainly to one shrine, at Mfaramso, listed the various reasons that had brought people to the shrine and then selected for special attention and study those clients who were demonstrably neurotic or psychotic. Thus she was able to see the mentally sick against the background of those who tolerate and carry their 'troubles and desires' without breaking down. She also learned how the culture itself deals with mental illness and how the process of treating many was of the kind of impulsive 'rushing away to bush' might be gradually conditioned to the traditional role of the priest-therapist, so that madness becomes transformed into mediumship.

A great many important and thought-provoking themes emerge from this study, far too many to be dealt with in a short review, and I shall therefore select just a few that seemed to me particularly challenging.

Concern with death, perhaps an inner wish for it, seems to be an important, if unconscious, experience for the Ghanian personality. Dr. Field makes it clear that the Ghanian tends to react to disappointment and inner tension by a sudden rush to bush, where he is fully exposed to illness and loss of life—but also to the possibility of possession and inspiration. She draws a most interesting parallel between the Ashanti and the Old Testament Prophets, and points to the desire for death shown in particular by Elijah who 'like the Ashanti okomfo today, was prone to run himself to exhaustion and sleep.' This parallel has recently been generalized further by Mircea Eliade in his book Myths, Dreams and Mysteries where he makes the point that everywhere mysteries begin with a symbolization of death, in which retreat into the forest that represents above all darkness, the Shades, the belly of the monster. Again and again Dr. Field draws our attention to the similarity of beliefs and phantasies in various parts of the world, be it between the Ashanti priest and the Old Testament Prophet, between the Ghanian and the European 'witch' or between the 'fairies' of the African or European forest. Unless one accepts a diffusionist thesis, the discovery of such similarities tempts one to re-evaluate Jung's hypothesis of the existence of a Collective Unconscious; he conceives this Collective Unconscious as a heritage in which all men share a heritage which gives rise to common phantasies and common rites and which enables men to understand and empathize with each other the world over. Were there in fact this collective layer in the unconscious, the similarity between the artist, the saint and the madmen would be less baffling; less baffling also would be the Ghanian belief—which is shared with so many other peoples—that one must court death and madness if one would be initiated into wisdom.

Observing some parallels between the phantasies of the mentally sick and some religious notions, Dr. Field suggests the possibility that some religious ideas derive directly from the experience of individuals in abnormal and hallucinated states. She points for instance to the phantasy of being a witch, an explicit or implicit belief in many depressive patients both in Europe and in Africa. The possible psychic function of this phantasy has been discussed recently by Morton-Williams in his paper on the 'Fear of Death' where he suggests that the witch phantasy functions as a compensation to a woman when she finds that she is no longer capable of giving birth, but instead moves inexorably towards infertility and death.

The African patient, however, one suspects, is much less isolated than is the European patient, precisely because the whole community shares and accepts his phantasies. This might well lessen his sense of separation and divorse from the people around him, his friends and relatives, and so ease his suffering and at the same time make him more manageable.

Then there is Dr. Field's discussion of dreams and their interpretation. She has for instance found that there is little difference between the manifest and the latent content in the case of many African dreamers. One might explain this by postulating that when conscious and unconscious processes are not yet highly differentiated, or when needs and wishes have not been split off by repressive techniques then the dream symbolism, instead of being a disguise, is used as an eloquent 'parabolic metaphor,' which is in fact the language of the unconscious processes. Dr. Field also found that people in certain identical anxiety-charged situations tended to have identical stereotyped dreams. This suggests that there is really a two-way traffic between conscious and unconscious experiences, and that where society offers symbols that fit an unconscious theme or preoccupation the dream will make use of it.

Through a number of examples Dr. Field describes to us the considerable psychological insight that a priest of these new shrines may possess. If parents bring to him their sick child he will first seek out any conscious or unconscious strife between them. Of the barren couple he may ask: 'which do you prefer, quarrels or children?' Madness, like sickness, is regarded as the result either of the patient's own wrongdoing, or of someone else's sorcery. We might not express ourselves nowadays in such magic or moral terms, but recent developments in psychiatry and particularly in psychosomatic medicine seem to return us to a belief in an active agent, somehow responsible for his health or his sickness, in body or in mind.

I did, however, regret in reading Search for Security that Dr. Field had not included more information on the social institutions and inter-personal relationships. It is, for instance, tantalizing to be told, without more detail as to how and when this occurs, of the traumatic transition from the much loved, petted and admired infant and toddler to the 'object of contempt' which is the child, for whom 'any food is good enough.' Her observation that it is usually father rather than mother who brings the child to clinics suggests that perhaps fathers are more protective with children than are mothers. At the same time, for material on this, particularly as it might bear on the prevalence of the witch phantasy. (Kardiner and Linton in their study of the Marquesans postulated a connexion between maternal deprivation and witch phantasies.) Again I would have liked to know whether there are any institutionalized adolescent or other initiation ceremonies. If there are none then the self-inflicted, impetuous and individual initiation—running to bush—may point to a need. I should have welcomed very much a table comparing matrilneal, patrilneal and residence patterns with the various forms of male and female initiation. In any case description should have mentioned at the top to which of these family patterns the patient belonged. And why do anthropologists so rarely add a map outlining, if only approximately, the areas of the different tribes that they discuss?

These criticisms are, I believe, in themselves evidence of the intense interest that the author has been able to arouse. Her whole book, in construction and style, is imbued with a warm simplicity. Her sensitive insights and her general understanding of the problems of mental illness and mental cur, enriched by her anthropological training, bring to life the patients whom she describes. I doubt whether without her sensitivity and general humility she would have been able to convey to us anything of the indigenous African psychotherapeutic skill, nor would she have succeeded in cooperating so closely with the local priests and healers.

ROSEMARY GORDON
(a) Men's house occupied by initiates. At the side is the platform where food débris is kept so that pigs cannot take it.

(b) Initiates in feeding stalls.

(c) The making of a tapa nambas.

(d) Initiate showing nambas.


RITUAL CIRCUMCISION ON TANNA, NEW HEBRIDES
RITUAL CIRCUMCISION ON TANNA, NEW HEBRIDES*

by

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218 The New Hebrides lie between 13 and 21 degrees of south latitude and 166 and 170 degrees of east longitude in the south west Pacific. Tanna lies in the southern part of the group and has a population of about 7,000 persons. The people are Melanesians with some Polynesian mixture. On this island, since 1940 there has been a return to ‘custom’ with the emergence of a cargo cult.

Circumcision has been practised by the Melanesians for a long period of time and the ceremonial group here described was visited in the Central Bush Area of Tanna in June, 1957, during a medical tour. Circumcision is practised during the year only for the period of April and May which corresponds to the beginning of the dry season.

The group of initiates, of whom there were 16, ranged in age from about five to 11 years. The boys all came from the same village and they had entered a period of seclusion which would last a whole month.

The ceremony took place at a dancing ground or nakamal prepared specially for the purpose. The boys were put in charge of guards who saw that discipline was kept, that the boys were fed and that the taboos were respected. Throughout the period of seclusion the nakamal was taboo to females and the boys must not be seen by any females otherwise they would be punished. The boys lived and slept at the nakamal in the specially constructed Men’s House which was built in the old style, that is, in the shape of a ridge tent without walls, and with one door at each end.

The ceremony takes place to the accompaniment of sounds from conch shells, bamboo drums and other noises, which serve to drown the cries of the initiates. The operation takes place in the men’s house. The knife used is made from a sliver of bamboo four inches long and half-an-inch wide. It is made from a small variety of bamboo which had been dried over a fire. The cutting edge is very sharp and will cut a single sheet of paper held at right angles to the blade with ease.

The operation is performed by making a longitudinal incision down the dorsum of the prepuce. A thin strand of cane is then tied round the penis outside the prepuce in the coronal sulcus. One side of the split prepuce is taken up and the knife is used to cut the prepuce away to the level of the ligature. This is done on both sides down to the frenum. When the vessels in the frenum are approached cutting is done very carefully and the whole foreskin is removed. The penis is then bandaged with a leaf and the first of the ceremonial nambas, or penis-wrappers, is put on. This is made of leaves and bound with strands of cane. The whole apparatus is held in place with a strand of cane (a G-string) which goes round the waist above the buttocks.

The foreskin and the bamboo knife are then wrapped in a leaf and hung from the roof of the men’s house over the sleeping mat of the boy. The nambas is changed every three days until at the end of the month a tapa (paper mulberry) nambas is worn permanently. The boys are taken to a stream to wash every morning and evening. Conch shells are blown at this time to warn the women in the neighbourhood to keep away. The discarded penis-wrappers are put on a raised platform attached to the outside of the men’s house. With these are put scraps of food left over by the boys, so that the pigs cannot eat them.

The boys are fed by the guards in stalls in a special building hidden by a reed screen. They sit, each in his own stall, and food is brought by the guardian. Yam, manioc and taro are the common foods usually eaten.

Every time a boy goes to the stream to bathe he takes a strand of grass and ties it round a dried branch stuck in the ground specially for the purpose. On his return from the bath he ties a second piece onto the branch. This branch will finally fall down at the end of the period of seclusion.

Boys who have been circumcised may chew kava for their elders and have sexual intercourse.

The seclusion and bathings and changing of penis-wrappers takes place for a whole month at the end of which time a big feast is held, a ‘kaikai,’ after which the boys return to their villages.

References


* With Plate R
The Social Context of Economic Choice in a Small Society

by

Dr. Manning Nash

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219 The distinctions between complex, monetized and civilized societies and the small-scale, non- or partially monetized peasant and primitive societies in economic life are startling, deeply rooted and easily apparent. These distinctions have frequently been laid to a special rationale of economic choice in small-scale non-Western societies. Boeke (1947, p. 2) finds a cleavage so deep between the small-scale economy and the capitalistic organization of economic life that a new name is needed, and he suggests 'oriental economics' to account for the workings of non-Western economies. Polanyi (1957, pp. 46f.) sees the essential difference in the 'absence of a motive of gain' from peasant and primitive societies, and of course from Maine onward there is a literature which claims that peasant values subordinate economic activity to social ends. It is the contention of this paper that the rationale of economic choice in peasant society follows the same general rule of maximization as economic activity does anywhere, at any time. What is distinctive about peasant and primitive societies are not the habits of mind about advantage, nor an inability to calculate costs and benefits of a course of action, nor even an absence of a motive of gain; but rather the possession of a set of concrete social organizations which directly channel economic choice, on the one hand, and a set of sanctions which operate to keep economic deviants in physical as well as moral jeopardy on the other. A corollary of this contention is that debate of rules of choice or abstract principles of economic organization will be barren and lead only to a 'spectral dance of bloodless categories,' to the profusion of empty boxes of theory; while the emphasis on the stipulation of the economic consequences of concrete social structures will generate an empirically powerful body of middle-range theory.

By an examination of the economy of peasant Indians in the state of Chiapas, Mexico, I hope to show how the structure and membership criteria of production units limit maximization; how the level and rhythm of output are consequences of the ceremonial cycle; and how notions of witchcraft and the supernatural combine to keep wealth from being used for economic ends and thus contribute to the steady state of small, reduplicative, productive units with little interest in, or incentive for, technological or social innovation.

In south-eastern Chiapas, Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking Indians are the predominant population. These Indians live in communities whose general characteristics are familiar from work done with neighbouring highland Maya in Guatemala (Tax, 1937). One Tzeltal community is that of Amatenango de Valle. Amatenango is a municipio (the administrative unit of Mexico, like a township, but tending to coincide with an Indian society in highland Chiapas and Guatemala) situated just off the Pan-American Highway some 44 kilometres south of the region's largest Mexican city. Amatenango, for an Indian community, has a reputation for wealth and independence. Its people call themselves Tzontajal; they wear a distinct costume; their mode of speech is dialectically distinct from neighbouring Tzeltal-speaking communities; they are nearly endogamous; they have economic skills not shared by neighbours; a local civil administration; a local set of sacred officials, and a particular calendar of sacred and secular festivals. They are a corporate community (Wolf, 1954), united by blood and custom, living on their own territory, with an ethnic distinctiveness which sets them apart in their minds, and in fact, from their Indian neighbours and the superordinate communities of Mexicans who surround them.

Amatenango makes its living by cultivating the soil, by cattle-raising, and by producing pottery. The technology of agriculture is on a relatively low level. The ox-drawn plough, the machete, the digging stick, the sickle and a net bag make up the tool kit. A simple irrigation system of ditching serves some of the land, and the watered lands are rotated between milpa crops (corn beans, squash) and a wheat cash crop. Fertilizer is not used. Soil-nutrient is added only by the burning of corn or wheat stubble and leaving the ash, or by turning animals loose in the fields after harvest. Seed-selection is not rigorous. And as in most peasant agriculture the vicissitudes of wind, rain, frost and sun make for wide swings in the annual harvest. Famine, or even real hunger, however, is not part of Amatenango experience, except in the days when the warring factions of the Mexican revolution swept through the region and disrupted life and devastated agriculture. The agricultural complex also includes garden plots near house sites, as distinct from field lands. Garden plots are used for some milpa, but their chief economic significance lies in the growing of chayote, a squash-like plant, and its root which are sold to other communities. The maguey plants, lime and avocado tree and some fruit trees supply domestically used produce. The agricultural complex is part of a system of regional interdependence based on ecological and traditional differences. Nearby communities specialize in other products, and there is a lively exchange of agricultural products between Amatenango, its neighbours and the nearby coastal 'hot' lands. The interpretation of the agricultural complex seems simple enough: ecological specialization on the base of natural resources combined

* With three text figures
with special agricultural skills and knowledge. The actual distribution of agricultural specialties results from the operation of comparative advantage over a long stretch of time.

Insight into the economic dynamics of the community and of the region may be had more clearly through the industrial rather than the agricultural organization of Amatenango. Agriculture does not, by itself, maintain Amatenango at its expected level of living. The making and selling of pottery is an important component in the meeting of the customary standard of life. Of the 280 households in the town centre of Amatenango (the peripheries of the community were recently settled either by Indians uprooted from other communities, or by poor Mexicans, and pose a special problem for social analysis) only two or three are not engaged in the production of pottery for sale. Pottery-making is a community specialization, not an individual skill. It is part of the socialization process for women in Amatenango. All women who are born and grow up in Amatenango know how to, and do, make pots. The striking nature of the community specialization comes home forcibly when it is observed that an adjoining community with virtually the same natural resources as Amatenango does not produce one single pot, and that in a region nearly 40 miles long and 30 across, there is no other Indian pottery-making community, although a few pottery-makers are scattered elsewhere in the region. In short, in a regionally diversified marketing area, only the people of Amatenango produce salable pottery, and all of the women produce it. The technique does not spread to other Indian communities, whatever the abstract profitability of such diffusion might be, because making pottery is part of a way of life, learned in the informal, intimate setting in which the basic parts of culture are acquired, and not a technique of production to be acquired by whoever sees the main chance.

Although women are the makers of pottery in Amatenango, pottery is not considered, and is not, strictly a woman's product. Men bring most of the firewood necessary for the firing of the pottery, and men take the pottery to the points of sale (now by bus and truck passage, but formerly on horseback), but the packing of pots in grass-padded net bags is still an arduous task. Pottery requires male and female co-operation, and single women make pots only if they live in a household with male members, or have male relatives who are willing to aid in the work.

The technology of pottery-making is simple and inexpensive. As the skills come to the women potters in the process of being socialized (there are, however, some women who do not know how to make the more specialized pottery like incense-burners and perforated pots, and 'on order' pottery sold exclusively to Ladinos, as the non-Indians are called, is made by very few families) and so provide every household with the art, so the technology, in terms of skill and materials, is within the reach of even the poorest household in the community. Pottery is a hand industry. No wheel, no mould, no oven are required. The shaping hand of the female potter, the open street firing of the ware, the slipping and decorating are ingenious skills, but technologically simple. Not even purchased, non-indigenous materials are necessary in pottery-production. The clay, the temper, the pigment, the scraping stone, the wood used in firing, the net bags used in packing, all come from communal resources and are open to every member of Amatenango equally. No payment or special permission is needed to use these resources. Community membership gives free (but not costless, since labour is involved) access to the materials of pottery-making. If one purchases part of the equipment (a steel blade for scraping, a smooth board for resting pot bases, a burlap bag or skirt under the potter's knees, nets, bags) the cost is under three dollars, and every household has that at its disposal.

There exists wide variations in the output of different pottery-making households. Estimating the range of variation in output and finding the reasons for output differences is, in a preliterate culture, a difficult task. In one household a daily record covering the entire annual production was obtained, and in three other households lesser periods, ranging from one to four months, were recorded. This information is supplemented by observations on pottery-making in several dozen households, and was checked against the complete field census of the community, so that the typicality of the sample can be judged. At any rate, the problem of measuring the gross community output of pottery was not the major research interest (though a reasoned and plausible estimate could be constructed from the data in hand). The problem was to assess the limits of output variability and to pin these down to a set of factors which were the determinants of production. The determinants of production would, when checked by micro-comparison between households in the community, indicate the 'controlling mechanism' regulating the pottery industry, and by extension the economic life of the community.

Fig. 1 is a composite of the production of one of the most intensive pottery-producing households in the community. An inspection of this figure (the special ware represents pottery made only in a few households, the dash line is commonly but not universally made ware, and the solid is pottery made in all households) shows that pottery-making tends to reach its peak just before the major festive occasions in the community and in surrounding communities. This is explicable in terms of the nature of the ecological market situation. Pottery-making is a cash-raising activity. Ware is sold in an impersonal, free market with prices set by the interaction of supply and demand. The festive occasions are the times when Amatenangueños need money; they are also the periods when the largest demand from visitors to a local fiesta may be expected, so producers reach a maximum of output just prior to the festive times of heavy buying and selling. Production is maximized not at the time of highest prices on the market, but rather in time with the rhythm of sacred and secular celebration which require cash outlay and provide opportunities for disposal without storage problems.

The peaks reached for fiestas are not of the same height. Two things operate here: the size or local importance of
the given fiesta and whether it falls in the rainy or dry seasons. In the rainy months (from June to September, but heaviest from late July to mid September) less pottery is made than in the dry sunny times of the year. However, in January and February, dry sunny months, there is high wind which complicates the drying of pottery (because the pottery must be kept under leaves to keep moisture in it until it is ready for firing) and hence output is reduced. The general pattern of seasonal flux is common to all households, and so is the peak and trough pattern of production along with fiestas.

While fig. 1 establishes the rhythm of pottery-production common to the society by virtue of its technology and annual cycle, fig. 2 compares the differences in level of production among three households. Household No. 6 outproduces No. 4, and No. 13 outproduces both No. 6 and No. 14 (the numbers refer to a genealogical map and census of the community which is not here included). Each of the households is differently constituted in numbers of potters in it. Household No. 13 has four potters (two young women, one middle-aged and one old). Household No. 6 has two potters (one young and one middle-aged woman) and No. 14 has two potters (one young and one middle-aged). Therefore the sheer number of hands which can be mustered in No. 13 is greater and helps explain its greater output. Furthermore No. 14 and No. 6 have small children under three years of age in the household, and No. 13 does not. Child care and household maintenance compete with pottery-making for a woman's time, so the small child is a further brake on production in these two households.

Inspection of fig. 2 shows that four women produce more than twice as much as do two women (even adjusting for children). Part of this is an 'economy of scale.' Pottery-production has some assembly-line aspects. Women work on a part of a pot, making bases, then they turn to making bodies, then to making necks, and finally to putting handles on the pot. Between these operations the pots are partially dried. If there are four women, the division of labour is better, and relative efficiency of the producing unit rises. Beyond four, not much increase occurs. But the differences in output between No. 6 and No. 14 are such that sheer numbers of hands will not serve as an explanation, and the factors of relative efficiency, or of skill, are so nearly matched in these households, that it does not really enter as a factor in the account of output differences. Explanation must be sought in the wider economic setting of the productive unit.

If all of the households in the community were ranked in terms of the major source of wealth—land at the disposal of the household—an immediate connexion would be noted between the wealth of the household and its level of output. The motivation to work at the top of the bent is stronger in poorer households, because alternative sources of income are less, and more of the family's subsistence must come from pottery-making. Land, of course, needs men to work it, and household No. 13 has but one old man, and he cannot work much land, nor lay claim to government-grant lands (ejido) of any considerable size. In richer households (in terms of land and cattle owned) there is sufficient milpa raised to ensure that corn need not be bought, and the need for continuous cash income is not so pressing. This also has a circular effect: richer households tend to be able to keep more children alive; with more children to care for, women devote less time to pottery. Conversely poorer households depend upon pottery
income, have fewer living children, and hence have both the opportunity and the need to produce almost continuously.

The rate of output is determined on two levels:

1. that common to the whole society (technology, resources, seasons and ceremonial cycle);
2. the organization and wealth differences among producing units (number of women, number of children under three, number of men, and amount of land and cattle owned).

To understand why the second level of determinants of production continues to be operative, involves a move from the micro-structural analysis of producing units, to the macro-structural analysis of the whole social and economic organization of Amatenango. It moves the question from that of incentives and motivations of actors and producers to the plane of the structural sources of and constraints upon incentives and motivation. The units of production are households, and the households are kinship units. As a kinship unit, membership comes only by being born or marrying into the unit. The household unit, with its kinship of recruitment, sets the size of the 'labour force' available for pottery-making. No one hires out to do pottery for wages, since pottery-making is only part of a woman's job as a member of a household (and even if a wage were paid it could not cover all activities and still yield anything to an employer). Amatenango's kinship system is one of nearly perfectly balanced bilateralism. A combination of personal tastes and wealth of the household determines whether a married couple will live with his or her parents. Wealthier households can attract either sons-in-law or daughters-in-law to live with them, and have a slightly larger labour force potential. But the absence of wage labour in a household production system limits any given unit's ability to expand pottery activities. Expected, and, of course, observed, is the common feature of peasant economic organization, a multiplicity of small re-duplicative, productive units, with no tendency toward agglomeration or centralization. Furthermore, since pottery-production is household-organized, many activities compete with it for the time of the same set of personnel. Economic activities are but one field in which maintenance needs are met. Internal family social relations, the socialization of members, sickness and curing, religious activity, social status, and dispute settlement are tasks partly centred in the family, and in household organization. Economic activity, be it in the market, field, or handicraft, is a means to implement and provide facilities for other aspects of household activity. It is not an instance of conflicting standards when a woman with small children stops pottery-making, but rather a case of clear priorities. This bears on an analogy sometimes used by anthropologists when a household is compared to a firm (Tax, 1952). A household may be conceived of as a firm trying to maximize, given its resources and personnel. The analogy is misleading, not on the grounds of the kind of rules of allocation, but on the nature of the social structures involved. Firms are special organizations for economic activities in societies of highly differentiated structure based on complex technology, extensive social division of labour, large numbers of people, and deliberate, continual technical and economic innovation. Firms may or may not follow the rule of income-maximization depending upon the larger social structure (viz. the firm in the Soviet economy and the firm in the United States economy). But in peasant and primitive societies like Amatenango the context of economic choice is a multi-purposed social organization, which, unlike a firm, cannot liquidate if it makes poor calculations. Households, or more precisely the members of them, in Amatenango are as acutely aware as we are of relative costs and are keenly sensitive to economic gain. When marketing their pottery they go to Las Casas, or

![Figure 2. Pottery Production of Three Households](image)

Comitán, or Las Rosas, or other points of sale in accord with price differentials. They closely question men returning from the various places as to prevailing prices and act accordingly. Price is on every tongue and is a topic of unending interest. Amatenangueros are 'rational' economic actors in the sense of bringing means and ends together, only their ends are values other than (or in addition to) maximization of a given single magnitude. The formal convergence of rules of choice in a household and in a firm does not lead to similar social arrangements or similar social consequences simply because the organization of personnel, resources and methods of role-recruitment form a different social structure.

The households, of course, form a social system. And the social system operates so that households orient to the prevailing value system, on the one hand, and remain fairly equivalent in wealth, on the other. Fig. 3 gives a land-distribution chart based upon the informant's self-reported wealth (it does not include the two tablones of government land which most family heads have granted to them). This suffers from underestimation and deliberate concealment of assets, but serves to approximate the
shape of the real distribution of land. Land is the best index to wealth. The features of social life which account for the shape of the curve, and the position of any given family at a point on the curve can be conceptualized as a levelling mechanism (Nash, 1938, 1959). Levelling mechanisms are ubiquitous devices in peasant economies in this region (Wolf, 1954). Not only do they ensure a 'democracy of poverty' but they serve to inhibit economic expansion of any given unit within the society under the threat of expulsion or sacral retribution. The levelling mechanism rests first on the absolute level of wealth in the community. Amatenganó's low-level technology and its restricted land base impose severe limits on the wealth of the society as a whole, and for households and individuals.

Another social mechanism reducing accumulation is the institution of the Alférez. The Alférez office, of which there are four to be filled every year, is a ritual and sacred office filled by a younger man. The cost of this office is, in terms of Amatenganó's wealth, exorbitant. An Alférez spends more than the annual income of even the richest Amatenganó in feasting a group of neighbours, relatives and officers of the hierarchy, in the great consumption of liquor and the renting of the special costumes. Before the Alférez feasts weeks of preparation for it occupy the household. Woman make pottery to use for the cooking of the larger amounts of special food, as well as pottery for sale. Men of the household spend their time making liquor in the hills near Amatenganó, and chopping wood for the firing of pits and cooking of foods. They also make extra trips to sell pottery. Members of the bilateral kindred come in to aid in the pottery-making and liquor-distilling.

Undertaking the post of Alférez leaves the family in reduced straits and with depleted assets. Alférezes are selected by the officials of the civil and religious hierarchy, and the selection is almost strictly on ability to pay. The eligible households are few in number, and are those on the right-hand side of fig. 3. Richer households have a levy placed against them in consequence of their prosperity. In a community like Amatenganó it is nearly impossible to conceal one's wealth—the cows and horses owned are visible, and the land cultivated is public knowledge, and the health of one's children is a reliable index of it. Strong negative sanctions—witchcraft, gossip and envy—would be consequent on a refusal to accept the post of Alférez when it was preferred. These things together—(1) low level of technology and limited land, (2) fracture of estate by bilateral inheritance, (3) expenditure of time and resources in communal office, (4) forced expenditure in ritual by the wealthy—combine to keep the fortunes of the various households nearly equivalent, and to maintain the shift of family fortunes throughout time. In addition, the business of marrying is expensive and uses household resources. Nobody gains goods in exchanges like marriage payment, or Alférez feasts or payments for dispute-settlement. The use of liquor as the medium of payment—the completely consumable good—precludes accumulation.

Not only are households in a situation where maximizing of an output or income dimension is unfeasible because of their social structure, but should a given household decide on the course of maximization or be lucky or exceedingly skilled in its economic operations, the 'levelling mechanism' comes into play to minimize differences. In short, Amatenganó presents a socio-economy where wealth is not easily turned to technical and economic uses, but is drained by the social and religious constitution of the culture.

Behind, and sanctioning, the social and religious organization of Amatenganó is a pervasive system of belief in witchcraft. Witchcraft befalls those who violate the norms of familial and household harmony, who do not get along with neighbours, who are rich but not generous, who refuse communal obligations, who become outstanding in
some dimension which violates the corporate nature of the community or upsets its tendency to economic homogeneity. Amatenangueiros do not formulate the principles of witchcraft in this manner, but they behave as if their actions were governed by these premises. Witchcraft as a working means of sanctioning behaviour is not an easy thing to live with, and at least one man is killed every two months for being a practitioner of witchcraft. But the tension between economic expansion and social coercion is apparently not so strong that the system appears in immediate or even remote danger of falling under its own weight.

The economy of Amatenango, like the rest of the social structure, shows little dynamism, and change and innovation are not by-products of economic activity, as they are in the 'developed' industrial societies. The simple technology, the absence of literary skills, the shortage of capital, the lack of credit all help to explain this fact. But the social and cultural basis of Amatenango's indifference to finding means to economic change depends upon the twin facts of household organization of production and the social and religious system of witchcraft which inhibits accumulation and prevents the discovery or utilization of economic opportunity. No one can run the risks of wide economic differentials, and even if the risks were taken, membership in the community would require investment in social relations, not economic ones. Amatenango presents the paradox of a community whose market economy makes it aware of economic calculation and relative costs and benefits, but a social structure and value system which channels economic choice toward economic stability and social continuity. Communities like Amatenango develop in the face of great economic pressure from the superordinate society, or via the extension of economic links with persons and social systems in which the rules of choice and values, and organizations are congruent with sustained ability to seize or make economic opportunity.

In small-scale societies like Amatenango, the facts of interconnexion of economy and society and their reciprocal interaction are open to inspection. They need not be bracketed away in the abstract language of formal economic analysis. Anthropologists do not have to lose the advantages of small scale by following the trend to principle-construction at the level of the skeletal model, universal, beyond time and space, for the dubious benefits of elegance and easy manipulation. The task of understanding a representative series of social structures and their economic consequences and correlates is still to be done.

With this intellectual task pursued, the making of 'principles' or the fashioning of 'models' will be only the happy task of summary and extrapolation.

Note

1 I am indebted to the National Institute of Mental Health, the Department of Anthropology and the Graduate School of Business of the University of Chicago for financing the field work on which this paper is based. June Nash covers in detail the social structure of Amatenango in Social Relations in Amatenango: An Activity Analysis, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago. Miss Joan Ablon aided in some of the data here reported during her field work in the community.

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OBITUARY


Louis Colville Gray Clarke died on 13 December, 1960, at the age of 79, leaving many friends to mourn his loss. Much of what has already been written about him in The Times and elsewhere is concerned with what he did for the fine arts and particularly with his Directorship of the Fitzwilliam Museum, but it is appropriate here to remember rather his interest in anthropology, using the word in its broadest sense as the Americans happily do.

As a young man of sufficient means he extended his education, after taking his degree in 1903, by travelling, and in his case the Grand Tour embraced Abyssinia, Central Africa and Peru, at a time when travel in those countries was nowhere near as easy and comfortable as it is now. He also spent some time in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, learning from Henry Balfour something of that great man's knowledge of the works of man all over the world. When in 1922 Baron Anatole von Hügel retired from the curatorship of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge, Louis was somewhat unexpectedly chosen to be the second incumbent of that post, owing, I believe, to the wisdom and dominating personality of Sir William Ridgeway, then Disney Professor of Archaeology. The choice was abundantly justified by the results. It was a formative period in the life of what is now the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, and the Curator both built up the collections and enabled the Museum to keep its place as the heart, home and servant of the growing Faculty amid a welter of conflicting interests.

His wide knowledge enabled him to see the main gaps in the collections, his appreciation of quality resulted in many of them being filled with material of the first importance, his generosity provided funds for purchase when none were forthcoming from University sources, and his gift for making friends provided agents in many lands. My own experience is typical. I first met him a few years after his appointment, when he had recently returned from taking part in the excavations at Kecharis, near Zuni, New Mexico, which he and Mr. G. G. Heye paid for
between them. A fortuitous connexion with the Museum resulted in an invitation to dine with him, a memorable experience to any undergraduate. When a year or so later I went to Ecuador on very different business and found some quite unexpected archeological material, I remember his interest in America and sent him some samples. The result was an enthusiastic letter,

England on leave, he asked me to stay with him, made me feel that the things that I had sent really mattered in the Museum, and introduced me to many friends. He was doing the same sort of thing for many others, and he greatly assisted several expeditions by buying their collections for the Museum from his own resources. I know of one case where he sent a friend to America at his own expense to collect material which he knew would be unobtainable in a few years’ time.

The Kechipaun excavations brought important material, which was of great help to a specialist on the American Southwest only last year, and Louis also took part in excavations at Toszeg in Hungary, thus getting a collection which is not only most valuable to students but also helped the Hungarians, through Professor Childe, to sort out the chaos produced in their own material by the war. The mention of Hungary reminds me of one of those apocryphal stories which throw more light than the truth on the character of the subject. His enthusiasm for beads was proverbial, and it is related that he once chartered an aeroplane to take him to Budapest to secure one bead! Among the Museum’s possessions is a rubber stamp saying ‘Clarke Gift,’ and it is interesting to speculate on how much time has been saved by its use in the accessions books and catalogue cards. There is hardly a show case in the building which does not contain some gifts from him, and some have many.

He published very little, only a few short papers, for the sustained attention to a subject which publication demands was not for him. Few men could have a wide enough range of interests to move effectively, as he did, from the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology to the Fitzwilliam and his knowledge was not superficial, but his mind leapt rapidly from branch to branch like the birds he loved. A tour of the Museum with him gave a similar impression, as he rushed from case to case, alternately shouting and whispering anecdotes about the objects displayed. His memory was prodigious, and was doubtless improved by early training, whence the story, which I do not think that I can have imagined, that his mother made him learn the coats of arms of all the Papal families before he was five years old! He well deserved the recognition which the University gave him by conferring on him the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1939.

His splendid hospitality did much for our subject by bringing people of varying interests together in surroundings littered with beautiful things. When in 1952 the XXX International Congress of Americanists met at Cambridge, and he offered to give a party in his house, I put it on the first evening because I knew that this was the best possible way to break the ice, and I believe that members will remember it when they have forgotten everything else about the Congress. He was an active Fellow of the Institute until hindered by the burden of the Fitzwilliam in the war years and just before, and he served several times on the Council between 1918 and 1942, sometimes as a Vice-President. Finally, I am glad to record that he had the very great pleasure of a visit from his old friend Sam Lothrop, our Huxley Lecturer, who had directed the Kechipaun excavations 40 years before, less than a month before he died.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

LOUIS CLARKE BY AUGUSTUS JOHN, 1915
By courtesy of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

painting the importance of the material in the most vivid terms and imploring me to get some more, which was of the greatest encouragement to a young man ploughing a lonely furrow far away. Over the years that followed, the collection at Cambridge was slowly built up, and each batch arrived, I received a long and appreciative letter, full of shrewd observations, helpful hints and news of Cambridge, written in his own hand before the days of typists in small university departments. When I came back to

SHORERT NOTES

Late Stone Age Sites on the Tanganyika Coast. By Miss J. R. Harding, until recently Curator of the King George V Memorial Museum, Dar es Salaam. With six text figures

The material described in this paper occurred entirely on the surface. Two localities are concerned: (1) Kilwa Masoko in the Southern Province, and (2) Kisju in the Eastern Province. All the implements and flakes recovered from the sites are in quartz. They reflect a Wilton-like industry which may be present elsewhere along the Tanganyika coast.

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THE KILWA MASOKO SITE

This site (see map, fig. 6) covers only a small area on sloping ground between the Government Rest House and the beach below. There is no depth of soil anywhere on it, the coral rock lying very near and at the surface, and I was unable to trace any deposit on higher ground from which the artifacts and flakes could have been derived. Nor are there any caves or rock shelters in the area. There is little doubt, therefore, that this is a camping
site and, since it yielded so few implements and very little wastage, that it was occupied only for a very short period (perhaps a single season) by a small group of hunter-gatherers.

Water-worn pebbles of quartz (which, though scarce, are present in the small rocky coves in the area), provided the raw material for manufacture. Both flakes and implements exhibit a plain butt, and most of them present a small portion of the worn surface of the pebble from which they were struck. Nearly all the rough flakes show signs of having been utilized as scrapers, a sign of the scarcity of workable raw material in this district.

The artifacts and utilized flakes from the Kilwa Masoko site are shown in figs. 1–3. The assemblage is as follows:

- **Crescent**
- **Scraper ('thumb-nail')**
- **Burin (small)**
- **Burin (large)**
- **Trapeze-like flake**
- **Point (biface)**
- **Scaper (end)**
- **Scaper (hollow)**
- **Blade**
- **Drill or borer**
- **Notched flakes (arrow head?)**

The chisel-like implement made on a thick flake seen in fig. 2, No. 23, is unusual and seems to be something new. It also occurs at Kisiju (see below).

Rough flakes which show definite signs of usage (probably as scrapers) number nine, and are shown in fig. 1, No. 15; fig. 2, Nos. 17, 18, 26, 29, 30; fig. 3, Nos. 31, 33, 36, 37.

Only three cores were recovered: one very small one (fig. 1, No. 9), and two larger ones (fig. 2, No. 20, and fig. 3, No. 38).

No. 39 of fig. 3 shows a quartz pebble that appears to have been used as a hammer stone, and No. 21 of fig. 2 a small flake which seems to have been used for chopping, as shown by the battered edge.

**THE KISIJJU SITE**

This site (see map, fig. 6) occurs on the drier, more sandy ground adjacent to the swamp that fringes the coast in the Kisiju area. As the crow flies, it lies approximately two miles inland from the sea.

Here again the finds were entirely surface. The source of the quartz pebbles out of which the artifacts were made was not found. The 'mint' condition of both the worked and rough flakes suggests, comparatively speaking, that they were made quite recently: they bear no signs of erosion and their edges are as sharp as when they were struck.

The Kisiju specimens are, on the whole, smaller than those from Kilwa Masoko, this difference being accounted for, possibly, by the smaller pebbles that were used for their manufacture.

I had no time to explore this area thoroughly but as far as I am at present able to ascertain, the assemblage of material appears to be as follows:

- **Scraper ('thumb-nail')**
- **Scraper (side)**
Scaper (end and side) 1 (fig. 5, No. 43 (utilized flake))
Scaper (hollow) 5 (fig. 5, Nos. 35, 38, 39 (utilized flake), 45 (?), 46)
Scaper (irregular utilized flake) 7 (fig. 4, Nos. 1, 3, 9, 11, 12, 13; fig. 5, No. 20)
Fabricator 1 (fig. 4, No. 4)
Blade 3 (fig. 5, Nos. 29 (?), 32, 34)
Crescent-shaped flake 4 (fig. 4, Nos. 6, 7; fig. 5, Nos. 23, 28 (minute))
Trapezoid flake 1 (fig. 5, No. 31)
Drill or borer 7 (fig. 4, Nos. 10, 16 (extremely fine point), 17 (minute), 19 (?) (figs. 4, Nos. 18; fig. 5, Nos. 22, 30, 41)
Point (possibly arrow tip) 4 (fig. 5, No. 37)
Notched flake (possibly arrow tip) 1 (fig. 5, No. 57)
Chisel-like implement (cf. one from Kilwa Masoko) 3 (fig. 4, Nos. 13, 14; fig. 5, No. 50 (all rectangular in section))
Micro-burin 2 (fig. 5, Nos. 21, 37a (?))

Two cores were recovered. These are shown in fig. 5, Nos. 48 and 49.

**Correspondence**

**The Museum of Ethnography, Leningrad**

223 Sir,—During a three-day stay in Leningrad, I visited the African department of the Museum of Ethnography. The Museum is in the original building (1718–23) of Peter I’s 'Kunstkamera' and of the St. Petersburg Observatory on the University quay of the Vasilev island. The façades of all the University and Academy buildings along the quay have been restored after the war and the original pale peacock green, ochre, and deep red frontages are picked out with white portico and window mouldings. The interior of the Ethnographical Museum is being extensively reconstructed, so as to provide exhibition rooms of modern standards and to meet modern requirements. Some of Peter I’s cabinet of 'curiosities, rarities and monsters' are preserved in a gallery, displaying the history of science in Russia. The Museum has a rich collection on the material culture and religious observances of North, East and Central Asia. Its Oceania exhibits include N. N. Mikhukho-Maklai’s (1846–88) collections from New Guinea, Oceania, Malay, Western Micronesia, and Polynesia, including Easter Island tablets with lettering. The Academy published N. N. Mikhukho-Maklai's collected works in 1900. The African collections include Benin bronzes, carvings from the Camerouns, V. V. Junker's collections (1877–96), and collections from Ethiopia (1886–1900). Professor D. A. Ol'derogge, Director of the African Department, recently published a catalogue of holdings of African art.

MARY HOLDSWORTH

Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford


224 Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys, whose corrected proof did not reach the Hon. Editor in time for the printing of the May issue, has pointed out an error in his letter. The first mineral mentioned in the analysis of the mass of rock should have been given as 'TiO₂' (titanium dioxide).

**Reviews**

**General**


It is right and proper that music should be subjected to examination by scientific method, laboratory techniques and quantitative evaluations, as human nature is by psychology. But there is a certain recalcitrance in humane subjects to scientific method, so that the musician accepts scientific results with reserve. Quality into quantity won't go, as they say in arithmetic. When this or that aspect of the art is scientifically examined, e.g. talent, taste, or therapy, the thing being examined tends to cease to be musical and disintegrates. Professor Farnsworth is aware of the limitations and says in so many words that 'music must look for its explanations far more often to social science than to physical science.' His title emphasizes the social character of musical phenomena, but he pushes the nurture side of the nature-nurture antithesis very

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internal drone serving for tonic and a secondary centre with the effect of a dominant—and the intervals are in tune to our ears. To so convinced a relativist as Professor Farnsworth one can only say: Very well, society conditioned things so, but how came society to make these fundamental acts of choice? Not that he lacks zeal in pursuit of origins: for the explanation of musical talent he looks at blood pressure, longevity, irregularly shaped ears, astrology, overcompensation and left-handedness!

It will be plain that there is a vast amount of interesting material in the book and vast learning behind it. The references to research literature show a prodigious amount of reading. There is not much interest in the psychology of music in Britain and the book is valuable in revealing the enormous amount of work that has been and is being done in America, of which we remain in a complacent ignorance. There are one or two alarming evidences of ignorance of music at first hand on the author’s part. Thus, who ever heard of a key with nine sharps; had Pythagoras ever heard of ‘black notes’; what was Palestrina doing in the Boston Symphony Orchestra programmes; and who was Galli-Curci’s accompanist who transposed current cantus? The old business of key-colour still refuses to accept the scientist’s ruling that no such thing exists. Concert programme statistics are too much affected by the conductor’s predilections, soloist’s whims, sheer chance and movements of fashion to give much validity to statistical analysis of public taste. It is amusing to find that in all seriousness J. S. Bach has been credited with an I.Q. Nevertheless the investigations are on the whole worth making, even if the results are negative or unacceptable by practical musicians who actually handle the material. If Professor Farnsworth accepts too many of their results at their face value he has amassed a vast array of varied information, as herein intimated by Jack Horner’s non-statistical method of reviewing by pulling out plums. The book is rich in plums. FRANK HOWES

AFRICA


The core of this lecture is the Nyakyusa-Ngonde conception of a mystical balance between the power of growth resident in divine kings and the power of 'breath' (that is the expression of anger at the transgression of the society’s values) which is innate in commoners. This balance matches an equilibrium in the political system. The notion of righteous anger (resulting in sickness), which is worked out at rituals and followed by forgiveness and reconciliation, is shown to be a fundamental factor of social coherence. While the connexion between these rituals in which anger is confessed and reconciliation effected and Gluckman’s ‘rituals of rebellion’ is obviously a close one, it is doubtful whether the latter category can be disposed of so easily as Professor Wilson seems to suggest. 'Rebellion' may not always be the precise word but there is at least a useful distinction to be made between the resolutions, on ritual occasions, of actual quarrels between persons and groups and the ritual expression of continuing potentialities for conflict irrespective of the actual state of relationships obtaining at the time.

In the first half of the paper the intellectual and symbolic environment in which divine kingship flourishes is skilfully mapped out. Professor Wilson strikes down to the common roots of African value systems and her analyses of thought categories and symbolic forms have a general validity far beyond the boundaries of the Bantu societies with which she is immediately concerned. The discussion which follows of the historical basis of divine kingship in this area, though necessarily more speculative, is full of interest, particularly in its indication of links between the genesis of divine kingship and the introduction of new energy-releasing techniques, and of the relationship between its variant forms in Nyakyusa and Ngonde and their respective degree of involvement in external trade.

Finally Professor Wilson has some very pertinent questions and remarks about the relevance of the ideas which she has been discussing to the modern political situation in Africa. African intellectual and political leaders seeking to give more precise meaning to the much-bandied-about concept of 'The African Personality' could do worse than take a glance at this paper.

R. E. BRADBURY


227 Most of the chapters in this book were written as short talks for the B.B.C. General Overseas Service, and were intended to present the picture of pre-colonial Africa revealed by recent research. Some of the essays are focused upon states—such as the kingdoms of Congo, Axum, the Sudan,—others, especially those concerned with central and southern Africa, tend to use a more speculative, less geographical framework. A clear map accompanies each chapter, and there is an appendix of plates, not always well chosen. Though necessarily presented in a simplified form, these essays by recognized authorities give a good account of present knowledge and well convey a notion of the mystery which still surrounds much of the African past and makes its study one of the most exciting fields of historical research. The book should therefore provide a good introduction to the subject for the general reader and for schools: a brief bibliography would have enhanced its value.

The title and contents of the book must raise the question whether it is useful, in the present state of knowledge, to hold to a concept of African History embracing the whole continent. Here we are forced to span an enormous gap between dynastic Egypt and the nineteenth century in southern Africa, and it is abundantly clear that the problems of history north and south of the Sahara are entirely different. For most purposes the former region is probably best considered in a Mediterranean context rather than as an exotic fringe to the lands south of the Sahara where research is continually discovering a greater cultural and historical unity.

A. F. C. RYDER


228 At a time when anthropologists, historians and archaeologists are becoming increasingly aware of their interdependence in the field of African studies this new twice-yearly journal will have a very wide welcome. The editors take an admirably broad view of history and are to be congratulated on the range and distinction of the articles obtained for this first issue, which includes an examination by C. K. Meek of the classical evidence for the origin of the names ‘Niger’ and ‘Nigeria’; an illustrated study of the character, distribution and historical pattern of wandering in Africa (James Walton); a survey of East African coin finds (G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville); an article by J. S. Vansina setting out very clearly his methods for collecting oral history among the Bakuba; an un inhibited warning by C. R. Boxer against the scholarship of S. R. Welch concerning the Portuguese in Africa; an account of Christian and Negro slavery in eighteenth-century North Africa (N. R. Bennett); new evidence for the revision of Ashanti dynastic chronology (Margaret Priestley and Ivor Wilks); a foretaste by J. D. Hargreaves of a forthcoming study of the prelude to the partition of Africa; an account of the formation of the Government General of French West Africa (C. W. Newbury); and a very useful general survey of archives in tropical Africa (P. D. Curtin). There are 39 pages of reviews. The annual subscription promises to be a worthwhile investment for Africanists of all descriptions. In view of the wide range of scholars to whom this journal will appeal it would be useful to have short notes identifying the contributors to each issue.

R. E. BRADBURY


229 A. Timed to coincide with the celebration of the centenary of the arrival of the first Indians in South Africa, this work is one of the most searching contributions to the
knowledge of the Indian community in the Union. In a broader field also, in the study of the adaptation of immigrant communities of Indian origin, of which several parallel cases exist on the perimeter of the Indian Ocean, the work is valuable.

Whereas the layman of Durban cannot avoid a consciousness of his Indian 'neighbour' in the daily rubbing of shoulders in the streets, and in the obvious manifestations of Indian life—the mosque and temple and the daily coloured saris of Indian women—, Hilda Kuper has revealed as fascinating a culture pattern and systems of human relationships as is to be found in any part of the world. Of this the layman and more particularly the South African European controlling group at least, is woefully ignorant.

The writer concentrates on the Hindu population of Durban, which constitutes about 74 per cent. of the Indian population of the city, and analyses the pattern of Indian life in a country where traditional social patterns of India have been subjected to the pressure of a culture contact with South African European society. A fundamental attribute of this contact is the evolution of a new pattern of 'westernized' human relationships in the community which has however been largely isolated from full participation in the European society. The analysis of the highly complex structure of an Indian sub-culture, which has evolved in consequence, and of the relationship which it bears to contemporary European society, possibly represents one of the most valuable contributions of the work.

The book is divided into three parts treating firstly of the background of South African Indian life and the emergence of new stratifications of the population in a process of adaptation to the culture contact, secondly a detailed study of kinship relationship among the Durban Hindu population and thirdly public cults and health.

In Part 1 the writer shows how the traditional concepts of caste have largely disappeared. A new social stratification of the population has appeared based upon political, economic (business and professional) and social (education, art, entertainment, sport) lines out of which new South African Indian elites have evolved. Throughout the analysis, the significance of the complex thread of traditional caste systems is skilfully woven. As an outcome of the isolation to which the Indian has been subjected, there has evolved also a diversity of associations and public bodies which 'are the main units for internal cohesion in a minority group excluded from the central power of the state.' In these associations the new elite have found an outlet for expression.

While some of the overt aspects of the Indian life pattern discussed in Part 1 may be known to the informed layman, the material of Parts 2 and 3 is less evident and can only be understood by an extensive study of the group and its characteristics. The complexities of the family structure, the spatial relationships which exist within a neighbourhood between members of individual families, the place of the woman in the family and in society, kinship rituals from 'conception to puberty' and in marriage and death are among the many interesting aspects which are treated in detail under the heading of kinship structure.

Part 3 treats principally of the Hindu religion as practised in Natal. Here again, to the layman whose knowledge of Hindu practice usually extends no further than the dubious curiosity of a visit to a fire-walking ceremony, the wealth of knowledge to be gained is great.

A feature of this work which cannot be overlooked is the obvious sympathy and personal understanding which the author displays. The inclusion of personal case histories, particularly in Part 1, gives the reader a close insight into the life pattern of the people and creates an impact more profound than that achieved in other works characterized by impersonal analyses and generalizations for the group as a whole.

In a country in which anthropological study has been largely confined to the African society, this work on the Indian community is overdue and will fill a gap in the study of Man in South Africa.

R. J. DAVIES


Mr. Welbourn's long awaited book on independent Christian sects in Uganda and Kenya fills a gap in East African studies and is a welcome addition to the growing literature on African separatist movements. This is primarily church history, but it is of considerable interest to sociology and politics. Independence in Uganda centres almost wholly on Buganda, and Mr. Welbourn analyses it as proceeding from religion to politics, whereas in Kenya he sees it moving from politics to religion. Three Buganda movements are studied: Mugema's Society of the One Almighty, God was concerned, like so many African independent movements, with objection to the use of medicine, African or European. Mengo Gospel Church was founded by a European, Mabel Ensor, as a protest of enthusiasm against convention. And the African Greek Orthodox Church, led by Reuben Spartas, is described as a revolt against paternalism. The last is the most interesting, revealing a search for authority which rejected Anglicanism and finished up by accepting the rule of the Greek Orthodox Church, with its antiquity and elaborate ritual. This has posed a problem for the Anglicans, who could not declare the movement heretical since they themselves seek friendly relationships with the Orthodox. Clearly this cannot be explained simply as a revolt against paternalism, and Sundekler has shown in "The British" how strong is the urge towards ritual and authority.

Independency in Kenya is much more complex and widespread, and this book studies only some aspects of certain groups in the Central Province. The African sentimental attachment to 'female circumcision' as against white reforms was simply part of larger social unrest, and an immediate excuse for large-scale independence moves against foreign control. This section is only a partial summary and much more research needs to be done on these churches, but this book gives elaborate notes and a substantial bibliography. The final section analyses and criticizes orthodox church policy. It shows how inherent schism is in Christianity, condemns missionary autocracy, and demands that the existence of the Church should be recognized in every local Christian group, 'whatever its variety, whatever its deviation from the western norm.'

E. G. PARRINDER


This handbook is the first in a series on different aspects of the Republic of the Ivory Coast. It is handsomely produced and the illustrations are well selected and clearly reproduced. It is directed not only at the ethnologist but also, as President Houphouët-Boigny points out in his Preface, at all who are interested in the everyday life of the people, in particular the cultured tourist. For such M. Holas has written an admirable guide.

The various objects are considered under headings, some by their use, for example Agriculture, others by the material of which they are made, for example Wood. There are no detailed technological descriptions, but the economic and social uses, and where appropriate the mystical significances, of each item are explained. The bias is towards the traditional, but modern art forms, such as the murals inspired by magazine illustrations with which itinerant painters decorate the houses of Akan farmers, are also mentioned. But it is for the wood carvings and masks of the Senoufo, Baoule, Bété and Guéré that the Ivory Coast is renowned and approximately one-third of the text and half the plates are devoted to them. This is the most interesting section summarizing as it does M. Holas's encyclopaedic knowledge of the peoples and art of the Ivory Coast.

There is a comprehensive bibliography but, most annoyingly, no tribal map.

P. T. W. BAXTER

In The Chinese in the United States of America Dr. Rose Hum Lee has presented a study of special importance at this time when the United States faces changes in its China policy. Dr. Lee is head of the Department of Sociology at Roosevelt University, Chicago, and is widely known as a writer and lecturer on the Chinese in America. She is of the fourth generation born in the United States, has travelled extensively in China, where she lived and worked before the Second World War.

Chinese immigration began in the California Gold Rush (1850). Welcomed at first when their labour was needed, they became the scapegoat a generation later when economic recession set in, further immigration was prohibited, and restrictions as to residence and occupation were imposed by law and public pressures. The Chinatowns in the cities became fortresses where their leaders protected and aided their members, and also taxed and exploited them. The leaders regarded China as their homeland and made it very difficult for the American born to escape from their tight controls. As restrictions were later lifted the younger generations began to break away from the China-minded elders, and conflicts arose between the generations and the cultures.

Dr. Lee surveys the historical background and the present conditions. She portrays the organization of the Chinatowns, their benevolent associations, tongs, internal taxation, ideas, evasion of law, and their adherence to a China which no longer exists. She presents the successes and problems of the American Chinese in their efforts to integrate with the general community.

The Chinatowns are still a central, organized force. They speak in the name of the Chinese in America and their representatives are too often accepted as representative of the views of all the Chinese. Whenever the question of the recognition of Red China confronts the United States they speak urgently for Nationalist China but the American Chinese owe no loyalty to any government in China. Their greatest wish is to be considered as individuals and loyal Americans.

Dr. Lee’s survey is a needed contribution to sociology, of special importance to all Americans and particularly to the American Chinese.

VALELSA BARY


The first volume of this new enterprise is published by the society which also publishes that fine journal American Antiquity, with the financial support of the Charles E. Brush Foundation. The 676 abstracts in this volume are grouped under a general and 27 geographical headings. In addition to abstracts from usual sources, a feature is made of summaries of unpublished Ph.D. theses, a product of American universities which in number, size and, sometimes, in water content may be likened to vegetable marrows in an English country fair. The editor has a body of assistant editors, responsible for the various areas. A useful feature is the occasional comment, in square brackets, by the abstractor which can save potential readers from wasting their time on publications of little worth. This will be an annual publication.

J. ERIC S. THOMPSON


The authors describe this book as a historical reconstruction rather than ‘just a story,’ but they certainly have produced a first-class exciting story with nothing self-conscious about the names of the characters or the speech they use, which so often put children off a book of this kind. It reads as easily as any modern adventure story, and, if the boy’s single-handed victory over the mastodon rather strains the archaeological imagination, well, worse things happen in juvenile fiction! A jarring note to an English reviewer was the father’s exclamation of ‘Son!’ but this is a tribute to the book otherwise being noticeably detached from modern idioms. The black and white illustrations show highlights of the story—the fight with a polar bear almost invisible in the snow makes one realize the courage of paleolithic men everywhere, armed only with wooden spears. There are many sketches of hunter’s possessions and how they were made, which make the story real to children.

As the onset of a glaciation drove away game to the south, ‘The People’ of this story are forced to leave their homes on the shore of the Arctic ocean to follow the animals. Throw Stone and his Father go ahead, and their adventures make one realize the everyday problems of prehistoric man. When the ‘Forest Home’ is reached, the Father returns for the rest of the family, and Throw Stone is left, luckily with his dog Yodi, who had disloydently followed them all the way from home. Enter the mastodon, credibly interpreted by the People as ‘Acaba’ the evil spirit that drives away game. Exit mastodon (after accurate spear-throwing by Throw Stone) through the ice, and a happy family reunion takes place, with the slaying of Acaba being recorded in a chant, much as one imagines must have happened.

One must emphasize that this is a story for any child in any country, a good narrative with interesting modern adaptations to the Arctic woven in with animal customs and prehistoric remains. Highly recommended for school libraries too. A first-rate piece of collaboration by these authors.

ROBIN PLACE


The need for a second edition of India’s Villages is a source of gratification and bears witness to the growth of social anthropology in India over the last ten years to which Professor Srinivas has largely contributed. The revisions in the present volume are slight and it is perhaps a pity that the editor did not take the opportunity to survey the developments that have taken place since 1955. This might however have been invidious to his contributors, many of whom have published more developed works since these initial field reports appeared. In a Prefatory Note Professor Srinivas suggests the possibility of a further collection which may provide an opportunity for such a stock-taking. It is opportune here to record the gratitude which all students of Indian society must feel for the interest shown in their work by Sachin Chaudhuri, the editor of the Economic Weekly where these essays first appeared and from which the promised volume may be taken. The original volume had a stiff paper cover and was cheap, and this undoubtedly, and especially in India, contributed to its success. The present volume is more handsome and costs over four times as much, which must seriously reduce the possibility of the book being in every student’s possession as it should be.

One of the virtues of India’s Villages as an introductory work was the simplicity of approach. A few articles only suggested by their titles that they dealt with specific ‘problems,’ and all in fact gave simple preliminary accounts of villages in various parts. Rural Profiles II suggests that some advance has taken place, not least in the fact that, here, the majority of contributors are Indians. The titles of the essays are generally more ambitious and the ambition is not always justified. The kind of thing which can be done in a short essay is well done by K. S. Mathur in an account of caste and occupation in Malwa, Prabhat Chandra, at a somewhat lower level of ethnography, also provides confirmatory facts without any pretension. There is a preliminary statement by F. G. Bailey which he was later to expand in his Tribe, Caste and Nation, and a field report on his work on elections by A. C. Mayer. The latter is a tacit reply to the at once pessimistic and ambitious conclusions of the late D. N. Majumdar’s Rural Life and Communication. This, apart from a

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pleasing election poem, contains either generalities such as 'Conversation is the common way by which the exchange of ideas and information takes place' or instances of the villagers' failure to accept immediately what seems, to the writer, to be obvious benefits. The negative, and substantially untrue, picture which emerges is then made to justify the interference of the 'social scientist.'

Rather more satisfactory is the same author's account of the effects of the Community Development Project's Shramdan movement in an Uttar Pradesh village where the reactions of different castes are considered and accounted for and where there is some discussion of the role of factions in furthering or delaying village improvements.

I doubt very much whether future years will call for a second edition of either of the Rural Profiles volumes. The essays do not constitute a book and one has no sense of an informing social-anthropological tradition informing all the contributions such as, despite the personal differences, one has in India's Villages. In some contributions which I shall not specify, jargon and mere statistics take the place of sociology and at the same time effectively conceal the original facts.

The production of Rural Profiles II is as shoddy as its predecessor. There are many misprints (even the editor's name has two spellings), and a promising article by D. N. Khurshid, on a theme similar to that of Majumdar's second article, is truncated (at least in the review copy) by the omission of pp. 49–52.

D. F. POCCOCK


This is a very thorough account of a nomadic tribe of south-west Persia by a highly qualified social anthropologist with previous experience in the similar fields of Iraq, Kurdistan and Pakistan. From the tent or household the author works upwards through the small herding group to the camp, the clan, the tribe and the confederacy, analysing the factors that conduce to stability, change or disintegration in each. He also examines their kinship composition and their links with the hereditary claiming through which their relations with neighbouring tribes and the provincial administration are channelled, in contrast to the very individual association in the economic sphere between the head of a nomadic household and his sedentary 'friends' on his migration route.

In addition to a historical sketch there are interesting accounts of the customs and ceremonies, additional to those prescribed by Islamic law, connected with birth, marriage (from betrothal to consummation) and death; but the author considers that his subjects 'show a poverty of ritual activities which is quite striking.'

Apart from the general influences of improved communications of all kinds which conduce to sedentarization, most Middle Eastern governments tend to regard nomadism in itself as a discreditable survival from a barbarous age to be discouraged or forbidden. Under the late Riza Shah the Basseri were forced to 'settle' for a number of years, suffering grievous losses in human life and in flocks. The resumption of migration in 1941, after Riza's abdication, was followed by a remarkable revival, so that at the time of the author's visit they numbered about 3,000 tents. But the pressures to become sedentary, economic and official, remain strong, and nomadism must be on the way out. Dr. Barth is to be congratulated on a most valuable and timely study.

C. J. EDMONDS


In this monograph, the authors, students and faculty of the Delhi School of Social Work point out that 'Begging as a pattern of behaviour cannot be understood except as a process of interaction between the beggar and the giver.' This approach leads to an analysis of institutionalized forms of mutual aid which should be of interest to anthropologists. Chapters of particular interest are those on the Work Life of Beggars, Society and the Beggar and the Social Life in Beggar Communities.

The conventional attitude to begging is a reaction of nuisance and that beggars are offenders or, at best, social deviants. But indifference in India had a place in village life where the Panchayat took care of the disabled and destitute. But 'gradual and continuous displacement of a self-sufficient cottage and village economy by a large scale factory system; and the consequent growth of big cities' has unbalanced the social order. Begging is no longer supported by primarily religious sanctions. The beggar has to rely on spontaneous feelings of sympathy. Mendicancy has given place to begging as an expression of misfortune. New institutionalized forms of meeting the needs of indigence have still to emerge. Changes in caste relationships, and within castes, have further blurred traditional obligations. 'Nowhere in India,' the authors report, 'has the government, so far, developed or sponsored any programme of relief assistance to the needy....'

The beggar leaves the rural area only to emerge in anonymity in the city where about 70 per cent. live in isolation from their kin, which has led to 'professionalization' of begging. Despite their generally low status, and the handicap of vocational failure, they attempt to order their life as other people do. The majority do not like begging; only 20 per cent. out of 600 interviewed reject this mode as a preferred way of life. As a group (it is estimated that there are 3,000 beggars in Metropolitan Delhi) they are characterized by heterogeneity of age, sex, religion, education (30 per cent. are illiterate) and health. Their mode of life leads to an 'asocial (anomic) personality which functions more or less on a level of physical wants and needs.'

In terms of the future, the authors present a cross-cultural historical analysis of approaches to the problem of beggars showing the gradual transition from repressive to preventive and rehabilitative measures. Yet present Indian laws still regard begging as a cognizable offence. There is generally no provision for rehabilitative or post-institutional services. Those are needed to develop 'fresh social and emotional "grass-roots" by involving them (the beggars) in group life and in acts of social responsibility which would make them sensitive to their relative status....'

A glossary of terms would have been a useful addition.

PETER C. W. GUTKIND


This valuable work reflects the special qualifications of its author. Dr. Eglar is a Muslim woman; she lived in the village for over five years; she won full entry into the women's world, as an aspect of village life not usually open to anthropologists. The first part of the book is a succinct ethnographic account of Mohala, a Muslim village of some 350 people, located 70 miles north-west of Lahore. Village organization is by castes. While members of different castes have freer and more casual relations, in dining and in worship, than is generally true in a Hindu village, the caste structure is quite like that elsewhere in India in such matters as occupational specialization, economic interrelations and caste endogamy. The main social demarcation is between the top caste of landowners and the several artisan and service castes. Landowner families have traditional economic and ceremonial relations with families of the other castes much as under the usual North Indian system of intercaste affiliations.

Villagers at all levels, and landowners especially, are concerned with social prestige, i.e. a village builds his prestige by developing as broad and as strong a network of social rights and obligations as he can manage. For example, when a man requests collective labour to sink a well or roof his house, his purpose, Dr. Eglar notes, is less the material task to be done than the social relations which he fosters by the enterprise. 'Of much greater importance is strengthening the social bonds that exist between him and many members of the community. By calling people to work for him, he puts himself under obligation to all those who respond and opens the way for them, in turn, freely to ask favors of him.' (pp. 40f.)

The main mechanism for cultivating social bonds is through the exchange of gifts at ceremonies. The second half of the book is devoted to an illuminating analysis of this pattern of vartan bhanii,
literally 'dealing in sweets.' The flow of gifts is to the daughters of a household. Daughters are central to the whole process which motivates social striving and vitalizes the social organization. Gift-giving is asymmetrical from the point of view of a daughter. She does give some gifts to her natal family after she is married but the ratio of gifts given to her and of those received from her by her parents' household is approximately ten to one (p. 115). But as between two households of kinsmen there is more equal reciprocity, each proffering its gifts, on suitable occasions, to the women of the other family.

Gift exchange is essential in all kinship relations. A prosperous and ambitious family can widen its kin circle, and so enhance its prestige by giving gifts to households distantly related to it. Gift-giving also bolsters relations among the component groups of the local society, among the kin groups within a caste, among the several castes of a village, between entire villages. The most intensive exchanges are between groups of comparable wealth. While members of a rich lineage may reciprocate gifts with those of a poor lineage, the exchange will be on a small scale, less lavish than that between two rich lineages.

Women are not only the principal recipients, they are also more active participants in the exchanges than are the men. The women of a family represent it at ceremonial occasions, they display the gifts and return home to recount the absorbing details of who gave what to whom. Dr. Eglar well conveys the zest and excitement which the women find in these transactions.

Women's enterprise in gift-giving is shown to be a central factor in social relations. It is not so clear how the men view this gift velocity and how they enter into the manipulations. They are under pressure to strive for personal and family prestige: they must do so through the women. It would be illuminating to know more about the effects of this circumstance on the men and whether they find the gift transactions as crucial for social relations as do the women. The author depicts the general system in admirably clear outline. Throughout, we are shown the more harmonious face of the village; we may hope that future analyses of her rich data will deal more with the variations in patterns, with the conflicts and compromises among men and groups.

The book concludes with an epilogue, 'Mohla in a Changing World, 1949-55.' In those years, the villagers have felt many new influences, new laws of inheritance and land tenure, new educational incentives and activities, new occupational opportunities. So far, the author observes, the pattern of village life has not been disrupted by change. Some changes are welcomed, others—as the law extending the inheritance rights of daughters—are tactfully held off. Villagers continue to emphasize good relationships and do so through the traditional procedures of gift-giving.

DAVID G. MANDELBAM

EUROPE


Between 1927 and 1932, Professor O. Schlaginhaufen carried out an anthropometric survey on 35,511 Swiss army recruits. The task was undertaken with the help of 172 assistants. Altogether some 36 measurements and indices as well as five descriptive characteristics were noted, and the results were worked out on Hollerith equipment. The whole project was financed by the Julius Klaus-Stiftung.

The present work is a treatise, in the classical tradition, of physical anthropology as practised on the European continent and consists of a text and an atlas in separate bindings. The text is really divided into two parts, one dealing with the anthropometric analysis of each canton and district, and the other with the geographical distribution of each metric and descriptive feature throughout Switzerland. The former, and more extensive part, contains an account of the mean values, and variability for each metric character and the class frequencies for descriptive characters (nasal profile, occipital shape, hair type, eye and hair colour) for the cantons as well as their districts. It also contains the frequencies of different combinations of stature, cephalic index, upper facial index, nasal index, eye and hair colour. No correlations have been computed. This chapter forms the basis for the second part which deals with the geographical distribution of each characteristic, and is best studied in conjunction with the atlas.

The atlas is composed of a series of maps of Switzerland, each of which deals with one particular feature and its distribution. Each of these maps in turn has a transparent overlay on which are marked all the cantons and their districts.

The bibliography is very brief and is only additional to that of Volume I. Anglo-American authors are not quoted. This anthropometric survey of Swiss recruits, canton by canton, is marked by the scale of the undertaking and the meticulous care which one associates with the work of Professor Schlaginhaufen. However, one wonders whether using more modern statistical methods the results could not have been presented in a shorter and more informative manner. Genetical aspects are not discussed.

The value of this work depends ultimately on the process of sampling used and the definition of the population to which this sampling process was applied. The details of the sampling method are given in Vol. I of this work, but that is not the subject of the present review. If valid methods were used the mass of statistical information given in Volume II could be of considerable value.

F. P. LISOWSKI


Herr Braun, a pupil of Professor Rudolf Weiss, conscientiously prepared himself for this investigation of the changes wrought by industrialization in the poverty-stricken hemp-and-flax-growing Zürcher Oberland by working for eight months in a textile factory and sharing the life of a weaver's family. Basing the findings of this first volume on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents and statements by contemporary commentators, he explores some popular fallacies, namely:

1. that people were uprooted by the first wave of industrialization—whereas in fact for the first time the supplementary income earned by spinning guaranteed homes—and thus social and political rights—to people who previously had led a most precarious life on the fringe of the farming community.

2. that industrialization destroyed ancient rural traditions. In fact, the spinners did not belong to the farming communities. Their ready money, their sheltered indoor life and their monotonous work account only partly for their different and higher aspirations concerning food, clothing, housing, furnishing and social activities; to a large extent these demands grew out of their determination to dissociate themselves from the farmers, whom they despised.

3. that family relations were always weakened, where in fact they were in certain cases strengthened. For instance, the able-bodied and strong-willed had no longer to leave home in search for work. Spinners could marry earlier than the farmers and choose their partners according to personal inclination. New settlements with rows of small houses enabled large family groups to live closely together. In this wide context, the customs of pre-marital intimacy (the Kilgeng and the Lichtstubebeten) can be more profitably studied.

The last chapter deals with the disastrous collapse of the home industry, and the second volume will be devoted to the influence exercised on folk-life by factories. This unassuming, well documented and clearly written book deserves to be widely read.

ELLEN ETTLINGER
This article is an account of a short visit to a tribe, the Secoya, who live in the northeastern part of the Oriente of Ecuador. Also included are details of previous exploration and anthropological work in the area, and a general description of the distribution of tribes.

**Introduction**

We visited the Secoya as one of the studies carried out by the Oxford University Expedition to Ecuador 1960, which was largely a botanical expedition and was sponsored by the Royal Society, the Royal Geographical Society and the Mount Everest Foundation. We spent six weeks in the Amazon basin forest region (the Oriente) of Ecuador, and the accompanying map shows these travels and the location of the tribe (fig. 1).

The Oriente has been the subject of several books on exploration and travel, notably by F. W. up de Graff who describes his journey early in the century in Auca and Jivaro territory and up the Rio Aguarico for the most part. More recently, there has appeared a travelogue by Rolf Blomberg, which has a short commentary on, and many photographs of, the Cofán tribe. There is also a book by Jane Dollinger which demonstrates that the forests are still wild and little explored.

The most important anthropological review of the area is in the Handbook of South American Indians, in which is compiled all information available up to 1947. On reassessment of the Handbook on return, we consider that it does not give a completely correct description of the area, although it is none the less useful as a compilation of previous work. Ferdon, in 1950, gives a clearer account, and his distribution map of tribes fits our experiences.

**Distribution of Tribes**

The Indian tribes of the northern part of the Oriente of Ecuador are known locally under four group names, the Yumbo, the Auca (Aushiri), the Cofan and the Secoya, the last two often known jointly as the Cumaras. There are stories, also, of another savage, naked tribe called the Tetete in the forests of north Ecuador, north of the Aguarico, although no white man has ever seen them.

Their territories were first explored by General Gonzalo Pizarro in the fifteen-sixties, although first seriously intruded into by Jesuit missionaries, whose immigration followed the Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire of the Andes. When the white population of the Andes revolted against and ousted the Spaniards in the late nineteenth century, so too were the Jesuit missionaries expelled from the Oriente. By the turn of the century there had followed an influx of whites from the Andes, who came to profit from the world rubber boom by tapping the wild rubber trees of the Oriente. For the most part these men occupied the settlements founded by the Jesuits. By the nineteen-thirties, the bottom had fallen out of the rubber trade and what settlers remained had turned to mixed farming.

In the northern Oriente most of these settlers live along the north bank of the Rio Napo from Archidona at the foot of the Andes to Nueva Rocafuerte on the Peruvian frontier. This is also the area inhabited by the Yumbo Indians, who now live only in servitude to the white owners of the haciendas or in the few independent villages.

By contrast it is interesting to observe the present state of the Auca, who, living in the forests between the Rivers Napo and Curaray extending as far west as Arajuino, are semi-nomadic, naked aborigines and to this day have killed almost every stranger to their territory, be they whites or Indians of other tribes. Their estimated number ranges from 200 to 1,000. Members of this tribe murdered five American Protestant missionaries in 1956; however, members of this same group of missionaries have now established the first permanent contact with them, several of the murderers themselves now having been baptized.
The Cofan and Secoya groups of Indians live in a handful of villages to the south of the Colombian border on the rivers Putumayo, San Miguel, Coca, Aguarico, Cuyabeno and others, the former group living in the western part of this area and the latter in the eastern. They are together often referred to as the Cushmas, this being the name of the sack-shaped dress which they both wear, while they also have in common similar styles of headdresses, necklaces, musical instruments and blow-guns. According to Wycliffe Bible translators working with both tribes, however, their languages have little or no resemblance to each other, although each is related to languages of tribes outside Ecuador. The Secoya are related to tribes around the Rio Putumayo in Colombia, and could be derived from tribes which live south of Nueva Rocafuerte, for it was said that they had become separated from these as recently as in 1941 during the war between Ecuador and Peru. Both these tribes appear to have been little visited or influenced by whites until recently, when the Wycliffe Bible translators installed themselves at most villages together with air-strips, while the Capuchin priests have set up missions at some. In view of the friendliness of these two tribes, one might suppose that their relative inaccessibility was mainly responsible for their long independence.

The Secoya Tribe

We visited a Secoya settlement on the Rio Cuyabeno (see map, fig. 1), a community about 60 strong, living in a dozen huts scattered through banana groves. In the middle of it, a 200-yard air strip had been cleared near the grandest hut, which belonged to the Chief. This was composed of two parts, the largest of which was L-shaped, each limb being 25 yards long. As in the other huts, the floor was a bamboo platform about eight feet above the ground, and the hut was covered by an intricate plaited leaf roof. There were neither walls nor furniture, the roof supports providing the posts for slinging the hammocks. These hammocks are made of woven sissal string and take about three weeks to complete. Each one of the family living in this large hut had a little shelf below the roof upon which his or her personal possessions were kept, such as beads, mirrors, screws of tobacco and feathers. Their few clothes were strung on lines at right angles to the lines of hammocks. At one end of the hut a broken dug-out canoe served as a communal seat. The Chief's second hut was smaller, perhaps 20 by eight yards, and in the centre of it on a wooden platform was a deep tray of baked earth upon which embers were glowing constantly. Scattered around on the floor were earthen cooking pots and some metal ones, which, with the cheap guns and the occasional European shirts and pants, were the only immediate signs of contact with civilisation. Also, however, because of their contact with missionaries and traders, we were able to converse with some Secoya who knew a few words of Spanish.

About one day in ten of their lives is devoted completely to general festivities, and in particular to the drinking of chicha: this is their local alcoholic brew, made from a root plant called yucca (cassava) which is masticated and spat into large basins. It finishes up, after sugar-cane juice has been added, looking rather like porridge.

We were invited to one such party, and were welcomed by the old mother of the Chief. Her neck was surrounded by a thick collar of brightly coloured beads, and her face was decorated with vertical red stripes, alternately broad and thin. Her lips were dark purple with another dye. The old woman offered us chicha from a gourd cup, and we dutifully sipped it. The natives laughed as they, in their turn, gulped the contents of a whole bowl down. They were wearing cushmas, also had painted their faces, and were perhaps five feet six in height on the average. All the patterns on their faces were different, and these they varied every day. Some of them had flowers or feathers sticking out of their ears.

Through the morning, more natives arrived. Some of them decorated with bunches of colourful leaves on their sleeves and arms, and many had nut and feather necklaces swung round their bodies. Two had halo-shaped headdresses of red and yellow toucan feathers. During the morning, in spite of their shyness of our camera, they were delighted to play their musical instruments for us. They

![Fig. 2. A Secoya Tribal Chief Wearing the Sack-shaped Cushmas](image)

Such garments as they wore were made of balsa-tree bark before the arrival of the traders. Note here the jaguar-teeth necklace and the parrot-feather ear plugs. His arms are adorned with colourful leaves and straw.
had, for example, a horn, shaped like a large golf tee about two feet in length, made of clay and decorated with white lines: this was used for summoning the tribe to the Chief’s hut. They also played small bamboo and bone flutes, and a group of half a dozen would join together to play cacophonous sounds on long panpipes, with a background of small drums. The flutes, however, produced very musical tunes. The old lady sang a song for us, which we gathered was a lament for her widowhood. It contained only a few different syllables which were repeated many times. She sang this tune often during the day. One of the men, who was resplendent in a bright red cushion, and much beaded and adorned with leaves, also sang very energetically. His song, however, was not a lament, but a wild and happy one about beauties of the forest. The morning passed on into the afternoon, and a shower of rain forced the whole gathering into the hut. Groups of people chatted away in the corners, usually squatting and sipping chicha. The old lady, arm-in-arm with two other old crones, walked steadily up and down the centre of the floor, wailing her lament. None of them minded our presence as we watched them pass through the stages of alcoholic intoxication. By dusk, fighting had broken out, disrupting some of the dancing, and later on couples drifted off into the night.

For several days we ourselves, with the aim of making an ethnographical collection of their artifacts, became traders with our cloth, beads and gunpowder. It was most interesting to observe how, instead of being treated with respect, we were now treated with disinterest and disdain. It appears that the trader is neither liked nor trusted, and the natives, far from being simpletons, were out to drive hard bargains.

The Secoya have a passion for hunting, and enjoy it as a sport as well as a source of meat. One morning we saw two of the tribe paddling past our hut, and in the stern of the canoe was a young man who showed us proudly the skin of a jaguar which he had killed in the forest the day before. Its body was perhaps five feet long, with a tail three feet long. He had also brought back its jaws to remove the large canine teeth for a necklace, for the men often demonstrate their hunting successes and prowess by the number and size of the jaguar teeth on their necklaces. Later that morning we went to see the skin at his hut. It had been stretched out on a frame over the fire, and the hunter tried to remain oblivious of the admiration of the small crowd of his friends and relatives looking down from the floor of his hut above.

Hunting the jaguar and the other animals of the forests—such as tapir, puma, ocelot, boa constrictor and deer—as well as those of the rivers, namely, anaconda, turtle and cayman, is the life for which the men live. The few yucca, sugar-cane and banana crops are produced by the women who do all the other work in the settlement. Thus, with meat from their hunting, a supply of fish from the rivers, eggs from their few hens, bananas and yucca, all the necessities of life are provided. The seasons in the Amazon basin do not vary very much, so they do not need to think of the morrow. If they need a hammock or a new house they will make it some time, and since they only work for a few hours a day, it might take them a long time to do this. Powder and shot for their guns, and cloth for their cushions are obtained in exchange for skins from the traders who pass up the river occasionally.

At the end of the village is the American lay-man’s house—he is trying to learn their language and not trying to convert the people at this preliminary stage—and at the other end lives a Capuchin priest who has set up a small chapel and is trying to teach the natives his faith in Spanish. We felt saddened for Christendom that its schisms in civilization should be reflected in the mission field too. We wonder how this group of 60 people can ever understand Christ’s teaching in such a situation.

Appendix

A comprehensive collection of artifacts from the Secoya tribe was made for the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

Tape recordings of music and singing were made and a selection has been made by the B.B.C. Permanent Records Library. (It is hoped to produce an article on their music at a later date.)

A 16-mm. colour ciné film of some aspects of the lives of the Secoya was made.

Notes

1. F. W. up de Graff, Headhunters of the Amazon: Seven Years of Exploration and Adventure, Garden City, N.Y., 1923.
3. J. Dollinger, The Head with the Long Yellow Hair, London (Hale), 1938.
5. E. N. Ferdon, Jr., Studies in Ecuadorian Geography, School of American Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Monograph 15, 1950.
7. It is hoped to publish an article on the Landownership System on the River Napo, and how this affects the Yumbo tribe.
Findings from recent anthropological research have characterized sex life in Polynesia as "extremely permissive" (Suggs, 1960, p. 26), "free [and] happy" (Danielsson, 1956, p. 12 and passim), and "more natural, more frequent, and more satisfying than...in the Western world" (Marshall, 1961, p. 241). Yet there are some parts of Polynesia to which such generalizations cannot very readily be applied. In this paper, two kinds of restrictions upon sexual freedom in Polynesian atolls will be examined.

I

Incest taboo apply throughout Polynesia, but apparently they limit sexual activity for individuals more severely in some islands than in others. Recently, on the Tuamotuan atoll of Raroia, which had 109 people in 1951, Danielsson found that incest rules prohibited any Rarotan unions at all for seven of the nine women of marriageable age (Danielsson, 1955, p. 124, and 1956, p. 109). A similar state of affairs was noted by Gessler in the nineteen-thirties in the Tuamotuan atoll of Tepuka, described by him as a "community of fewer than two hundred and fifty inhabitants, in which most families had become rather closely related in the perhaps eight or nine hundred years they have occupied the island" (Gessler, 1937, p. 144). Gessler says that some young people on the island were "so related to all the eligible persons of the opposite sex that they could not have mates, except by visiting other islands or by having affairs with visitors from away" (Gessler, 1930, p. 44). On Rakahanga atoll in the Northern Cook Islands, where I was doing fieldwork in 1956 and 1957, I found that there were young people for whom the number of potential sexual partners was severely restricted by incest prohibitions, although there did not appear to be any cases of persons for whom there were no eligible sexual partners at all. Rakahanga had a population of about 350 at the time.

Probably in any society, incest rules are sometimes broken. While I was in Rakahanga, there came to light a case of sexual relations between a man and his adopted daughter, and there were also two cases of marriage between second cousins. Informants said that the second-cousin marriages would have been unthinkable in 'the old days.' Even now, according to the informants, the unions, and also the case of incest between father and adopted daughter, were almost too shameful to talk about. It is not clear to what extent there were violations of the incest taboo in some of the other Polynesian atolls. Gessler found that in Tepuka there 'almost never' were infringements. When he unwittingly suggested in jest to a Tepuka girl that a near relative of hers was her sweetheart, she 'cast herself violently upon the ground and wept' and never again treated Gessler with the same friendliness as before. He concluded that the incest taboo were rooted deeply in community life and were not matters for joking (Gessler, 1937, pp. 177f). However, Gessler does suggest that clandestine violations of the taboo may have been committed by young people for whom non-incestuous unions in Tepuka were not feasible (Gessler, 1937, p. 144). I myself have noted elsewhere that infringements of the taboo may have occurred in pre-European Polynesia when particular atoll populations, being at a low ebb, were confronted with the alternative of incest or extinction (Vayda, 1959a, p. 821; cf. Macgregor, 1937, p. 41).

But even if we concede that there probably were violations of incest taboo in all Polynesian atolls at one time or another, we should hesitate to characterize incestuous relations, perhaps especially the clandestine ones, as necessarily either 'free and happy' or particularly 'natural, frequent and satisfying.' Indeed it seems warranted to conclude that in the case of Polynesian coral atolls with populations so small and isolated as to limit severely the number of possible sexual partners for any individual, the incest taboo must be regarded as constituting important restrictions upon sexual freedom.

II

Another restriction applying in at least some Polynesian coral atolls is a requirement of 'decent' secrecy about one's sexual adventures and involvements. Danielsson does not report this as having obtained in Raroia, and Gessler, while mentioning that young people in Tepuka steal in and out of their sweethearts' houses only under cover of darkness, says at the same time that 'the gesture of concealment' does not fool anybody and probably has privacy rather than secrecy as its object (Gessler, 1937, p. 141). On the other hand, Buck reported in 1932 that love affairs on Penrhyn Island (Tongareva atoll) in the Northern Cook Group were conducted with secrecy and reserve and that Penrhyn parents 'never willingly agreed to the free intercourse of their daughters' (Buck, 1932, p. 34). And in Rakahanga I found that concealment or, at least, gestures of it were definitely called for in love affairs.

But how does one achieve concealment on an island like Rakahanga, which is a 1,000-acre coral atoll with a single village settlement from which every coming and going is observable? There is no privacy in the houses, and clandestine meetings in the bush during the daytime for the purpose of sexual intercourse are difficult to arrange and cannot be frequently held without arousing the suspicions of people in the village. Under these circumstances, the way in which young Rakahangans try to conceal their affairs is through the practice of motora, a custom that has been reported also from such parts of Polynesia as Samoa (Mead, 1939, pp.
92f.) and Ra'ivavae (Marshall, 1961, pp. 254f.). According to my informants, the Rakahangan moto supports an old custom and consists typically of the young man's stealthily entering the girl's house late at night, joining her on her mat, putting one of his legs between hers, talking with her softly, eventually having sexual connection with her if her parents or guardians, who have sleeping-places in the same room, are judged to be asleep, and then leaving before dawn. Coitus may have to be delayed for a fairly long time after the young man's arrival in the house, since the lovers have to feel sure that the girl's parents are not awake. The act itself must be done as quietly as possible and may have to be interrupted if there are stirrings from others in the room. Notwithstanding Gessler's remarks about Tepuka customs similar to the Rakahangan moto (see above), it seems that the object for the young people in Rakahanga is secrecy rather than merely a degree of privacy. The young people told me repeatedly that if a moto visit were detected, the boy might be chased and perhaps beaten by the girl's father or guardian and would be made to feel very ashamed by the gossip and ridicule of the villagers. The girl, too, might be beaten by her father and would be made to feel ashamed by taunts and gossip linking her name with her nocturnal visitor's. While I was in Rakahanga, there were some actual cases of detection and beating. In view of such possibilities, the young people feel that the risks of a moto visit are not to be lightly undertaken. Some Rakahangan youths said that there sometimes were intervals of many days between their moto visits and they described certain other Rakahangan young men as being either too afraid or too lazy to engage in moto at all. It seems warranted to conclude that in Rakahanga at least, and possibly in other small Polynesian atolls as well, secrecy is a requirement constituting an important restriction upon sexual freedom. When this restriction is added to the incest taboo, then sexual freedom is being curtailed quite substantially.

Many questions remain. Why should there be this curtailment in some Polynesian atolls? Is it simply a result of the diffusion of restrictions to small coral atolls from larger and more populous islands? Or might there be functional reasons for the curtailment? Is it, for example, an important way of restricting the choice of marriage partners that may be made on the basis of the sexual and love attachments formed among the young people? Is there the same case, as intimated by some of my Rakahangan informants, that parents choose deliberately not to detect the moto visits of youths whom they consider especially eligible as spouses for their daughters? Is the curtailment of sexual freedom a means then of promoting the formation of the affinal ties which, at least in some Polynesian atolls including Rakahanga (see Vayda, 1959), confer important rights to land, other resources, and labour?

Such questions call for further investigation and are matters for future discussion. My object here has been only the limited one of indicating that important restrictions upon sexual freedom do exist in Polynesian atolls.

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**OBITUARY**

**Henri Breuil: 1877–1961. With a portrait**

The Abbé Henri Breuil died suddenly on 14 August in his country home at l'Île Adam (Seine-et-Oise) aged 84. He was nearly the last survivor of a group of prehistorians of the heroic age—Cartailhac, Obermaier, Bovysonne, Peyrony, Begouen—among whom he was pre-eminent. In over 60 years of tireless activity he has left his mark in every department of palaeolithic studies.

Henri Breuil was born in 1877 at Mortain (Manche) and was educated at the lycée of Clermont, which he left at the age of 17 to enter the seminary of Isy-les-Moulineaux. It was at Isy that he was first drawn to prehistory under the influence of Abbé Guibert, his Professor of Natural History, and during these years he came into contact with d'Ault du Mesnil and Edouard Piette. His interest in the quaternary gravel of the Somme, and above all in palaeolithic art, was thus kindled at an early age. His vocation to prehistory was so marked that when he was ordained priest in 1900, his superiors authorized him to make it his whole-time work.

The first 10 years of his career were largely occupied with the study of cave art. He was associated with the early finds at Les Eyzies—Les Combarelles, Font de Gaume, etc.—and in collaboration with Cartailhac, he re-examined and authenticated Altamira, discovered long before, but discredited at the time. It was during these years that he developed his special skill in tracing and copying cave paintings and engravings under very unfavourable conditions, his tools a carpenter's pencil and the waterproof paper used by florists, in which he kept himself supplied by begging from friends who received presents of flowers. The results of his work are embodied in the great series of volumes published by the munificence of Albert I, Prince of Monaco.

It was during this period that he made acquaintance with Spain. He fell in love with the country and learnt to speak Spanish fluently. To the study of Franco-Cantabric art he now added...
that of the rock paintings of Eastern and South-Eastern Spain. His knowledge of the country was utilized during the First World War, when he was attached to the French Embassy at Madrid. His discovery of a Mousterian rock shelter at the foot of the North Front of Gibraltar dates from a day when he was sent from Madrid with dispatches to the Rock and had an hour to wait before his return journey. Later, when I became his pupil, generously waiving his rights as discoverer he suggested that I should dig this site, and the success of the excavation was largely due to the very sound advice which he gave me when he visited Gibraltar in 1926.

His work on cave art coincided with the period of his great contributions to the classification and chronology of the Upper Palaeolithic, culminating in his very important paper Les subdivisions du paléolithique supérieur, presented to the Congress of Geneva in 1912.

My own contact with Breuil began when I arrived in Paris as his pupil in 1922. At this time he was beginning to turn more especially to the problems of the Lower Palaeolithic and the first task which he set me was to read all Commont's publications on the gravels of the Somme. I learned later that this was a test, and that if I had come back to him saying that I had understood, and had no particular difficulties, he would have taken no further interest in me. From this time he began to study intensively the Pleistocene deposits of Northern France and England, with their contained industries, inspiring other workers in both countries by his own vigour and enthusiasm. In 1929 he paid his first visit to South Africa, which was later to become a second homeland to him. He was greatly struck by its wealth of prehistoric material, and it was on his recommendation to the South African Government that the Archaeological Survey of South Africa was founded a few years later.

Through his friendship with Père Teilhard de Chardin he went to China in 1931, making pertinent contributions to the study of the industries of Sinanthropus. In 1933 he made a short stay in the Near East, visiting Neuvillé's excavations in the Judran desert, and spending a few days in my camp on Mount Carmel. His main interests, however, lay always in Europe and Africa, which indeed provided enough material for a lifetime of effort.

The beginning of the Second World War found him in France, and in September, 1940, he was called to inspect the newly discovered cave of Lascaux. The account which he wrote after three days of exploration, and which was published in the following year, has remained a standard work and all subsequent descriptions have been based upon it.

In 1941 he went as Visiting Professor to the University of Lisbon. It was here that he received a summons from Field-Marshal Smuts to go to South Africa for the duration of the war. The long arm of Smuts had meanwhile plucked Breuil's secretary, Mary Boyle, from her post in the Censorship at Bermuda, with instructions to bring the Abbé into South Africa by a neutral port, and in November, 1942, the two set out together for Johannesburg by way of Lourenço Marques. The three years spent in Africa were very fruitful. The Abbé proved as indomitable in trekking over miles of country to see and copy rock paintings as he had formerly been in penetrating the dark and damp corridors of the Franco-Cantabrian caves, and he brought back to France after the war a remarkable documentation on this subject. He returned twice to South Africa, in 1947-49 and 1950-51, to complete the work, and the last years of his life were mainly devoted to preparing it for publication. The first volumes of a planned series of twelve volumes have already appeared, but a mass of unpublished material still remains. His views on the dating of the Brandberg paintings, and especially of the famous 'White Lady,' which he believed to be of Mediterranean origin, have been much contested by his South African and British colleagues, but his work of exploration and transcription has nevertheless rendered an immense service.

While editing his African material he did not forget the painted caves to which the earlier years of his life had been dedicated. In 1952 appeared Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art, a magnificent corpus in which he resumed all that was known up to that date. Finally, 1958 saw the long awaited publication of Les Cavernes du Valp with a complete account of the Tuc d'Audoubert and the Trois Frères, on which he had been working, in the interval of other commitments, since 1912.

Breuil had close links with this country. He first came to England in 1912, with Boule, at the invitation of Ray Lankester and Reid Moir, to examine the sub-Crag flints. The discussions took a somewhat violent turn; in a letter to A. N. Haward Breuil wrote, 'As with all their colithic-loving confères, it is difficult to discuss with these gentlemen. They affirm their opinions with too much enthusiastic conviction which prevents them from appreciating the right of others to doubt.' It was in the course of this visit that he first met Miles Burkitt, who afterwards accompanied him in many of his Spanish treks. One may say that this association played an important part in the establishment of prehistory as a Diploma subject at Cambridge, a beginning from which has since grown the Archæological and Anthropological Tripos. In 1921 Breuil returned to Ipswich at Burkitt's request to look at some flints recently found by Reid Moir on a floor in the Red Crag. This time he was convinced that they were struck by man, a verdict which aroused great interest, as the authenticity of the Crag implements was at that time a burning question. He continued to interest himself in the problems of the Lower Palaeolithic in England until 1939, and he came to England several times after his return from South Africa.

A Member of the Institut, Professor at the Collège de France and Commander of the Legion of Honour, Breuil attained the highest honours in his own country. Over here, among other distinctions, he was named Doctor honoris causa by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh, and was awarded the Gold Medal of the Society of Antiquaries. He was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1919 and was chosen Huxley Memorial Lecturer and Medallist in 1941, the presentation being deferred until after the war.
MAN, 1961, 244: Errata

The author's corrections to the Shorter Note 'Possible Origins of the Use of Fire,' by Dr. K. P. Oakley, F.B.A., unfortunately failed, owing chiefly to postal delay, to reach the printers in time for incorporation in the December issue, the text of which had already been machined (although delay in production of the annual preliminary pages, arising from staff changes at the Royal Anthropological Institute, held up publication of the issue until early February). The formal corrections will be made in the February issue, due to be published on 6 March, but as one error might lead to confusion this earliest opportunity is taken of giving the correct name of the Philippine tarsier as Tarsius carbonarius. In note 3, for 'Hende' read 'Heude.'

At the foot of the same page, fig. 1 of article 245 should be captioned 'Wooden Figure [not Figures] from Ashanti at Basel.'

Hon. Editor of MAN
Breuil was a man of many friends, in many countries, but his longest and closest personal relation was his friendship with Hugo Obermaier, himself a priest and distinguished prehistorian. Their qualities were complementary and they shared a genuine and deep religious faith.

To the end of his life, and in spite of increasing physical infirmities, Breuil retained his essential characteristics, a keen scientific curiosity, a combative spirit, an extraordinary capacity for work. In speaking of death he used to say: 'Je voudrais partir par le train express.' His wish was granted.

D. A. E. GARROD

SHORTER NOTES

Possible Origins of the Use of Fire. By Dr. Kenneth P. Oakley
F.B.A., Sub-Department of Anthropology, British Museum (Natural History)

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During the Wenner-Gren Foundation’s Symposium on ‘Social Life of Early Man’ held at Burg Wartenstein near Vienna in June, 1959, I read a paper on Man’s Use of Fire. Subsequently I prepared an additional note, which some of my colleagues have encouraged me to publish as a separate note in MAN since in this form it may evoke correspondence on relevant facts.

I suggest that one aspect of the significance of fire to man has perhaps been overlooked. There are indications that fire not only appeals to man’s cortical or rational mind, but that it has deep subconscious or sensual appeal. Fire obsession has been observed among primitive peoples, as well as in some psychopaths. The fact that the Philippine tarsier has been named *Tarsier carbonarius* on account of its propensity for picking up hot embers from campfire sites suggests to me that man’s ancestors far below hominid level of evolution may have been attracted to natural fires, and toyed with burning matter just as rooks and some other birds exhibiting so-called ‘anting behaviour’ seek fire and smoke. After all, is not tobacco-smoking—addiction to which apes and men are equally liable—a form of ‘anting behaviour’?

These considerations lead one to bear in mind that man’s ancestors may have become familiar with burning matter plucked from natural conflagrations long before such activity became *purposive* fire-using.

Notes

1. I benefited from discussion of this topic with Mr. R. H. Hayman, Miss L. E. Joslin and Professor A. H. Schultz.

Three Human Figures from near Kumasi, Ghana. By Dr. Paul Hinderling, Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel. With two text figures

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Except for the well-known *akua’ba* dolls only a very few wooden figures are known from Ghana, and usually it is not possible to prove that they were used traditionally. The publication of three remarkable ‘fetish figures,’ found at the Missionsmuseum in Basel, may therefore be of some interest. The figures come from a place near Kumasi.

The main figure (N. 3005, fig. 1) is 61 centimetres high, the diameter from the chin to the back of the head being 19 cm., the breadth of the head 15.1 cm. This standing figure is made out of a light-coloured wood, with a big round head and a flat face, similar in some ways to the faces of the *akua’ba* and also of the clay figures for funeral use. The arms are joined to the body for their full length and are bent to the back. The sex is probably male, but identification is uncertain. The legs are carefully carved out and resemble the legs of Baule figures. It is uncertain if the waist

Fig. 1. Wooden figures from Ashanti at Basel

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cloth belongs originally to the figure. The whole figure is covered with a brown, resin-like varnish, which includes small pieces of eggshell. Time and bad treatment have considerably damaged this varnish and it has partly flaked off. There are a lot of holes made probably by worms. Two iron nails have been driven in near the ears and at these hang bells and other objects. Actually, on the left side there is only one brass bell of European origin. On the right side we note a similar bell, some glass beads on a cord, a bone, various woven bags with some substance inside, nuts, a piece of a spadix of maize, a bundle of strings made out of skin, wrapped up at the back to form cylindrical bodies, and a European lock with key. Around the neck there is a cord with three leather bags of the usual amulet form, containing perhaps written Koranic texts.

The two other figures (N. 3008 a and b, fig. 2) are 21 and 20.5 cm. high respectively; they are covered with the same varnish and carry around the neck or waist some glass beads. Frau F. Ewald Fräulein Dr. Bahlke in Heidelberg, who have examined the varnish, think that it consists of an inner layer of CaCO₃, probably won by pulverizing the shells of cooked fowls' eggs, and an outer layer consisting of argillaceous earth and blood, probably of fowls.

Trommeln... Von der Figur behauptete der Priester früher, sie könne reden (es war wohl ein sogenannter Bauchredner und konnte zweierlei Stimme führen). Als er die Sachen nach Kumasi gebracht hatte... stellte der Missionar sie im Studierzimmer auf. Die Leute... staunten die Sachen an, besonders die Fetschfigur. Manche schlugen ihr an den Kopf und sagten: 'nun rede einmal, wenn du kannst'; aber da war keine Stimme noch Antwort. Am meisten verwunderten sich die Leute darüber, dass ein solcher Lügner... wie dieser Fetschpriester einer gewesen war, nun ein anderer Mensch (sc. ein Christ) werden wolle... Leider ist dieser Mann später wieder rückfällig geworden.

From this it seems clear that the figure was a kind of medium used by a fetish priest. The figure was believed to be able to speak. This may have been due to the ability of the priest to ventriloquize. We can take it for granted that the conception was held that a spirit would enter the figure and speak out of it. The reaction of the visitors seems to prove that the priest had some influence and reputation before his temporary conversion to Christianity. Nothing is known about the two minor figures.

A Menstruation Sash from Tlaxcala, Mexico. By Karl H. and Judith D. A. Scherwin. With a text figure

The sash, or cinch, which this article describes (see fig. 1), was obtained in central Mexico in the town of San Miguel Tenancingo, the southernmost municipio of the state of Tlaxcala, and nearest to the city of Puebla. This and other items relating to the more personal aspect of female life.
are not well known in the literature primarily because it is difficult for male investigators to gather information on such subjects. Locally this item is known as a *ceñidor*, 'girdle' or 'sash.'

The example in our possession is four and one-half inches wide and seven feet long, exclusive of fringe, which is seven and one-half inches long at each end. This *ceñidor* was hand-woven on a backstrap loom by one of the two or three remaining hand weavers in Tenancingo. It is a coarse but tight warp-face weave of cotton yarn. The weaver told us that in a *ceñidor* each warp is eight threads wide, and each weft contains 30 threads.

Most *ceñidora*s are plain white, although some examples dyed fuchsia were observed in the town. Our example is striped in white and five bright colours. The weaver made this one especially for us, although we gave him no special instructions when it was ordered. Some of the coloured warps in our example are of heavier yarn than the basic white cotton yarn, and the number of yarns in the coloured warps is also variable.

The *ceñidora*s seen in Tenancingo averaged three to four inches wide, and were long enough to go around their owner's waist at least twice. Usually they are produced on order, especially for their wearer.

In several instances the *ceñidor* was observed being used to tie a baby into his swinging cradle. On one occasion an old gentleman who still wore the traditional garb was seen using a *ceñidor* as a belt to secure his calzónes (the white pyjama-like pants which were once the characteristic garb of the Mexican farmer). These secondary uses are undoubtedly examples of sheer resourcefulness, because the *ceñidor* is designed primarily to be worn under the clothes during the menstrual period in order to avoid cramping.

When the period begins the woman ties the *ceñidor* very tightly about her waist. The wider sashes are doubled before being put on. The sash is supposed to be so tight that the wearer cannot get a finger between the sash and her waist, and, indeed, it is pulled tightly enough to reduce her waistline by several inches. If necessary, someone helps the woman to pull the sash tight. It is then knotted once, the ends tucked in for added tension, and worn for several days. It is claimed that this practice enables one completely to avoid menstrual cramp. However, a gynecologist informs us that he can think of no physiological effect that would be produced by this practice.

For the first day or two of the menstrual period the woman ideally remains in bed where she is bathed by a mother or sister. She is not supposed to go into the fields while the flow of blood is still heavy because the blood is not clean and may harm the fields. (Apparently it is permissible to go to the fields before the flow has entirely ceased.) Rags are used throughout to absorb the flow of blood. At the end of the period, which lasts four or five days, the woman takes a steam bath in the temascal to purify herself.

It may be of interest to note that most of this information was freely obtained in casual conversation between village women and the female investigator. The difference in attitude towards other women, as opposed to men, which is implicit here may be indicative of broader attitudes in rural Mexico towards sexual relations in particular and contacts between men and women in general.

Note

1 The information presented here was gathered as part of a larger field study conducted during the summer of 1960 with the support of a grant from the George Barker Memorial Fund, administered by the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of California at Los Angeles.

Horniman Museum Lectures, Winter, 1962


CORRESPONDENCE

Cup Marks in Ritual. Cf. MAN, 1961, 124

248 SIR,—I think that I can shed some light on the 'cup mark' on dolmens which I gather is such a feature of decoration discussed in the Abbé Breuil's book *Quelques Dolmens ornés du Morbihan...*, although I write without any access to books or my own notes.

In 'Folklore of Little Aden,' Bull. de l'Inst. français d'Arch. Orientale du Caire, Cairo, 1947 or 1948, I mentioned a *mustafa* which I passed on to the Department of Ethnography of the British Museum. This was a stone about 9 by 6 inches with a cup mark near the centre. It was given to me by the son of the *maqubah* of a Jinniyah called *Ad-Jibrah* (which may mean 'She-of-the-Obscene-Tongue,' though the name is almost certainly Himyuri rather than Arabic and the interpretation is therefore doubtful). The object was used at meetings of the followers of the Jinniyah in which coffee was offered to her before it was ceremoniously drunk by the rest. It is usual for the cups to be on the surface of the *naqabar* itself and one or more were seen by Doughty on that of Allat after its desecration by the uradhah. I have found solid offerings on this and other *naqabar*.

In Little Aden the *naqabar* did not appear to be the terrestrial habitat of the jinniya, but a natural, rough cubic stone, used as an altar in front of the hill or hillock which was the object itself, but I doubt if there was much metaphysical distinction. *Ad-Jibrah* could appear in two other forms, as a three-legged goat which could be met in the evening along the shore, or on the occasions when she became incarnate in the *maqubah* during a special dance (which I was, alas, not permitted to see) described in the article cited above.

I do not think that the difference in space-time is important; Bede describes a rite in Saxon England identical with one found at Little Aden. There is perhaps objection to the fact that a *naqabar* and a tomb are two different things; on the other hand the line between the two such things is sometimes fluid, for example, when an ancient cult centre becomes affiliated to the tomb of a saint of a more recent religion.

Berkhamsted, Herts. OLIVER H. MYERS

Upper and Lower Egypt. Cf. MAN, 1961, 12

249 SIR,—Dr. Margaret Murray draws attention to the remarkable geographical difference between Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, the Delta. She also notes that the influences affecting the two divisions would mainly be different—African in Upper Egypt, Mediterranean in Lower Egypt. The difference between the north and the south is to be seen in the inhabitants themselves, the southerner being a fine upstanding individual with a character of his own as opposed to the northerner, rather a nondescript sort of person. The people themselves recognize the difference. A man from Quft, some distance north of Luxor, himself a fine figure of a man, once said to me 'our blood is red.

Everyone who sympathizes with the problems facing the sturdy Lapp race in their remote corner of Europe will have welcomed the series of conferences whose purpose is to examine these problems and attempt to find their solution. Three experts on Lapp questions—Dr. Israel Ruong of Uppsala, Sweden, who is a Lapp; Dr. Asbjorn Nesheim of Oslo, Norway, and Cand. Phil. Karl Nickul of Helsinki, Finland—were responsible for the planning of the first conference, held in Jokkmokk in 1953. The Lapps Today, which is the first volume in an Arctic and Antarctic Library set up by the Centre d'Études Arctiques et Antarctiques, a branch of the École Pratique des Hautes Études of the Sorbonne, Paris, contains a report on the proceedings of this conference, and its successor at Karasjok in 1956. A third conference took place in Inari in 1959 and it is hoped to hold further meetings at least every three years. Publication of the proceedings of conferences held in Stockholm (1956) and Inari will appear later in this series.

The conference can claim to be making history. For the first time experts from Finland, Norway, and Sweden and a substantial number of Lapps themselves (though one could wish there had been more at the earlier gatherings) have met to discuss a multitude of questions concerning the survival of the Lapp culture and way of life.

Papers read to the conferences covered the importance of the Lappish language, reindeer-breeding (laws, research, improved methods, grazing grounds lost to industrial developments), education, agriculture, art. The reports provide a unique opportunity of comparing the attitude towards these problems in the three countries, besides giving voice to the Lapps' views.

As a result of the first conference, the Nordic Lapp Committee was formed, consisting of Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian experts, some of them of Lappish origin. Its principal aims are to work for co-operation between the three countries on Lapp questions and watch over Lapp economic and cultural interests. To what degree these aims can be realized must depend largely on the co-operation of the respective governments, but the creation of an authoritative body to put forward constructive ideas is already a big step in the right direction.

The Lapps Today concludes with a section entitled 'Le département de Laponie,' a detailed documentary survey, in French, of Finnish Lapland, with statistical tables. A supplement lists the works of reference received by the Library of the Centre d'Études Arctiques on all aspects of Arctic interest.

SYLVIE NICKELS


The Lapps are ancient hunters and fishermen. Among the most important objects of their hunting in former times were the wild reindeer, which to a great extent were trapped in pits. Dispersed in the area inhabited by the Lapps can be seen thousands of more or less overgrown pits as silent witnesses of their ancient trapping of wild reindeer. Some of these pit systems have been investigated and described before, inter alios by Ornulf Vorren, Curator at Tromso Museum, and Carl Johansson, Supervisor of Gallivare Nomad School. The present publication is, however, far more exhaustive, presenting the results of a comprehensive registration and survey directed by Dr. Ernst Manker on behalf of the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm. In all 2,950 trapping pits have been surveyed, they belong to 95 pit systems, which added together would have a length of more than 20,000 kilometres. These pit systems are found from the Russian border in the north to the Fenndals district in the south. Most of the surveyed systems are situated in Swedish Lappland, 4 in Norway and 8 in Finland. Dr. Manker gives a very accurate description of them, supported by excellent drawings and photos. All these trapping systems have certain features in common, clearly distinguishing them from similar systems in South Norway. For instance the pits are oval, with earth walls, while the South Norwegian ones are rectangular and have stone walls. It is natural to assume that the northern trapping pits have all been dug out by the same people, viz. the Lapps. As these have spread from the north to the south in Scandinavia it can assume that, e.g., the pit systems in Finmark are older than those in Västerbotten. It has been difficult to determine the exact age of the pits. Only in the case of two has the age been found, by means of the C14 method: they date from the eighth and ninth centuries respectively.

The second part of the book deals with the so-called stalo sites. Here and there in Swedish Lapp districts, below and above the tree line, one finds groups of oval cavities in the earth, which evidently have been dug out by man. In popular belief these cavities have been associated with the so-called stalo, a giant figure in Lapp folk tales. As the stalo character seems to have borrowed certain features from the Scandinavian neighbours of the Lapps, some scholars have suggested that these sites were inhabited by Scandinavian hunters and fishermen. Manker's investigations seem, however, to prove that these are ancient Lapp tent sites. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to determine their age.

Dr. Manker's book is a valuable contribution to the study of Lapp culture and the prehistory of North Scandinavia. English readers will find a good English summary in the book.

ASBJORN NESHEIM


This book is complementary to George Sturt's classic, The Wheelwright's Shop, and like it is a most important contribution to the meagre range of literature dealing with the material side of English folk culture. It is the type of work which is badly needed in preference to the popular books covering different aspects of country life, written after little research and often with complete disregard for dates and other material facts. It is obvious that Mr. Jenkins has done some painstaking work in studying nearly 600 traditional wagons scattered round parts of England and Wales. He should be well pleased with his achievement.

The English Farm Wagon is mainly concerned with the wagon itself, its evolution, construction and distribution, and the technical details of its structure. It leaves to the historian the fascinating story of the uses to which the wagons were put, whether they were for purely agricultural purposes or, alternatively, carriers' wagons.
designed for purposes of road transport between places rather than for domestic use on the farm or between the farm and markets.

The catalogue of wagons preserved in museums is a sorry condemnation of the lack of courage shown by museum curators and the great disparage shown by various governments in not preserving larger objects liable to which. Out of 42 wagons listed, 21 are preserved in Reading University’s Museum of English Rural Life, a praiseworthy effort. Thirteen are spread between eight different museums in Bristol, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leicester, Norwich, Plymouth, Stratford-upon-Avon and York. Eight are preserved in the Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagans. As the wagon is not found in Highland Britain, the museums in that part of the British Isles are blameworthy.

Perhaps a more exact title to the book might have been *The English and Welsh Farm Wagon*, for the book contains a good deal of information about Welsh wagons and gives details of the examples preserved in the Welsh Folk Museum.

And now for one or two observations which are not intended as criticisms but as suggestions if, as is to be hoped, the Museum of English Rural Life sponsors further publications of this kind. The size of the book might with advantage be increased, which would make it easier for illustrating. But in any case the book is well illustrated and praise is due to Mr. John Anstee for preparing valuable detail drawings with the skill of an expert draughtsman. His aid might usefully have been sought in illustrating the wheelwright’s tools. Trade tools always seem clearer when drawn than when photographed, a fact known to producers of trade catalogues. An artist can stress details which a camera cannot pick out.

It was in 1960 that Mr. Jenkins completed his research and his survey of nearly 600 wagons. It would be an interesting but gloomy study to find out how many of these remain by 1970. It is not only the wagons themselves which will have vanished but the wheelwrights, too, without whose aid it will be impossible to maintain them.

**THOMAS W. BAGSHAWE**

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This simply printed but attractively designed handbook is the tenth in the series ‘Social Science Clearing House Documents’ published by U.N.E.S.C.O. It is aimed at ‘fostering and promoting further research by providing specialists with a bibliographical study, which is both international in scope and practical to consult.’ It is a short bibliographical analysis which does not pretend to be exhaustive or conclusive, but it is aimed at providing a short, selective guide which can be of great value to students of rural sociology throughout the world. Each chapter is devoted to a brief definition of a particular problem, illustrated by quotations from the works of eminent authorities, and this is followed by a selected bibliography.

The last chapter is of particular value as it is listed the more important surveys of rural life in all parts of the world. This bibliography is selective and it does not claim to be exhaustive. Under the heading United Kingdom, for example, only ten works are listed. These range from E. J. Erith’s *Woodford, Essex, 1600–1856*, to A. D. Reece’s *Life in a Welsh Countryside*.

**J. GERAIN T JENKINS**

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The subtitle is ‘Views and Controversies,’ but the only noticeable controversy is on the proportion of slaves to the free at Athens, on which three writers, including the editor, make calculations which are little more than guesses.

There are papers on the views of Plato and Aristotle, and both of whom regarded slavery as part of the natural order, on the nationality of Roman slaves as deduced from their names, and on slavery in ancient Germany. A long and interesting, but unfinished, paper on slavery in the early Roman Empire is written by Marc Bloch emphasizes the tragedy of his death.

From the anthropological point of view the most valuable paper is Henri Lévy-Darru’s ‘Théorie de l’esclavage.’ The theory that at Rome all slaves were foreigners and all foreigners, except those in alliance with Rome, were potential slaves. The characteristic of a slave was that he had no rights whatever and, even if abandoned by his master, remained the slave of whoever held him. In early times he could not be freed by his master, but only, at his master’s request, by a magistrate. A Roman citizen might be condemned to servitude for debt, but he never lost his rights as a citizen.
man was not a full citizen, but was on a par with citizens of allied states living in Rome.

In Athens a freedman paid the same taxes as a Metric or resident alien. In Greece generally the attitude to slavery was the same as at Rome: non-Greeks were potential slaves and Greeks captured in war or by pirates were enslaved, but no citizen could become a slave in his own city. The attitude of the Jews and Germans was similar, and M. Lévy-Brühl concludes that it was a general one.

RAGLAN


This is a definitive publication of three seasons of work, those of 1930, 1931 and 1951, at a Bronze Age site on a headland in the Saronic Gulf, near the airport of Athens. The chief contribution of these excavations is a full picture of the Early Helladic culture, here represented by both a settlement and a cemetery, of which only traces have hitherto been known in Attica. There are also extensive remains of a Late Helladic settlement, but little has survived from the Middle Helladic. Occupation ceased about 1100 B.C.

The site was first occupied about 2300 B.C. by colonists probably from the Argos; at least, this claim has been better substantiated than many others. He excavated the site, first of all, and the spiral or shell-like pattern of pottery seems to have been a significant one in the development of Cycladic culture. Professor Mylonas contributes some original and convincing ideas about this culture. He argues that the clay 'frying pans', the source of the numerous specimens, are decorative flat plates, such as are still used in the islands. He speculates that both the starfish and the spiral or shell-like pattern of pottery may be designs symbolic of regenerative, derived from observation of marine life; and for this and other reasons he argues against the Danubian origin of the spiral ornament. He also makes some notable remarks on the human figurines, particularly that the type deposited in the graves is different from that found in the settlement.

Only three metal objects were found, in each case fragmentary pieces, but obsidian was abundant. The stone industry is not yet fully published, but one case here illustrated (fig. 167, 7) is important for the evidence that it affords of the use of the Pressinya technique. This is almost certainly the significance of the 'sharp, projecting teeth' on 'one of the side edges' (p. 144).

Dr. Angel has written an appendix on the Early Helladic skulls which were recovered. The bulk of the population belonged to the rugger Mediterranean variety which predominated throughout Neolithic Greece. But there was an appreciable minority of Aegian and Dinaric types, perhaps immigrant from Cyprus, which distinguishes the Aghios Kosmas population from that of contemporary Crete. The population appears to have been small and inbreeding, and the individuals stunted and short-lived. Fossil records of this sort are of immense value, but it is probably optimistic to hope (p. 170) that they will ever throw any light on the linguistic history of Greece.


In this separate chapter of the new edition of the C.A.H., Professor Guthrie gives a fluent account, with many fresh and interesting observations, of the development of Greek religion as far as Homeric times. He incorporates numerous recent deductions from archaeology, comparative literature and the Mycenaean decipherment; but his general thesis is orthodox, and owes much to Jane Harrison and Gilbert Murray, and through them to anthropology. It presents early Greek religion as a compromise between the earthy cults of the neolithic peasant and the mythology of cavalier intruders. In item 51, 4 of the bibliography the date must be a misprint.


After a brief introduction followed by a short history of the study of French megaliths, the main body of this book consists of an account, arranged regionally, of the French chambered tombs, including those of the Channel Islands. The text ends with a chapter concerning typology and origins, chronology, a summary of conclusions, and a sketch of the later history of the megaliths. The book concludes with a comprehensive and well-arranged bibliography, a list of sites, and an index which could with advantage have been enlarged. The maps and plans are particularly neat and clear.

The author of A Hundred Years of Archaeology is in good form when handling the history of the study of the French megalithic tombs, a subject which is here placed in its proper setting, drawing attention to the work of British as well as French prehistorians, neither underestimating the importance of the former nor overestimating that of the latter. The main purpose of this book, conceived at the completion of the author's work on the Prehistoric Chamber Tombs of England and Wales, is to bring together the sort of information which enables us to make some useful assessment of the relationships between the French and the British material. This purpose has certainly been fulfilled. His present conclusion (p. 193), that 'the closest parallels to the Severn-Cotswold tombs are still... to be found in southern Brittany, in Loire Atlantique, and in the Vendée,' is however almost identical with that expressed in 1949-50 on p. 158 of his Prehistoric Chamber Tombs of England and Wales, but it is now stated with a greater weight of authority and knowledge. He goes on to suggest (p. 198) that 'the origin of the Clyde-Claringford culture... does lie in western France, through the Severn-Cotswold area.'

With regard to chronology, the author has abandoned the concepts of Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Bronze Age in favour of a fixed chronological framework, grouping the French megalithic tombs into five periods, ranging from about 2300 B.C. to 750 B.C., the majority being between 2000 and 1000 B.C. (Periods II-IV). This text was almost completed before radiocarbon dates from French megalithic tombs began coming in, and even now they are not numerous enough to use as a basis for a revised chronology. It seems likely, however, that within the next few years radiocarbon dating may push back the dating of the earliest of the French chambered tombs at any rate to the middle of the third millennium B.C. The author does in fact suggest this at the end of his preface, evidently written after the rest of the book had been completed. Radiocarbon dates from some Severn-Cotswold long barrows are badly needed for comparative purposes.

The text concludes with a well-told narrative of the fascinating later history of these monuments, often involving their early Christianization and even occasionally the survival of a sort of megalithic cult down to the present day.

L. V. GRINSELL


As befits the special sphere of Dr. Preuschen's work, most of the contributions to this Festschrift deal with early metallurgy in the Alps. Czodzik-Eysenberg, from a careful study of modern processes, attempts a reconstruction of the stages in the art of copper-smelting in early times. Pittioni contributes two detailed accounts of excavations of smelting furnaces in the Tirol. Brandenstein and Schroll describe the spectroscopic analysis of a lead figure from Carinthia, and Friedrich gives an account of the extensive old alluvial gold workings near Wiesau in Carinthia. Hampel and Mayrhofer set out the progress of Austrian research on prehistoric and early historic mining, and Hell describes the contents of some graves of Urnfield age at Pfinzau near Salzburg. An important paper by Coghlan presents a survey of the history, extent and nature of analytical research on prehistoric copper metallurgy in England. He stresses the difficulty that metals of very different composition may be produced from the same ore, according to the amount of roasting it undergoes. Nevertheless, certain general conclusions of importance are beginning to emerge: for instance, that sulphide ores were used very early, and that, in Ireland at least, the smiths had a remarkable degree of control over the quality and composition of their finished product.

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28 April (Fri.) Pictas in Ancestor Worship. Henry Myers Lecture. Professor M. Fortes, M.A., Ph.D.
4 May The Uses of Religious Scepticism in Modern Burma. E. M. Mendelson, M.A., Ph.D.
1 June Kinship and Structure in Melanesia. H. Ian Hogbin, M.A., Ph.D.
20 June Annual General Meeting. Presidential Address. Miss Audrey I. Richards, C.B.E., M.A., Ph.D.
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4. Essays shall be in literary form and not in the form of bibliographies or catalogues.

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EAST INDIES AUSTRALASIA OCEANIA

Tindale, N. B. 'Ecology of primitive aboriginal man in Australia,' The Hague, 1959. 36-51 pp. (Monogr. biol. 8)


AFRICA


Accessions during January, 1961

GENERAL


Scottish art review. 8:1, Special ethnographical number. Glasgow, 1961. 29 pp.


PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Cappieri, M. 'La popolazione preistorica dell' Iran.' [Rome], 1960. 47-60 pp. (Sci. e Tec. N.S. 4)

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Deutsch, M. Minority group and class status as related to social and personality factors in scholastic achievement. Itbeca, N.Y., 1959. 32 pp. (Monogr. Soc. appl. Anthrop. 2)
[Rubin, V. editor.] Plantation systems of the new world ... Washington, Pan American Union, 1959. ix, 212 pp. (Social Sci. Monogr. 7)
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— The shelter at the Camp of the Emu's Foot.' Melbourne, 1960. 188-91 pp. (Vet. Nat. 77)


AFRICA


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La Barre, W. 'Neurotic defense mechanisms in supernatural religion.' Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1960. 323-31 pp. (Humanist, 6)


PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY


Broder, V. 'Observations on skin thickness and subcutaneous tissue in man.' Stuttgart, 1960. 386-95 pp. (Z. Morph. Anthrop. 50)


Kumar, N. 'ABO blood groups and secretor factor distribution among the Noatia.' [Delhi, 1958. 1-5 pp. (Anthropologist, 5)

Murphy, T. 'Compensatory mechanisms in facial height adjustment to functional tooth attrition.' [Sydney, 1959. 32-32 PP. (Aust. dent. J. 14)


Osinsky, L. 'Two recently discovered human mandibles from Cape Donet sites on Sugarloaf and Manel Islands.' Ottawa, 1960. 16 pp. (Anthropologica, N.S. 3)


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26 October Sierra Leone (illus. by slides). SIR GEORGE BERESFORD-STOOKE, K.C.M.G.
2 November Miao and Yao, Two Tribes of Northern Laos. GORDON DOWNER, B.A.
16 November Title to be announced. PROFESSOR DR. G. H. R. von KORENIGSWALD.
7 December (Friday) New Trends in German Anthropology. PROFESSOR HELMUT PETRI.

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—— 'Ceramic sequences in El Salvador.' Salt Lake City, 1960. 21–9 pp. (Amer. Antiq. 26)

Heizer, R. F. Notes on some Purisoto personalities and material culture. Carson City, 1960. 16 pp. (Nevada Mus. anthrop. Pap. 2)


Lothrop, S. K. 'A ceremonial pottery mask from Peru.' [New York], 1960. 91–6 pp. (Archaeology, 13)

—— and P. Bergsma. 'Aboriginal gilding in Panama.' Salt Lake City, 1960. 106–8 pp. (Amer. Antiq. 26)


Wilbert, J. 'Nachrichten über die Curipaco.' Cologne, 1960. 50–22 pp. (Ethnologica, N.S. 5:2)

EUROPE


ASIA OCEANIA AUSTRALASIA

Anthropological Society of Western Australia. A preliminary report of a survey being carried out by the Anthropological Society of Western Australia relevant to the preservation of Australian aboriginal sites in this state. [Nedlands], 1960. 44 leaves (mimeo.)


AFRICA


Accessions during April, 1961

GENERAL


PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Aczädi, G. and J. Neméskéri. 'La population de Székesfehérvár Xe et Xe siècles.' [Budapest], 1959–60. 2 parts. (Ann. hist.-nat. Mus. hung. 51–2)


Sarmiento, A. and F. Figuera Henriques. 'Subsidios para o estudo de alguns índices antropobriméticos na tribo Pombo.' Lisbon, 1960. 795–807 pp. (Garcia de Orta, 8)

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— 'Anthropometric characters and selective survival.' [Budapest], 1960. 475-80 pp. (Hann hist.-nat. Mus. hung. 52).


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Fenton, W. N. 'The museum and anthropological research.' [New York], 1960. 337-55 pp. (Curator, 3).


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(4) Essays shall be in literary form and not in the form of bibliographies or catalogues.

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