MAN
A Record of Anthropological Science

Zande Proverbs: Final Selection and Comments
Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, F.B.A.

A Note on the Dermatoglyphics of the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego
Dr. Jamshed Mavalwala

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Dr. Abhimanyu Sharma

A1, A2, BO Blood Groups of Maharathas (Ksatriyas)

Shorter Notes
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Reviews
General: Africa: America: Asia: Europe: Oceania

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ZANDE PROVERBS: FINAL SELECTION AND COMMENTS*

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I

Before presenting a final selection of Zande proverbs, I would like to make a few general observations. On the whole, anthropological treatment of proverbs has been unsatisfactory. The modern and professional anthropologists have for the most part ignored them in their publications, although it is evident that nothing gives a clearer insight into a people's ideas and values. Notes and Queries on Anthropology (sixth edition, 1931) scarcely mentions them. Older collections tended just to give a literal translation, sometimes with an English or Latin equivalent but without much comment or analysis of their sense, or senses, in use, e.g. A. C. Hollis, The Masai (1905, pp. 238-252) and The Nandi (1909, pp. 124-32). I believe that he did not speak the language of either people. To give one or two more African cases—Sir Richard Burton's Wit and Wisdom from West Africa (1869), charming like all he wrote, is a compilation from various sources and for a number of West African peoples, none of whose languages he himself spoke; charming, but not very illuminating. The specimens in G. McCall Theal's Kaffir Folk-Lore, 1882, pp. 180-94, are mostly figurative expressions rather than proverbs in a strict sense. The most unfortunate example is R. S. Rattray's Ashanti Proverbs (1916). These were taken from a vernacular collection (without translation) compiled by the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society in 1879. Rattray, of course, spoke well the language of these proverbs, Tshi, and so was able to check up on their meaning from the Ashantis themselves, but he was chiefly interested in grammatical analysis and thereby missed a great opportunity: for when he says that their meanings must be plain to anyone I must say that they are not plain to me. On the contrary, many are unintelligible and most in need of elucidation. Roscoe's treatment for the Baganda (John Roscoe, The Baganda, 1911, pp. 485-91) is more explanatory; and Edwin Smith's essay on Ba-lla proverbs (E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia, 1920, Vol. II, chap. 27) is excellent; but a comprehensive study of the African proverb, or of the proverbs of any African people, has yet to be undertaken. I certainly make no claim that it has been done by me. If one were to go outside Negro peoples, a good early model is J. L. Burckhardt's Arabic Proverbs or the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians (second edition, 1875); and one of the most detailed analyses is undoubtedly E. A. Westernmarck's Wit and Wisdom in Morocco: A Study of Native Proverbs, 1930; and if mention of no others is made, reference must be made to Professor R. W. Firth's articles 'Proverbs in Native Life, with Particular Reference to those of the Maori' (Folklore, Vol. XXXVII, 1926, pp. 134-153, 245-70).

The literature on proverbs is enormous (Introduction by Janet E. Hoseltine to The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, 1948 edition) and I can here make no attempt to survey it; nor to determine what is a proverb as distinct from an adage, an aphorism, a maxim, an epigram, and so forth. Some of the Zande specimens might well not be regarded as proverbs in a strict sense and according to certain definitions, but the Zande word sanza covers these sorts of pithy sayings besides what are generally regarded as proverbs. I will only say that of the many endeavours to state what are the defining characteristics of the proverb—brevity, wit, conciseness, right feeling, wisdom, concreteness, commonsense, salt, imagination, metaphor, hyperbole, etc.—I would agree with that enchanting writer R. C. Trench (Proverbs and Their Lessons, eleventh edition, 1905) that though each of these words may denote an ornament of some proverbs, the most essential common feature of all true proverbs is their popularity. Through their acceptance by a whole people they have become a collective expression of that people (although they may be used differently by different individuals in different situations). 'Herein,' he says (p. 13), 'the force of a proverb mainly consists, namely, that it has already received the stamp of popular allowance.' Westernmarck in his Frazer Lecture 'The Study of Popular Sayings' (The Frazer Lectures, 1922-1932) leans heavily on Trench.

The Zande proverb does not rhyme, nor is it particularly alliterative. It has however a certain rhythm, or perhaps one should rather say form, a balance, sometimes a balanced opposition, between the two halves of the sentence. Thus: sanhiasanbaa i a so ko peraperap / tiriki i a so ko pu, cautious one was grazed by the spear / it went right through the careless one; i ni rigi nduka / nduka ki rigi ira ha, they feed the ridge / and the ridge feeds its owner; i ni negre ti boro / wa i ni negre ti baga, can one look into a person / as one looks into an open-wove basket? / mwuru a ru ti wukuwuku / ki ya u kii ti ni, the little gazelle stood by the fallen (uprooted) tree / and said he was bigger than it (G. 47); i na dia nga bantu ku abri ya / ka wada a ku sende no te, they do not begin a hut at the top / to thatch it downwards (G. 42). Where this balance is lacking Azande tend to supply it by a prefatory half-sentence. Thus in No. 44 in the list below the proverb as given to me was mo e nga re wirina / ghurikawe nga mi te, let me alone child of my mother / I am not a firelog, but the proverb is only part after the stroke. I have included two further illustrations of this tendency in the list (Nos. 25 and 48)—in other cases the trimmings have been omitted. This balanced structure is not unlike that found in many English proverbs: a stitch in time / saves nine; he that will eat the kernel / must crack the nut; prosperity makes friends / adversity proves them; a man may lead a horse to the water / but he cannot make him drink.

To explain the meaning of proverbs it is not sufficient just to say that they mean such-and-such. It is essential
that the point of the imagery is made clear, and this may require a considerable knowledge not only of the way of life of a people but also of nature. Gore is usually obliging in his comments but when, for example, he quotes (62) 'the male "mbiro" (a species of monkey) does not lack heads of streams', (no one lacks evil, this conveys little to one who does not know that this monkey is usually to be found in forests at the sources of streams. Then, when one is told that 'and a person is just like a caddis (lit., gatherer of firewood) refers to 'one who is thrifty and gathers possessions'; (87 one wonders what it is about a caddis that should suggest thrift and acquisitiveness. And one cannot tell without a gloss what is the point of 'the honey-sucker got lost in his father's fallow maize patch, ' of the fool who thinks he knows everything' (34). One needs to know the relation of honey-sucker to maize patch—why this bird and not another, why maize and not another crop? A final example: 'it is good for you as it is good for the cock' is spoken, as Gore rightly says, 'of one who gets good things without striving' (96), but the imagery is lacking unless the proverb is given in full, 'good for the cock with its hens (pati anuru)' or unless this image is evoked by a comment.

We must bear in mind that the Azande have an intimate knowledge of wild life. They live, or used to live, in scattered homesteads, not in villages, and wild life is all around them. The sense of proverbs which refer to creatures is associated with personal experience; and if a European is to savour their full flavour he must be acquainted not only with the language and the social life which gives them situational meanings but also with the life of the wild from which their pictures are so often taken. Thus these two proverbs refer to the cricetus: 'when people were afraid of the termite mound cricetus said it was he whom they feared,' a man may think that another does not take vengeance on him because he is afraid of him, whereas the prince, who has told him not to, of whom he is afraid; and 'they do not criticize the cricetus to the termite mound,' one does not speak ill of a man in the presence of his friend. Now, the point of these two proverbs is obscured if one has not seen a cricetus or at any rate had it explained to one that it is an exceedingly timid little animal which is almost invariably seen on termite mounds, in which it makes its home. Then, to see the point, or part of it, of the proverb 'the lizard's tail broke off in play' one has to know that some of the tropical lizards have detachable tails. If seized the tail breaks off and the reptile grows a new one. Likewise it is difficult for anyone who has not lived among the Azande to appreciate fully the point of proverbs which take their pictures from material culture or social life unless he has it explained to him. 'Can one look into a person as one looks into an open-woven basket,' can one know how a person is feeling or thinking?, loses some of its vividness and force unless one has seen such a basket and knows that baskets made by this style of plaiting allow one to see through the apertures what is inside them. A knowledge of the social life is required more for the use of the proverb than for the understanding of its metaphorical content, because the essence of a proverb is to make a statement about a social situation, or to make a moral judgment, in terms other than those of the situation or the judgment themselves.

There are further difficulties in the understanding of Zande proverbs. One I have discussed in an earlier paper in MAN (1963, 136), that people interpret them in different ways and also the same man in different contexts of usage. Another I have discussed in my paper on sanza, that a proverb may have covert meanings and these can also be given an additional twist, as it were, to indicate an attitude to a person, usually to make fun of a person, to wound him. I would mention two further complications. Some proverbs require for recognition of their meaning a thorough acquaintance with the sanza, the Zande folktales, for they derive their meaning from the stories. I have recorded some of these but I am not able to offer an adequate translation of them, for, being insufficiently conversant with the stories, I do not see their point. Another difficulty for a foreigner is that he may not spot a proverb because it is not spoken in full but only alluded to by a bit of it, the hearers being deemed capable of supplying the rest of it. It is as though we were to say 'a stitch, you know' (a stitch in time saves nine) or 'sheep's clothing, old boy!' (a wolf in sheep's clothing)' or you have brought me to the water but can you make me drink?'

I conclude these observations with some speculations. Anyone who reads a collection of Zande proverbs will note that the metaphors which they contain are often taken from wild creatures, from the dog, which among the Azande is essentially a hunting dog, and from hunting and collecting activities. A far lesser number are taken from domesticated plants and agricultural activities. This might be accounted for by the former answering better the requirements of the proverb, animals bearing in different ways a closer resemblance to man than do plants. This is so; but it might also be hazardous that this could be evidence of a shift in emphasis from hunting and collecting to agriculture in the Zande economy, a possibility that I have discussed elsewhere ('A Contribution to the Study of Zande Culture,' Africa, Vol. XXX, 1960, pp. 309–24). If the content of proverbs can be accounted evidence of historical changes, it might also be pointed out that three features of Zande social life which are very much in evidence today—rule of the Vongara aristocracy, witchcraft beliefs, and consultation of oracles—are very rarely explicitly referred to, or even seldom exclusively by implication, in the examples collected by Gore, Bervoets and myself; though it is true that many can be adapted in use to make allusion to these subjects. This seems to be a remarkable fact which may have historical significance, suggesting that the proverbs may have come down from a past in which institutions important today were once lacking or had less importance. I know of no proverb which refers to institutions about which we can be certain that they have entered Zandeland during the present century, e.g. circumcision, some mortuary rites, and secret societies. On the other hand, the explanation could be that princes, witchcraft and oracles are too serious matters to be referred to explicitly in proverbs, for the proverb is a form of
speech which scarcely conceals an element of mockery and satire. I subjoin some more specimens of the Zande sanza.

1. awuli suke na ta nga te, awuli sususu ni ra, the children of Suke have not abided, the children of Sususu abide. Comment: ‘there were two men, Suke and Sususu, and both had many children living with them. Suke, for his part, when his sons quarrelled with other people told them to fight and not to leave off fighting. But when the children of Sususu quarrelled their father said to them “sususu” (“beware”) and that calmed people and they very soon gave up quarrelling since their father had pacified them. Suke, for his part, did not try to dissuade his sons from wild action, but he rather encouraged them in it, to fight. People killed all his sons, since they always wanted to fight. But as for Sususu, he was always calming his sons away from violence, and consequently they remained at peace and none of them died. Hence people speak this sanza.’ (B, 1952, 30.)

2. sapu ti ngbangg na tune ho, he who makes a great to-do about a case is the one fined at the end. Comment: ‘do not bark (make a fuss) about something beforehand; it may be that you will be told to do what you do not want to do’ (you may get what you did not expect).’ (R.M.)

3. danga-na-tu-ro na gia nga ga mo te, you who roam with your cars do not hear yours. Comment: ‘As you wander people speak ill of you. Who are you to know what people say about you (in your absence)?’ (R.M.)

4. bi he ti kuaro ka mo a ina nga si na imu ya, seeing another in misfortune does not know how painful it is. Comment: ‘the misfortunes which befall some people, such as a boil or imprisonment, make others, those who are unsympathetic, laugh at them. But when it is their turn to suffer they become very sorrowful.’ [ Cp. boro na bi aasia ti rurari ni ki ya ti nura gaa, ka nga ga ni ni ya ye te a ti ta ma nga kpanda te, when a man sees a boil on another he says it is finished (it is nothing), but if it is himself he says it has not yet made pus (it is very far from finished).] (R.M.) (B, 1954, 127.)

5. zaako-vuru i a yere ko vuru mbara ye, the disobedient one was wound inside the elephant. Comment: ‘this illustrates the consequences of disobedience, like the man whom they warned in vain about entering the inside of an elephant (a slaughtered one). He got a nasty wound in the end [from those who were cutting up the carcass] because he did not believe what he was told. If people advise a man in vain against some bad action, what happens to him is like what happened to this man [who was wounded]. Then he may begin to blame himself.’ [Also: ‘it is as though one were to say “they have reproved you and you continue in your bad way. I won’t advise you any more. Let your ill-behaviour make trouble for you with people.”] (R.M.) (G, 1954, 52.)

6. aha mbara nga wa, is praising an elephant to shout at it. Comment: ‘when a person is misbehaving out of boastfulness, as when trying to start a fight or quarrelling with people without cause, and those present begin to spoil him, saying “ha! he is no good (what a fellow)” his pride increases; whereas they should just ignore him (leave him alone with his nonsense) so that he may feel shame.’ (R.M.)

7. ia na nga boro ti dia ha ni te, one is not warned against one’s father’s wife. Comment: ‘if a child does not respect his father’s wife she will do him ill by bewitching him’ (that will be a more effective warning than mere words). [Also: ‘this is as though one were to say “though people have reproved you with regard to your father you have not listened to them. Who then can give you advice?”’] (R.M.)

8. mbara na ta mbira abhanda ni bi mene runburo, when an elephant swallows a borassus nut it sees the bones of its bottom. Comment: ‘before a man embarks on some enterprise he has in mind he should be sure of his ability to succeed in it.’ (R.M.) (B, 1951, 18.)

9. bi he a bi nga mangu anje, just observing things got the dog into trouble. Comment: ‘when something happens do not just sit looking at it; otherwise you will miss your chance and something will befall you which you would not have suffered, as was the case with the dog, which has in consequence lumpy paws. It just looked at things and did not exercise its limbs.’ (R.M.)

10. boro ni za nga wone ku tii n yo te, one does not shout at one’s own private parts. Comment: ‘however grave one’s own troubles one does not shout about them. But if they are those of another, one exaggerates them. One tends to overlook (minimize) one’s own troubles and to draw attention to (exaggerate) those of another.’ (R.M.)

11. baimoru a ya ga u kina ho, tortoise said he had his. Comment: ‘if you ill-treat your subject (servant) without cause he has something in his heart which he can do to you without your knowing.’ (R.M.)

12. i na zia nga ba nyege ku sii yo te, a male bee is not forced to stay in the hive. Comment: ‘a man is not forced to do a good deed. It is everybody’s duty to do good things, which will help him also. (This seems to be the meaning.)’ (R.M.) (B, 1953, 81.)

13. akpiora na ba nga a, the akpiora (very tiny termites) felled a big tree. Comment: ‘the little things which appear to people to be of no consequence may spoil big affairs which might have been beneficial in the future. It is like a small person knocking down a big one in a fight.’ (R.M.)

14. i na sanga ngara ku ri gi yo te, one does not exert one’s strength against a termite mound. Comment: ‘if your superior, such as your father, is small and he admonishes you, you should not argue with him. You ought to respect him. Do not fight him either (because he has power you cannot work against).’ (R.M.) (G, 1953, 26; B, 1954, 30.)

15. gangara na yanha nga wiri di ku ti nu ni sa te, a hill does not immediately stream to start from itself. Comment: ‘you do not call things to yourself. If people want to do something to you, let them do it by themselves (do not assist them). A person cannot invite good fortune to himself. If good things are destined for you they will always come your way.’ (G, 1952, 32.)

16. tu ri ni ka kina nga wirinzena ni yo, the platter of hair refuses on the tips of her fingers. Comment: ‘if you do not treat people who work for you well they are likely to spoil your work and refuse to do it properly’ (with plenty of excuses).’ (R.M.) (B, 1952, 47.)

17. nii-aari-la-bgra na mungu paranga, the youth suffered because of I-will-eat-it-tomorrow. Comment: ‘If you find something good today do not keep it till tomorrow, because you do not know what will happen tomorrow.’ Never miss a chance: a warning to those who like procrastinating. (R.M.) (B, 1953, 96.)

18. i na ni nga uro kuro boro uro te, one does (should) not excrete into an old water hole; [or i na gheesa nga rango ku boro kuro te, one does (should) not spoil the place at an old water hole]. Comment: ‘when you leave a district do not offend (make enemies of) the people of that neighbourhood. You may want to return there some day. This proverb can also mean that at divorce one does not ask the wife’s parents to return every small gift.’ (B, 1953, 85.)

19. i ni bi mungu ri gor a na ya, one sees the animal’s hair on the neck of its carrier. Comment: ‘the largest share of a thing should go to its owner.’ (R.M.)

20. ba mo ni rogo azari ku li ro ya, ani ni mbenu kina ri fo, sir, you gather lice on your head, it is your head they abrade. Comment: ‘if someone comes to stay with you, you alone must look after him, and not get another to help you to give him hospitality. It is as though one were to say that when a guest comes to your home it is you who must give him food, and you must not speak about food to another man for him to help you provide for your guest. If he wants many things it is you who must give all of them to him.’ (B, 1952, 28.)

21. abora na ri age angra ki umunke, men singe termites and the lizards get rich. In collecting termites and preparing them for consumption the lizards get some of them. This means that when termites swarm the poor get theirs as well as the rich.

22. mo a li mire ambara gi gara, you will eat elephants’ dung this year. This is said to a stupid and lazy woman.
though one said that although he says that he will not see his father, they will see each other, for if his father and mother die he will return to see their corpses.' (G., 53.)

25. Itu na nga kur kure nibi ha ma bi te, na ha ni ku kina igha, one does not throw an old mother-in-law toward the river, one throws her toward the bush. Gore (80) has it na ha na nga kur kure ghir ko kia ha ma bi te, they do not throw the old father-in-law toward the river; and he comments, 'if you place him between you and the river, he will not pass your village to get his water.' He says that the meaning is ‘do not cast off an old friend.' You may need him again.' (B., 1954, 55.)

26. No o ku, ko ganda, bu boro ni nga muma zu ego te, let him be, let him blather (whine, complain), a man cannot see the bottom of the earth (strictly speaking. 'a man ... earth' is the proverb), Comment: this is about those men who are proud towards their fellows, saying that they alone are wealthy, are righteous, are generous, and are popular. A man who talks like this is a conceited man. It is about this that people speak this sanza, by way of saying that he does not know what lies ahead, for a man cannot see the bottom (end) of the world. Best let him be; one cannot tell what the end will be.

27. Nko bi nje, bi sende, you see sun, see earth. Comment: ‘if a man says this sanza to another they are likely to fight one another. In the past in Gbude's country a man saw his man [on whom he wished to be avenged] on the path and said to him ‘you see sun, see earth.' This means ‘you take care, because this day your eyes will be closed in death.' When a man spoke thus to another it was unlikely he would survive the day. People used to speak this sanza to those on whom vengeance lay.

28. Nko ga nga na sangu i wiri ya, do not go off with mortar and leave the pelete. Comment: ‘do not take a woman without her child.' (G., 22; B., 1952, 67.)

29. Si a re fu ango ni siri mira nu ti kungu wia, the dog was satisfied by licking the chops. Comment: ‘this means, a man gives you a little food, which does not satisfy your hunger. It is like a dog which eats a little bone and then licks its chops with its tongue. But a man thinks I am not a dog who would eat this little bit of porridge.' (B., 1954, 34.)

30. Mama ko o ko wiri nzaga nu, the leopard has hidden its claws. Comment: ‘this sanza is a prince's sanza, which they speak to Azande [their subjects, commoners], because since the Europeans have come and stopped all killing of people the princes have become docile. As things were in the past, when they had authority, no Zande would question it. But when the Europeans came the princes altogether gave up killing people. It is as though the leopard had hidden its claws, so that the one would not know that it is a dangerous animal. This is about princes. They have hidden their [real] character on account of the Europeans; whereas they are still dangerous persons. They can still exercise their authority in devious ways.

31. Ya (hay) ro ka ri ro, beckon you to eat you. This means to laugh and joke with someone whom you secretly detest.

32. Mo, mma ni ri ro mbata, mo ni ga pa ri no ko ni ha nga ku ro ghir, you, a leopard has clawed you before. As soon as you hear the sound of one you barricade your door. Comment: 'when something unfortunate has happened to you before, you are afraid of it in the future.'

33. Nna mma ro koye neko adeko ni zi ro koye neko ahia, if a leopard seizes you in front of the skedo termites it will seize you in front of the abo termites. This means that a man who has done you wrong in the past will do you wrong again in the future. (When a man squats in the dark in front of his termite mound waiting for the termites to rise to the rise to the rise, they are vulnerable to attack by man or beast. koye is the cleared space before the mound.

34. Ligo bisi gera na ghir. I give this sanza as a curiosity, for it is one of those in the Miangba language (the language of the Amiamba people, now assimilated in the Zande complex) which have been taken over into the Zande tongue. I did not discover what the words literally mean, only that the proverb means 'although you refuse to invite me to partake of a meal it does not matter for mine is cooking. Many Azande speak this sanza to their fellows, but it is not in their language.'

35. Nke ini tia ni kia, [he says] have I drunk salt water that I should die from it? He is saying that one does not just die without cause and should he die it would be from people's ill-will and witchcraft.

36. Abore na gba nga ti re te, people are not bad in my sight. Comment: ‘those people who speak this sanza, they are mean towards their fellows about food. But they just deceive people with this talk. Those people who know a sanza, the same know the meaning of what is said in sanza. But if you visit such a man's home and he gives you a meal he does not give it to you with goodwill. This proverb may also be said in reply to thanks for a meal with the sense of ‘you need not thank me, I would do the same for all or even with the malicious sense of ‘I had to give it to you” (I couldn't get it out of it).

37. Mi a tu gi bakarika a tu, mi ini ko ya te, I will plait my smoker (for drying meat over a fire), I do not know what lies ahead. (It is better to be prepared for events.)

38. Wa mi ni ri ko nga kia nga oreni bin kia katu e undunke, since I went to court today, I am stiff all over. I was told that this means 'when I went to court today I ate nothing there, so I am ravenously hungry.' Nobody, even in the privacy of his own home, would care to make a plain statement that he got nothing to eat at court lest it be reported and reach the ears of his prince or his prince's retainers, so a man uses a sanza in which what is said is harmless enough.

39. Ku ko gi ku re ye a ye ku rogo, as for that fellow, he came from here. Comment: ‘why does he make himself out to be so important? He is one of us and born in these parts.' This is said of an upstart.

40. Pa kipio mbara na go nga ti ha ha nu te, the death of an elephant is not forgotten by its master. Everyone knows about a big event, especially those interested in it. (B.M.)

41. Mi na ra gu re ku akure ha? Am I cooking that for others, sir? This expression can be used in many contexts. A woman may say it to a friend who has congratulated her on her home with the sense of ‘you say it is a nice home, but I do not see the nice things in it. My husband gives them all to his other wives.' Or a man may say it to his prince with the sense of ‘why do you make gifts to others and leave me out? You say that you like me, but the others get everything.' Or a man becomes well off by serving a European and his friends keep on coming to ask him for gifts, so he asks this question, meaning ‘do I serve the Europeans for my friends?'

42. Baso wa ngiru, spears are like a rubber heap. Spears here means marriage spears (bridewealth). They increase just as a rubber heap increases. There is no end to the payment of the one or to the growth of the other.

43. Mo ka da wa kina we ni e nga negho ro ya, you must be like fire that would not spare your mother-in-law. Fire burns everything without regard to person. People like you stick at nothing, even not even injuring your mother-in-law.

44. Gburelwe o nga mi te, I am not a firelog. Comment: ‘a wife says to her husband “since you beat me thus, I am not a firelog which remains [for ever] in the home!’ (I will leave you if you do not treat me better).

45. Negho ro da ku ali ro, negho ro ku sende te, your mother-in-law it is above (the waist), your mother-in-law below (the waist) it is not. That a man respects his mother-in-law does not mean that he may not desire her.

46. Gini hana na ini eapi da, who knows everything? Comment: ‘everything in the world, no man knows it.' A maxim with a similar meaning is bangirise wa uru te, the eye is not like the sun. One cannot see everything that is going on.

47. Pi sende yo na guhia nga zire te, water on the ground does not lie (it shows that it has rained). Comment: ‘if a woman gives evidence against you [on an adultery charge] what use is it to deny it?

48. Mo o nga ba da re, mi a di mbir Vienna, you leave off with me my friend, I have carried a swallow. The first part of the sentence is to introduce the proverb into a conversational setting and to give it balance; the second part is the proverb. The meaning is that the
speaker has married a girl who will not stay at home. She is always rushing about like a swallow.

40. ha gude ve te, a child has only one father. Comment: ‘you will never find another to help you as your father does.’ Also: ‘a man may say to his son ‘if you want to be with your mother’s brother all the time he had better provide you with a wife. A child has only one father.’’ For other shades of meaning see my sanza paper, pp. 162f.

50. mo ini he, you know it! If a man has difficulties with his mother-in-law and is rude to her she may say this, meaning ‘you know what is in my mind, that I will take my daughter from you.’

51. gini kina o, mine is there! This is a very serious sanza. It is said to someone as a dire threat of retribution.

52. age ha rina ti ra, the termites have gone in (again). This is a technical expression in termite-collecting. They come out of their mound as though about to swarm and then, finding conditions not yet to their liking, re-enter the man waiting for them gets a poor return for his patience. This proverb can be used in many situations. A man may say it to another woman about his chief wife, meaning that she does not want him to sleep with his other wives. He takes care, if the chief wife is within earshot, to use the proverb only during the termites season. I was told that a man might also speak it to a friend about a blood-brother who does not help him, about his parents-in-law who refuse to admonish their daughter about her evil ways, or indeed about anyone who does not give him the assistance he considers his due. I have also heard the sanza used in reference to men who have married wives near their homes. They seldom see them as they are always visiting their mothers. You think you have got a good thing in a wife, but you find that you have practically nothing for your ears (paid in marriage).

53. kpasatakapasika kpo ngba, nebio ni kpasaka, a smooth (oily) body is fine, mother-in-law is smooth. I am not sure how kpasaka should here be translated, but that is the sense of the proverb. Comment: ‘a youth says this sanza in the early morning. He sleeps in a hut nearby the homestead of an elder, and this elder has two wives and the youth no wife. He comes out of his hut in the morning to wipe the dust off his body, and then he speaks this sanza, saying ‘ alas, I have not married a wife who would draw water for me to wash myself with it’; but he says it in this sanza.’

Note


A Note on the Dermatoglyphics of the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. By Dr. Jamshed Marvalivala, Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University. With a figure and three tables

While visiting Dartmouth College, in Hanover, New Hampshire, I was informed that Col. Charles Wellington Furlong, the noted American explorer, was then engaged in putting together his unique sub-Antarctic Fuegian and Patagonian collection which now forms a small but important part of the famous Steenerson Collection in the Baker Library; he is now Consultant to the Steenerson Collection. Col. Furlong was the first American and second white man to cross the dense sub-Antarctic rain-forest region of southern Tierra del Fuego. He was the first white man to penetrate an area just north of the western end of Lake Kami. He has lived amongst the Yahgan, Ona and Tehuelche tribes and is the only living authority on the Stone Age life of the now extinct Ona. He estimated that when he first knew them in 1907-08 there were about 600 Ona and 175 Yahgan left.

Among the valuable data which Col. Furlong succeeded in bringing back with him was some dermatoglyphic material which he kindly passed on to me for publication. In view of the fact that the data on these two extinct groups are quite meagre, the material presented here may bring to light similar material in the possession of various workers on similar groups.

Col. Furlong travelled alone with four primitive Ona and, in the difficult circumstances, was able to collect 13 sole and 25 hand prints ranging from infants to adults and including five outline hand tracings. Out of these have been selected the finger and palm prints of single hands of six Ona males, five Ona females, two Yahgan males and six Yahgan females, also the sole prints of a Yahgan male and a Yahgan female, and four males Ona sole prints, as well as the sole print of an Ona female.

The data have been subjected to analysis according to the methods advocated by Cummins and Midlo (1961) and the results presented in Tables I-III.

<p>| Table I. Dermatoglyphic Patterns on the Fingers |</p>
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<th>Specimen</th>
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Fig. 1. Aanikin, Ishtone, Chalshoat and Pupup

Ona members of the Furlong 1907-08 Tierra del Fuego expedition who accompanied him through its sub-Antarctic rain forest. Sole and hand prints of Aanikin and Pupup are to be found among the Furlong dermatoglyphics. Photograph: C. W. Furlong

Table III: Dermatoglyphic data of the soles

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References

Cooper, John M., Analytical and Critical Bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra del Fuego and Adjacent Territory, Bul. Amer. Ethnol., Bull. 63, 1917. (See Furlong, p. 99.)


Cubical and Tri-Dimensional Block Models of Crow Kinship Structures. By I. R. Buchler, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh. With two figures

In a recent discussion of mathematical applications in sociology White has constructed a cubical model of one of the Australian kinship systems (Oonpelli). From this model several interesting algebraic formulations, related to preferential marriage rules, may be deduced. In the formal structure 'each corner represents a group of people, both sexes and all ages, whose membership is defined by their having the same relation with each other corner.' Thus, each corner, in effect, is a diagrammatic representation of a particular kin category, and the model, in its totality, expresses certain structural relationships between various categories. An additional feature of analytical interest may be noted—the formal properties of the model are tri-dimensional, expressing reciprocal and asymmetrical relations; specifically husband-wife and father-child mappings. 'No corners can be distinguished from any other corners by the structure of relations, for the structure is homogeneous.'

I have constructed a similar model of a Crow-type system, in order to illustrate certain interesting analytical features of Crow systems (fig. 1) that are elucidated by the experimental manipulation of the model. I am particularly interested in determining the extent to which various formal properties of Crow systems may be related to other structural orders such as mythology and art. This will necessitate a graphic or, more precisely, a topological permutation of certain structural categories.

The asymmetrical Father-Child mapping (fig. 1) can only be maintained in the formal structure if there is an analytic terminological merging of alternate generations. If this terminological
feature is not maintained the asymmetrical quality of the model is
negated, for the SS, FF-F, FZS, FZDS mapping necessitates
the SS = FF equation. If SS ≠ FF, then the F in the upper
right-hand corner of the cube is structurally equivalent to the S
category in the lower right-hand corner of the cube. A careful exa-
nmination of the model illustrates that this relationship holds true even when
there is a terminological merging of alternate generations, for
S is to SS as S is to F, FZS and FZDS. Thus, S and MBS, in the
lower right-hand corner of the cube, fall within the same struc-
tural category as F, FZS and FZDS in the upper right-hand
corner of the cube.

If we examine the model from another analytical perspective,
other, rather interesting, formal properties become apparent.
When we seek to preserve the undulating quality of the model
by transforming 'Ego' into F and mapping a Father-Child
relationship, we find that this relationship necessitates an MBS'-
MBS'' mapping. Opposite corners (S, MBS'-F, FZS, FZDS) fall
into the same structural category but variant terminological
categories, whereas adjacent corners fall into the same terminologi-
cal category but different structural categories (MBS'-MBS'').

White has demonstrated that one may derive from this model
algebraic equations which express the necessary and sufficient
conditions of matrilateral and patrilateral cross-cousin marriage.
They are, respectively, the commutative and semicommutative
laws of algebra. For obvious reasons we need only be concerned
with the former derivation in this discussion. This law may be
derived if we let the Husband-Wife mapping = (W), and the
Child-Father mapping = (C). If this be the case, then the mapping
from Ego to the MB category is the product of the mapping W
and the mapping C = (W) (where ' denotes inverse order). "Pro-
duct" here is well defined mathematical operation, a beautiful
generalization of numerical multiplication, defined for W and C
operators" and all their progeny. "Operator" is a good term
because W and C represent mappings, actions rather than corners,
congeate groups.6

Thus, the equation WC = CW expresses the necessary and
sufficient conditions for matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. This
equation is the commutative law of algebra. It is of intrinsic
interest that whereas logical models of terminological change can
be expressed in terms of numerical laws marriage rules may be
used to derive algebraic laws.

The reader may ask, with complete justification, the relevance
of this model to previous anthropological work on the analysis
of Crow kinship systems, or the extent to which this formal
representation departs from anthropological tradition. A number
of years ago Levi-Strauss anticipated this model when he indi-
cated that in order to build a model of the Hopi kinship system
one has to use a block model, tri-dimensional. It is not possible
to use a two-dimensional model. And this, incidentally, is
characteristic of all the Crow-Omaha systems. This model10 is
reproduced in fig. 2. The time dimension in line A is empty, as
terminological specifications do not vary with generational
specifications, line B is progressive, and line C is undulating.11

![Fig. 2. A Tri-dimensional Block Model of a Crow-type Structure](image)

It is obvious that a number of models of Crow kinship struc-
tures may be constructed, and although they do not all contribute
to our understanding of terminological change, variant models
may clarify some of the perplexing relationships between, for
example, kinship structures and mythology or art, and thus give
us a deeper understanding of the operations of the logical processes
which have produced and are expressed through both of them.12
I should now like to attempt such an analysis, which is intended
to be merely suggestive and exploratory in nature.

One example of a structural concordance between art and
social structure is the formal relationship that obtains between the
cubical kinship model, and the design motif, in porcupine-quill
embroidery, of Crow smoking pouches.13 I have previously
indicated that the asymmetrical Father-Child mapping can only
be preserved if alternate generations are analytically merged. The
pipe bag of the Crow 'has a central diamond enclosing a cross,
with (a) forked design above and below the diamond, a pattern
closely matched by Dakota pouches.14 Thus, alternating symbols
are merged as in the formal kinship model. This concordance
becomes somewhat more apparent when we compare the Crow
and the Cheyenne pipe bags. The Cheyenne have a Hawaiian or
generational kinship system,15 and the design motif of the central
portion of the pipe bag is iconographically characterized by a
strictly horizontal, segmentary pattern.16 I would suggest that
this formal concordance, in both instances, is not purely fortuitous,
for other examples that are representative of the same theme may
be easily adduced. To cite but two examples I only need ask the
reader to recall that the designs on the Crow rawhide bags are
invariably 'a diamond flanked by isosceles triangles',17 and on
parfleches the Crow 'prefer a central pattern flanked by two
symmetrical designs'.18

In the Crow terminological system the criterion of polarity is
not ignored, in regard to the second ascending and the second
descending generations. But the previously adduced relationships
are not to be interpreted on a purely naturalistic level, for
the symbolic concordance may well be but another expression of an
empty time dimension, a dimension in which, despite the emphasis
on generational criteria concerning relative aspects of the system,
generation is ignored in regard to absolute features. Tentious as
this parallelism may be, it is important to remember, as Levi-
Strauss has indicated, that 'a theoretical hypothesis which
deviates from the manifest content of the ethnographic data is substantially upheld, if we are able to discover, in the latent content supplied by the myths, the religious representations, etc., some data showing a remarkable parallelism between native categories, and those arrived at by the way of theoretical reconstruction.'

Notes


2 Ibid., p. 80.

3 Ibid., p. 81.


6 Ibid., p. 81. To marry mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral preference) means that the operation $W$ is equivalent to the operation formed by the product $C \cdot W$, where by convention $C^1$ is the first term (and transforms my corner to my father's corner) (p. 82).

7 The semicommutative law of algebra, $WC = CW^1$, is the necessary and sufficient condition for FZD marriage, 'ibid., p. 82.


This study is a scalogram analysis of some 20 Crow kinship systems. Since the completion of this analysis I have scaled every Crow system in the anthropological literature, as well as a sample of Iroquois systems. These studies will be published in the near future.


10 Ibid., p. 6.

11 Ibid., p. 7.


14 Ibid., p. 78.


16 Ibid., p. 78.

17 Ibid., p. 79.


19 Ibid., pp. 266.


21 By this I mean the interpretation of structural relationships on a strictly manifest level, not subject to the logical manipulations of the analyst.


A Burial among the Biron. By Hans Sassoon, formerly Deputy Director, Department of Antiquities, Nigeria.

During the preparations which were being made near Jos, Northern Nigeria, in March, 1961, for the smelting of iron in the traditional Biron manner, the younger brother of the man in charge of the smelting became very ill and eventually died. As I was already on good terms with the deceased's brother I ask it if I might attend the funeral and the request was willingly granted. I asked also if I might take photographs and this request was also granted, though when it came to the point it became clear that the female members of the family of the deceased objected to my camera, and so I was unable to use it.

Djagn Bot was about 60 years old, but held no special position in his community except that which was due to his age. He belonged to the Zawan section of the Biron, a tribe numbering at least 100,000, and living on the Jos Plateau which is about 4,000 feet above sea level. Djang had died during the night and I reached his hamlet at midday the following day, by which time his grave had been almost completed at the foot of some rocks about 30 yards away from the compound. The dead man's eldest son had chosen this site and he also had the duty of beginning the digging, after which the work was shared out among the male relatives of the deceased. The grave consisted of an oblong hole about six feet long, dug four feet six inches wide to a depth of one foot and then narrowing to three feet, leaving a nine-inch flat ledge along each side of the grave, giving a stepped section and a total depth of five feet. About 30 relatives and neighbours were gathered around the grave watching the work. The atmosphere was restrained and usually everyone was silent. The grave was made with great care; the topsoil was carefully stacked on one side, and the subsoil on the other side of the hole. They were
kept separate so that when the grave was earthed over, the top-soil could be put back on top and it would not be apparent that there had been a burial. It was said that after the burial the sight of the red subsoil might cause fear. Each corner of the pit was carefully squared and the sides were made straight and the bottom level. Wide, flat slabs of rock had been collected and these were tested to make sure they would fit across the ledges and close the lower chamber.

When Djang Bot died, his body, still clothed in the leather loincloth which was Djang’s normal dress, was left lying on the floor of his hut. The women of the household had spent the remainder of the night in a mourning vigil. The body was covered with a mat, but was turned over by the women every hour or so. At dawn, one of the elder women of the household had ‘broken’ the rigor mortis of the limbs and neck by forcing them to bend.

When the grave was ready, everybody moved into the hamlet compound which contained about ten huts. Djang’s widow had retired to her hut as she was not permitted to take any part in the preparations for the burial. The corpse was now brought from one of the huts and seated on an upturned wooden mortar, being held upright by two or three men. Water which had been warmed on a fire was poured into a section of a large broken pot and two women washed the corpse all over. The men managed to hold the corpse with very little movement. When the washing had been briefly completed, a man stopped a razor on his hand and, taking care not to break the skin, shaved a little hair from each temple, from beneath the lower lip, from the nape of the neck and from the pubic area. As the hair was shaved off it was wiped from the razor onto a small piece of broken pot. When the barber made as if he had finished the older men demonstrated to him, and he then shaved a little hair from each side of the moustache and from each eyebrow; this hair was added to that already collected, and the potsherd was put carefully on one side on a stone. A boy of about nine years old went to pick up the potsherd, but was sharply rebuked by the older men.

A little red ochre was then ground on a stone and tipped into a sherd containing some oil from the seeds of the tree Canarium schweinfurthii ( ate in Hausa) and mixed with the oil to make it red. Two of the dead man’s daughters, aged about three or four years, were led to the corpse which was still supported in a sitting position. The girls were made to dip their fingers in the oil and begin the anointing by rubbing the right arm of the corpse. The women then took over and completed the anointing of the rest of the corpse, assisted to a lesser extent by some of the men. When this stage was completed, the corpse was lifted back by the men into one of the huts. As the corpse was removed, several pairs of women greeted one another silently, each in turn placing a hand on the chest and on the small of the back of the other woman. The Hausa phrase, ‘kada gaba ya fah,’ which was afterwards used to describe this action, may be translated ‘let not the spirit fail.’

After the anointing of the corpse was finished, the youngest female member of the family, a little girl just old enough to walk, was led by a woman to the sherd containing the hair collected by the barber. Under the direction of the woman, the little girl took the sherd and tucked it away in the thick cactus hedge (Euphorbia kamencina) surrounding the compound. Had it been a woman who had died, the youngest male member of the family would have performed this part of the ceremony. The hair clippings and shavings from living people also are placed in the cactus hedges which surround Birm compounds; they are put there for safety as it is thought that, if eaten, this hair can cause sickness, or, if it falls into the wrong hands, it can be used to cause trouble to the person whose hair it is.

After the shavings had been left in the hedge, the women began a rhythmical clapping and chanting of a three-note dirge to which they danced a regular stamping step. Outside the compound, the men killed two goats by cutting their throats, the blood being collected in the broken half of a pot. The goats were flayed in such a way that the skin came off as a tube, the legs being cut near the body and pulled through the body skin. That evening, after the burial had been completed, the blood, still in the same broken pot, was cooked together with a small portion of the intestines, lungs, liver and heart of the slaughtered goats, and this stew was eaten by all members of the dead man’s household except his wife.

Both the goatskins were now pierced around the tail end which was open, and this was then sewn together with thongs cut from the goatskins to make two bags. When the skins were ready, the women left the compound and went and waited outside. The men went into the hut where the corpse lay and clothed it lower half in one of the skins as a pair of breeches, hairy side outwards, the belly to the front and the tail at the bottom. In order to do this, holes had to be cut in the skin for the two legs. The corpse was then lifted out and seated on the ground in the compound. The second skin was forced over the head, holes were cut to accommodate the arms, and after a considerable struggle and some argument the top skin was pulled down low enough and sewn with thongs (cut from the skins) to the bottom skin. The head was left enclosed within the skin, although, owing to the way the arm holes were cut, and the way the skin was stretched, it could be partially seen from the right side. The top skin was fitted in such a way that the tail was uppermost and the belly to the front. During the fitting holes had to be cut in the edges of the skins so that the thongs could be threaded to link the skins; once again, this process had to be done very carefully in case the body of the dead man received any cuts.

After the skins had been sewn, the corpse was lifted and taken back to the hut. Then the men sat quietly in the middle of the compound, talking in subdued voices. This was the time for resolving all quarrels and grudges which might still exist between them and the dead man. It was also the time to resolve any disagreements amongst themselves. To make sure that these were truly and thoroughly resolved, each man had to speak aloud whatever grudges or anger he was harbouring and to say that there was no longer any feeling of ill will. In this way it was ensured that the dead man’s soul should be untroubled when it was re-born. It was also said that it would prevent his spirit from worrying his relatives.

After about ten minutes, the men stood up and the corpse was brought out of the hut again and carried out of the main door of the compound, where it was seated upon a stone. Some of the girls of the compound came with brushes and the round woven grass trays which are used for winnowing, and began to make sweeping motions as if they were sweeping something away from the corpse. The significance of this was that they were sweeping away the soul of the corn lest the dead man should take it away with him and their harvests should fail.

No sooner was this completed than a man crouched down in front of the seated corpse which was lifted onto his back and secured there by him, his arms passing under the knees and holding the arms of the corpse. So far in the ceremony the corpse had always been lifted by the dead man’s elder son-in-law, but now it was the younger son-in-law who shouldered the burden. No sooner had the bearer secured the corpse with his arms than he set off at a brisk run in the direction of the grave. Tension was now very high, and as the corpse was seen on its last journey the women watching outside began to wail and to throw themselves onto the ground. A few male relatives ran ahead of the corpse-bearer to clear the way and to make sure that the corpse was not
scratched by the *Euphorbia cactus*; one of them carried a calabash with water in it and a stick of the cactus *Euphorbia poissoni*. The rest followed, keeping up as best they could over the rough ground. This final part of the burial had to be finished as quickly as possible as it was painful for the women and children to see the corpse in the goatskins. It was said that if the women had not been watching, there would have been no need to hurry. The corpse was immediately laid in the bottom of the grave, in an extended position, on the right side with the knees slightly bent, the hands together beneath the right cheek, the head to the east and the face to the north. There were no grave goods, although if the dead man had been a chief he would have worn an iron bracelet on each wrist or ankle, and these would have been buried with him. The slabs of rock were laid across the grave on the side ledges beginning at the head end. As soon as the grave was sealed with the slabs of rock, and small pieces had been added to fill up any chinks, a layer of leafy branches was laid on the rock slabs; water was brought and some of the earth mixed to form a wet daub and this was thrown on the leaves until all were thoroughly covered. The rest of the subsoil was added, and finally the topsoil, which had been carefully kept apart, was spread over the top of the grave. The whole area around the grave was left clean and free from loose earth. The calabash with some water in it was upturned on the grave and to it was added the stick of the cactus *Euphorbia poissoni*. The water was in case the dead man should feel thirsty and the cactus was a test of his integrity: if he was a hypocrite the poisonous latex from the cactus would blind him, but if he was a thoroughly good man his eyes would not be affected.

On the evening of the burial, it is thought that the dead man's soul may be wandering in the dark, and at dusk small fires are lit at path junctions, especially where a path leads off from a main path into a compound. The fuel for these fires is the bran from the cereal *Digitaria exilis* and the *Compositae* known in Biorom as *rivang*. If the person has dies of smallpox, a stick of *E. poissoni* is also burnt.7

Although I had been told that this was to be a fully traditional burial, the type of rectangular grave which was dug was not in accordance with Biorom tradition. I later attended a post-burial rite in which a hamlet head paid his respects to his father who had died 15 years before. At this ceremony I found that the traditional grave was an oval hole about four feet long on its longer axis. This oval hole is dug to a depth of three or four feet, and then a recess is cut into the side of the hole to receive the corpse. A grave of this type is dug by a specialist who is not necessarily a relative of the deceased man. The wages for the work are a portion of the meat from the slaughtered goats. The digging is done with a sharp piece of wood or an old spear, or the long spike on the end of a Biorom hoe. The recess for the corpse has to be tested by the digger to fit his estimate of the dead man's bulk. During the digging the digger is not allowed to speak: if he does he is likely to be struck deaf or dumb, or as once happened according to tradition, he may die. When he comes out from the grave, somebody blows into his ear across a stick from the *rivang* plant. The digger is then free to speak again.

After the burial, the grave is partly filled with earth, and then sealed at ground level with slabs of rock; this makes it possible to perform at a later date the ceremony at which a horse is killed for the dead man. The decision as to when this should be done rests with the dead man's sons. The ceremony may not be performed for many years after the burial; the time is decided by the state of the family fortunes. When the family runs into trouble and difficulty it may be considered advisable to please the ancestors, but there is a balancing factor which is the cost of providing the horse; in the normal poverty-stricken family the necessary £8 are usually difficult to come by. At the time appointed for the ceremony the horse, with only a rope halter around its neck, is led into an open space outside the compound and given some grass to eat. A man, holding a wooden pestle concealed behind his back, walks towards the horse and past it, and then turns and swiftly strikes a strong blow with the pestle at the back of the horse's head. The horse stumbles and falls, and the men of the compound leap onto it and hold it down whilst somebody cuts the animal's throat and lets the blood run out. The tail, together with a two-foot strip of skin from the back, is cut off; and also the penis and testicles (or, in the case of a mare, the vagina).

A slab of rock is removed from the grave and the tail is dropped inside; in some households it is accompanied by the hooves and genitals, but in others these, together with the flesh of the horse, are cooked and eaten by members of the household. Sometimes, particularly nowadays, a man may say that he does not want a horse slaughtered for him; but if at any time after he is buried, trouble visits the household, his relatives may decide that it is necessary to kill a horse to put things right.

This account describes the burial of a man from the Zawan section of the Biorom. However, on checking through the description of the ceremonies with a man from the Du section of the Biorom, it became apparent that there are many differences in the customs of these two contiguous sections. Not only do sections differ, but from household to household there are what seem to be significant variations. In the study of African customs it is very necessary to allow for the fact that the ritual is often modified for empirical reasons; far from being tied to tradition, African ritual and beliefs are continually exploring new possibilities of truth and effectiveness, and are therefore continually growing and changing. For this reason, it would not be possible to give a general account of Biorom burial studies without studying them in all the different sections of the Biorom tribe. Regrettably, I have had neither the time nor the training to undertake this work. I hope, however, that this account of what I saw and what I was told will be of some use to others who take the trouble to be interested in the Biorom people.

Notes

1. In some sections of the Biorom, these duties are performed by the dead man's sons and daughters.

2. It is considered very important that the barber who shaves the corpse should be skilled at his job; if the body is cut, it is believed that the scar will sooner or later appear on the child in whom the dead man's soul is reincarnated. Some say that the scar on the child will vanish again if it is not mentioned.

3. Amongst the Biorom of Du the skins are sewn with a special thread obtained from an unidentified plant (called in Biorom *shoyi ton*). Women are not allowed to see this thread which is one reason why they are excluded from the sewing of the skins on the corpse. After the sewing is completed, a thorough search is made in case any of the thread is left lying about where the women might see it.

4. This duty should always be performed by a son or son-in-law of the deceased; often a man will specify before he dies who is to carry him to the grave.

5. This orientation is not general for the Biorom as other sections are buried facing south. Since the Biorom say that they are buried facing the area from which they originated, this suggests that they came to the Plateau from different directions. Among the three divisions of the Du section for instance, the Kabon and the Bilei are buried facing north with their heads to the east, but the Kanyiru face south. No difference is made between men and women.

6. Among the Biorom there does not appear to be any provision of tools for the deceased; but the Du section of the Biorom have complicated rituals connected with the provision of food for the dead man. These were apparently not known to the people of Zawan.
Anybody who dies of smallpox is sewn into a mat and put into a cove by people who have already had smallpox and survived. A deep cave is selected so that dogs and wild animals will have difficulty in reaching the corpse.

A Note on the Kamanggabi of the Arambak, New Guinea.
By Douglas Newton, Museum of Primitive Art, New York. With two figures

Among the more interesting examples of primitive sculpture to be discovered recently are the large kamanggabi (fig. 1a) of the Arambak tribe, who live on the Karawari River, a tributary of the Sepik River. Although a few yipon, their small amuletic prototypes (fig. 1b), existed in European and American museums, kamanggabi were apparently first collected about 1959 by Mr. Anthony Forge, Dr. Alfred Bühler and others. The only information about them is that published by Mr. Forge.¹ The kamanggabi are associated with fertility, hunting and war. They take the form of a head and a leg separated by "the most obvious and distinctive feature of the style, the beautifully executed and balanced sets of "opposed hooks". This feature may be traced over a large part of the area, from the north (among the Eastern Abelam), the west (Wagul), and the east, particularly about the Yuat River district. The Arambak were not forthcoming as to the significance of these hooks, nor indeed of the other features of the sculptures. Since all the konanggabi found at that time were of some age, and the conditions favourable to their cult had changed, it seems likely that the tribesmen had simply forgotten. A particularly puzzling feature is the projection which occurs in the middle of the hook system; Mr. Forge thinks that it may be a phallus. He suggests that the disc which appears in this position on the analogous Wagul objects may be an eye.² Support of this second interpretation, and the possibility of extending it somewhat, is suggested by a conventional eye design from the Iatmul people of the Sepik River itself. This is a disc, or dot-in-circle, almost surrounded by an 'opposed hook' form. It is quite distinctive, though apparently not common. The two instances which I have traced occur on a mawai mask from Palimebei (fig. 2) and a shield from Timbunke (fig. 1c). In both of these, the design is stated quite unmistakably. A variant (fig. 1d) occurs on another shield, from Palimebei; it may be related to the very common circle-and-chevron pattern, but has a strong resemblance to the kamanggabi's multiplied hooks.

**Fig. 1. Kamanggabi compared with yipon and shield details**


**Fig. 2. Mask (mawai), Palimebei Village, Iatmul**

University Museum of Archeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, 35.28 (Bateson collection)

By analogy, then, the central projection on the kamanggabi is perhaps to be considered as part of a larger unit which includes the adjacent hooks, this unit representing the human eye. The extra hooks above and below may well be elaborating elements. Two objections immediately arise: first, that a disc or rounded form for the projection is far from being the rule (it may, perhaps more often, be a knob, bar or arrow shape); secondly, what is an eye doing isolated in this position in any case?

No very positive answer can be made to the first. As to the second, the placing of the whole head within a crescent pair of hooks occurs several times on yipon: it is also a feature of the decorative carvings on the huge crocodiles from the main Karawari tribe.¹ The use among the Mundugumor, the Tshuosh, and even the Asmat and Papuan Gulf groups of conventionalized eyes as surrogates for whole faces has been discussed elsewhere.⁴ There seems little reason to doubt that the same general configuration
could as well have been employed by the Arambak as by their neighbours. If they did, the kamangabi, as standing figures with eyes (sc. heads) at their waists, are also members of the complex of war, hunting and fertility spirits represented by naturalistic figures with ventral heads, known in spectacular examples from the nearby Yuat River² and even further afield.

Notes
² Illustrated in Kunststile am Sepik, Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel, 1960, Plate IV.

A Fossilized Mandible from near Wadi Halfa, Sudan. By George J. Armelagos, Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. With six figures

The University of Colorado Nubian Expedition¹ consisting of Dr. Gordon W. Hewes, Director, Eugene McClune, Duranc Quiatt and Minor Van Arsdale discovered an area of heavy concentration of palaeolithic material to the north-west of the village sites which they were excavating (fig. 1). While surveying the area, McClune accompanied by Dr. Dexter Perkins, a palaeontologist with the Museum of New Mexico Expedition, found the mandible in two pieces lying close together on a wind-eroded surface of site 6B28 associated with an upper palaeolithic assemblage.

A preliminary analysis of the cultural material by Dr. Joe Ben Wheat, Curator of Anthropology at the University of Colorado Museum, has revealed the presence of three assemblages among six sites in the square kilometre in which the mandible was found. The assemblage of site 6B28 consists of stone tools utilizing a derived Levallais technique according to Wheat.² The cores are usually discoidal. Fan-shaped single-ended cores are found with some frequency. The most common tools are small Levallais flakes, denticulate flakes, small side scrapers, medium-to-small sized backed bladelets and a few burins. Wheat further states that the Levallais flake technology appears as the major distinguishing factor of the assemblage.

The pleistocene fauna is composed primarily of fossilized bones of bovids with the exception of a leporid mandible.

The larger of the two mandibular fragments was 168 mm. long and consisted of the major portion of the right body. The break along the oblique line and near the mandibular symphysis both display extensive erosion which would indicate that the post-mortem breaks are not recent. The fragment contains roots of the three molars, the alveoli for the pre-molars, a canine root, a lateral and right central incisor root and possibly the root of the left central incisor. Although there are no remains of the actual left central incisor, there is some indication that attrition may have occurred. The teeth display extensive post-mortem erosion. Radiograph examination revealed no dental anomalies.

The right mental foramen opens superiorly and posteriorly and is 16.5 mm. from the alveolar border which displays some erosion to the centre of the foramen.

The thickness of right body just posterior to the mental foramen is 12 mm. The height is 27 mm. for an index of robustness of 43.4. The greatest thickness occurs at M₂ where a reading of 16 mm. was obtained. The height at this region is 26 mm.

Although some erosion has occurred on the medial aspect (fig. 4) the mylohyoid line is present. Matrix partly obscures the mandibular fossa which is 29.9 mm. from the posterior margin of the third molar.

Fig. 1. Location of Fossil Mandible and Palaeolithic Site


The smaller fragment is 66 mm. long. A vertical break posterior to the third molar and an oblique break below the area of the left lateral incisor display extensive erosion. This fragment of the left body contains the roots of three molars, alveolus of the second premolar, the roots of the first premolar and the root of the canine and a portion of the alveolus for the left lateral incisor. The mental foramen is 18.5 mm. below the alveolar border which is not as eroded as on the right side. The height just posterior to mental foramen is 26 mm. The width is 12 mm. which gives an index of robustness of 46. The mental angle as computed from radiographs is 82.5.

Although a reconstruction of the mandible has not been attempted, one possible way in which these two fragments may articulate is shown in fig. 6.⁶

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Dr. Gordon W. Hewes and M. L. Papworth for making the mandible available for study; Dr. H. L. Knudsen, M.D., and Dr. J. W. Miller, D.D.S., for radiographs taken of the man-
Fig. 2. Fossilized human mandible on wind-eroded surface of Site 6828. 
Note flake tools. Scale is in centimetres.

Fig. 3. Lateral side of right body of mandible. 
Drawings (figs. 3–6): M. Anderson

Fig. 4. Medial aspect of right body of mandible.

Fig. 5. Lower border of right body of mandible.

Fig. 6. Occlusal surface of both fragments of mandible.

Notes

The expedition, which was financed by grants from the National Science Foundation and United States Department of State, was engaged in salvage archaeology of a number of village sites on the west bank of the Nile across from Wadi Halfa, Sudan. 

Dr. Peter Robinson, Curator of Geology for the University of Colorado Museum, collected samples and has made this preliminary analysis.


This method of measurement was used by Thomas Murphy in 'The Chin Region of the Australian Aboriginal Mandible,' Amer. J. Phys. Anthropol., Series 2, Volume XV (1937), pp. 517–35.

The mandible is the property of the Sudan Antiquities Service and will be returned to Khartoum after the present study has been completed.
Typology of Nativistic Movements. By Dr. Simone Clemhout, Brussels. With three tables

Nativistic movements have existed at all times, but they have increased in frequency and importance particularly since the First World War, and they have reached a peak in the last decade. They have attracted the attention of political authorities, as they have been suspected of being interconnected with the wave of nationalism which has arisen in many politically dependent nations in the world.

The understanding of the phases of growth in a society is a challenging problem. It seems crucial to analyse the beginning of growth in a society in terms of individual and social behaviour. Growth may be social, economic, political or any combination thereof. The consequences of cultural stress known as nativistic movements present an important aspect of the process of behavioural growth. Such stress of culture occurs when two different cultures come in contact with each other, through conquest, invasion, colonialism. An understanding of the various contact situations in which nativistic movements may arise is absolutely necessary for the study of a typology of such movements. Although the immediate causes of nativistic movements are presumably highly variable, most of them have as a common denominator a situation of contrast between the societies in contact. Such contrasts may derive from cultural differences, from the attitudes of the societies involved or from actual situations of dominance and submission.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Referent</th>
<th>Form Process</th>
<th>Meaning (Ideology)</th>
<th>Socio-Psychological Referent</th>
<th>Function of Self-concept</th>
<th>Sociological Referent</th>
<th>Interactive Principle</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sacro-nativistic (revivalistic)</td>
<td>e.g. Ghost Dance</td>
<td>Restoration</td>
<td>To maintain traditional self-concept in reaffirmation of traditional social and cultural milieu</td>
<td>Elimination of alien and other interfering forces from a conceptualized autonomous field by prophetic destruction</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethico-syncretic</td>
<td>e.g. Gandhi</td>
<td>Reformation</td>
<td>To attain acceptable self-concept in a modified traditional social and political milieu</td>
<td>Accommodation or combination of alien and interfering forces within the autonomous field by moral suasion and passive resistance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sacro-syncretic</td>
<td>e.g. Shakerism</td>
<td>Reformation</td>
<td>To attain acceptable self-concept in a modified social milieu</td>
<td>Autonomous accommodation within a composite field</td>
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<td>Economic-incorporative</td>
<td>e.g. Cargo cult</td>
<td>Millenarian</td>
<td>To restore individuating social and appetitive gradients disorganized by cessation of economic surpluses introduced from outside</td>
<td>Prophetic coercion within an autonomous field</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political-innovative</td>
<td>e.g. Communism</td>
<td>Millenarian</td>
<td>To realize projected self-concept, within a socially planned socio-economic milieu</td>
<td>Elimination of internal and external alien forces by historical teleological forces assisted by organized physical force</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political-innovative</td>
<td>e.g. Socialism</td>
<td>Millenarian</td>
<td>To realize projected self-concept, within a socially planned socio-economic milieu</td>
<td>Elimination of internal and external alien forces by historical teleological forces and moral suasion</td>
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The generalizations so far developed have been based on the hypothesis that societies are homogenous and react as wholes to contact situations. Very frequently this is not the case, especially in societies which have a well-developed class organization. In such societies tendencies will be different for different groups, some groups indulging in a rational nativism, either revivalistic or peremptory, others being eager to assimilate. This brings us to the typology of such movements. Here some order seems desirable in view of the mass of literature dealing with the problem.

Nativism can be broken down into resistive and reformative nativism. A resistive movement is an aggressive or non-aggressive resistance to the beliefs, values and practices of the dominant society. A reformative movement is a relatively conscious attempt, aggressive or non-aggressive, on the part of a subordinated group to obtain a personal and social reintegration through a selected rejection, modification and synthesis of both tradition and alien cultural components. Ames gives the table reproduced here as Table I.

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<thead>
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<th>Table I</th>
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<td>Aggressive</td>
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<td>Peremptive</td>
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<td>Dynamic reformative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Revivalist-restoration</td>
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<td>Sacro-nativistic</td>
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<td>Politico-nativistic</td>
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<th>Table III</th>
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<td>Peremptive-millenarian</td>
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<td>T'ai P'ing T'ien Tao</td>
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§ Chinese movement.
Passive resistance or negativism, following Voget, would be a passive resistance or apathy to the beliefs, values and practices of the dominant society. The objectives of any one movement could be political, religious, magical, military or any combination of these. The structural classification of Table I is supplemented by definitions of particular movements as shown in Table II. Table I compared with Table II leads us to the generalized and comprehensive classification of nativist movements shown in Table III.

In coming to any classification, of course, the important problem is its utility in understanding reality. Classification of necessity forces a selection of what are considered to be signal features of basic structures and expressive of human intent in action and motivation. In summary, we conclude that nativist movements always occur from stress of culture (two different cultures coming in contact with each other). The consequences of such situations must not necessarily be inequality between the societies in contact (exploitation), dominance and submission (frustration). Nativistic movements may result from the simple contact of culture through the influences on values, needs, world view of individuals in a society. All this has a psychological smell but we shall deal with these problems in another article.

References


Two Channel-Decorated-Pottery Sites from Northern Rhodesia. By B. M. Fagan, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, and F. Van Noten, Musée Royal de l’Afrique Centrale, Tervuren. With three figures

Our knowledge of the earliest Iron Age inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia is exiguous, for only nine sites in the entire territory have yielded the characteristic channel-decorated pottery made by these peoples (fig. 1). This note describes the small collections of sherds from two of the nine localities, namely the sites at Chipya Forest, near Samfya in the Luapula Province, and the find at Gwisho Hot Springs on Lochinvar Ranch in the Southern Province.

The Samfya Site

The sherds from Samfya were found as long ago as 1955, but an opportunity to publish them has not arisen until now. The site was found by Mr. E. N. G. Cooling of the Northern Rhodesia Forest Department during May, 1955.1

It is located in fairly typical lake-basin Chipya about one mile (1.6 kilometres) away from the escarpment edge, and seven miles (10.5 km.) south of Samfya. At the present time the Chipya takes the form of a rather scrubby growth of tree species, such as Terminalia, Combretum, Erythrophleum, Parinari, etc., over rank grasses, including Hyperphylax. Mr. Cooling considers that this vegetation type has replaced a former forest, possibly dry evergreen, as the result of opening-up for cultivation or possibly excessive cutting for canoe trees, etc., followed by fire which seems to be the agent maintaining the present Chipya vegetation.

In our present state of knowledge, it is impossible to say whether the makers of the channel-decorated pottery were capable of clearing such dense bush, which may have been destroyed by later immigrants from the Congo Basin.

Labourers digging a soil pit on the edge of the Chipya Forest discovered sherds and charcoal at a depth of 48 inches (122 cm.) from the surface. Mr. Cooling subsequently collected the large fragments, reconstructed in fig. 2, 1, from the walls of the pit at that depth. In his letter reporting the find he added: 'I think it is possible that the pots were associated with a burial. The soil around ... the largest, intact pieces was of darker hue than the rest. There were also several associated pieces of charcoal... I had the impression that an area of the pit profile immediately below the pit was appreciably less compact and may have been a cavity.'

No other traces of human activity, such as dung or iron slag, were found nearby, or in the pit itself. It seems possible, therefore, that the pottery was associated with a skeleton, whose bones no longer survive.

The sherds are described, with reference to fig. 2, as follows:

Fig. 2, 1. A fragment of a channel-decorated pot, made up of three sherds, is the most diagnostic vessel in the collection. It bears five horizontal grooves immediately below the rim band; the two upper grooves run round the neck without interruption; the others were made by a series of long strokes, working from left to right, the left-hand end of each stroke beginning below the line of the grooves. This decoration was probably effected with a spatulate-ended stick. On the rim are faint traces of cross-cross incision. The outside of the body and portions of the decorated zone show faint traces of a black burnish. Both surfaces of the vessel are grey with patches of black. Dimensions of the vessel are as follows: height: 155 mm. (calculated); rim diameter: 109 mm.; neck: 93 mm.; body: 142 mm.; wall thickness 50 to 66 mm.

Fig. 2, 2. This rim sherd has a line of pointed impressions on the neck, with faint, cross-cross, incision on the shoulder. Another line of point impressions, a characteristic feature of channel-decorated-pottery industries, adorns the edge of the rim. Both surfaces are pale red, and the paste is black. The estimated diameter of this vessel is c. 135 mm.

Fig. 2, 3. The rim of this fragment is adorned with cross-cross incision. Below the rim band is a groove, along which the fracture plane of the sherd runs. Presumably a band of these grooves adorned
the neck of this vessel. White and black surface colours give way to a black paste. The size of the vessel is estimated at c. 150 mm.

Fig. 2, 4. A small rim sherd bearing two horizontal grooves on the neck. The surfaces are yellow-brown, and the rim diameter estimated at c. 180 mm.

**Fig. 2. Pottery from the Samiya Site**

Fig. 2, 5. The rim of this fragment bears criss-cross incision, and three horizontal grooves can be seen on the neck. Both surfaces are white with black patches and the paste is black. No vessel dimensions can be given.

The round-based pot in fig. 2, 1, can be compared with the globular pot from Situmpa (Clark and Fagan, 1964; Fagan, 1964a), and with specimens from the Kalambo Falls (Fagan in Clark, 1964). The remaining sherds, whilst in themselves not diagnostic, would not be out of place in the Kalambo industry.

Unfortunately, we have no means of dating the Samiya pottery, but it is probable, on the basis of the dates for the Kalambo Iron Age levels, that it dates to the middle or late first millennium A.D.

**The Gwisho Site**

A single channel-decorated vessel was recovered from the Gwisho hot springs on Lochinvar Ranch (Lat. 15° 55' S, Long. 29° 14' E). It came from the west side of the Later Stone Age Wilton site known as Gwisho B, excavated by us in September, 1963. It has so far proved impossible to locate the occupation site from which this isolated sherd came, but we have hopes of finding it at a later date. This find is of particular interest, for it is the first channel-decorated vessel to be found in the Central Kafue Basin, an area which is likely to have supported a dense early Iron Age population.

There are four sherds, all from a globular, necked pot, a reconstruction of which is shown in fig. 3.

The surfaces of the vessel have been heavily weathered, but the decoration can still be clearly discerned. On the outside of the rim is a diagonal line of angular impressions, 10 mm. wide, and a second line of similar impressions is heavily weathered. The neck of the pot bears a band of seven parallel channelled lines, of which the uppermost is shallow and irregular and the lowermost is interrupted by occasional inverted, channelled chevrons. Owing to surface weathering the colours are uncertain, but the surfaces were probably grey, with a black paste.

The height of the pot is c. 210 mm., the diameter at the rim c. 200 mm. and the maximum diameter 225-230 mm. The wall thickness is between 6 and 11 mm.

This sherd from Gwisho cannot be paralleled very closely in Northern Rhodesian sites, except at Dambwa, where pots of similar shape are found. Oblique stamping and rim impressions above a band of channelling or grooving are characteristic of Gokomere ware in Southern Rhodesia.

In the preliminary report on the Iron Age sequence of the Southern Province of Northern Rhodesia (Fagan, 1963b, p. 167), it was stated that no channel-decorated pottery had been found in the northern half of the province. This new sherd from Lochinvar shows that the Kangila-ware people were anticipated by earlier Iron Age peoples, whose presence had only been suspected before.

**Fig. 3. A Channel-Decorated Pot from Gwisho Hot Springs, Lochinvar**

**Acknowledgments**

We are grateful to Mr. E. N. G. Cooling for reporting the Samiya site to the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum in 1955, and for providing details of his discoveries.

The investigations at Lochinvar were supported by a Research Award from the British Academy.

**Notes**

2 The charcoal is not preserved in the Museum collections.
3 The distinction between grooved and channelled decoration is hard to recognize: the term 'grooving' is used here, as there is reason to believe that clay was removed when the decoration was applied.
4 A date from the middle levels of the Kalambo Iron Age sequence gave A.D. 1080 ± 180 (L-3958).
5 S. G. H. Daniels, personal communication.

**References**

A Meru Text. By W. H. Laughton, Institute of Education, University of Hull

The Story of Kamankura

There was a famous warrior called Kamankura and a girl called Ciari, and she was very beautiful. She had never danced with anyone but Kamankura. On after Kamankura went away with the warriors and, on returning, found that in his country the cattle had been rustled by enemies. Then he was told how those enemies came and stole the cattle, and he was told to follow them up.

He said that first a dance should be held to display the stock which he had rustled, and when it was in progress, Ciari refused to go to the dance because he had been prevented from pumming the dog.

It was then that Kamankura was again told by the elders, 'The dance is now over; follow up the cattle.' He said to them, 'Not I, I shall not follow up the cattle since you have prevented me from dancing with Ciari.'

Ciari was sent for and told, 'Dance with Kamankura, so that Kamankura may follow up the cattle.' She said, 'Not I, you prevented me from pumming the dog.'

The dog was told, 'Dog, be pummed by Ciari, that Ciari may dance with Kamankura, and Kamankura follow up the cattle.' The dog said, 'Not I, you refused me your afterbirth.'

Then they went to the cow and said to her, 'Cow, give birth, that the dog may eat the placenta, be pummed by Ciari, that Ciari may dance with Kamankura, and Kamankura follow up the cattle.' The cow said, 'Not I, you refused me your pasture.'

When they had thought for a while, they went to the hawk and said to it, 'Hawk, cut the sky so that rain may roll, that the cow may graze, that she may give birth, that the dog may eat the placenta and be pummed by Ciari, that Ciari may dance with Kamankura, and Kamankura follow up the cattle.' The hawk said, 'Not I, you refused me your baby rat.'

They went to the rat and said, 'Rat, give us a child that it may be eaten by the hawk, that the hawk may cut the sky, that rat may roll, that the cow may graze and give birth, that the dog may eat the placenta and be pummed by Ciari, that Ciari may dance with Kamankura, and Kamankura follow up the cattle.' The rat said, 'Not I, you refused me your ear of millet.'

They went to the harvester and said to her, 'Give us one ear of millet that we may take it to the rat, that the rat may give us a child to be eaten by the hawk, that it may cut the sky, that rain may fall, the grass grow, the cow graze and give birth, that the dog may eat the placenta and be pummed by Ciari, that Ciari may dance with Kamankura, and Kamankura follow up the cattle.' The harvester said to them, 'Not I, you refused me your little knife.'

They went to the smith and said, 'Smith, give us a little knife, that we may take it to the harvester, that she may give us an ear of millet, that we may take it to the rat, that the baby rat may be eaten by the hawk, that it may cut the sky, so that rain may fall and the grass grow, the cow graze and give birth, that the dog may eat the placenta and be pummed by Ciari, that Ciari may dance with Kamankura and Kamankura follow up the cattle.' The smith said to them, 'Not I, you refused me your charcoal.'

Then they went and burned charcoal and brought it to the smith, and the smith gave them a little knife, and they took it to the harvester, and she gave them an ear of millet which they took to the rat, and the rat gave them a baby which they took to the hawk, and the hawk cut the sky so that the rain fell and the grass grew so that the cow grazed and gave birth, so that the dog ate the placenta and was pummed by Ciari who then danced with Kamankura, and so Kamankura followed up the cattle.

When he did go, he finished off all the people who had them [the cattle] and came back with much cattle which was shared out amongst the people of his country. With those remaining he paid the bridewealth to Ciari's people.

In this story there are philosophical implications plainly to be seen. A communal catastrophe (loss of cattle) can only be retrieved
with the help of an individual (Kamankura). His co-operation depends upon the satisfaction of an irrational personal whim (Chai's desire to pummel a dog). Then follows a chain of logical sequences involving the natural environment in which animals and elements play their expected roles. With artistic skill the story is then returned to the level of human society, and the co-operation of elders with the smith unites the knot and allows the whole sleeve to be unravelled. It should also be noted that the story ends with both communal and individual satisfaction; the cattle are returned and the essential steps are taken for the strong-minded hero to marry the capricious object of his heart's desire.

It is also interesting to note the way in which the story brings in the ecology of the environment in which the cattle and millet economy depends upon the rain and is affected by vermin which are controlled by their natural enemies. The emphasis, however, is on the practical wisdom of the elders who, faced with a humanly created problem (loss of cattle), look for the solution in human co-operation and skill (harvester and smith).

Notes
1 In vernacular words and names in this article, this has the force of 'eh' in English 'chat'—etc.
2 The placenta of a calf would normally be regarded as refuse and disposed of to dogs or left for wild carrion eaters.
3 The word used carries the idea of luscious grazing land.
4 The word used is for the fine black or red-grained variety known as cissi. It is a high-altitude crop suitable for cattle country.
5 The vernacular does not indicate the sex, but women always harvest.

Direct Angle Measure: A New Instrument. By Abhimanyu Sharma, Secretary, Conferences on Dermatoglyphics, 46c, Hanuman Lane, New Delhi, t. With a figure

While measuring the three angles $a$, $b$, $c$, and $d$ (Cummins et al., 1929) at three proximo-distal anastomotic positions $a$, $b$, and $c$ (respectively) of the axial triadus in palmar prints of a large Burnian series, it was time and again perturbed by the problem of disfiguring the palmar configurations of five areas (hypothemur, interpalmar, II, III, IV) because of the two pencil lines $a$ and $b$ and $c$ that were drawn to measure these three angles. Furthermore, a perpendicular (or perpendiculars) had to be drawn from the axial triadus (or triad) $a$, $b$, and $c$ and the inter-tradial distance $a-b$ so as to get an idea not only of the Breadth-Height Index but also of (i) the ulnar displacement of axial triadus and (ii) the relative positioning of $a$ (or $b$ or $c$) with respect to the digital triadus $a$ and $d$.

Problem. The problem involved was to save the palmar configurations from being disfigured by the pencil lines and save time normally spent in drawing the lines $a$ and $b$.

Instrumental Design. An answer to this difficulty has been found in the newly designed and modified protractor (Code No. AS-590/SP), made of about 3-mm-thick transparent plastic sheet, and having an extended but fixed arm (F) and a detachable and movable arm (M) that revolves around a central point $O$ which is also the reference point of the graduated protractor (P). These two arms are kept together by means of a metallic screw $S$ that has a vertical perforation (shown by the dots in S) having the shape of 'O'. The arm F and protractor are from the same solid plastic piece while the arm M forms another solid piece. Both the arms M and F are graduated in millimetres up to 150 mm, only on the portions $AB$ and $CD$ of the arm M and F respectively, while zero point of both the scales corresponds to the reference point $O$ of the protractor. It is this feature of 'Direct Angle Measure' that permits one to read the angle $a$ and $b$ and the two inter-tridial distances $a-b$ and $d$ simultaneously once the central reference point $O$ is positioned upon the axial triadus concerned. The point $O$ in actual practice is taken as the centre of the circular perforations $CF$ and $CM$ of the fixed and movable arms respectively that coincides with the central point of the vertical perforation of the screws $S$. Numerical markings read from $3$ to $15$ cm. only since no graduations are provided between $0$ and $3$ cm. by the manufacturer, Mr. S. P. Jain. This lack of graduation in the present design does not pose any difficulty at all in view of the fact that the inter-tridial distances $a-b$ and $d$ are generally $>50$ mm. in adult palmar prints. Of course, this is not to minimize the importance of graduations between $0$ and $30$ mm. which have been provided in the original plan and are essential in measuring distances in palmar prints of infants and children. Needless to say, all the graduated edges are bevelled so as to minimize the effect of parallax.

Fig. 1. DIRECT ANGLE MEASURE

Providing circular perforations $CF$ and $CM$ on the fixed (F) and movable (M) arms respectively is the most delicate feature of the entire instrument and that which determines the degree of accuracy since it is the zero point of the two graduations that must coincide with the central point $O$ of circular perforations $CF$ and $CM$. The perforation $CM$ is slightly larger in diameter ($6$ mm.) than that of $CF$ ($4$ mm.) corresponding to the diameters $d$ of the unthreaded part of $d$, that of the thread part (four threads of $S$). In accordance with the latter, the inside wall of $CF$ is threaded so that the screw $S$ may be tightened upon $CF$ with the movable arm in between $X$ and $Z$ parts of $S$ i.e. the part $Y$ fits into the perforation $CM$. The height of the Y part is well adjusted so that a fair degree of mobility is allowed to the arm $M$ for any desired position from $0$ to $180$ degrees upon the curvilinear edge of the protractor.

Manipulation. In order to use the instrument, it is essential first to locate the axial triadus and the two digital triadus $a$ and $b$ as accurately as possible in conformity with instructions provided by Cummins et al. (1929, fig. 1, p. 430) and reproduced by Cummins and Midlo (1943 and 1961, fig. 62, p. 87). Then, the instrument is held upon the axial triadus so that the axial triadus occupies the central position of circular perforations $CF$ and $CM$—these additionally serve the purpose of an 'eye piece', since the axial triadus is located at the central point $O$ of the two perforations—and the edge $CD$ of the fixed arm $F$ touches one of the digital triadus $a$ and $b$ (‘a’ on the left print or ‘d’ on the right). The edge $CD$ is thus fixed (upon $a$-t on the left or $d$-t on the right) after which the edge $AB$ of the movable arm $M$ is brought in contact with the other digital triadus (‘a’ on the left print or ‘d’ on the right). This gives us three measurements—angle $a$ and $b$ and the inter-tridial distances $a-b$ and $d$—simultaneously.
Additional use. Another use to which the instrument may be put lies in measuring directly the torsion angle of long bones such as the femur and humerus, by placing the fixed edge CD along the edge of the table top (where the horizontal surface of the table top meets the vertical surface of its side, forming an edge) and then bringing the zero point to a convenient position along the inclined plane of the steel needle. Lastly, the movable edge AB is made to coincide with the same linear level of the steel needle. The angle between the table top's horizontal plane and the steel needle measures the torsion angle.

Acknowledgments
My grateful thanks go to Mr. S. P. Jain who obtained his M.Sc. Degree in Anthropology as a student of the University of Delhi (1958–60) and has been kind enough to construct the first instrument for Direct Angle Measure.

Notes
1 Penrose's (1934) recommendation of taking angle at with 'the most medial d triradius and the most lateral a triradius' has been adopted in measuring these angles so as to procure maximal values at three positions t, t' and t".
2 1223 individuals belonging to different 'kinship categories' (Leach, 1954; Sharma, 1955) of the Union of Burma—the Burman Series of 400 males and 71 females being the largest—collected during 1953–55 in Rangoon and investigated later (Sharma, 1962).
3 BHI = \frac{a-d}{a-d + \text{perpendicular to } t-P} \quad P \text{ being the point where the perpendicular } t-P \text{ crosses } a-d.

References

The Maharas are the landlords and farmers of Western Maharashtra. People of this caste claim to be Ksatriyas (warriors).

We have had the opportunity of blood-grouping (A:A:BO system) 878 unrelated soldiers of the Maharas caste. All claimed to be Ksatriyas. There is no guarantee, however, that the sample did not contain some Kunbis (householders) posing as Ksatriyas; this should not seriously affect the validity of the gene-frequency estimates. Details of the relationship between Maharas (Ksatriyas) and Kunbis have been recorded by Karve and Dandekar (1951).

The ABO Blood Group data are shown in Table 1 and the subgroup data in Table II.

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<th>Observed Frequency</th>
<th>Observed Percentage</th>
<th>Expected Frequency</th>
<th>Expected Percentage</th>
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<td>266.3</td>
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</table>

The gene frequencies are: p = 0.21122; q = 0.20888; r = 0.57798

\[
D = \frac{\chi^2 - 1.62}{\chi^2} = 2.58
\]

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Blood Subgroups</th>
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<th>Observed Percentage</th>
<th>Expected Frequency</th>
<th>Expected Percentage</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

* The percentages have been calculated for the whole sample. The gene frequencies are p1 = 0.18699; p2 = 0.02714. \chi^2 = 2.66.

The frequencies are essentially the same as those for Maharas reported by Sanghvi (1955), Sanghvi and Khanolkar (1950–51), Sanghvi, Sukumaran and Bhatia (1954) and Solanki, Shukla and Sood (1961). The A-gene frequencies are somewhat higher than those obtaining in other ethnological groups in India.

References
Karve, I., and V. M. Dandekar, Anthropometric Measurements of Maharas (1951), pp. 33f.
Sanghvi, L. D., communication read at the World Population Congress (1955), Rome.

SHORTER NOTES
As was announced in the August issue (MAN, 1965, 131), the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute have decided that, for an experimental period of three years (viz. 1964, 1965 and 1966), MAN shall be published in double issues every two months; the experiment will be reviewed in the course of 1966. No reduction in the amount of matter published is involved in the change, since each double issue will contain at least 32 pages. Beginning therefore with this January–February issue, the word 'Monthly' is dropped for the duration of the experiment from MAN's long title, which thus reverts to the form in use during the Second World War and until the end of 1946. Although a certain loss of 'immediacy' is necessarily involved in the change, every effort will be made to minimize this, for example by printing letters and the replies thereto in the same issue whenever possible.

The Honorary Editor takes the opportunity of reminding readers that he is glad to receive articles, to be considered for publication in MAN, from any part of the world and on any subject within, or related to, the field of anthropological sciences in the widest sense. Articles which have a bearing on more than one branch or area of the subject are especially welcome. As a glance at almost any issue will show, MAN is an effectively international publication, and it might well become more so; it is not associated

II
The Maharas are the landlords and farmers of Western Maharashtra. People of this caste claim to be Ksatriyas (warriors).
with any particular 'position' in anthropology. Authors whose native tongue is not English are respectfully invited to obtain expert advice in order to assure themselves that their articles conform adequately to English usage, since (in a periodical which has to rely upon honorary, spare-time editors) articles which need 'heavy' editing are subject to delay, which may be considerable. Most authors are aware that their texts must be typed in double spacing, but fewer seem to realize that this is even more important in the case of notes and references, which indeed are most suitably typed in triple spacing. Reference should be made to issues of MAN in order to conform as closely as possible to its 'house style' in spelling, etc.

In this connexion, attention is drawn to the long-standing practice of MAN by which unusual diacritical marks and special characters (including those of the phonetic alphabet) are not used, the Roman alphabet being considered sufficient for most purposes. The reasons for this are in part financial, since the use of 'special sorts' (which must usually be hand-set) is very expensive; but the chief reason is that MAN is not a specialist publication but is directed at a general anthropological audience, and seeks to make the fruits of many kinds of specialist research available in readily intelligible form to all kinds of anthropologists. A very great variety of linguistic symbols are in use in different parts of the world, creating many difficulties even for linguists; their free use in MAN, even if it were practicable, would render many articles inaccessible to readers unfamiliar with the authors' specializations. The Hon. Editor has recently had the benefit of consultation on this matter with his Editorial Adviser, Mr. R. H. Robins, as a result of which the existing practice is confirmed and is being systematized. Where it is necessary, in vernacular words, to give a character a value other than the normally accepted one, this should be expressly stated by the author in a note on orthography; if it is necessary to distinguish, for example, between two values of o (open and closed) or ng (as in 'singer' and 'finger'), use may be made of ad hoc symbols such as colon or normal French or German diacritical marks, to which a stated phonetic value is given for the purpose of the article concerned only: thus, o and o', or ng and nng. In most cases it may not be necessary, in MAN, to distinguish between such sounds, but where it is, the Hon. Editor is advised that the Roman alphabet, with such simple aids as those suggested above, should be sufficient. Authors are particularly asked to take account of these principles and to provide any necessary orthographical notes for the convenience of the reader.

Articles on Linguistic Topics in MAN. By R. H. Robins, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and Hon. Editorial Adviser to MAN

The importance of linguistic studies to anthropology needs no stressing, and despite the growth of specialization in linguistics, as in many other branches of learning at the present time, a good deal of the work of linguists is very relevant to that of their colleagues engaged in other aspects of the study of man.

It has been felt recently that there must be many linguists, in Great Britain and elsewhere, who are in a position to contribute short articles in their own fields that would attract and interest the wider anthropological readership of a periodical such as MAN. It is with this in view and in the hope of increasing the number of articles on linguistic topics in MAN that I have been asked to serve as an editorial adviser.

Contributions, whose preferred length is some 3,000 words (or less), should be sent to the Honorary Editor. The following categories of article, by no means exhaustive or prescriptive, suggest themselves as of considerable general interest:

1. Summaries of recent developments in linguistics that are of some concern to anthropological and kindred studies (e.g. glottochronology). A relatively brief and deliberately non-specialist account in MAN would not, of course, preclude a fuller and more detailed treatment of the same subject elsewhere in a more specialized periodical. Indeed, cross-reference from one to the other would clearly be very helpful to many readers.

2. The presentation of data from particular cultural or linguistic areas falling within the field of interest of linguists and anthropologists (e.g. traditional songs, folk tales, specialized vocabulary, types of language in specific culturally determined activities, etc.).

3. The discussion of theory or methods in linguistics having wider relevance (e.g. field techniques, elicitation procedures, evaluation of informant reactions, etc.).

4. The deliberately provocative presentation of a particular standpoint on some fairly basic topic of general interest (e.g. the place of meaning in linguistic analysis, or the legitimate inferences to be drawn from comparative and historical linguistics). Copies of the manuscript or proofs of such contributions could be circulated in appropriate cases to proponents of different points of view for their reply, to be published in subsequent issues.

Horniman Museum Lectures, Winter, 1964

Among free illustrated lectures of interest to anthropologists which are to be given on Saturday afternoons at 3.30 p.m. in the first quarter of 1964 are the following: 13 January, Professor Dr. Th. P. van Baaren, 'Art of New Guinea'; 25 January, C. A. Morris, 'Malaya and Thai Music, Dance and Drama'; 1 February, Olga Ford, 'Persian Architecture'; 15 February, Professor J. D. Evans, 'Tartessos, a Prehistoric Kingdom in Southern Spain'; 22 February, Harry Shorto, 'Music and Musical Instruments of Southern Burma'; 29 February, A. D. Lacaille, 'Middle Stone Age in the London Area.'

CORRESPONDENCE

An Athenian Rock Slide. Cf. MAN, 1957, 34

Sir,—When in Athens this year I went to the Church of Hagia Marina, which is on the south-east slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, trying to trace the rock slide referred to by Mrs. M. A. Carey (then Miss Bennett-Clark) in her letter to MAN of February, 1957.

The Church of Hagia Marina stands below the public observatory on an apron of rock at the foot of which runs the street of Leoforos Apostolou Pavlou. At the south-east corner of the rock slope, where the slide was supposed to be, there is a small taverna but no sign of a slide. However, I was told by an old man who lived nearby that there had been a slide of between two and three metres in length on the site of the taverna, which children had used until the taverna was built. This was confirmed by the owner of the taverna. I was also told that the local name for the place was Flitpia (a slide). I could find no local traditions or stories associated directly with the slide, but was interested to learn from a local schoolteacher of an old ceremony which used to take place annually on the church's feast day, until it was discontinued about 60 years ago. On this day the young girls of the area would dress in their best and congregate on the rock slope below the church. The bachelors who wanted to enter the married state would then select a girl and subsequently propose. This ceremony was known as the Noupodapeo (the marriage market), and was held immediately above the slide.

ANGELA FAGG

Saulton, Cambridgeshire
REVIEWS

GENERAL


In 1955 the author of this work, Professor Etienne Patte, the distinguished physical anthropologist of the Faculty of Science of Poitiers, produced his encyclopaedic monograph Les néanderthaliens, anatomie, physiologie, comparaisons. Because of the intention to publish the present volume, however, this earlier monograph did not include a detailed account of the dentitions.

The present volume follows the pattern of Les néanderthaliens and is a carefully and accurately detailed account and interpretation of the considerable, and in places highly controversial, literature concerned with the dentitions of Neandertal man and so is a companion volume to Professor Patte’s earlier work. The interval between the publication of the two parts of what is virtually one whole is not as great as appears to be the case because La dentition des néanderthaliens began to become available in 1959, being published in three parts in Annales de Paléontologie between 1959 and 1961. The present volume is a facsimile of the Annales publication.

The term ‘companion volume’ is employed having in mind the fact that La dentition des néanderthaliens does not possess its own list of references but shares that of Les néanderthaliens. The references, which comprise one of the most valuable features of monographs of this kind, are given in full in accord with best practice and are comprehensive, but it must be said that the serious student—and few other than serious students will use this book—is not going to thank the author or his publishers for having economized by adopting this system of a shared list of references. The non-specialist may find the value of the text limited by the fact that the only illustrations are a few drawings placed at the end of the book.

Comencing with the lower central incisor, each tooth is considered systematically in turn and the principal characteristics such as shape of the crowns of the incisors, wrinkled enamel and the various manifestations of so-called taurodontism, which is so well seen in the Krapina material, are described clearly as words alone will permit. A great deal of metrical data collated from the literature for many comparative species is included for each tooth.

Professor Patte has tended to confine himself to a consideration of the teeth or dentitions of ‘typical’ Neandertal material and has good reasons for so doing because, until the nature, and in particular the prevalence in statistical terms, of the dental characteristics of the reasonably well defined Neandertals are, as far as the available material allows, thoroughly understood, there can be no profitable consideration of ‘peripheral’ specimens. However, a more exciting book would have resulted if reports had been made and discussion entered into of the dentitions of all the less distinctly categorized specimens and those for which hybrid status has been claimed.

In summary, this book is an important contribution to the study of Neandertal man and will certainly be indispensable to those who may be preparing themelves for a much-needed comprehensive first-hand examination of the, if not specialized certainly singular or even anomalous, dentitions of this fascinating human species.

A. E. W. MILES


The author presents the results of 434 Electroencephalographie (EEG) records on a series of rhesus monkeys (M. mulatta) at regular intervals between birth and the age of 24 months, which he takes as the age of puberty, based on the menarche of the females. This estimate is rather earlier than that made by Schultz (1933) and makes no allowance for the later sexual maturatoin of the male. The material derived from the EEG records is divided into chapters according to the state of wakefulness of the animal at the time of recording. Each chapter contains a short synopsis of the changes which occur in the EEG rhythms characteristic of each particular state from birth to the age of 24 months, together with large numbers of full-scale reproductions of EEG recordings, each with descriptive notes. Some comparisons are made between the development of EEG patterns in M. mulatta and in H. sapiens.

As emphasized in the introduction by Dr. H. Davis, the ‘meaning’ of EEG impulses and even their precise source in the brain is largely unknown. However, EEG recordings are used empirically in the diagnosis of brain disorders, and can be used as in this book as a parameter of growth and development. Dr. Caviness makes the suggestion that the development of EEG patterns may be directly correlated with the physical growth of various parts of the brain, especially of the cerebral cortex.

It is the latter application of the EEG, rather than the pages of representative tracings (although the latter will certainly be of great value to other workers in the EEG field) which are of interest to the anthropologist. As a parameter of growth, the ontogeny of the EEG patterns can be compared with the maturation of other systems, such as the dentition and general body-size, intraspecifically, and with the development of the EEG and other parameters of growth in other species, particularly H. sapiens.

Some comparisons of this type were made using data given by Dr. Caviness and by A. H. Schultz (‘Growth and Development,’ in The Anatomy of the Rhesus Monkey, edited by C. G. Hartman and W. L. Straus, New York, 1931), it was found that relative to its potential longevity, and to the age of the female at puberty, the EEG patterns of M. mulatta mature rather faster than those of H. sapiens, whereas the attainment of full dentition and body size is relatively much slower in the macaque. Moreover, the last tooth to be acquired in the male monkey is often the large upper canine, an essential weapon in the attainment of full social maturity.

These observed differences support the thesis that the greater similarity between human and non-human primate skulls in infancy, and their later structural divergence, are due to the differential rates and degrees of development of the two principal sets of cranial apparatus, the dentition and the brain, that of the former being


This small monograph of some 170 pages is one of a series published by l’Institut Universitaire de Médecine Légale as part of their Collection de Médecine Légale.

The major aim of the work is to review the evidence of pathology in Swiss and French skeletons principally dated to between the fifth and eighth centuries A.D., and representing populations loosely termed the Burgundians.

The work is slow to get to the meat of the matter, and in fact it is necessary to be patient for 54 pages before the actual data on bone pathology are considered. A substantial part is concerned with injuries, either minor pre-mortem ones or those received at death; trauma being common in this period, especially in the limbs. Cases of osteitis and osteomyelitis are described, and there are two very probable instances of tuberculosis as shown by marked spinal deformation. No certain evidence of leprosy or syphilis could be found, and there is only an extremely doubtful case of ricketts. Bone deformation resulting from rheumatic diseases was clearly as common as in so many earlier populations. Other abnormal conditions noted include mutilations, nasal malformations, sacral 'spina bifida,' congenital luxation and frontal hyperostosis.

The work is by no means concise in style, and in a reduced form would have fitted more satisfactorily into a journal of anthropology or medical history.

DON BROTHWELL
both accelerated and reduced, and that of the latter prolonged and increased in modern man, with his dependence upon culture.

The use of Dr. Caviness's book for interspecific comparison is hampered by the rather general nature of the statements about many of the changes that occur in EEG patterns, and especially by the lack of numerical data.

According to Dr. Davis (in the introduction), both the 'unaided human eye' and statistical and electronic methods are accepted methods of analysing EEG tracings. Dr. Caviness appears to use the subjective method exclusively. More graphic statements of the frequencies and intensities of the various patterns observed would however be valuable, especially as the author reproduces histograms of this type for human data from F. A. and E. L. Gibbs, Atlas of Electroencephalography (2 vols., Reading, Mass., 1950-1952). In a work of such luxurious format (and high price) there should have been space for more detailed analysis of the data, possibly with less space devoted to the representative tracings, and with the present concise chapters retained as summaries.

C. J. JOLLY


This book is intended as an introduction to human biology for sixth forms and students at teachers' training colleges. The first part, dealing with evolution in the past up to the coming of man, covers the nature of the universe (I.), the origin of life, the palaeontological and particularly the human fossil record, and includes digressions on cell organization and the nature of life. The second part deals with the development of the individual—embryology, differentiation of embryonic tissues, development of the systems, genetics and nutrition. The projected Volume II will cover physiology and pathology.

Miss Hogg has set herself an ambitious task. Although the material is, on the whole, well organized, some sections, e.g. population genetics, could do with more detail, while post-natal growth is barely mentioned. Moreover, an account, even though elementary, need not be inaccurate; it is stated that the earliest forms of life were probably sexual (p. 33), but the effect of a recessive gene is completely masked by the presence of the dominant (p. 197), while some sections are downright misleading, e.g. the discussion of standard error (p. 220). The short account of human evolution is incomplete, and again at times misleading; the Loris is omitted from a list of extant primates, Pithecanthropus is not even briefly described and the primate fossil record is a great deal richer than the author makes out—she might have mentioned the several known variants of Proconsul and also the near-Eastern Neandertals.

The text is plentifully supplied with diagrams and pictures, including some good photographs of embryos and one (unfortunately) of Le Penseur.

E. COOPE


As was true of his earlier books, Siegfried Giedion's The Eternal Present is essentially a quest for new and dramatic insight into relatively unexplored material. His subject here is the prehistoric art of Europe. Dividing the field topically, the author concentrates on issues and problems rather than monuments or stylistic developments. His text, clarified by more than 370 illustrations, many made especially for this book, falls into five main sections covering the artistic means of expression, symbolization, sacred animal, human figure and spatial conceptions of prehistoric art.

Throughout the book Giedion stresses the fundamentally non-naturalistic character of all primeval art (p. 18) and its Bergsonian sense of time—hence the term, the Eternal Present. Also discussed are such hoary problems as transparent animal bodies, stencilled hands, and sexual symbols. Giedion's comparison of mammiform stalactites (Le Combrel, Pech-Merle) with the many-breasted Artemis Ephesia (pp. 211-22) and his account of stylistic changes in animal representations (pp. 293-342) are particularly impressive. The emphasis on space conception (pp. 514-38), which the author will no doubt expand in his projected second volume on the beginnings of architecture, shed much more light on this difficult subject than any heretofore printed.

The Eternal Present also contributes new and convincing evidence toward the solution of problems studied for more than a century. Giedion supports the theory that, during the paleolithic era, zoomorphism held sway and was not dethroned until the end of that period. The use of sexual symbols, he concludes, aims principally at ensuring the fertility of animals. Hand gestures may serve to ward off evil or to impart strength. On the knotty problem of totemism, however, the author is reluctant to commit himself. He strongly opposes the view that primordial composition is chaotic, favouring, though with reservations, the theories of Leroi-Gourhan and Laming.

No aspect of this book is more welcome than the author's insistence on a rigorous art-historical terminology in his descriptions of the monuments. Terms such as neo-impressionist and perspective are misnomers whose employment obscures rather than reveals the truth. Giedion's careful scrutiny of each masterpiece and his precise verbal analysis of the forms should stand as models for future scholarship.

Another feature of this book that merits attention is its constant search for meaning beyond the limits of the prehistoric period. This technique, which prehistorians sometimes disparage, is valid, I believe, provided that it is done properly. Giedion has chosen to make frequent reference to four extra-Paleolithic sources—the circumpolar shamanistic peoples, the 'classical' cultures of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece, rock engraving from various areas including examples from the Chimane Indians of Bolivia, and, largely for purposes of contrast, numerous works of Klee, Miro, Chagall, etc. The last evidence may be useful to some, but I find its inclusion merely distracting. Giedion's stone specimens are on the whole appropriately chosen. They raise the question, though, why not examine rock paintings by modern primitives, such as those of the Bushmen and Australian aborigines, or the older rock art of North Africa and the Central Sahara? Vast as these subjects are, a scholar of Giedion's skill and breadth could easily bring them under the microscope.

The techniques of projecting back from the records of early civilization are also used judiciously yet with much success in this book. On the other hand the attempt to interpret paleolithic religion and society through the timeworn analogy with the shamanistic circumpolar cultures leaves me unconvinced. For some customs including bear ritual, yes; but shamanism itself is not a custom of the greatest antiquity. Nor can I agree with the old reindeer-following Paleolithic-Eskimo hypothesis which Giedion revives here (p. 522f.). To these methodological remarks may be added one final demurrer. It is a pity that documentation and parenthetical asides were not reduced to footnotes; for, if this had been done, the author's clarity of vision and great learning would be accessible to a far broader audience than can now be expected to follow the intricacies of his argument.

DOUGLAS FRASER


This book was prepared when the author was employed as an economist in New Delhi by the U.S. government. It describes the application of statistical techniques to a number of governmental and business problems using Indian or U.S. or imaginary data.

The early chapters are lucid and contain interesting examples. The later ones really call for previous statistical training. The collection and presentation of data, index numbers, time series and quality control are discussed but not population and censuses. The chapter on multiple correlation uses 20 pages of calculations to
reach a conclusion which is substantially evident on five minutes' examination of the data.

While the book could be used as a textbook in its field, an unaided student would find it useful to have handy one of the more general introductory works such as Tippett's *The Methods of Statistics* or even the *Pelican Facts from Figures* by M. J. Moroney.

H. E. WADSWORTH


The book under review is mainly concerned with the problem of definitions. The author steers clear of functionalist and psychological orientations, and his approach is rather reminiscent of distributionist studies with due emphasis upon the 'culture trait' as a 'distinguishable and isolable unit.' The book was, in fact, originally written in 1929, and revived in 1953 because, the author tells us, Kroebner and Kluckhohn had made 'references to [it] in their publication' on culture (1952).

The author writes that the present (1961) edition is a revision of the earlier work. But, besides the addition of 30 pages of appendices containing 'A few instructions issued from time to time to students of Anthropology or Human Geography,' the revision seems to have been limited in scope. Thus, the only post-World-War-II publication referred to is a 1959 work by the author himself, and the only anthropological works cited in the footnotes are books by Roy (1912), Wiseman (1913), Kubler (1921), and Boas (1922 and 1929). Judging from the summary at the end of each chapter and the appendices, the book seems to be intended for the general reader and the student offering his first courses in anthropology. Indian students will find the author's reliance upon Indian illustrative materials helpful, and his discussion of cultural change interesting.

T. N. MAIDAN


This volume, the second in the series, includes reviews, together with full bibliographies, of recent work in the main branches of the subject and in certain more limited fields. Sofou contributes an account of the history and present trends of anthropology in Japan, where there has been a rapid extension of work since the end of the War. Geertz gives a much needed survey of research on peasant societies, which have been long neglected. It is apparent from Woodbury's article that discovery is outrpassing theory for the moment in many branches of New World archaeology. Spuhler and Heglar describe numerous fresh lines of experiment in physical anthropology and Romney summarizes the main current topics of debate among social anthropologists. Wallace and Fogelson, writing on 'Culture and Personality,' and Rubin on 'The Anthropology of Development' deal with some intriguing frontiers between anthropology and other studies, such as medicine and government. It would appear from Lounsbury's article on 'Language' that a major revolution, probably of a reactionary nature, is threatened in this field in America. The whole book is a remarkable achievement, and of great value in the present state of the discipline.

W. C. BRICE

AFRICA


The proposal to construct Kariba Dam at the lower end of the Gwembe Valley on the Middle Zambezi River, and the resultant creation of Lake Kariba rendered it necessary for the people living on the floor of the Valley to be evacuated to new homes above the future level of the Lake. Understandably, considerable attention was focused on the effects which the whole project would have, particularly on the culture of the people concerned, and it was decided by three scientific institutions in the Rhodesias to make or sponsor a number of studies in the area before it was too late. The first of these studies, The Social Organization of the Gwembe Tonga, by Dr. E. Colson, was published in 1960 (and reviewed in MAN, 1961, 68). The present volume is the second in the series.

The Gwembe Tonga are Bantu-speaking and, like most of the inhabitants of south-central Africa, live on a subsistence economy. With their neighbours and close relatives, the Plateau Tonga, they are believed to have formed part of one of the early waves of Bantu immigrants to what are now the Rhodesias. Unlike most of their neighbours, however, they have in recent time been little affected by the material and economic changes wrought by contact with Western European culture. Poor communications and the uninviting valley in which they dwell have kept them in a state of semi-isolation until the present decade. The interest that has recently been taken in their culture is therefore understandable.

The author was appointed to assist Dr. Colson by making a study of the relationship of the Gwembe Tonga to their environment. In view of the close dependence of the Tonga on their environment and the frequency with which they have been subject to famine, this additional study was most desirable. The necessary fieldwork was carried out between October, 1956, and September, 1957, both workers being in the field at the same time. Although Dr. Colson and Mr. Scudder both carried out their main work in Chippeo Chiefdom, it is to be noted that they worked in separate though adjacent neighbourhoods. Naturally they worked in close collaboration to achieve their primary objective: a baseline study of the social organization and human ecology of the Valley Tonga prior to resettlement. The second phase of the study, which was begun in 1962, is intended to deal with the adjustments made by the Valley Tonga in response to the drastic changes in environment and general circumstances resulting from this settlement.

This volume follows on naturally from Dr. Colson's book, and Mr. Scudder devotes a scant five pages of his introductory chapter 'The Gwembe Valley and its People' to the people themselves, preferring to refer his readers to his colleague's work. The major part of this chapter deals with the valley itself and describes fully, though succinctly, the natural environment of the Valley Tonga.

The agricultural activities of the people form the major part of the book, 100 pages in fact. In this chapter all aspects of these activities are considered in detail. Not only are the crops and garden types discussed but also the development and sociological significance of *temwa* are examined. These *temwa* (rainy-season millet gardens) are planted in the bush a mile or two from the river, unlike the alluvial river-bank gardens upon which past travellers have often remarked and for which the Tonga are famed. Land tenure and disputes, the problems and methods of labour recruitment, and the value of cash crops are also considered, while the agricultural cycle in both rains and dry season gardens, particularly its religious aspects, are discussed in detail.

The rest of the book is devoted to population and settlement patterns, aspects of the subsistence economy other than agriculture and finally the problem of famine. Famine has always been a great problem for the Valley Tonga and although written records only go back some 25 years, local informants remember at least three great famines from the second half of the nineteenth century alone. The history of these famines is given and the possible causes carefully analysed, as also are the sociological implications of their effect upon the Tonga. The Appendices on the uses made of local plants and on the acreage of cereal-cultivation in a Chippeo village are useful additions to the study.

This work is both interesting and easy to read, covering its subject most satisfactorily. The sketches, plans and maps are, with one exception, clear and good. The exception is the large inset map of the Kariba Lake Basin, to be found at the back of the book. This is disappointing, as also are most of the Plates, which fail to show adequately the detail mentioned in their captions.

These minor criticisms do not, however, detract from the value of the book itself, which is to be recommended to those interested in
in the Tonga peoples or in ecological studies generally. The second phase of the study should prove most rewarding and we can look forward with interest to the publication of its report.

BARRIE REYNOLDS


In speaking of the effect which a work of art has on the observer Professor Talbot Rice wrote that it (the sensation which we experience on first seeing the work) 'comes like a current of electricity in the atmosphere, so that the nature of the work itself and anything which we may know about its context have no part to play in creating the emotion which we feel.' How very far is this from the outlook of so much that has been written about African sculpture when masks and cult figures are 'explained' (or, might I even say, explained away) in terms of the writer's particular interest in African philosophy or sociology, as though it was not worth considering on mere artistic merit. Similarly, the technique of precise observation and munsuration introduced by the late Professor Olbrechts as an aid to identification of styles and locations, excellent as it is for the purpose, and perhaps even more excellent in that it taught us really to look at form, can become, if we are not careful, just another interesting diversion to prevent us from seeing the thing itself. It is only too easy to forget that African sculpture has as much right as any other form of art to be enjoyed first for the direct appeal which it makes to our senses and only secondarily for all that lies behind it.

It is therefore very refreshing to note the subtle difference in emphasis which William Fagg gives in defining the raison d'être of his latest book as 'an attempt to suggest such an image of Nigeria as, for example, the works of Shakespeare can give us of England, Beethoven's music of Germany, or the Parthenon and its sculptures of Greece.' The value here lies in the nature of the sculpture when considered as a work of art. Of course this is no new approach on the part of Fagg's, for, as far back as 1934 in a paper written for the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society he was speaking on the nature of African art—its poetic aspect, its directness, its naturalism, its sculptural, decorative and individual qualities,—but it is good that he should now have produced a book of the size and importance of Nigerian Images with such a well defined intention.

The first, and perhaps the most logical, aspect of which such a book will have is through its photographs, for comparatively few of its readers may have the opportunity of studying the pieces themselves even as museum specimens, far less in their natural surroundings in Africa. In this Mr. Fagg has been fortunate in having Herbert List as his collaborator. Between them they have broken with the practice of producing photographs which are exciting works of art in themselves, created by splendid contrasts of light and shade cast by artificial lighting but completely removed from the warm intimate appearance of the piece of wood held, as often as not, between the carver's feet as he shapes it with his adze; which those of us who have worked in Africa must always remember with nostalgia and regard as the only way really to see an African carving. The photographs in this book, taken by ordinary daylight, suggest far more, naturally the look of things, and are delightful in the quality of their tone. It would be interesting to carry the experiment still further, and try taking some photographs almost, but not directly, from above as the carver would himself have regarded his work while he decided on its form. I found more than once that figure groups by local craftsmen did seem to compose better when looked at in this way.

Mr. Fagg divides his book into two parts, the one on the Ancient Arts, the other on the Recent Period. In the first he gives a clear account of the Nok terra-cottas and their importance as the earliest datable African sculpture extant; then of the naturalistic style of life with its possible affinity with that of Nok. He then considers the Court Style of Benin, those bronzes produced over a span of some five centuries for the reigning Obas, noting the way the Benin artists have arranged the work in a rather different sequence from that put forward by von Luschan many years ago; a scheme based on artistic considerations which seems convincing. First the 'thin' heads where the Bini craftsmen make a creditable attempt to adopt the naturalism of their teachers from Ife. Then the heads swing back to the more conceptural style but still retain the sensitivity which the Bini craftsmen had been taught. Later, heavier heads, resulting from technical causes, the importation of tin bronze from Europe, and the desire for heads which would act as pedestals for the support of heavy ivory tusks; and then, following a normal cycle of artistic progression, heads which have lost their sensitivity and become mechanical, spiritless and artistically decadent. He has used the seventeenth-century plaques as his sheet anchor in dating, and amongst these picks out the work of several individual masters.

But what I find most exciting in Mr. Fagg's whole exposition of Nigerian sculpture is the elevation of a number of unidentified works originally put on one side only as having a nuisance value in the tidy arrangement of Benin Court art, to a group of their own tentatively called the Lower Niger Bronze Industry. Little is known as yet of their origins, and they cannot all be grouped or dated definitely according to stylistic characteristics. But they have in common a poetic quality and vitality which puts them right in the forefront of African art.

In his second section, that devoted to Recent Sculpture, William Fagg turns from the study of specific schools of African art to a more general philosophy of the whole subject. His cycle of development of the work of groups of family or village carvers would seem to me to be much like that of the smaller schools of medieval days in Europe. In both a master craftsman trained his sons or apprentices, who would possibly fall short of his talents; some would in their turn train others, and so the tradition was kept up although probably slowly declining in value. Sooner or later, however, a fresh genius would be thrown up—work within the tradition, yet with all sorts of fresh personal gifts of his own, and the process would begin all over again. Thus we have variety within stability. He then points to the emergence of named artists in Africa (which incidentally is another similarity to the medieval European period, when famous master craftsmen began to stand out by name) and suggests the need to study African sculpture at two levels, that of the tribal group and that of the specially gifted individual.

Finally he gives a good generalized account of the religious basis of all it: the belief in force, energy or power which is the stuff of nature; and man's desire to control it. In the past the white ant was the great destroyer of works of art; today it is western ant. The creative power of the African artist could not be killed by the first; is it strong enough and proud enough of its origins to survive the latter?

To say that Mr. Fagg has given us little that he has not touched on before in The Sculpture of Africa and other writings is only to emphasize the scholarship and wisdom of his previous books; and this time, by setting out to cover a smaller field, he has said it much more fully and clearly.

MARGARET TROWELL


The Toura are a small hill people resident in the Prefecture of Dialo. Their culture, of Mande type, is similar to that of their better-known neighbours the Dan. Shallow, exogamous, totemic, eponymous patrilineages are the 'corner stone of their social structure'; Poro-type initiation societies are important and so are priests of the earth. Rice is the basic subsistence crop but an Akantor type festival remains the focus of the year's ritual activities. Coffee-cultivation dominates economic life.

M. Holas is primarily concerned with describing the accommodation of 'le psychisme du Toura' to the abrupt political and economic changes of recent years and the process of cultural moulding by external ideological pressures to which it has been subjected. The absorptive capacity of Toura culture, its resilient plasticity, is clearly demonstrated; particularly in the ceremonies which the 'agglutination' of the annual yam festival with the rites of the initiation societies has produced. This condensation, rather than shedding, of traditional ritual has been facilitated by the essential coherence of

This is a catalogue of 391 objects at the Chicago Natural History Museum. About half of them belong to the Museum and the other half are from the collection formed by the late Captain A. W. F. Fuller and have been lent to the Museum by his widow. The objects are competently catalogued and about 80 of them are admirably illustrated. There is an introduction to the art of Benin and a note on Captain Fuller.


This is a neatly ordered collection of ethnographical jottings. The main sources are the writings of early travellers and investigators, district files, notes made by the author during a 16-month tour of duty during 1952-53 as an administrative officer and answers to the author's questions by a resident missionary and two Togolese studying in France. More than two-thirds of the book is devoted to the geographical setting, demographic data, history and material culture and only the last 38 pages to claus, government, law, the life cycle and mystical beliefs. In pre-colonial times the Bassari were proud, slave-owning, metal-working artisans but their economy was shattered by the imposition of colonial rule and the importation of factory-made goods. The effects of the change to dependence on the farm labour of their own hands for subsistence and on the migrant labour of the young men for cash are unfortunately only mentioned and not described. But, as a supplement to the scanty and dispersed information previously available on the Bassari, this compilation will be useful to students of the cultures of Northern Ghana and Northern Togoland.


Of the tales (and proverbs and riddles) contained in this book, some were collected by a author in Liberia, but most are derived from previously published collections such as those made by Rattray, Tremarne, Dayrell and Dennes. It would make a pleasant gift if expensive gift for a (fairly broadminded) young person interested either in folk stories or in Africa. That it is of no use to an anthropologist will be evinced from the author's statement in the foreword (pp. 28): 'Knowledge of the creative role of the narrator [as observed during fieldwork in Liberia] has provided me with the insight necessary for the reconstruction of those tales—which I found to be increasingly padded, padded folklore as baid and unadapted plot sequences, as well as those which are in my notes in similar form.' It is very doubtful whether such reconstructions can qualify as West African folklore, though they might be called 'folktales in the West African (or rather the African) manner.' In fact they probably tell us more about the people for whom they are written than about the people for whom the originals were composed. No sources are given, except for the name of the tribe in each case, and even the source books are not all named in the foreword. There is an arch and scarcely illuminating introduction by Paul Goodman.

There is certainly room for a true anthology of authentic and uncorrupted West African folklore, recorded and compiled in accordance with modern standards so as to show forth differences in thought categories not only between Africans and Europeans but between the infinitely varied African peoples. The present volume is merely a charming anachronism.

William Fagg


The original French edition of this book appeared in 1934 and in spite of the lapse of nearly 30 years this English translation serves a useful purpose. There has been some rearrangement both of the contents and the plates, and a few additions, but the bulk of the work is unchanged. The value of having numerous technical terms put into English is obvious, but doubts about the translation have been aroused in my mind by the naming of the parts of the loom in the introduction, for example the headdress stick is called a shedding stick (p. 7) and the shed stick is simply called a stick or, in the diagram (p. 8), a coarse rod or roller. This is not the result of American usage, because no less an authority than the late Professor Lila O'Neal used the ordinary English terminology. I believe therefore that the translation as a whole needs more scrutiny than I have been able to give it.

The chief rearrangements consist of removing the table of contents from the end to the beginning, grouping the various divisions into three parts instead of four parts with an appendix, and extending the division into chapters throughout the book instead of confining it to Part I. There are now 117 monochrome plates instead of 109, but part of the increase seems to be due to rearrangement. Seven coloured illustrations have been added; these will naturally add to the appeal of the book, but if they have added appreciably to the cost their value must be questioned, since all but one of them have already appeared in a number of the CIBA Review written by M. d'Harcourt.

The chief additions to the text are as follows: (i) A new short section on twining in Chapter VIII. This technique has proved to be of major importance in the Preceramic Period, whose very existence was unknown for long after the first edition appeared. It can only be regretted that information was not available to the author at the time of writing to enable him to describe and illustrate specimens of the complex and sophisticated designs produced by warp- and weft- manipulation, although hints of the process involved were given in papers by Biernacki and Mahler which do not appear in the bibliography ('America's Oldest Cotton Fabrics' in American Fabrics, No. 20, 1951-2, and 'Before Heddles Were Invented' in Handweaver and Craftsman, Vol. III, No. 3, 1942). (ii) Considerable additions to Chapter X on Plaiting or Braiding. These include accounts of cords plaited from up to 38 strands, and the way in which they have been worked out and illustrated call for unqualified admiration. (iii) Some additions to Chapter XI (formerly Part III) on nets. Despite the extensive treatment, there is no mention of the hitch or cow-hitch, which was used in the Preceramic and Chavin Periods and survives in modern ethnological contexts, although it is shown incidentally at the top edge in figs. 76 A-C.

The title of the book gives a true indication of its approach, since it is concerned primarily with technique. Where he can, the author gives the provenance of an object, but rarely attempts to ascribe to it a period, and the introduction shows a certain scepticism which he cannot altogether endorse, about the possibility of doing so except in a few very instances. A general lack of interest in chronology is, indeed, suggested by an excessive depreciation of the results given by radiocarbon and by the exaggeration of the length of the Inca Period on the coast, which is given as 200 to 300 years instead of a maximum of about 70. The study as a whole is based almost entirely on the south coast, which prevents any consideration from being given to regional characteristics, and spinning directions, which
may throw light on this, are not even mentioned. Other statements in the introduction are at variance with modern knowledge; thus unswen fabrics were not limited to 30 inches in width, and samples up to 17 feet 8 inches wide are known from Paracas (Bird and Bennett, Anadele Culture History, second edition, 1960, p. 268). It is also said categorically that the Indians did not use mordants (p. 6), but analysis has shown that alum at least was used (see Bird and Bellinger, 1934, in the bibliography, p. 93, note). In private duty bound, I must also note that the substitution of some semi-colons for commas in the reprinted Preface to the Original Edition has resulted in the erroneous association of Dr. R. Wegner with the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. In spite of the somewhat exacting standards which I have applied to parts of it, I must end as I began by saying that the book still serves a useful purpose, the excellent drawings being particularly helpful. The additions which have been made bear witness to the welcome vitality of the veteran author.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL


The first voyage of the Bavarian Schmidel from 1534 to 1535 in what are today Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and western Brazil have deservedly been recognized as a classic on Spanish settlement of those regions and on the Indians encountered. In the best German tradition he was a careful observer and had an interest in Indian life seldom shared by Spaniards other than priests. As a consequence we owe him a good share of our meagre information on such groups as the Querandi of the Pampa, the Charrua of Uruguay and various tribes of Paraguay as they were at the contact period. The illustrations are charming, but as was so often the case, the artist had no knowledge of those faraway peoples. Whatever the group, the native houses are shown as circular with slit windows (like those of the pillboxes which still disfigure our countryside) and all bows are two-piece. The cut of the Spaniard riding a llana is superb. The reproduction is from the edition of 1602 (the book first appeared in 1567). In a fine introduction Dr. Hans Plischke gives biographical notes and supplies correct terms for Schmidel's renderings of Spanish names and Indian tribes. He also gives a most useful map of the area, locating places and tribes in Schmidel's spelling with modern forms in parentheses.

Benzoni's Historia, first published in 1565 (the present reproduction is from the 1572 edition), is a very famous book. Excerpts appeared in Purchas His Pilgrimes and the Hakluyt society published an English edition in 1857. Its reputation is hardly merited. The work is largely a historical compilation of the Spanish conquest and his personal observations are so general and superficial that the charge has been made that his voyages in the New World between 1541 and 1556 were, indeed, made without leaving his library in Italy. On the assumption that he did spend those years in Latin America, he was a singularly incurious man, and his information, for example on the preparation of maize, is sometimes incorrect.

Dr. Ferdinand Anders supplies a useful introduction, a full bibliography and a much needed table of contents.

These two volumes are the first in a new series by this Austrian publishing firm which has undertaken the very laudable task of making available reproductions of rare source materials in ethnography and travel. Among those to be published are Basil Hall, Travels in North America (1829), James Wilson, A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Ocean (1799), Yves D'Exeure, Histoire des choses plus mémorables ayes en Maragon (1613-1614) and Heinrich Barth, Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Central Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1855. Another most important activity of this firm is the publication of colour facsimiles of Mexican pictographic codices. Codices Bicker I and II have appeared and the beautiful Mixtec Codex Vindobonensis will shortly be issued.

J. ERIC S. THOMPSON


The family and the kin play a larger part in the life of French Canadians than they do with us. The father is the master of the house. He consults his wife on domestic matters but makes all

MAN


Like its predecessors in the series of world cultures sponsored by the Human Relations Area Files, this book is a result of the authors' efforts to bring together and synthesize the most authoritative materials available. Based on no theoretical scheme, the book is a useful compendium of information on all aspects of Cuban life. The account ends with the spring of 1961; only 12 of the 312 references in the bibliography fall in 1961. No statements are made concerning data obtained from unpublished sources. It would be of interest to know how many informants were used, the percentage of refugees among the informants, and the qualifications of these persons. There is no indication that the authors visited Cuba.

For the most part, the authors try to explain the revolution of 1959 as a Cuban phenomenon. Little reference is made to the international scene. The emphasis on the pattern of political leadership results in a minimization of other phases of Cuban life.

The opening chapter provides summaries of the island's history and demography. 'Dollar diplomacy' and the Batista era are given special attention. The subjective impressions of 1953 censuses-takers on race (73 per cent. of the population white, 12 per cent. black, 14 5 per cent. mestizo and 1 per cent. yellow) are compared with other estimates (30 per cent. white, 49 per cent. Negro, 20 per cent. mestizo and 1 per cent. oriental). Despite the assertion in the past that Cuba had no race problem, the writers found that racial discrimination had long been an important concern of better-educated Negros. The process of urbanization in Cuba, as also social stratification since the end of the eighteenth century, are concisely treated.

In the part Cuba's economy depended on sugar exports, but MacGaffey and Barnett conclude that the country had the human and natural resources, and, until 1959, the capital needed for diversification. Indifference to everything but sugar prevented economic growth. According to the authors, it was not clear in 1961 what beneficial effects Castro's agrarian reforms would have, but they estimated the economy's potential as so great that increased productivity may be expected in response to 'any constructive effort.' (Reports from Cuba in recent months indicate that the production of sugar has dropped sharply.) Details are presented on other agricultural products, on mineral and manufacturing industries, domestic trade, and transportation. (The shortages of consumer goods and the problem of inflation, reported by the authors of this study, have increased since 1961.)

Following J. P. Gillin and others, such values in the Latin American ethos as machismo and personalismo are related to the behaviour of political leaders and to domestic and international politics. The roles of the leading politicians and parties, including the Partido Comunista de Cuba from 1925 on, and major interest groups (the army, professional men, business men, students, landowners, ethnic groups, organized labor and the Catholic Church) are reviewed relatively impartially. Although brief, the chapter on religion is exceedingly interesting. Other subjects considered in this brief include: education and welfare, foreign trade and United States influence, banking and finance, and intellectuals and artists.

As far as I can tell, the report of the Twenty-Sixth of July Movement and subsequent revolutionary developments is factual and adequate. The authors point out that at first the principles of the new government were moderate and reformist. The progressive radicalization of Castro's government is traced, and the profile of the new society is sketched. Prominent among the features of the new order are the nationalization of the economy and the Communist alliance.

GEORGE E. SIMPSON
the important decisions and his children are expected to obey him and treat him with deference. Though some mothers now work outside, the mother is in general expected to devote herself to her house and her children. She receives their confidences, acts as intermediary between them and their father; sons as well as daughters remain largely dependent on her till their marriage. Till then, too, they hand in all their earnings to their father.

Maintaining kinship ties is a function of the mother. By writing, telephoning, visiting and receiving visits she keeps in touch with a wide circle of relatives, and organizes the reunions which take place in connection with baptisms, weddings, funerals and the feasts of the church. There are women who can give the names of over 700 of their relatives. In addition all those of the same surname regard themselves as skin, and up to 900 have assembled to celebrate the tercentenary of their ancestor’s arrival in Canada. People are expected to employ their relatives in shops and offices, and to avail themselves of the services, often given free, of related professional men.

One is apt to think of the French Canadians as farmers long settled on their lands, but this is not so. Seventy per cent are now town dwellers, and among those on the land there are very few families which have occupied the same farm for more than two generations.

These and of course the many more facts given in this interesting book were obtained by numerous questionnaires and interviews. It is noteworthy that although not all are described as faultless, no single French Canadian is mentioned as failing in his or her duties to parents, children or spouse.

## People of Ancient Assyria


The author is Professor of Assyriology at the University of Copenhagen and has taken part in important excavations. He traces the history of Assyria from about 2000 B.C. till the fall of the empire in 612 B.C., and deals at length with the reign of Shamas-Adad (1748-1716 B.C.), a king of Amorite stock who made himself independent of Babylonia. A very large number of documents dating from his reign were found in 1935 by the French at Mari (now Tell Harir) on the Upper Euphrates. Many of these are letters which passed between him and two of his sons who were his viceroy, chiefly on matters of administration, and are strikingly modern in tone. In 1957 the author led an expedition to Shushan (Tell Shemshara), on the Little Zab, just before it was due to be submerged by the Dukan Dam. Among the documents found there was correspondence between the same king Shamas-Adad and the local ruler which further elucidates the history of the period.

The author also describes the recent excavations at Ninwed, in which he has taken part, and quotes in full the long and important inscription of Assurnasirpal (883-859 B.C.) found in 1951.

## Asia

The Ethnology of Northern Luzon.


When its distinguished author died in April, 1961, this book was all but completed, except for the crucial final chapter, "Review and Conclusion," which awaited a planned total revision. F. M. Keeling's son prepared the work for the press, and he explains in the Preface that this revision of the concluding chapter "was accomplished more with scissors and paste pot than with pen. It is hoped that it achieves its goal as a summary; as a final creative synthesis it could not.

As it is, the book deals consecutively with nine areas, up the north-west and down the north-east coast of Luzon, mainly covering the period from 1572, when the first Spanish expedition reached these coasts, to the end of the eighteenth century.

An enormous mass of data has been culled from the Spanish records. Many of them are inevitably concerned with the not too happy progress of Spanish-Philippine contacts, but it is surprising how much information could be gathered on the internal history of the native inhabitants as well. To give some examples: there is reason to suppose that a levelling-out process between Negrito and Malay-type migrants had already started before the Spaniards arrived, but the process was speeded up in Spanish times (p. 326). There is evidence of migrations from each coast to the interior and of countermovements (pp. 342, 305). The penetration into the upland regions was caused by a (pre-Spanish) quest for gold (p. 90), and by a determination of the cultivators of irrigated rice fields not to allow another community to control the irrigation sources above them (p. 320). What will probably interest the widest circle of readers is Keeling's conclusion that the magnificent terraced rice fields represent a historically late development and were rapidly built up. This follows in part from the argumento e silento that these spectacular works are not once mentioned in Spanish reports before the nineteenth century (p. 319), and partly by analogy with events around 1930, when a certain area changed over entirely from cultivating sweet potatoes to rice on irrigated terraces within two years (p. 89). The sweet potato itself reached the Philippines from America 'well ahead of European penetration' (p. 66).

A few minor points remain obscure, such as the derivation of the regional name Pangasinan from pan-ug, 'river bank' (p. 12), and the discrepancy between the conclusion in the summary: 'The use of fermented rice "wine"... appears to correlate directly with the spread of wet rice terracing' (p. 317) and the chronicle's statement that 'they also plant... something of rice, though not for maintenance, but to have with that juice, brewing it into wine' (p. 76).

Of the misprints—there are quite a few—the only one worth correcting is in the date (p. 211: not 1935 but 1915).

For whoever is interested in the history of rice-cultivation this book will be valuable, provided that he takes the trouble to extract the relevant data from a mass of historical minutiae. For the Philippines specialist, it is indispensable.

P. E. DE JOSSLIN DE JONG

## Treacherous River: A Study of Rural Chinese in North Malaya.


This is a study of the adjustment of immigrant Teochiu vegetable farmers to life in a village which has a population roughly half Chinese and half Malay (living in different sections). It is based on field work conducted around 1955.

The main argument is that these Chinese are unable to organize their society as they believe that it was organized in China: by intra-village associations and clan (the term clan is used for both surname and localized residential groups, which is sometimes confusing). In matters of mutual co-operation in the village they have moved away from formal relationships, for example those of kinship, to informal relationships based on gaanghing; 'mutual feelings and love.' Nevertheless, the author suggests, the elaborate gaanghing system which has developed may be the result of villagers coming from the same part of the homeland. As feelings of common origin 'became weaker, this feeling of mutual aid took hold.' The village is contrasted with one containing Chinese of mixed origins and in which there is little gaanghing (at one point it is rather quaintly described as a 'mixed Cantonese village of several dialect groups,' p. 185). The author might perhaps have pointed up the reasons for this change in emphasis more clearly in his conclusions. He might also have related this change to the different political organization of which immigrant Chinese villages are part. Do they in fact need a more traditional formal system of village organization in a political system where villages have a different position from that of the homeland?

My more general criticisms are, first, that the argument often lacks logical tightness. Why, for example, should a threat to have an unfruitful child punished by the District Officer be regarded by the author as an example of supernatural attitudes towards Government (p. 95)? Secondly, some explanations are not sufficiently searched. It is difficult to believe that an atheist (if genuinely so) university graduate became vice-chairman of a temple because he feared supernatural sanctions (p. 99). We know from China however that gentry members often chaired temple associations for worship of gods whom they were unlikely to believe in, not
because they feared them, but because in that way they obtained certain social and economic satisfactions. Some terms are insufficiently precise: relations of a man in nominal adoption call the adoptive father by the appropriate kindship term (p. 54, footnote). Such examples do not always affect the general argument but are irritating and sometimes misleading. Mr. Newell in comparing Cantonese and Teochiu kinship mixes such as 'the relation in place' and адрес. As presented, the Cantonese system shows itself closer in some ways to the Teochiu system than to the 'Kwoyu' system with which he aligns it.

All in all, however, I regard this book as a useful contribution to our growing knowledge of overseas Chinese social organization. It is not wanting in ideas.

MARJORIE TOPELY


This is one of a series of studies of 'cultural ecology' which are intended to reveal to us the principles of social evolution on a grand scale. Neglecting this ambitious aspect of the matter, which only intrudes occasionally, the book is a general ethnographical and ecological account of the Chins, a category of people occupying many thousands of square miles of inaccessible mountain territory along the borders of Burma and Southern Assam. Very properly the author lays stress not only on adaptation to the physical environment but also on adaptation to the political context: the interrelations of Chin and Burmese society receive special attention.

The author spent about nine months among the Haka in the Central Chin Hills, three months among Southern Chins (Matupi), and a month among Plains Chins near Kalemyo. He provides new ethnographical information upon each of these groups but the book is a survey rather than a detailed monograph and it is thus regrettable that the bibliography is quite meagre. Major authorities cited in the text, such as Layrey and Needham, do not appear in the bibliography at all. Other important sources such as Lorrain and Leoffler are ignored altogether or only partially listed. Even such well-known items as Maung Tet Pyo, Customary Law of the Chin Tribe (1884), and W. Shaw, 'Notes on the Thadou Kuki' (1928), are missing. None of the existing bibliographical lists, of which there are several, is even mentioned. As Lehman himself recognizes, it is an accident of politics rather than of ethnographical fact that Chins and Lushai, and Lakh, and Khumi, and Kuki have come to be listed as different kinds of people and the publication of this book was an obvious opportunity to bring all the literature together. There is internal evidence that the bibliographical defects are in part the printer's fault rather than the author's, so perhaps an improved second edition may be possible.

To make up for these glaring omissions in scholarship of the more ordinary kind the text is liberally garnished with a kind of fictitious learning. Do we really need to be told that 'The major plant cultivated for use as a vegetable relish is the large white pumpkin', Benincasa hispida (see Watt, 1880, Vol. I, No. 499, pp. 439-440)? Well, perhaps we do; but such out of the way erudition can easily mislead. Consider the following: At p. 166, in a chapter entitled 'Aspects of Northern Chin Economics' (which is in fact concerned with the Central Chin), Lehman points out that a large proportion of the Chin heirloom valuables originated in either India or Burma. To this true statement is added the unnecessary gloss: 'The Chin pay for these things in a variety of ways (see Trant, 1827, cited in Stern, 1962, p. 4.)'. Reference to the bibliography shows that the Stern paper is an item appearing in Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. IV, No. 4: Trant is cited as: 'Trant, T. A., 1827, Two Years in Ava, London, John Murray.' This gives the show away. I feel confident that Dr. Lehman has never seen, still less read, the anonymous work in question, the full title of which is: Two Years in Ava from May 1824 to May 1826 by an Officer on the Staff of the Quarter-Master General's Department. At p. 437 this author, while describing a precisely identified Kiecan village, mentions that the 'Kiecans' engage in trade with the Burmese. Apart from the total irrelevance of information 135 years old, it deserves note that the village in question was at least 200 miles from the area which Lehman has been discussing!

Despite these defects of scholarship and manner Lehman's book is not devoid of merit. He is generous in his acknowledgments to several British authors, myself included, but he has contributed substantially on his own. The ecological description is good and the map information clearly presented. The findings on social structure are confirmatory rather than novel, but it is useful to know that in Lehman's view a hierarchial structure of departmental functions and lineages is much more pervasive than earlier literature would have suggested and that systems of kindred alliance between localized lineages occur in a number of localities where previous information was lacking. Too many of Lehman's findings are stated as general principles without the empirical case histories which might serve to justify them, yet, despite this limitation, Chapter 5, entitled 'Northern Chin Social Systems,' which is mainly concerned with Haka, is an important addition to the literature. We already know a good deal about this society and Lehman's new work only adds to the increasing evidence that this is a tribe of several more. The Chapter on 'Chin Economics' is relatively lightweight. Chapter 7 attempts to relate Chin verbal categories to the structure of the physical environment and the system of Chin metaphysics. Potentially this is a very interesting field, but Lehman does not seem to have sufficient mastery of his material to make a convincing presentation.

All told this is an unsatisfactory book, but it is clear that the author possesses a valuable store of first-hand ethnographical information and it is greatly to be hoped that he will continue to publish material about the Haka and Matupi Chins, but with more facts and rather less theory.

E. R. LEACH


The Akas are a small hill tribe living just east of Bhutan, and practising shifting cultivation of maize and millet. They are divided into exogamous clans with cross-cousin marriage and patriarchal residence. Marriage is either ceremonial or by elopement; in either case there is a brideprice which must include at least one mithun. A man may take a second wife, but only with the first's consent. Upon the death of one or both parents, most of the land and property go to him at his father's death. The other sons inherit shares in marriage, the eldest son in his father's house, receiving a larger share than the others. There are terms for father and mother which are not applied to other relatives, but there are no terms for siblings, who are included in the classificatory groups which cover the whole clan.

Villages are governed by councils presided over by a headman chosen by the people, but two of the largest villages have influential 'rains' descended from the old ruling family. The Akas worship a hierarchy of deities and spirits, whose seasonal festivals are accompanied by animal sacrifices and taboos on various activities. Each village has at least one priest, chosen for his knowledge of the rites.

This short book is described as a 'preliminary account,' but gives a clear and concise description of the culture.

RAGLAN


The first edition of the H.R.A.F. Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures was published in 1945 and reviewed by E. R. Leach in MAN, 1945, 24. A new and revised edition of this important work appeared in 1955. A so-called second revised edition has now been issued in a changed format to allow of its publication in a single volume. Its editors claim that its usefulness has been enhanced by the addition of asterisks opposite the more important and crucial titles. One cannot help feeling that the less subjective task of adding titles which have appeared over the past eight years would have been a greater contribution to both knowledge and bibliography, but those who do not already possess a copy will do no doubt be glad to know that this standard work is once more available.

ANTHONY CHRISTIE

28
EUROPE


Myres, who in 1899 prepared with Richter the first catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, felt that this island, through its key position in the eastern Mediterranean, might hold the clue to many problems of Near Eastern chronology. This impression is confirmed by this latest edition of the Museum Guide, prepared since the opening of the new northern galleries. Now that the Cypriot neolithic and chalcolithic sequence has been established from Khrikotita through Troupa, Kalavasos and Erini to Ambelikou there is strong hope of establishing the links over this period between North Syria, Anatolia, and Thessaly. The Cypriot evidence too will be vital in any study of Mycenaean history or the diffusion of the art of writing in the second millennium B.C.

This book is much more than a visitor's guide. With its up-to-date summaries of research on each period, its clear descriptions of outstanding objects, and its forty pages of plates, it makes a valuable work of reference. For this purpose it may be criticized as being too dogmatic on certain points. It is not mentioned, for example, that there is considerable doubt whether the 'linear signs' on the pithos handle from Early Bronze Age Vounous (p. 20, No. 61) are anything more than accidental marks. But such omissions are unavoidable in this degree of compression. This rich and well-ordered catalogue is a fine testimony to many years of devoted work by the author, who has recently left the Curatorship to become Chief Antiquities Officer of the Republic of Cyprus.

W. C. BRICE


The Land of Greece and its people are the subject of this new and compelling study. But what is the meaning of the book's rather cryptic title? To understand it, it is necessary to relate the legend from which it is derived. The author heard it from an old shepherd of northern Peloponnesus when, during a storm, he sought refuge in his hut.

"When God was building the earth, he lavished all goods such as water, pasture, forests, and rich soil on the countries of the world. Then suddenly he remembered that he had forgotten Greece. What could he give to this country since he had given all the riches to the others? He started stroking his beard thoughtfully. At once an idea struck him which was the rainbow hanging over his head. Reaching up, he chopped a piece off, stopped and picked up a little soil and many stones, and kneaded the whole thing together in the palm of his hand. Then, opening his palm, he blew the mixture into the sea, and Greece came into being." The author adds: "In its symbolic meaning, the rainbow of the legend is the Greek people who are as colourful as the sun-drenched rocks on which their nation grew to greatness.

In the author's mind this legend is closely linked with the splendour of ancient Greece which made him long, from the early years of his life as a student, to visit the country. His wish was fulfilled in 1952 when he lived in Greece for a whole year and again in 1955 and 1959. He travelled in Greece extensively and had the opportunity of studying the life of its people.

With the discernment of an experienced social investigator—Irvin Sanders is Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Boston University—he studied the peasants, more especially as they are the largest though probably the least well known social group in Greece. He sought them everywhere: on the mountains, in the valleys, in the villages, in the peasants' own homes and in the fields. He did not neglect, however, the other two groups which between them constitute the other half of the country's population, namely the city-dwellers and the people who live by the sea—in the islands or near the coast. About these people he speaks in the first, general part of the book which is entitled 'Survival.' 'Each group,' he says though sharing much in common, 'has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. . . . Each adds its own colour to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society' (p. 4). From Greek history he knows that the Greek has traditionally been the child of the city, and with the help of superabundant anecdotes he tries to show the supreme self-confidence which makes the Greek city-dweller hold forth with assurance on any conceivable subject. The pages which the author devotes to the life and activity of the Greek Sailor are among the best in the book. 'Odysseus,' he says, 'still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcesfulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages.' He bears in mind, however, the tragedies which the sea has in store for the sailors and their families.

After these general remarks, the author turns his attention to the main subject of his research, 'The people of rural Greece.' In an introductory chapter, he examines the village setting or form of organization (pp. 36-55) and then, in separate sections, the Land, the Family, the Community and finally Social Change in rural Greece.

What impresses the reader more especially is the sense of responsibility with which the author confronts his task. He meets and befriends the peasants. He tries to penetrate their thoughts in order to understand their problems. His method, quite simply, is to let his interlocutors, be they men or women, speak and reply in their own simple words to his searching questions. The fact that he, a foreign professor, is interested in peasant life is often the cause of wonder. 'I've lived here sixty-seven years,' a peasant has to say, 'and during none of that time has a Greek professor ever come to visit us.' The author knows how to win the confidence of peasants and vividly reproduces the atmosphere in which those discussions take place. In this way, the presentation of the subject enables the reader to judge the validity of the arguments and of the conclusions drawn from the findings of his research. Everywhere the author's love of the hard-working peasant striving to eke a living from a 'handful of earth,' his sympathetic understanding of the problems which the peasant will never surrender to but will always confront with staunch determination, are unmistakable.

The chapter on 'The Peasant at Work' gives an account of the peasant fighting against many odds: 'Yannis needs a horse; Alekos buys a tractor' is a chapter full of life and humour. His researches take the author to southern Greece where the olive tree grows and back again to eastern Macedonia and Thrace where the cultivation of tobacco is carried on not without hard work and worries for every member of the peasant family. The chapter on Stock-farming and the tremendous changes brought about by the War and the Communist uprising to the lives of the 'Nomads of Epirus,' the so-called Sarakatsani, is also very thorough. Professor Sanders has made a special study of the Sarakatsani which he has published in 'Ethnic Puzzle and Culture Survival,' Social Forces, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (1954), pp. 320-9. The answer to his problem the author might find in Mrs. A. Hadjimichalis's book Sarakatsani (2 vols., Athens, 1957, pp. 288 and 498).

The peasant family is the subject of the third part of the book (pp. 127-90). The first chapter deals with the woman whose 'work is never done,' the second discusses Courtship and Marriage, the third Ceremonies and Holy days.

The treatment of the Community in the fourth part of the book is more extensive. It includes the following Chapters: (1) Mutual Aid and Cooperatives in Rural Greece, (2) The Village Coffee House, (3) Local Government, (4) The Village School, (5) Religion and the Greek Peasant and (6) The Village Community.

The hard core of the argument, however, is in the two most important chapters of the fifth part of the book: (1) Social Change in Rural Greece (cataclysmic change, sociocultural drift and planned change) and (2) Social Consequences of Foreign Aid (pp. 291-323).

Such are the contents of this important and revealing work. The argument is well supported by appropriate maps and statistics. Seldom has a foreign scholar shown such understanding and perspicacity of judgment in explaining the backwardness of rural Greece. That much has been achieved by the people's own endeavours and with foreign aid since the end of the disastrous
Communist rebellion, has not escaped his notice. Professor Sanders justly reminds us that the Greeks' in a fifty-year period have been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes and chronic droughts... and despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit' (p. 4).

As a Greek, I am grateful to Professor Sanders for this excellent contribution to our own understanding of our problems. On one point, however, I beg to differ: He describes the Slavic dialect which is spoken by no more than 60,000 people in Northern Greece as the Macedonian language (p. 10). Hailing, as I do, from Statistis, a village of west Macedonia, I speak Greek—in common with 1,830,654 other Macedonians—as my mother language. One fails to see on what basis the Slavic inhabitants of the State of Skopje—be they Serbs or Bulgars—can claim the exclusive use of 'Macedonia' as the name of their country and of the dialect which they speak. The truth is that they live in that part of ancient Macedonia which their ancestors occupied. In the words of an official Greek Statement which Professor Sanders rightly quotes: 'As for the Macedonian dialect, it should be noted that a "Macedonian" dialect and a "Macedonian" nation are both a fairly recent political invention.'

GEORGE MEGAS

OCEANIA


This is distinctly a major contribution to the ethnography of Fiji no less than of Moala, and for this reason merits careful assessment. Its more general interest, however, lies in its frankly evolutionary interpretation of culture and in its emphasis on ecological adjustment.

Dr. Sahlins is a good spokesman for this viewpoint. Although some conclusions drawn on the basis of ecological adjustment appear flat (e.g. p. 53), 'Regional variation in the appropriation of natural food resources is easily understood: certain plants and animals are naturally abundant in specific areas but not in others, and they are accordingly exploited to greater or lesser degrees in different localities.' The major features of the requisite reporting technique are effective. His use of the concept of 'levels of sociocultural integration' in organizing the book, for instance, makes for considerable neatness. In more general ways the theoretical viewpoint is well presented even if it seems always on the verge of degenerating into a sterile cultural relativism.

Ethnographically the book makes some very important additions to knowledge. The most important of these is perhaps Sahlins's analysis of the structure of local kin groups. In much of the literature on Fiji these groups—yavusa, matagali and tokelau—in descending order of inclusiveness—have tended to be treated as though they were of the classic, segmentary-lineage type. Sahlins's treatment is perceptive and powerful, bringing out the essential flux in the system. Although his claim about the patrilineality of the stock ('yavusa') is questionable (p. 226), he shows that patrilineal descent is not, in other contexts, the only condition of membership; other considerations also enter which, presumably, would make it difficult to understand the structure of these groups in terms of descent alone. As he says, 'segments might be forced by external circumstance to unite, to "stay together." There had to be some basis for consolidation, some rationale, but it was not necessarily common descent, and in any case the mode of affiliation was not its efficient cause' (p. 245). But he does not pursue the point far enough. It seems to me that the structure of these groups is dependent on factors of local organization at least as much as on factors of cognition. Indeed, he almost says this in some parts of the book, e.g. when he says that 'the village is an association of social specialized groups, each doing its part in community life, each considered necessary to maintain the integrity of the village' (p. 297); but he has obviously limited himself by concentrating on the more strictly cognitive elements only. In his attempt to present a picture of kin groups as variable as the facts, however, he seems to have missed some of the regular and persistent features. Thus he says that 'the local yavusa with its asymmetrical pattern of growth completely lacks standardization' (p. 240); or, again, 'there is no necessary regularity or symmetry in the segmentary structure of the local yavusa' (p. 246). But surely the regularity in the local yavusa lies in the fact that it is a third-order group? This is but the basis on which he himself invented the term. Regularities of this kind are also discernible in his description of village structure and would seem critical for the understanding of the structure of these groups.

Beyond this the book is of uneven quality. His treatment of kerekere (pp. 203-14) is easily the best that I have seen. On kinship and on the larger aspects of Moalan life he does a good job. But his treatment of rank behaviour (pp. 107-17), of the position of the family head (pp. 122ff) to whom the term puare is wrongly attributed at p. 96, of age-sex categories (p. 308), and of some aspects of family organization seem to me over-formalized, resting mainly on informants' statements. These are reminiscent of Samoa, complete with 'talking chiefs!' This, of course, represents the way in which the author has perceived the facts which, when he gives them, as in connexion with village divisions and titles at p. 303f. turn out to be unquestionably Fijian. In respect of political organization, his observation that 'the Government policy tends to dominate the native' (p. 304) is a curious one on this problem of the relation of the official administrators at the local level and the traditional chiefs. The facts given (pp. 302-16) do not consistently support his view. That the position of the family head is usurped by British law is an inference from court records—supporting fieldwork materials are lacking.

In some contexts the author seems surprisingly careless. A low 'female-male' population ratio at p. 93 becomes a high 'female-male' ratio at p. 104. Several Fijian phrases do not sound Fijian (even Moalan to me). The following words are misspelt at the pages indicated: qari, naga, p. 27; were, p. 39; yaravavi, p. 51; liga, p. 61; giri, p. 62; ramananu, p. 137; kerekeke, p. 184; reoreanu, p. 190; namana, p. 206; Vaibogia, p. 307; kerekeke, p. 377. There are two bad grammatical slips at pp. 105 and 241.

The author seems to have few scruples about the ethics of publication. I am surprised to find at p. 321 that a four-letter rendering of excrement is printable! The picture which he gives of the Native Lands Commission is one of complete arbitrariness in 'arranging' the social divisions and tenure of lands of the Moalans, but there is no indication that he studied the subject. Throughout the book he talks of 'Government chiefs'; but the Government does not create chieflyships. At pp. 66f, he describes a 'fitful Government policy designed to stimulate 'individualism' in Fijian society'; there is no indication that he is aware of the deep-seated policy conflicts between different Government departments on the issue.

His citation of sources is not very generous, and one penalty is that he denies himself their protection. I mention two rather serious cases. At p. 16 he speaks quite casually of the 'debts accumulated by the famous Bauan leader, Cakobau—a serious charge, no source. Williams and Calvert (Fiji and the Fijians, London, 1870 edition) tell a long story (pp. 451-64) of how the aling chief was compelled to accept responsibility for certain charges against Fijians over whom he had no jurisdiction—and this by the American consul and an American naval commander, whose capacity raised the claim from an original $3,006 in 1849 to $45,000 in 1855. Again, in footnote 5 to Chapter VII (p. 422) he makes the interesting observation (as though Fijian social structure was created by Government edict) that 'the official version of Fijian social structure developed under theegis of the first governor, Sir Arthur Gordon—who, he alerts anthropologists, came from a Scots background! Also, Gordon was influenced by Lorimer Fison's conception of Fijian society, and Fison, who taught him, is the man whose anthropological sophistication may be seen in the neat arrangement of Fijian social structure in the 'official version.' But the weak link in this chain is Fison, whose view of Fijian society, as carefully expressed in an article in J. R. Anthrop. Inst., Vol. XI (1881), accords better with Sahlins's own view than with the 'official version.'

The book is very well produced and contains a great deal
of useful information. Apart from the critical comments offered here, it is a 'must' for every student of Fijian culture.

R. R. NAYACAKALOU


The author of this book is a pupil of Maurice Leenhardt's, and the latter's works and methods have evidently inspired the composition and outcome of the volume. Structure, religious structure, is the key concept, and the goal of the investigation has been to present the Oceanic religious structures in such a way that there emerges a universal pattern, stretching from Australia to Hawaii. This unity is found in the present cult of the ancestors, in the peculiar religio-social features of the rites of fertility and in the existence of specific divinities and complex mythological cycles (p. 147).

It is no easy task to comprehend within a single volume, and a volume of such diminutive size, the salient religious features of this vast area. The author has, however, from his own methodical premises, succeeded in giving a satisfactory picture of selected important facets. There are, of course, important religious aspects which are not dealt with, for instance, and manu is only very briefly touched upon. Space has also prohibited the author from treating modern messianic movements. Micronesian religious activities are not included, since they are very little known.

Religion is always a subject where opinion is most divided, and I must confess that in this book I find many points of view which I cannot endorse. Why, for instance, include a chapter on initiations, while these, as the author himself admits, are devoid of religious value? Totemism, always a controversial subject, is defined in a way that makes very little sense. If, as the author thinks, the import of the totem should be widened to stand for a natural symbol of classification applied to any type of social unity, then the particular beliefs and cults around it would be hard to explain. The 'classic' concept of totemism, severely criticized by the author, and refuted already by Goldenweiser more than 50 years ago, is nevertheless still used to advantage by many students and is evidently useful for the interpretation of certain religious and social facts in many parts of the world. Could it not be given preference as a general frame of reference, even if its adequate application in Oceania is sporadic? The possibility of local reformulations of a formerly more common basic idea must here be seriously taken into account.

This criticism does not exclude the fact that the present book is very stimulating in its bird's-eye view of the religions in Oceania.

A F. NULTKRAUNZ


The book under review is based on field research carried out by the author and his wife in the Usurua—Fore region of the Highlands of New Guinea during two expeditions between 1951 and 1953. At that time many of the areas were restricted and only slowly coming under Government control, although today many changes have taken place. The Berndts were thus in a unique position to collect material bearing upon the control of society without government, and they have put the opportunity to fascinating use.

In organizing his material, Dr. Berndt pays passing attention to kinship structure, mythology and ritual by way of background, and then enters into the main body of his study which is divided into three parts: socialization and enculturation, coercive controls, and judicial procedure. The section on judicial procedure deals very largely with the efforts of the people to maintain order according to their own principles out of sight of alien authority, although Dr. Berndt believes that such executive action is itself traceable to alien influence. The section on coercive controls deals with traditional suicide, sorcery, warfare and cannibalism with considerable detail which makes it the most important section in the book.

The section on socialization and enculturation is concerned, in the main, not with processes but with results. The principal exception is the chapter on 'The Road to Adulthood.' Contrary to expectations, in neither here nor elsewhere in the book is there any substantial treatment of socialization in its normative connotation, that is, an analysis of the influences which form the character of children, and establish syndromes which persist in later life. Instead, there is a detailed description of actions related to rites of passage. In view of the great importance placed on sexuality and aggression in the general analysis, this omission is surprising, and one is not sure whether it should be traced to a theoretical position on the part of the author, or to the mechanics of data-presentation.

Theoretical comments are straightforward but unsparing. In the most authorities are referred to, this is in passing, so that the juridical ideas of such writers as Hobel and Gluckman are not used to give precision to the organization of material or as departure points for the development of more adequate statements. Perhaps, because of the date at which the text may have been completed, there are no references to the work of Pospisil; nor to Oliver's relevant work from Bougainville.

There is an impression of great thoroughness about Dr. Berndt's approach; but serious questions of methodology intervene to temper one's judgment. There is not the slightest doubt that the ethnographers were very close, sometimes uncomfortably so, to the people they studied, and the value of their direct observations can be unequivocally stated. But the theme of their material is, time and again, sexual aggression, appearing both as a source of dissenion and fear, and as a method of instilling discipline and punishment. How many of the reported acts the author observed is not stated. We do not know who the story originated from, whether there were disadvantages, social or material, in telling stories in this way, and whether the ethnographer was in a position to check and counter-check in order to determine objective reliability. The mere frequency with which such stories are regaled does not demonstrate truth, but can equally reflect the interests of the ethnographer, or, especially when information is paid for, fantasies indicative of mythology and repression rather than social reality. I for one would be much more convinced if the ethnographers had appeared a little more in the pages to indicate that they observed incidents or heard reports.

My doubts are in fact increased by the monotonous repetition of cases. Of course it is characteristic of such societies that delicts are repetitious and limited in range. This does not mean that the ethnographer has to repeat large numbers of similar cases where one or two would be sufficient, together with an indication of frequency, and cross-referencing. The detailed cases deal very largely with matters involving sex; except where inter-district disputes are concerned, property matters receive little more than a passing reference. Surely this is unusual, and would merit theoretical explanation. Or is one to believe that the author is reflecting a greater interest in sexual relations than in property relations, and that this interest may have been communicated to his informants? This is in no way to disparage the author, since I am reluctantly aware that in my own fieldwork the bias may be in the opposite direction.

One final point. The rituals and mores emphasize the undesirability of sexual aggression. If Dr. Berndt's material is correct, there are dominant contradictions between mores and action. This is by no means unusual, but it is surely worth some explanation.

Cyril S. Belshaw


Books of this kind (Island of Passion is proffered as a unique book by an author-anthropologist about 'an island of erotic splendor') are doubtless written and published in the knowledge that they are apt to sell well on the open market. Written in the way that they are, with the emphasis on the sensational and lacking sustained analysis, such books cannot be taken seriously as contributions to scientific anthropology, but they are, as a contemporary phenomenon, of interest in other ways.

This present volume, Island of Passion, is a popular account by an American anthropologist, Dr. Donald Marshall, of an expedition
which he led to Ra'ivavae in Eastern Polynesia in 1957, with the purpose of testing the reliability of the writings of Frank Stimson, an 'embattled genius' who had been obsessed with sexual topics and whose works had been much criticized by other Polynesian scholars.

Dr. Marshall reaches the conclusion that 'the information given by Stimson was correct in its general effect, but incorrect in detail.' The evidence that he advances is, however, far from decisive, for it is no more than the piecemeal, hearsay assertions of a few informants about events which occurred, if at all, many decades before they were born.

In parts of his book Dr. Marshall gives graphic, impressionistic descriptions of life as he found it in modern Ra'ivavae, but his principal preoccupation is with what he calls 'the rich pagan past' when 'bouts of brutal warfare' were accompanied by 'a constant series of orgiastic rites.'

Now, a detailed and comprehensive reconstruction of the realities of human existence in ancient Ra'ivavae would certainly be of scientific value. This, however, we are not given, and for the reason that our author is an anthropological romantic who views the pagan past as a time of 'splendour,' of 'grandeur' and 'glories,' and who, in the nub of these evaluations, contrives to scotomitize the harsh realities of Ra'ivavaean life as it once was.

Dr. Marshall informs us that despite his avocation as a soldier he chose sex as the subject of intensive investigation on Ra'ivavae, and there are, in Island of Passion, ample accounts of the sexual practices and perversions of the 'rich pagan past.' They are, however, essentially superficial accounts, a listing of eroticia, without sustained scientific analysis or interpretation. Again, although he has chosen to become an intensive investigator of sexual behaviour, Dr. Marshall evinces, in his book, no knowledge of the many discoveries in the field of sexual psychology which have been made from the time of Freud's Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality (1905) onwards. Superincision, he assures us, is 'clearly a health measure.'

Towards the end of his book Dr. Marshall's researches come to a dramatic climax with the discovery of a raucous and earthy old Ra'ivavaean woman who claims, among other things, to have had a great-grandmother with 'a mast-like clitoris.' With this 'strikingly important' discovery relations among the investigators on the island of passion become critical. Seabook, Marshall's interpreter and mentor (who had once worked with Stimson), refuses to participate in what he terms a 'clitoris-hunting expedition' and so their friendship founders, as the author phrases it, 'on the rock of sex.' But Dr. Marshall, emotionally upset though he is, continues doggedly with his intensive investigation of Ra'ivavaean erotica until the very eve of the expedition's departure.

Island of Passion then is a 'unique book' rather than a scientific monograph; but it will, in some respects, be of interest to specialists in things Polynesian, as also to those anthropologists and others concerned in studying the widespread appeal among the civilized of revelations about orgiastic pagan rites.

DEREK FREEMAN

Etnografie van de Kaowerawêdj (Centraal Nieuw-Guinea).


In the year 1939-40 the late J. P. K. van Eechoud, a police officer in the service of the then Netherlands East Indies, made a journey of exploration in central New Guinea, the results of which were issued in a monographed report. The present monograph comprises the ethnographically most important parts of the report, edited and indexed by Dr. J. V. de Bruijn and Dr. A. C. van der Leeden. E. Postel-Coster contributes a short introduction concerning the circumstances of the expedition and the writing of the report.

Van Eechoud made his investigations with a copy of Notes and Queries on Anthropology as his guide, and his chapters deal correspondingly with social structure, the individual, political structure, religion and magic, material culture, art and entertainment. There are appendices on myths and on techniques of decoration, together with a word list and grammatical notes. The work is illustrated with numerous line-drawings and twenty-four photographs.

The Kaowerawêdj numbered only about 180, and lived on cultivated sago. Some of them had been in contact with missionaries, police and government officials for about three years when van Eechoud visited them and they had some command of Malay, which was the language through which he apparently made most of his enquiries. They were divided into eight named groupings which had previously been localized: the author referred to these as patriarchal clans, but the editors have amended the term to 'families' (geslachten), which they describe as loose patriarchal groupings. The relationship terminology, however, is purely cognatic, with no lineal emphasis whatsoever: e.g. MBD and TFD are known by the same term as the sister. These groupings were neither exogamous nor endogamous. The great majority of marriages took place within the tribe, pre-eminently by sister-exchange, but this appears to have been by individual contract and was certainly not based on a prescription governing relations between categories of persons. Divorce, surprisingly, is reported to have been unknown. There was no trace of social classes, and there were no headmen. Each village had to have a men's house (koin), which was also a resthouse and temple, in which sacred flutes were kept.

In addition to information on social organization, there is a considerable amount of material on head-hunting, cannibalism, initiation, and other such conventional topics of investigation. The brief myths of several varieties of incestuous origin are of special interest.

It is to be regretted that there is no map, and that there are no settlement plans or censuses. The author had compiled an extensive genealogy showing the relationships of all members of the tribe, but it was found impossible to reproduce this in its entirety in the present monograph. Nevertheless, there is abundant testimony to van Eechoud's ability as an ethnographer, which Dr. van der Leeden justly praises. The monograph is a most welcome addition to the ethnography of New Guinea, and we are in the debt of the editors and of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde for its publication.

RODNEY NEEDHAM


This work is a new and revised edition of a publication bearing the same title which appeared in 1954 and which was reviewed in this journal (MAN, 1957, 13). The scope and general layout of the earlier edition have been retained, with the exception of the bibliography and language lists which are appended to each section, instead of being placed at the end of the volume.

The increasing amount of information which has come to hand since this work was first published is reflected in the greater space given to the isolation and description of the three central highlands of Eastern New Guinea and the Hebrides. The new data have been added to the old and in some cases whole sections have been rewritten or recast. The language maps are more detailed and more easily legible. In this new edition Capell's Survey will continue to provide a useful general introduction to the linguistic problems of the South-Western Pacific.

G. B. MILNER


This is the third of the series of biographical dictionaries of French Oceania to be produced wholly, or in part, by Father O'Reilly, the previous volumes having dealt with New Caledonia and the New Hebrides. The present work follows the same pattern as its predecessors: biographies of native Tahitians, administrators, missionaries, explorers, traders, scientists and others who have played a part in the history of French Polynesia in the last two centuries, with bibliographical notes where relevant. It is comprehensively indexed, and will be a valuable aid to research on this area, particularly perhaps to those working on missionary archives, consular reports and similar material.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Made and printed in Great Britain by William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London and Beccles
Anthropologists commonly discuss clanship as an integral aspect of kinship. Each clan usually is built up from a series of lineages that is continuous from minimal lineage to clan, with ever-broadening kinship links demonstrable at each level. Perhaps the classic model of this type of clan is provided by Evans-Pritchard (1940) for the Nuer. Although for certain purposes it is possible to abstract clanship from the rest of Nuer kinship, one is constantly aware that the separation is an extremely artificial one.

Somewhat different was the traditional situation in that south-eastern part of China whence came most of the overseas Chinese scattered all over the world. Freedman (1958) has explained the significance of lineage organization at various levels, from the nuclear family to what is known in Chinese sociology as the tsiu, equivalent to a maximal lineage. There is some discontinuity between tsiu and clan, however, because of the fact that the Chinese clan was not a localized group, but consisted of all individuals with the same surname. From its nature it is evident that the clan in China could have had little function other than that of defining the exogamous unit. Although the myth of clanship always provided the possibility for local lineages to form ever larger political units, the clan as a whole was not a political unit.

The situation among overseas Chinese, particularly in Canada, is different again. As in south-eastern China, clan and patrilineage are disparate phenomena, but unlike the case in south-eastern China, the lineage is practically nonexistent, while associations based on clanship have many functions besides the definition of exogamy. This is of course not surprising when one realizes that the overseas Chinese society in most countries originally consisted solely of adult males. In Canada, the typical pattern seems to have been for a lineage in China to send one or two of its sons abroad to earn money for the lineage. In such circumstances, each man recognized kinship links with his lineage in China, but in Canada there was not a network of kinship embracing a large number of Chinese which continued to be elaborated through marriage and descent (cf. Freedman, 1960, p. 29). It is only within the last two decades that the sex ratio among Chinese in Canada has even approached equality, for immigration restrictions, outlined later in this paper, have limited the number of families able to establish themselves in Canada. Consequently, the network of kinship that is now developing among Chinese in Canada accommodates itself to an already established structure of clanship and has some features quite different from the kinship system in traditional south-eastern China.

A thorough discussion of kinship among overseas Chinese is beyond the scope of this paper. Here, the aim will be to make a preliminary statement on clanship among the Chinese in Vancouver, Canada. Although the concept of clan, which embraces all those of the same surname, continues to exist among overseas Chinese, the associations based on clanship, called kung-so (ghung sor), by no means include all the resident members of the clan. These kung-so are voluntary associations, and should therefore be referred to as 'clan associations' rather than as 'clans.' While the clan as such does function in the personal relationships of overseas Chinese in Canada, we must look primarily to the clan associations to see how clanship operates in structuring the Chinese community.

The Chinese Community in Vancouver

Vancouver is the focus of overseas Chinese culture in Canada and the headquarters of most of the Chinese associations in the country. Of the 58,000 Chinese in Canada, about 16,700 live in the metropolitan area of Vancouver, and the large number of Chinese associations in this city is not matched anywhere else in the country. Preliminary evidence indicates that the few clan associations outside Vancouver usually look upon themselves as branches of Vancouver clan associations.

Chinatown in Vancouver is a small commercial district of four or five blocks, containing the major Chinese business concerns: restaurants, importers, travel agents, gambling clubs, souvenir shops and Chinese groceries. The headquarters of all the Chinese associations are in this district. Six thousand Chinese form a plurality in the surrounding low-income area, whose population also includes Italians, West Indians and Slavs. It is an area of small frame houses, closely packed together, often two or three standing on a single 25 x 60-feet lot. Many of these houses are fang-k'ou (frong xao): collectively owned co-operative houses for elderly Chinese men. Consequently, a large portion of the older men live within the Chinatown area. It is from among these elder men, without families in Canada, that most of the Chinese associations, including those of clan, draw their major support.

With the exception of 50 or 60 northern Chinese, none of whom participate in the Chinese community, all Chinese in Vancouver speak Cantonese, the vast majority coming from the Ssu-i (Sei Jhap) area of Kuangtung Province and from the immediate environs of Canton. There are about 50 Hakka, all of whom speak Cantonese as well as Hakka. The Chinese recognize six localities of origin among themselves, corresponding to the following six counties (hsien; Cantonese: jyrm): T'ai Shan, K'ai P'ing, En P'ing, Hsin Hui, Chung Shan, Fan Yu (Troy Shaamx, Xhoy Prenq, Jhann Prenq, Shin Wruui, Zhung Shannx, Phuunn Jywh). Although there are slight differences between the six dialects, they are mutually intelligible, with the minor
exception of that of a small area of Chung Shan known as Lung Tao (Lrung Dhou). Some occupational specialization according to locality was evident in the nineteenth century—for instance, Chung Shan tended to peddling vegetables, T'ai Shan to laundries, K'ai P'ing to restaurants—but this has broken down as Chinese occupations have become more diversified.

**Chinese Associations**

Of the almost 80 Chinese associations in Vancouver, 23 are related to clanship. In order to make clear their associational setting, I shall mention the various types of associations to be found in the Chinese community. They may be grouped roughly into five categories:

1. **Clan Associations**, to be discussed in this paper.

2. **Locality Associations**. There is a Landmannschaft for each of the six counties of Kuangtung from which the Chinese of Vancouver came. These hui-kuan (seruny-gweurn), as they are called, were the earliest forms of associations among the Chinese in North America, each of the so-called Six Companies in San Francisco being such a locality association. The hui-kuan is primarily concerned with welfare for its members, originally with those aspects of welfare associated with the home county. For instance, it arranged remittances to China, sent the bones of deceased members back to China for burial, and provided for indigents.

3. **Fraternal Associations**. The first association established by Chinese in Canada was the Chih-kung T'ang (Zri Ghunq Trong), inaugurated in 1863 in Barkerville, B.C. Today this association is known as the Chinese Freemasons or the Min-chih Tang (Mann Zri Daang); it traces its history from the original Triad Societies of Manchuria. The other major fraternal association in Vancouver is the Kuomintang (Gwok Mann Daang), which, aside from its participation in the politics of China, fulfills the same functions as the Freemasons in grouping Chinese across the lines of locality and clan. These two associations provide clubrooms, print newspapers and organize various activities. More important, they group Chinese into major factions, and hence they have much to do with the contemporary political structure of the Chinese community.

4. **Community Associations**. In the face of discrimination or some special emergency, the Chinese in each of several Canadian towns and cities have organized an over-all association which can provide a common front to those outside Chinese society. The Chinese Benevolent Association (C.B.A.) in Vancouver is such a community association. In addition to its welfare activities, it runs a Cantonese School, organizes Chinese participation in public events, provides legal counsel for those who cannot afford it, and issues public statements on behalf of the Chinese as a whole. Of course many Chinese do not recognize its right to speak for them, particularly those who are more thoroughly assimilated into non-Chinese Canadian society. Its function as an appeal court within the Chinese community has diminished with the increased recourse of Chinese to the Canadian courts.

The C.B.A. is formally structured as a federation of the locality associations, who provide half the members of the C.B.A. executive: the members of the Chinese community at large vote for the other half. This structure is probably derived from the original structure of San Francisco's C.B.A., for it corresponds neither to that of other C.B.A.s in Canada nor to the reality of power groupings within the Chinese community in Vancouver.

5. **Other Associations**. There are many smaller and less important associations that have been organized for specific purposes, such as music societies, youth clubs, gambling clubs and reading rooms. For the purpose of this paper, these may be placed in a residual category. However, each of three reading rooms is organized by members of a particular clan coming from a particular locality, and they are therefore treated as clan associations. (See Table I, showing clan associations.)

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**The Structure of Clan Associations**

Most of the clan associations in Vancouver were established about the turn of the century, post-dating fraternal, locality and community associations by more than a decade. The first to be founded was the Lung-kang Kung-so (Lrung Krong Ghunq Sor), grouping four clans of small populations: Liu, Kuan, Chang and Chau (Lrue, Ghwaan, Zrowng, Zhii)—whose kin relationship is based on a myth of sworn bloodbrotherhood by four warriors of the Three Kingdoms period (c. A.D. 210). The second was the Huang Chiang-lisia T'ang (Wrong Ghunq Xraa Trong), organized by the clan with the largest representation in Canada, the Huang (Wrong). Third was the Li (Lrue) clan association. These three are by far the largest in Vancouver.

The formal structure of the clan associations seems to be built on a common model. A standing committee—about 20 members regardless of the size of the association—is elected by the membership at an annual meeting. Within this committee there are usually five officers, who do not form a corporate executive but act on the basis of informal consultation. This allows individual leaders to play an important organizing role in each association.

Although a clan association may have the same title all over the world, there appear to be no formal links between the association in one country and that in another. For annual meetings Vancouver associations often exchange observers with their counterparts in San Francisco, but all informants stress the total autonomy of each association in the country.

Thirteen of the 23 clan associations involve only one clan. Ten associations involve two or more clans, the relationship between them usually established according to a myth going back centuries into Chinese history. Whatever the kinship dimension, the political reality is evident: those associations that are made up of more than one clan involve surnames which are relatively rare in Canada and might be unable to support an association on their own in the face of the larger clans.

In many overseas Chinese communities clan associations are segmented according to locality of origin, often associated with differences in language. For instance, Freedman reports that of the 46 clan associations which he examined in Singapore, 37 limited their membership to people from a particular village, hsien, or speech group. There are only three instances of such segmentation in Vancouver (see Table I). Since all Chinese in Vancouver come from a small section of Kuangtung Province and almost all speak dialects of Cantonese, over-all clan associations do not group such disparate elements as exist in Singapore or even in Manila. Those few cases of segmentation that do exist have their origin in the local politics of Chinatown rather than in cultural differences stemming from China. Further evidence for this is provided by the fact that the largest clan, the Huang (Wrong), has two over-all associations, neither of them based on a specific locality. The origin of the second Huang association is explained variously by different informants, but always in terms of earlier rivalry between factions that have since disappeared. Today their executives are interlocking.
Table I. Chinese Clan Associations in Vancouver

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<th>Clans included*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu, Ch’ai Chou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T’an Hsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su-t’u Hsih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huang Wang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huang Wang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu Kuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang Ch’ao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeh Teng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ts’ien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lei Fang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K’uang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li from K’ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P’ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huang &amp; Wang from T’ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huang &amp; Wang from K’ai P’ing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* According to Wade-Giles romanization of Mandarin

Membership and Leadership

Clan associations do not disclose their membership lists, and membership figures are difficult to estimate. Because Canadian police are constantly searching for illegal immigrants, Chinese are reluctant to give information that might be used against a friend or clansman. Furthermore, even when figures are provided, they do not necessarily give an accurate picture of the membership of an association, for some clan associations maintain cumulative membership lists or claim as members all clansmen in Canada.

Membership appears to be drawn primarily from elderly men who came to Canada before 1923; from that date until 1947 Chinese immigration was virtually prohibited. Since then, with few exceptions, only children under 21 or parents over 65 of residents in Canada were legally admitted. Consequently there are very few China-born Chinese in the age range 35–50. Some Chinese born in Canada during the period of prohibited immigration were sent back to China for their education, to return when they became adults.

Although membership in clan associations is open to women of the same surname, there are very few female members. The older generation is, of course, overwhelmingly male. Furthermore, both old and new ideas link women more effectively to the clan associations of their husbands, where they are often asked to perform the tasks of cooking and serving for banquets and celebrations. Most Chinese who assume positions of leadership in clan associations are wealthier than the average and are either born in China or educated there. Because there are hardly any men born in China who are between the ages of 35 and 50—where one might expect to find the active community leaders—a small number of Canadian-born men who were sent back to China for their education and are now in their forties emerge as the dynamic leaders in many of the associations. One sometimes sees an informal partnership between such a China-educated younger man and a wealthy elder statesman of the community, who together can dominate the other older men who make up the leadership of the clan association.

The Functions of Clan Associations

It is not possible to list the functions that are unique to clan associations, for overseas Chinese typically organize a variety of associations that have many and equivalent functions (cf. D. Willmott, 1960, p. 144). Vancouver is no exception to this pattern. One might expect that the quality of loyalty in a clan (and the consequent sanctions available to a clan association) would be somewhat different
from that found in, for instance, an association based on locality of origin. One would therefore expect the clan to be able to serve different functions or operate at different levels of social organization. But the functional distinctions between these two types of associations are by no means clear for Vancouver, nor are they easily evident from any of the literature on overseas Chinese (see Freedman, 1960, pp. 39-51; Lyman, 1961, pp. 180-7). One can say that clan associations served with other types of associations to form in pre-war Vancouver what T'ien (1953, p. 10) called 'the warp and woof of overseas Chinese society.'

The functions of the clan association in Vancouver have gradually changed through its 50-year history, originally political and economic but today primarily cultural. At its inception the clan association served to protect its members from the harmful actions both of other Chinese individuals and groups of non-Chinese. The association settled disputes between its members, and it undertook to assure justice for a member involved in a dispute with a non-member. In disputes between members and non-Chinese, the association assured legal counsel. But as the need for protection has diminished, the clan associations have taken less part in the mediation of disputes. More and more Chinese now have access to Canadian courts, both because a larger proportion speaks English and because there is a growing trust in Canadian institutions. Furthermore, there appears to be an increasing emphasis upon the individual responsibility of the disputants, with the result that they will take their case either to court or to an association to which they both belong, rather than each ask his clan association to represent him. If both are members of a fraternal association, for instance, they may take their quarrel to its executive committee for arbitration.

Coupled with its primarily political functions, the clan association served some economic functions from the start. One informant said that in the early days the Huang clan association provided capital for a member who had failed in business. If he failed a second time, he would be helped to start again, but after a third failure he was entitled only to welfare benefits from the clan association. From the beginning they also served as employment agencies for Chinese businessmen. Such a system of hiring provided the employer with added control over his employee by appealing to clan loyalties and clan-association sanctions.

Most clan associations have invested heavily in real estate. The larger ones own buildings in Chinatown valued at $75,000 to $100,000 or more. The association typically uses one floor for clan premises and lets the rest to provide further income. In one case, the association has organized an investment company among its members, but in most cases the association itself raises the initial capital and reaps the benefits. Consequently, some clan associations are quite wealthy and able to provide substantial welfare programmes for their members.

Today the clan associations serve a cultural function of some importance to the Chinese community. They are the main sponsors of most of the celebrations in Chinatown which serve to mark off the Chinese community from the rest of Vancouver society. The major community festival is at Chinese New Year, when a parade is often organized by the clan associations co-operating with the C.B.A. Some clan associations celebrate Ch'ing-ming (Changmeeung), which involves ritual associated with memorializing ancestors.

Recent Changes and Prospects

Since the war there has been marked change in the Chinese community organization in Vancouver. Clan associations are declining in importance, as are locality associations as well. In terms of personnel, their decline may be attributed to the fact that they hold the allegiance of neither the Canadian-born younger generation nor the new immigrants from China. It can be described also in terms of their diminishing functions as the Chinese community loses some of its definition.

Canadian-born Chinese reaching maturity today do not face the same situation in Canada as was faced by their fathers on first arriving from China. Although the question of the rate of assimilation cannot be taken up here, the reader will no doubt accept the propositions that the ethnic line between Chinese and non-Chinese is becoming more blurred and that the social structure of the Chinese community has consequently lost some clarity of definition. The ambitious Chinese-Canadian, educated in English and having many non-Chinese friends, can look elsewhere for political office than to the clan associations, and he can find economic aid from sources alternative to the elders of his clan. Furthermore, the Canadian-born Chinese does not feel the same loyalty to clan that imbued his father before leaving China. For these reasons, they do not show interest in the clan associations of their fathers.

The new immigrants who have arrived from China since 1947 also show little interest in clan associations. Not only do they come to a Canada vastly different from the Canada of pre-1923, when even labour and church leaders vilified the 'Celestials' and incited riots against them; they also come from a China vastly different from that left by their fathers. Not the least important change in pre-contemporary China was the decline in strength of clan obligations and loyalties (Lang, 1946, pp. 173-8). Those of the younger immigrants to Canada since the war who look to Chinese associations upon arriving in Canada are attracted by the fraternal lodges, which are more modern, provide more activities, and appeal to broader loyalties than clanship. Although several clan associations tried to establish youth sections to attract the immigrants in the early nineteen-fifties, these attempts led to such serious generational conflicts that all have now abandoned their efforts at youth organization.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that clan associations become oriented toward preserving traditional Chinese culture. It is clear that they will play an ever decreasing role in grouping the overseas Chinese in Vancouver, even if drastic changes in government policy once again allow large-scale Chinese immigration to Canada.

But the demise of clan associations does not necessarily
mean the end of Chinese community organization in Vancouver. Unlike the Nuer, where clanship may well be the only organizational criterion beyond the lineage, overseas Chinese regard it as only one of several possible criteria. That all are used, providing a multiplicity of associations with cross-cutting membership, is a phenomenon which, in its associational richness, is perhaps unique to overseas Chinese. As the threads of clanship become minimally important, the community structure can continue to operate by laying stress on associations based on other criteria but which serve similar functions. As in the first decades of Chinese settlement in Canada, today it is the fraternal association that once again is coming to prominence among Vancouver's Chinese population.

Notes

1 Research into the Chinese associations in Vancouver was supported by a grant from the President's Committee on Research, University of British Columbia. I am indebted to Dr. Stanford Lyman for historical material and references, as well as for helpful criticisms throughout. Mr. Berchinc Ho, of the University of British Columbia Library, aided in the research. Dr. Maurice Freedman and Professor Harry Hawthorn provided helpful criticisms on an earlier draft. I take sole responsibility for all statements and opinions expressed.

2 The census of 1870 indicates one woman for every 30 men among the Chinese in the Province of British Columbia. In 1921 the ratio in Vancouver was one to ten; it remained about that until 1941, when it was one to five. The 1951 census showed a ratio of one to three in Vancouver, and in 1961 it was about two to three (5,936 women, 9,276 men). (All ratios are approximate. I am indebted to Dr. Stanford Lyman for the figures on which the first two of these ratios are based.)

3 All Chinese terms are presented in the Wade-Giles romanization of Mandarin, followed in parentheses by the Cantonese equivalent romanized according to the University of London system.


5 Research into the Chinese communities in the smaller towns of British Columbia was supported by a grant from the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of British Columbia.

6 Lyman, 1961, pp. 179-221. Although these were originally called kung-song (ghau-shih) (hence the English title 'company'), they changed to huishun in 1862.

7 The two names Huang and Wang have identical pronunciations in Cantonese (Wrong), and are included together in all four Huang clan associations. It is said that centuries ago a Wang changed his name to Huang when he fled to Kwangtung from the north to avoid persecution by the emperor. There are very few Wang in Vancouver.


9 Freedman uses the term 'dialect group,' but Skinner's term 'speech group' avoids the linguistic problem of distinguishing between dialects and languages (Skinner, 1957, p. 35).

10 See table in Kung, 1962, p. 268, which shows only 23 Chinese entering Canada during the years 1924-1940 inclusive. The law limited Chinese immigrants to men of culture, such as students and merchants, according to one spokesman (Cowan, 1925, p. 1).

11 According to the 1961 Census of Canada, the Chinese population in Vancouver City, 60 years and over, consisted of 2,876 men and 503 women (personal communication from Dominion Bureau of Statistics).

12 In the traditional kinship system, a woman was assimilated for most purposes to the lineage—and hence the clan—of her husband (Freedman, 1961, p. 128; Kulp, 1925, pp. 179f). The more recent emphasis upon the nuclear family also serves to identify the wife with her husband and hence with the voluntary associations which he chooses to join.

References


Kulp, Daniel Harrison, II, Country Life in South China, the Sociology of Family, New York (Teacher's College, Columbia), 1925.


T'ien Ju-k'ang, The Chinese of Sarawak, L. S. E. Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 12, London (L.S.E., Department of Anthropology), 1953.


Monochrome Glass Beads from Malaysia and Elsewhere.*

By Tom Harrison, Curator, Sarawak Museum. With five tables

Thirty years ago the late H. C. Beck published in MAN® a paper which could have marked the opening of new phase in the study of Asian glass beads. Unfortunately few have since followed his lead, although ordinary glass beads—so durable, easily exchanged even by letter post, and readily subject to a variety of physical tests—would seem ideal material for a genuinely scientific analysis relevant to human movement and contact over very wide areas. Instead, much of the extensive bead literature of the last three decades has been devoted to eye judgment, which my own Borneo experience has certainly shown to be initially and sometimes consistently misleading where beads are involved. A typical recent statement in Indonesia

* Publication of this paper has been assisted by a subvention from the Sarawak Museum to allow the issue to be increased by four pages.
includes this: ‘the yellow green beads give the impression of having originated in the Mediterranean.’

**Bead Wealth of Borneo and Adjacent Countries**

No one who lives for any time in the interior of Borneo can help becoming interested in glass (and stone) beads, which into this decade remain of absorbing concern to the Kelabit, Kayan and Kenyah peoples particularly. My first written exercise in this field, back in 1950, contained some of the characteristic confusions of subjective bead-study near its worst. The surviving meat of that contribution is partly in the comparative eye judgments made by different native peoples on ‘value beads’ from other groups; in this I was at first helped by Dr. Edmund Leach, while on a visit to Sarawak in 1947. Since that time the Sarawak Museum has acquired many thousands of beads both from the heads of Borneans and from stratified excavations in the Sarawak River delta, at the Niah Caves and elsewhere. My interest in doing more than just catalogue these, and ‘type’ them by eye (with the help of Miss Betty Smith), has recently been stimulated by Dr. Alastair Lamb of the University of Malaya. We have had several sessions on bead classification, helped by Mr. J. McHugh, O.B.E., of Eastern Mining and Metals, who generously lent his splendid laboratory facilities in Malaya to analyse selected beads from both our collections. Dr. Lamb has already published two tables of these analyses from Thailand and Malaya, to which I will soon return. The present paper adds three new sets of data from excavation and human usage in West Borneo and from Kuala Selinsing in Malaya.

There is a wide diversity of beads in Borneo, as Hose and McDougall showed 50 years ago. In the present study I have confined attention to small- or medium-size monochrome, simply shaped, pure glass beads of types now familiar (by eye) to me in a wide range of local contexts. ‘Canes,’ ‘chevrons,’ ‘eye beads’ and other more elaborate sorts have deliberately been left aside for the present, as introducing extra complications. The initial need, in this field, is basically to start again from Beck—and state the situations more simply than he did, so that all can agree upon a common approach to quite complex data.

**New Material**

The new material consists of three series:

A. Seven small monochrome glass beads of a wide colour range, collected by J. McHugh on I. H. N. Evans’s old site at Kuala Selinsing, Selangor, in 1963. This early coastal entrepôt trading site is the ‘classic’ for West Malaya, first explored by Evans. The series was selected by J. McHugh and myself as a mainland ‘control’ for comparison (of Table I), because: (i) Selinsing is readily accessible and more beads can be excavated there at any time (much of the site is still untouched); (ii) the beads selected are of types which look much the same as others found over much of South-East Asia, including West Borneo (especially series B below); (iii) three are already comparable series from Selinsing itself now in the Beck Collection at Cambridge, at Hanoi, at Kuala Lumpur and in the Sarawak Museum; (iv) some of the Hanoi specimens have been studied by Madame Colani, and more recently illustrated in colour by Louis Mallaret—though the two papers unfortunately do not collate illustration and analysis.

B. Ten small monochrome beads excavated by a Sarawak Museum team at Bukit Maras, Santubong, Sarawak River delta; this site has quantities of late T’ang and early Sung ceramics and the well-known ‘Gupta’ Buddha represents an unusually strong (for Borneo) ‘Indian’ influence; probably occupation between A.D. 750 and 1000.

### Table I. Series A Beads, Kuala Selinsing (J. McHugh, Excavator)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of:</th>
<th>SiO₂</th>
<th>FeO₃</th>
<th>Al₂O₃</th>
<th>PbO</th>
<th>CaO</th>
<th>MgO</th>
<th>CuO</th>
<th>MnO</th>
<th>K₂O</th>
<th>Na₂O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terra-cotta red</td>
<td>67.0%*</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>76.0%*</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>0.05%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark blue</td>
<td>69.1%†</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>0.04%</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light blue</td>
<td>69.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark green</td>
<td>67.0%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light green</td>
<td>71.0%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>64.9%†</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>0.02%</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* At shows quartz crystals indicating incomplete fusion.
† A and A7 partly devitrified; attrition on external surface.

### Table II. Series B Beads, Bukit Maras, Santubong (T. Harrison, Excavator)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of:</th>
<th>SiO₂</th>
<th>Fe*</th>
<th>Al₂O₃</th>
<th>PbO</th>
<th>CaO</th>
<th>Mg*</th>
<th>Cu*</th>
<th>Mn*</th>
<th>K₂O</th>
<th>Na₂O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard red, long cylindrical</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
<td>0.32%</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>0.28%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.12%</td>
<td>0.14%</td>
<td>0.02%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard red, oblate spheroidal</td>
<td>71.5%</td>
<td>0.25%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>0.07%</td>
<td>0.11%</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green opaque, small</td>
<td>73.4%</td>
<td>0.12%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green opaque, very small</td>
<td>74.9%</td>
<td>0.19%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>0.11%</td>
<td>0.05%</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard yellow, small</td>
<td>74.8%</td>
<td>0.21%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>0.18%</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard dark blue</td>
<td>73.6%</td>
<td>0.21%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>0.19%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>0.17%</td>
<td>0.10%</td>
<td>0.19%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard black</td>
<td>72.5%</td>
<td>0.23%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>0.17%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>0.19%</td>
<td>0.10%</td>
<td>0.19%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange with black strix, long cylinder</td>
<td>75.7%</td>
<td>0.05%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>0.14%</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange with black strix, small</td>
<td>76.5%</td>
<td>0.04%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>0.61%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
<td>0.03%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Analysis is for element alone, not oxide (as in A and C); this slightly reduces the figure—compare Table IV.

### Table III. Series C Beads, Kelabit Uplands, Necklace (T. Harrison, Collector)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of:</th>
<th>SiO₂</th>
<th>FeO₃</th>
<th>Al₂O₃</th>
<th>PbO</th>
<th>CaO</th>
<th>MgO</th>
<th>CuO</th>
<th>MnO</th>
<th>K₂O</th>
<th>Na₂O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spherical, light blue</td>
<td>61.7%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>0.07%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrel, light blue</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.04%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cylindrical, dark blue</td>
<td>60.3%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flat cylindrical, dark blue</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>trace</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This series was selected not only to represent the site but to match, by eye, similar beads in Series A, and in Dr. Alastair Lamb's material from further north as illustrated by him in colour and also inspected by me in detail. 9

C. Four slightly larger monochrome beads, all pale blue or green, taken to represent four main kinds of highly valued 'Let' bead from a Kelabit necklace which I purchased—for several buffaloes—in 1946. Each bead is (or until recently was) worth 2s. 6d. or more. These have been widely used in interior barter trade as far west as the lower Baram in Sarawak and as far east as the Kenyah-Kayans of the Bauhaus and Apo Kayan. Similar beads were valued by the Land Dayaks of south-west Borneo until recent times.10

Tables I-III give the basic information for the above three new sets of analyses.

In addition to the above, traces of titanium (as TiO₂) were found in A3 Selinsing and C2 Kelabit; and of zinc (as ZnO) in A5 Selinsing and in K1 and K5 Kelabit; no phosphorus.

It will be seen that there are other variations in the three series. For instance A7 is high in MgO (magnesium oxide) and A2 in CaO (calcium; often high in reddish or orange-coloured beads). Yet there is a close general consistence between the two excavated series, in West Malay and Borneo, from sites 700 miles, a peninsula and a sea apart. In one major and several minor respects both series differ significantly and consistently from the valued 'ancient beads' of Kelabit necks in Borneo's far interior, series C. Whereas some of the excavated coastal beads in Malay have no PbO (lead oxide), none have over 3 per cent of that compound (cf. A7); but PbO is the second largest component of all the upland beads, at 13-16 per cent. Na₂O (sodium) runs lower in the Kelabit series, not exceeding one per cent—it is never below that figure for series A and B. The CaO (calcium) content also tends consistently high in the Kelabit lot.

We can see this basic difference most clearly by comparing averages in each series:

**Table IV. Average Content of Monochrome Glass Beads (Three Sources)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A Selinsing</th>
<th>B Selinsing</th>
<th>C Kelabit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SiO₂</td>
<td>68.1</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al₂O₃</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CaO</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K₂O</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na₂O</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fe₂O₃</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.4*</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CuO</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.1*</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MgO</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.1*</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MnO</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.1*</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PbO</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Analysis for the element only, not oxide

Comparative Material from South-East Asia

There are, of course, many variables still involved in sample comparisons of this nature. A single red bead can significantly lift the copper figure—and so on. We must improve sampling and measuring techniques; and standardize exact definitions and descriptions in both fields and laboratory classifications, for the future. It is probable also that factors like soil and other site-contamination will have to be taken seriously into account while measurements grow more accurate—as with Carbon 14 in archaeological usage. This may especially matter where beads have lain for long in open sites, as is the case in all those discussed for the mainland. On the other hand, where possible, technical factors should be kept simple, to enable fairly easy comparisons by sampling in widely separated countries.

Despite many variables, at once introduced by bringing in some of the scanty material already published, it is encouraging to find that Dr. Alastair Lamb's mixed series of nine monochromes, fully documented and illustrated from two sites in south-west Thailand (Krakao Island and north-west Malaya (Kedah) correspond reasonably well with my Selinsing A and Santubong B. His single bead with significant Pb content (No. 8 at 2 per cent.) is a twist bead, the only one in the material here under review—though this may not be relevant (so little do we yet know).11

Dr. H. R. von Heckener has also published analyses for eight beads from Indonesia, of which four come from South and East Borneo. These are not fully described or sited; but at least two are 'eye beads' and two more (Borneo) are hexagonal, and not therefore comparable to the present new, simple, material, which has excluded all irregular shapes, forms and colours. Two of von Heckener's beads have Pb 3.1 per cent. (Javanese dolmen) and 4.2 per cent (Borneo); throughout, the Na₂O content is very high for the whole series, which was analysed at the Indonesian Bandung Mines Department.12

An important pre-war attempt to follow Mr. Beck's good example was made for both Indo-China and Kuala Selinsing by Madame Colani, working from the beads at Hanoi. Her 1935 tabulation—which again provides little identifying data—gives high Na₂O content for both Selinsing and her two Laotian sites, but in other respects follows the present series A. She does not record Pb, though all the other chemicals in our tables are recognized in hers. Again, it would be splendid to track back paratypes of her analysed beads. This is made all the more tempting by Mallet's recent coloured illustrations of some of the Hanoi bead collection (now Communist-held); by my eye judgment, much of what he there illustrates is comparable to the material analysed in Santubong series B. Certainly, lead-poor glasses reached far up into Indo-China in prehistoric times.13

**'Lead-Heavy,' and Other Clues**

Although scrappy and frustrating, these varied clues do provide enough worthwhile evidence as incentive to plan better organized, regionalized, Asian bead study for the next research phase. In particular, 'the Plumbum Clue' seems to offer good hope of rather simple positive results, even in fairly crude chemical comparisons. In South-East Asia more than 10 per cent. lead oxide in any bead is likely to prove an appreciable indication of origin and manufacture. Other features may emerge as significant with fuller study. Table V summarizes what we have for this one item so far.

**Table V. Lead Percentage Content of Various Glass Bead Analyses Published for South-East Asia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of specimens</th>
<th>Percentage Content (Pb, PbO)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kuala Selinsing, Malaya (Colani, 1935)</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kuala Selinsing, Malaya (our series A)</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bukit Maras, Santubong, Sarawak (our series B)</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bokit Maras, Santubong, Sarawak (our series C)</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 'South and East Borneo' (von Hecker, 1959)</td>
<td>1.29*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kelagit, Central Borneo (our series C)</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Including mixed 'eye' and other non-monochromes; all beads in Nos. 1-4 and 6 are monochrome glass only.
Beck first emphasized and illustrated the significance of both lead and barium in early Chinese (pre-T'ang) glass. But less coherent analyses of various, usually non-bead, glasses date back to 1798, before Dalton's concept of atomic weights, when Martin Klaproth, a great German experimental chemist, studied Roman mosaic glass from the villa of Tiberius in Capri, including some red pieces with estimated 13 per cent. PbO. Dr. Morey, reviewing early work by Neumann and others up to 1938, published 14 antique monochrome glass fragments from the Middle East (mostly 1500-1400 B.C.) giving broadly a Selinsing-Santubong content, but relatively low in Al₂O₃ (0.6 to 4.4 per cent.) and high in MgO (1.3 to 5.6 per cent.).

More recently the late Professor W. E. S. Turner has drawn together (1954-56) much old and new information emphasizing the poverty of lead in Samara and related glasses, as compared with up to 41.2 per cent. PbO in Han Chinese glass, plus 12.6 per cent. BaO (barium oxide). Now, Professor Earle R. Caley of Ohio State University has put all students in his debt with a comprehensive survey of early glass chemistry. This shows the fairly regular occurrence of lead in early Roman examples, following Klaproth (see his pp. 16, 17, 29, etc.) and certain early Egyptian examples (pp. 76ff.), but very seldom more than a trace in typical ‘Middle-East’ glasses. Dr. Caley is also emphatic that ‘barium is not a component of ancient Chinese ornamental glasses made after the Han period, though much of it was still a lead glass’ (p. 90). Unfortunately, he stops at a.d. 500, just before the T'ang; and it is precisely here that we know least and need to know most in the Asian context now.

There is also practically no firm information on later datable, Sung and Ming, Chinese glass. No one has yet suggested a direct major trade to Borneo or Malaya in the Han (i.e. before a.d. 220); lack of barium in glass confirms this. But such trade got into full swing in the T'ang (a.d. 618-907). Both our Bukit Maras site at Santubong and Dr. Lamb's Krakao Island give many indications of contact by the eighth century or earlier. An impressive part of the impact was from the mainland of China and Indo-China. But Dr. Lamb's work has shown that an appreciable element also came from the west into the Malay Peninsula. This effect, however, in general tends to diminish rapidly as we move east towards Borneo and then up the Philippines—at least so far as direct trade and culture impact is concerned.

Glass beads, however, are highly mobile objects. They must have been in the past; and they continue so inside Borneo today. I have seen several important local changes in bead 'fashion' even in my 19 years here. The Dutch explorer Niuenhuis described a bead trade through the islands and up into the Kenyah peoples of east central Borneo at the turn of the century. Beads visually the same as those found in a.d. pre-1200 burial caves at Niah, West Borneo, were also still being traded inland from Brunei Bay to the Kelabit country in the late nineteenth-twenties; including glass beads imitating stone-age beads of bone at Niah and today inland called manik toleng ('bone beads') though in glass.

Two Main Glass Sources?

As a hypothesis for field work in South-East Asia, I propose two main early bead sources. One, of series C-type beads, probably from the north, Tang-Sung and/or later (and perhaps also earlier). But possibly with a 'Mediterranean' element in the early stages as well? These beads would have been important barter trade goods with the Dayak people—for rhino horn, bezoar stone, edible bird's nests, hornbill (ho-ting), woods, rattan, etc. The other stream, types A and B, probably starting more strongly some centuries earlier from the 'west' (i.e. the Near East?), and impacting largely into the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and that side of Indonesia, spread right across eastward by inter-island secondary trade, not necessarily by direct commerce.

At least in West Borneo it looks as if the theoretically 'western,' leadless beads of series A and B came in quantity some centuries before the 'lead-heavy' ones. It seems certain that our present series C from the far interior could not be derived directly from any of the 'western glasses' of Selinsing-Santubong A-B character so far found in the Far East. The absence of barium is not in itself an obstacle to attribution of 'Chinese' origins. Clearly, there were changes in chemical content both over the centuries (e.g. barium was given up) and inside the vast geographical territory known to us as 'China.' Much more basic research is needed at the source end.

In support of a tentative separate 'lead-heavy' trade into parts of Borneo particularly, I should here mention a rather important set of non-bead data provided by Dr. Lamb's analyses of ten glass fragments excavated at Pengkalan Bujang in Kedah. These conform closely to the bead glass material already discussed from the same source and to that from our other coastal sites; but this glass has an even lower lead content—only 0.06 per cent. PbO (cf. 0.76 per cent. for the same site's beads). Glass such as this would not provide C-type Kelabit necklace beads with high Pb— without important additions from some other source. At present no such source is known in South-East Asia. Nor would the purpose of such an operation appear.

There is, so far, no field evidence for any local treatment in the considerable excavations made around Santubong in the Sarawak River delta, at Niah Caves and in the Borneo interior. On the contrary, the relatively small variations between beads from Santubong and Selinsing may indicate one or more common points of manufacture far from Borneo. For the Kelabit necklace beads we have scanty archaeological material to compare, though we have some from the continuing-into-Ming site at Kota Batu, Brunei.

It should be added that Selinsing-Santubong-Bujang beads are also very strongly represented in contemporary Kelabit values and wear, especially on female hats. Moreover, during 1962-63, extensive excavations on some prehistoric megalithic sites in those uplands, about 3,300 feet, have produced many of these small monochromes, evidently types A and B, showing that they penetrated to the remote hinterland centuries ago. The Kelabit beads selected for the present comparison as series C were deliberately chosen as among those considered ancient by the uplanders, and yet not clearly matched in the rich material from lowland and coastal excavations.

Over the years I have come to respect Kelabit judgments on antiquity and value, which have been impressively demonstrated on bronze, stoneware and porcelains. But glass, as Dr. van der Sleen has also lately emphasized, can be most deceptive. There is therefore always the possibility that beads from a strictly ethnological context may be less old than they appear. Moreover, bead 'fakes' from Europe are known to have been tried at various times in Borneo, into the twentieth century.

Dr. van der Sleen's recent demonstration of an Amsterdam bead trade across the world in the seventeenth century raises other West-East considerations. These and Venetian beads were usually more elaborate than those here discussed, but I strongly suspect that some lowland Kenyah and Kayan varicoloured value beads really have such origins. The upland Kelabits only esteem simply shaped monochromes, as evidently once did other West Bornens widely in the early iron age—much less than one per cent. of all Sarawak Museum-excavated beads are other than simple and monochrome.
Dr. van der Sleen’s valuable new work is readily available in MAN. But I would emphasize here his finding of phosphorus in Zanzibar and Indian beads—so far absent in Malaysian material—and the importance which he attaches to high potash, up to 23 per cent. K2O in the late Dutch beads, plus their poverty in sodium (Na2O)—in which last respect, also, Kelabit beads of type C differ from excavated types A and B. Lead is not a Dutch bead feature, but Dr. van der Sleen specifies it in connexion with ancient Indian beads possibly of ‘Far Eastern origin.’ These, too, deserve special attention in the next phase of Asian bead research.  

Notes

1. Beck was the first man to see the full potential of scientific bead-study, and his collection at the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, is classic (see Beck, 1930, on the present theme; also 1928, and in papers with C. G. Seligman and others subsequently, e.g. Nature, Vol. CXXXIII, 1934, p. 982). For Neumann in Germany see Morey, 1938, and note 11 below. A Committee for the Study of Beads in general was formed by the Royal Anthropological Institute some years ago (Chairman, Dr. A. J. Arkell); this activity has been suspended, but I hope that it will be revived and will extend its interest to the Far East and help centralize and co-ordinate future research on the widest possible basis.

2. See von Heckeren, p. 41; compare also the stimulating study by Dr. de Beaulclaire (1933) where nevertheless issues are clouded by superficial description, so that the reader can get little further unless he goes to Yap!


5. Madame Colani also analysed some Selinising beads; see note 8 following and bibliography; also Table V in text.


7. Evans, 1932; his theories are reviewed in my 1950 paper, pp. 204f.


10. Harrisson, 1930; Plates II-III on Land Dayak; 1939, Plates IV and VI show Kelabit necklaces, as series C. Unfortunately none of these are illustrated in Hose and McDougall, 1912 (note 6 above). A permanent case showing Borneo beads in a wider setting is on display in the Sarawak Museum (described in Scanlon, 1961).


12. Von Heckeren, 1938, p. 41; see van der Sleen, 1936b, on Dutch beads from Flores; also note 11 below.

13. As for note 11 above.

14. Klaphroth’s results have been recalculated and discussed by Caley, 1962 (cf. note 15); Morey, 1938, incorporates Neumann’s German work (cf. note 1) and other factual data.

15. Turner, 1954-61: also Lamb, 1961, p. 62. Caley, 1962, is a major work (but does not cover the Colani or von Heckeren analyses here reviewed); he promises a further volume from Corinna shortly. Professor Turner regretfully died during October, 1963.


18. B. Harrisson, 1938, p. 606; Harrisson and Medway, 1962, p. 340 and Plate V. Note that A2 Selinising (Table I in text) is such a unikol toangle.

19. See also Colani on Chinese glass possibly predated by ‘western’ in Indo-China (Vol. II, p. 155); and general discussion of glass origins by Morey, 1938.

20. Sarawak Museum Bead Collection; this is now considerable and includes exchanges with other countries, which we are anxious to continue and extend (correspondence c/o Museum, Kuching, Sarawak). It is also intended presently to send sets of paratypes of our tested beads—usually identical forms from the same contexts—for filing in interested museums elsewhere.

21. For a full account of recent megalithic work see Harrisson, 1964; for general descriptions of the Bornean megalithic, see series of papers in recent issues of Sarawak Mus. J. (by Lian Labang, R. Nyanodah and T. Harrisson).


23. See note 6.

24. Van der Sleen, 1963a, paragraph 5 on lead.

References

(The general literature for Malaya up to 1950 is discussed in my paper of that year.)


———, Translucent Glass Bangles from Borneo, Asian Perspectives, Vol. VI, Nos. 1-2, pp. 236-238.


A Note on Chinese Celadon and Egyptian s'Graffiato Wares from Dar es Salaam. By Miss J. R. Harding, formerly of the King George V Memorial Museum, Dar es Salaam. With three figures.

Between the years 1936 and 1959 I spent spare time examining the beaches and low cliff line lying across the Magogoni Ferry opposite the town of Dar es Salaam. Besides Indian and other beads dating from the thirteenth century onwards, I recovered the celadon and s’graffiato sherds described in this note. These lay on stony ground that certain tides laid bare between high-water and low-water mark, but which at other times was covered by sand. The celadon sherds, on the authority of Mr. Basil Gray of the British Museum, are of Sung (twelfth-thirteenth century), Yuan and early and later Ming (fourteenth-fifteenth-century) date. The Egyptian s’graffiato sherds, on the authority of Mr. R. Pinder-Wilson of the British Museum, are of thirteenth-fourteenth-century date. The greatest concentration of the celadon sherds was on the small beach below the Signal Station facing out towards Sinde Island, while that of the s’graffiato sherds lay near the high-water mark between the building formerly known as the Bel-air Hotel and the African Wharfage Company.

These sherds of celadon and s’graffiato wares (previously unknown to occur at Dar es Salaam) are of considerable interest, for they point to a much earlier settlement (or trading station) in that area than has generally been suspected. Indeed, the establishment of a settlement or trading centre there in early (perhaps very early) times would not be surprising, for the natural harbour, approached as it is by an exceedingly narrow channel, is well protected and almost completely concealed from the open sea, thus offering a refuge which could hardly have been overlooked by the coast-hugging Arab dhows of even the earliest times. The position, nature and extent of the settlement or trading station which these remains suggest still await discovery, for after 1959 I did not have the opportunity for further investigation. The ends of two dry-stone walls which I found in the face of the cliff between the hotel building mentioned above and the African Wharfage Company may, however, offer a point from which other investigators might continue the search, though there, as at so many other places along the coast of Tanganyika, there is evidence that the cliff line has been, and still is, subject to considerable erosion. It may be, therefore, that any remains of habitations of early date have long since disappeared beneath the sand.

Scattered lumps of hardened and gritty clay bearing the impressions of sticks and branches on the old surface beneath the Signal Station from which the celadon sherds came indicate a former dwelling (or other structure) of the wattle-and-daub type. That wattle provided the wood for the framework is more than probable since these trees still flourish in the adjacent swamp.

I have already recorded similar building remains in stone and mud at Kisiju further down the coast, and at both Kisiju and Dar es Salaam those in stone occur on higher ground, while the indicated primitive wattle-and-mud structures occur on the swampy ground below.

Finally, I should like to record here a single Chinese coin which I picked up near the low-water mark on the beach below the Signal Station at Magogoni Ferry, but so badly corroded, unfortunately, that it has been impossible to assign any date to it.

Description of the s’Graffiato Sherds

Except when otherwise stated, all these came from the beach lying between the former Bel-air Hotel and the African Wharfage Company. Many of them show considerable wear and only a few have the glaze intact.
Fig. 1 (1) Rim sherd; glaze blotched green, yellow and brown, appearing dark green and dark brown over the lines of the incised design; in places the white slip is exposed and extends to the back of the sherd; body pink.

(2) Rim sherd; glaze blotched brown, buff and apple green, appearing light and dark brown over the lines of the incised design; both glaze and slip appear on the back of the sherd; body light pink.

(3) Portion of base and footing; glaze blotched dark and light green, appearing dark green over the incised lines; at side of base a small cylindrical hole has been drilled; body pink.

(4) Rim sherd; glaze blotched green, light apple green and biscuit, appearing black and orange over incised lines of design; body pink.

(5) Rim sherd; glaze dark green, appearing black over incised lines; body light orange pink.

(6) Rim sherd; light green glaze appearing dark green over incised lines; body pink.

(7) Rim sherd; glaze brown streaked with yellow; slip and glaze run over rim on to back of sherd; body pink.

(8) A thick sherd; glaze blotched green and greenish brown, appearing black over incised lines of the design; body pink.

(9) Rim sherd with exterior decoration; glaze yellow and brown appearing brown over the incised lines of the design; interior side of sherd glazed yellow and brown turning green at rim; body pink.

(10) Fragment showing green glaze which appears dark green over the incised lines of the design; body brick pink.

(11) Approximately half a base and footing; glaze blotched cream, apple green and tobacco yellow; body pink. From the beach below the Signal Station at the Magogonzi Ferry.

(12) Approximately half a base and footing; glaze blotched yellow and brown, appearing dark brown over lines of incised design; body brick red.

(13) Portion of base and footing; glaze blotched cream, brown and green, appearing brown and dark green over lines of incised design; body very light pink inclining to biscuit colour. From beach below Signal Station, Magogonzi Ferry.

(14) Half a base and footing; glaze streaked and mottled cream and brown, appearing dark brown over lines of incised design; body light brick pink.

Fig. 2 (1) Approximately half a base with footing; all the glaze missing except over the incised lines where it appears green; body pink.

(2) Fragment showing blotched cream, yellow and light brown glaze, appearing brown over incised lines of the design; patches of white slip appear on back of the sherd; body pink.

(3) Portion of base on a complete footing; glaze blotched cream, brown and green, appearing brown over incised lines; body pink.

(4) Fragment showing mustard yellow glaze, appearing brown over incised design; white slip appears on back; body pink.

(5) Portion of base and footing; glaze almost gone, but where surviving blotched light and dark green, appearing dark green over incised lines; body brick pink.

(6) Fragment showing painted design on white slip; colours, brown (hatched) and blue (dotted); body pink.

(7) Portion of base and footing; glaze olive green and light and dark brown streaked with white, appearing green-brown and brown over incised lines of design; patches of glaze appear on the back; body pink.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHINESE CELADON SHERDS

Except when otherwise stated, all the sherds described below came from the beach below the Signal Station at the Magogonzi Ferry where, as already stated, an old surface is exposed at certain tides.

Sung (twelfth-thirteenth centuries)

Fig. 3 (6) Portion of base and footing; tail end of fish moulded in relief under bluish grey glaze discoloured on base over the design; body white turning red at base and footing.

Fig. 2 (12) Rim fragment; clear bluish green glaze appearing deeper where it thickens on top of rim and where the rim turns outwards from the exterior side; body greyish white; diameter 12 cm. From Kisiu, 56 miles south of Dar es Salaam.

Yuan or early Ming (fourteenth century)

Fig. 2 (8) Portion of bowl including rim and footing; glaze greyish green appearing a more distinct green over incised design of curving lines on the interior and exterior; inside of footing unglazed; unglazed spur mark, burnt pink, on base; body grey.

(13) Waved rim fragment; jade green glaze over carved or moulded design in relief, appearing light grey over high parts; body greyish white. From Kisiu, 56 miles south of Dar es Salaam.

Fig. 3 (3) Rim fragment; pale-blue-tinted green glaze over lotus-leaf design carved in relief; glaze appears paler over high parts of design and at rim; body white.

Sung (early thirteenth century)

Fig. 2 (8) Portion of bowl including rim and footing; glaze greyish green appearing a more distinct green over incised design of curving lines on the interior and exterior; inside of footing unglazed; unglazed spur mark, burnt pink, on base; body grey.

(13) Waved rim fragment; jade green glaze over carved or moulded design in relief, appearing light grey over high parts; body greyish white. From Kisiu, 56 miles south of Dar es Salaam.

Fig. 3 (3) Rim fragment; pale-blue-tinted green glaze over lotus-leaf design carved in relief; glaze appears paler over high parts of design and at rim; body white.

Ming (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries)

Fig. 2 (9) Rim fragment; jade green glaze over light grey body; diameter approximately 21.5 cm.

(10) Rim fragment; light yellowish green glaze over light grey body.

(11) Rim fragment; cracked green glaze tinged with blue; body white or greyish white; diameter 25 cm.

Fig. 3 (1) Rim fragment; clear green glaze over carved lotus-leaf design in relief, appearing paler over high parts of design and at rim; body white.

(2) Rim fragment; lightly incised lotus-leaf design under pale olive green cracked glaze; body white.

Notes

1 Trade beads of Indian and other origin have been taken in quantity from the beach in front of the European Hospital at Dar es
Salama by various collectors. There is a collection of these in the
King George V Memorial Museum.

1 I have described two Frankish beads of the fourth-sixth cen-
recovered one from the beach below the Signal Station at the Mago-
goni Ferry, Dar es Salaam, and the other from a mangrove swamp
at Kisjiu, 56 miles south of Dar es Salaam, and have suggested that
these may mark the positions of the earliest trading stations yet
found on the Tanganyika coast.

1 Mr. Gray and Mr. Pinder-Wilson very kindly examined my
sherd's when I was last in England in 1960, and for their authoritative
opinion of my finds I am very grateful.

3 Since these lie close together, it is possible that they form the
sides of a tomb.

5 Also described and figured in 'On Some Crucibles and Associ-
ated Finds from the Coast of Tanganyika,' MAN, 1960, 180.

Ceremonial Iron Gongs among the Ibo and the Igala. By
J. S. Boston, Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic
Research, University of Ibadan, Nigeria. With four
figures and a table.

The unusual iron gongs described in this article are distributed
on each side of the Ibo-Igala border in Nigeria,1 and form an
interesting part of the cultural evidence for long and extensive
contact between these two peoples.2 As the map shows, the Ibo
and the Igala are neighbours in the eastern sector of the Niger
basin, and their common frontier extends for about 80 miles in-
land from the left bank of the river. Contact between them occurs
by way of the Niger, and also by two inland routes, one following
the Anambra river and the other a range of broken foothills that
join up with the Nsukka escarpment.

Both peoples use iron gongs as musical instruments to accom-
pany singing or dancing, and also as a summons to call people
together or attract attention. These gongs that are in common use
are not my main concern, but we can note that they are usually
small hand gongs, made by welding curved plates of iron along
a flange. The Ibo have a double form of iron gong in this class,
whose two chambers are virtually identical and are joined
together by an arched handle. They also have a single form, shaped
like a chamber of the double gong, but with a short straight
handle. Both types are called ogene by the Northern Ibo; the
former being sometimes called ogene eto nabo, ogene with two ears.
The Igala, on the other hand have only a single-chambered type,
or single gong, except in villages situated within 20 or 30 miles
of the Ibo border, where double gongs of Ibo type occur. They
call these commonplace gongs, whether single or double, ugege or
ogege and agoge. The typical ugege, made by Igalan smiths, is more
triangular in shape than the corresponding Ibo gongs whose sides
tend to be nearly parallel to each other below the shoulder. Its
flange is also less distinct than the Ibo one which is beaten flat to
form a wide U-shaped border around the chamber.

In addition to this class of gong there is another in both areas
whose function is mainly ceremonial, and in terms of use forms a
class on its own. Before describing these we should note what can
be regarded as an intermediate type, the Ibo ubeom, which is a
large single gong made in the same way as the ogene but with a
chamber up to three feet in length. On this type, the flange pro-
jects downwards beyond the mouth of the chamber, forming a
pair of short spikes. Ubeom usually accompanies the leader of some
communal activity rather than going with other percussion instru-
ments into an orchestral ensemble; its deep note sounds, for in-
stance, when a family head makes a public offer, or when the
male leader of a women's dancing group is processing round the
set. When not in use it is stored with the things belonging to
the elders and not with things appropriate to younger age sets; it
therefore has associations with leadership and seniority without
being in itself a symbol of high status as the ceremonial gongs are.
In Igala, where the distinction between commonplace and ceremo-
nial gongs is more sharply drawn there is no intermediate class
of this kind, but the ordinary gongs, ugege, used by village criers
for announcing political decisions have somewhat similar associ-
ations.

On the Ibo side of the border the ceremonial gongs are all
double gongs, each comprising a pair of roughly identical cham-
bers joined by an arched link. Six examples have been recorded
among the Northern Ibo, at Onitsha, Aguleri, Amokwe (two ex-
amples) and Umumbo (two examples). In Igala the corre-
responding gongs are either double or single, but it is possible that
some, if not all, of the single gongs are in fact broken halves of
double gongs, which are now being used separately.3 Five
examples are known for the Igala, comprising three single and
two double gongs. They are all located at Idah, the Igala capital.
The Ibo call their ceremonial gongs ogene, ugege njanja, or njajja
ogege. The Igala use a single name, enun in nomenclature as in
other respects the Igala make a sharper distinction between ceremo-
nial and commonplace gongs than the Ibo do.

Two of the Ibo ceremonial gongs, both double gongs, are
associated with hereditary chieftaincy. One of these (fig. 1, above)
is included in the royal orchestra, egwu oti or egwu ota, of the Obi
of Onitsha,4 whilst at Aguleri there is another double gong, now
broken (fig. 1, below), which belonged to the Eze or chief of
Aguleri and seems to have been exclusive to this title.5 The other
Ibo examples of ceremonial gongs were relatively new-made and

FIG. 1. IBO DOUBLE GONGS AT ONITSHA AND AGULERA
Above: Double gong, njanja, in the royal orchestra, egwu oti, of the
Obi of Onitsha. Photograph: J. S. Boston. Below: Broken double gong,
ogege, owned by the Eze of Aguleri. Photograph: K. C. Murray
had no hereditary associations; moreover they occur in areas without institutionalized chieftancy and symbolized personal achievement rather than rank. At Umumbo, for instance, a pair of double gongs (fig. 2a, b) formed part of a collection of prestige objects made by one of the wealthier men in the village. At Amokwe another pair (fig. 2c, d) was seen in the house of a blacksmith, who claimed to have made them and said that they were brought out for any important festival. In these two cases the ceremonial function shades off into the ordinary uses of gongs, and the division from commonplace turns on questions of size, cost and rarity.

In Igala the ceremonial gongs are associated with different titles that are all high in the system of state offices. They belong, in the widest division of governmental functions, to the kingmakers and to the royal eunuchs, and therefore symbolize continuity of office since these groups of titles are especially concerned with succession, investiture and the formal machinery of appointment to titles. Among the kingmakers two chiefs have the right to use large gongs, the Aleji (fig. 3a), a royal blacksmith, and Ochijenu, or royal gong-player (fig. 3b). They each own an iron double gong. Among the eunuchs, ceremonial gongs are associated with the Ogbe, Orata, and Eju titles. It is part of their office to direct the installation ceremonies of different chiefs, including the enemu ceremony (fig. 4b) in which the newly appointed chief dances around a ceremonial gong, enmu. When the title-holder dies his office does not become formally vacant until, amongst other rites, the same gong has been played again at the place of burial (fig. 4a).

These Igala gongs are important symbols of office in themselves for the titles to which they belong, and through their connexion with past generations of title-holders they have become endowed with a quasi-ritual character. The gong is normally kept in the owner's ancestral shrine, where it receives a share of the offerings
and libations that are made to the ancestors. Ritual tokens of these gifts are tied to the handle of the gong, in the form of strips of white cloth, okpe, and chicken feathers (fig. 3a, b). When the gong is brought out for an investiture or a funeral ceremony kola nuts offered by the appointee’s family are broken over it, with an invocation to the dead.

Ibo and Igala ceremonial gongs are similar in construction. The chambers are made in the same way as those of smaller gongs, by welding curved plates to give an oval cross-section. The flat rim formed by this flange is less pronounced on the large Ibo gongs than on the smaller Ibo types, and in this respect they are closer to the Igala pattern than the common Ibo type. The handle is a weak point on these large gongs, and it is perhaps in order to reduce strain at this point that the chambers are made to overlap. Three of the Ibo gongs and one Igala double gong have attachments on the handle that ring when the gong is struck. On the Ibo gongs this is in each case a pair of crimped tubular bells (fig. 2b, d). The Igala gong’s attachment is a flat triangular plate with loose metal rings attached to its edges (fig. 3a). Similar rattles are used on large drums, okanga, in the northern part of Igala, but do not occur elsewhere on Igala gongs.

One technical difference between ceremonial and common-place gongs in both areas is that on the former the mouth curves elliptically downwards, whereas on the latter it tends to be cut straight across, at right angles to the long axis of the chamber. On the Ibo examples this difference is accentuated by a flat stud which protrudes from the flange at each side of the gong mouth.

The dimensions of the Ibo and Igala ceremonial gongs are roughly the same, as Table I shows. But there is such variety in the profiles of these gongs that it is difficult to speak of a standard shape for either people or for the whole class. In profile, as the figures show, the chambers may be either rounded or square-shouldered. But although the rounded gongs are alike, in the second group, with square shoulders, some gongs taper below the shoulder whilst others flare outwards so that the mouth forms the widest point of the chamber.

The distribution of the ceremonial gongs described here covers such a limited area, and the known examples are so few in number, that it would be premature to try to decide their point of origin.

Both peoples have independent traditions of iron-smelting and blacksmithing; on both sides of the border smelting continued until a few generations ago, and its techniques are still remembered by a few elders. At present Igala blacksmithing is overshadowed by the Ibo industry, centred on Awka. From Awka Ibo smiths penetrated to every part of Igala, making and selling all kinds of ironwork. But although their techniques and organization are generally in advance of those of Igala smiths there is no evidence that the ceremonial gongs at Idah are of Ibo manufacture. The Igala claim that they were made by an older generation of palace smiths, and this may well be the case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table I: Dimensions of Ibo and Igala Double Gongs</th>
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<tr>
<td>Dimensions in inches</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete Gong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Height</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umumbe (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umumbe (b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amokwe (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amokwe (b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aguleri</td>
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<td>Ochijenu</td>
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<td>Ayija</td>
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Large iron gongs, associated with the chieftaincy, occur among the Edo-speaking peoples, and also among the Yoruba, but little information is available at present about them. The Igala have close historical and cultural connexions with both these groups, and there is a growing body of evidence that the evolution of chieftaincy and its associated ideas needs to be related to this wider complex of cultural interaction. The use of ceremonial gongs seems to run roughly parallel to the use of boxstools and, to a more limited extent, to the use of ikenga and certain types of ancestral staff. Chieftaincy and ideas of rank and status take different forms in each of these four cultures, but the use of common symbols underlines the interchange of ideas between the major groups in the forest belt and suggests that the differences between their political systems may not be as great as is often thought. When the use and distribution of ceremonial gongs can
be studied in full it may contribute to our understanding of the evolution and diffusion of political ideas over a wide area of southern Nigeria.

Notes

1 My research in this area was carried out initially for the Nigerian Antiquities Department. Further research among the Igala was later sponsored by the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research.
3 The single gongs at Idah are of roughly the same size as an individual chamber of the Igala double gongs.
4 For another photograph of this gong and orchestra see Nigeria Magazine, October, 1960, p. 206.
5 This gong was recorded and photographed by K. C. Murray for the Nigerian Antiquities Department.
6 Personal communication from Dr. R. E. Bradbury. One of these gongs is illustrated in R. E. Bradbury, 'Izomo's Ibezogo and the Benin Cult of the Hand,' MAN, 1961, 165.
7 Personal communication from Mr. William Fagg.

'Kola Hospitality' and Igbo Lineage Structure.* By Victor C. Uchendu, B.Sc., M.A., Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. With a figure and a table

Human societies are organized on different principles. The political character of some of the societies organized on the 'lineage principle' has been well documented. Evans-Pritchard and Bohannan, for the Nuer and the Tiv respectively, have shown how these societies direct violence centrifugally against 'distant' groups (i.e. out-groups) while inhibiting it centripetally among their closest kin groups (i.e. in-groups). Tiv-Nuer political morality, as judged by their approved or disapproved use of dangerous weapons against the 'aggressor,' depends on what constitutes for them, at any particular time, 'in-group—out-group' definition. Here lies the principle of moral relativity—a characteristic of many segmentary lineages.

Implicit in the principle of 'moral relativity' is what has been called the principle of 'segmentary sociability.' The latter expects 'greater sociability and peacefulness' as the desirable norm within the closest kin-group unit. Any thing which may tend to disturb the equilibrium of the high interaction rate desired in this social unit is discouraged. It permits no feud within its ranks. It is the smallest social group unified 'within' for the purpose of standing 'against.' Conflicts do occur but the mechanism for conflict resolution is not force; it is persuasion, concessions and arbitration. This mechanism is effective because it is based on the principle of reciprocity. A concedes to B in order to gain a return for himself or a member of his group in future.

There are other ways of keeping the equilibrium of this social sub-system. Hospitality comes quickly to mind. Ethnography is rich in all forms of 'gift-giving'; some designed to 'shame' rivals, or build a large followership, and others meant to satisfy kin obligations. We are interested, not in the 'status' or 'leadership' role of 'hospitality,' but in its idioms. It is the aim of this paper to show how the Igbo (Ibo) of Eastern Nigeria conceptualize and express their lineage system, and through it map the whole of mankind. They do this through the idiom of kola nut—the traditional Igbo medium of welcoming a guest and establishing (if the guest is received for the first time) or reinforcing (if he is already known) their interaction rate.

* In accordance with the usual practice of MAN, the vernacular spellings in this article have been simplified to avoid the use of phonetic type.

FIG. 1. THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF NSIRIMO LINEAGE STRUCTURE

This sketch is an adaptation of one in P. J. Bohannan, 'The Migration and Expansion of the Tiv,' Africa, Vol. XXIV (1954), p. 3

units among Igbo, these 'towns' have become, in modern times units of healthy rivalry. Igbo emphasize group achievement. Schools, churches, hospitals, maternity homes, colleges, and 'town' halls, built by communal effort, are the modern items of village rivalry. The hallmark of Igbo pride is to have something to boast of—something to 'shame' a rival village.

Igbo village is made up of one or more patrilineal descent groups called onoma—children of the same father. Onoma is a corporate, localized unit differentiated from other like units by
common and reciprocal rights, duties and privileges. *Onmona* has many referents. Within the polygynous family, its referent is to all Ego's half-siblings. It distinguishes all the children of Ego's father's wives from his mother's children who are called *omone*. Therefore, the smallest group to which the term *omone* applies is the children of a common father by different mothers: its widest referent within the 'town' is the whole lineage.

Igbo lineage is genealogically segmented. The Igbo imagery for viewing the segmentation is to distinguish between *omone* and *Onmona*, a segmentation according to paternal and maternal origin respectively, within an agnatic line. *Onmona* are the segments in the lineage structure which refer themselves to a common male as the point of departure in the descent system, *omone* are the segments which refer to a common progenitor. In both cases, the emphasis is on social and not biological links as there have been integrations and absorptions of other biologically non-related families into the system. The importance of the distinction between *omone* and *Onmona* in our study lies in the fact that Igbo maintain that the maternal bond is more solidary and the sanctions of kinship and kithship more binding in it than in the paternal segment.

Igbo lineages (villages) are exogamous. All the lineages making up the 'town' are in theory and practice equal. Each lineage head holds a big *ofo*—an authority symbol. Heads of sub-lineages hold small *ofo*. All the big *ofo* representing the lineages in the 'town' are equal. There is no 'town' *ofo* except in a collective sense, that is, when all the big *ofo* are represented. The lineages recognize the primacy of residence and the seniority of kinship order but there is no authority role implied. What keeps the 'town' (village group) a going concern is not the sanction of physical force, which is not recognized, but persuasion, cross-cutting marriage ties, the respect of common taboo and the willingness to concede points to a villager without losing face. The Igbo 'village group,' with its various segmentation order 'can theoretically be put on to a single agnatic genealogical chart.' The various segments in this chart are traced when an Igbo presents a kola nut.

The Kola Nut

Kola nuts play important commercial, social and ritual roles in West African culture. Traditionally grown to meet social and ritual obligations, *oji igbo* (*Cola acuminata*) does not seem to have played a very important commercial role among the Igbo. It is less prolific, though more disease-resistant than *Cola nitida*, which the Igbo call *gwura*—a Hausa word for kola nut.

The distinction which Igbo make between *oji igbo* and *gwura* agrees with Dalziel's classifications in which *Cola nitida*—a dicotyledon—is distinguished from *Cola acuminata* which has more than two cotyledons, Igbo make further distinctions. They distinguish between *oji ugo* (white kola nut) and *oji efu* (kola nut of any other colour). *Oji ugo* symbolizes luck, social distinction and potential prosperity. Since the same follicle may bear nuts of different colours (with 'white' nuts much under-represented, hence the scarcity value), it is a man's 'luck,' 'his good face,' as Igbo say, which gives him *oji ugo*. *Oji ugo comes out*, the Igbo say, 'when there is an important guest.'

While 'white' kola nut has much symbolic importance socially, *oji aka ano*—a four-cotyledon kola nut—is most sought after for its ritual role. The number four is sacred among Igbo. Igbo have a four-day (or in some communities an eight-day) week. In divination, the number four 'count' is auspicious; *ofo* is struck four times on the ground in any ritual in which it is needed, and in most 'parting' sacrifices, the four-path road is an important sacrificial centre. It is not surprising, therefore, that Igbo should give *oji aka ano* a very high ritual status.

The Social and Ritual Roles of the Kola Nut

Kola nut features in all aspects of Igbo life. It is the symbol of Igbo hospitality. To be presented with a kola nut is to be made welcome; and one is most welcome when the nut turns out 'white,' whether this is by accident or by design. At birth, marriage, title-taking and death—the chief life crises among Igbo—kola nut plays an important part. It always comes first. It is 'king.' What a Nigerian novelist—himself an Igbo—says about kola nut is representative of Igbo ideas:

Among us, kola nut is a highly valued and indispensable product. It commands our respect in a way no other produce has done... Kola nut is a symbol of friendship... Its presentation to a guest surpasses any other sign of hospitality which any host among us can show, even though in some places it costs only a penny.

... On more formal occasions he [host] may entertain his guests lavishly... But because he has not presented him with kola nut, when the day of reckoning came the guest denounced in no uncertain terms his host's inability to present him with a kola nut—very cheap, very common, yet most significant and, therefore, most important.

Kola nuts are important in rituals. The ancestors, deities and malignant spirits are requested to 'eat' kola nut and leave the living unmolested. Bits of a nut are waved over the head—a symbolism expressing exchange of kola nut for life—and thrown out to the spirits and the ancestors. The diviner needs kola nut to buy the favour of his invisible agents every time he is on his professional duty. If during his 'operations' the spirits show laxity in their responses, the diviner is forced to 'dole' out more kola nuts to 'awaken' them; for maybe they are sleepy. Kola nut drives out sleep even among spirits!

Kola nut plays an informal role too. It is food. Its medicinal value and thirst-preventing power is generally recognized. Among some of the West African elite, tins of cigarettes and kola nuts are complementary items of conspicuous consumption. "Acada biscuits" (short form for 'academic' biscuits) is a euphemism for kola nut coined by and current among West African university students. This name reminds one of the students' conviction that kola nuts are needed to prevent fatigue and to sustain and encourage longer and more sustained muscular effort which academic work demands.

Breaking Kola Nut

In 'formal' occasions (each time that kola nut is presented to people who do not share the compound is 'formal') three operations in the ritual of kola hospitality may be distinguished. The 'presentation,' the 'breaking' and the 'distribution' of kola nut are the distinctions which Igbo themselves make.

Kola nut is presented by the host. He makes this 'presentation' through the next ranking male in his own lineage segment. This man reaches the guest through a chain of differentiated lineage segments, the 'relay messengers' who represent these 'segments,' handing out the nut to the next 'segment' following them in the genealogical order. As each 'relay messenger' (i.e. the elder of each segment present) reaches the kola nut, he shows it to his own segment (assuming that any of them are present) and asks for their permission to make the 'presentation' to the next segment. Before he 'presents' the kola, he accompanies it with an appropriate proverb which may set the theme of the gathering or may underscore a previous proverb.

The guest receives the kola from the furthest 'segment' of his host's lineage. When he completes the 'relays' among the various 'segments' represented in his party, he sends back the kola to his host. What is actually traced is the hierarchy in the segmentation.
model of the two interacting parties—the host’s and the guest’s lineages.

Women, no matter what their other social ranks, may not ‘present’ kola nut. They get the male members of the family to make the ‘presentation.’ ‘Presentation’ of kola nut is a male prerogative. This does not imply that the woman’s disability is a sign of her social inferiority. There are many other sex-linked privileges which a man may not exercise but women do.

Following the ‘presentation’ of kola nut is prayer. The host says the prayer if he is the eldest among his lineage segment present. A typical prayer at this time runs thus:

Creator of the universe, chew kola nut. Our ancestral spirits, chew kola nut. He who brings kola nut brings life. Wherever a child may be, may it wake each dawn. We will all live. Forward jumps the male monkey; it never jumps backward. If a kite and an eagle perch, whichever says the other should not perch, may its wings break. Whatever one’s occupation, may it provide for his old age.

Important in this prayer are requests by the Igbo for life, peaceful co-existence, the downfall of the enemy and the trouble-maker and the individual’s progress and status advancement. This prayer embodies the ‘idea-in-common’—the string—with which the fabric of Igbo culture is woven.

The actual ‘breaking’ of kola nut takes place when the nut is separated into its various cotyledons. Igbo have two theories which explain the two patterns followed. All Igbo agree that it is the privilege of the host who must be a Dia (free born) to ‘break’ kola. Among the northern Igbo the host may not delegate his role to a junior; it is inconceivable to do so. The host ‘sells’ his status by the delegation of this function. The southern Igbo conceive the actual separation of the cotyledons as service. In this case, it must be performed by the junior at the command of his elder or host. The guest’s status is incompatible with ‘sweated’ labour. He is not allowed to serve his host. Furthermore, the guest’s ritual status is inferior to that of his host. Kola nut is associated with ritual privilege which only the host may exercise.

The ‘distribution’ of kola nut is the last stage of this ritual. It follows definite principles. The first share of the nut goes to the host who eats first to demonstrate that the nut is ‘wholesome’ and free from poison. The guest and his party are given their own share. Then each member of the host’s party gets a share following the principle of seniority. The principle of distribution is based on age order. In Igbo culture where age is an important social consideration, relative age is maintained and emphasized when kola nut is presented. This practice reinforces the ‘share order’ of the various lineage segments as well as the seniority-juniority order of all the individuals involved.

Before it is eaten, kola nut is dipped into a rich gravy of pepper contained in okwa, a wooden bowl kept specially for this ritual.

Substantive Data

It is necessary to clothe the bare bones of the principles of ‘segmentary sociability’ with the flesh of concrete example. Nsirimo, a village group of five lineages (villages) is representative of what Igbo call a ‘town.’

Nsirimo is on the left bank of Imo River, ten miles from Umuahia, a provincial capital. Its population according to the 1952 census was 3,999. The five lineages (fig. 1, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) are exogamous and equal irrespective of their internal differentiation. Nsirimo remains a place name shared in common by the five lineages.

For the purpose of cooperation and competition, an artificial ‘dual organization’ has been created. Lineages 3 and 4 co-operate and compete as a unit against lineages 1, 2 and 5. But each of the five lineages competes against the other and all compete as a ‘town’ against other neighboring ‘towns.’ Within 1, 2 and 5, the relations between 1 and 2 are more solidary than those between either 1 and 5 or 2 and 5. Lineage 1 is believed to have been the first to settle in the present territory known as Nsirimo and it retains the guardianship of Ala, the earth goddess. This does not give it any authority role.

Table I represents schematically the process of presenting kola nut when the representatives of the ‘town’ are meeting for any social, ritual or religious ceremony.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table I. Order of Presentation of Kola</th>
<th>Other Lineages</th>
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<tr>
<td>Host Lineage</td>
<td>Other Lineages</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 presents kola, passes through 1</td>
<td>2 passes through 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 presents kola, passes through 1</td>
<td>3 passes through 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 presents kola, passes through 1</td>
<td>4 passes through 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 presents kola, passes through 1</td>
<td>5 passes through 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 presents kola, passes through 1</td>
<td>6 passes through 1</td>
</tr>
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When we come to any given lineage, kola nut passes through the various segments marking its internal differentiation. Lineage 2 illustrates this. Its major segments are A, B and C. Kola nut follows the ‘age order’ which is from A to C. A presents kola to his lineage (2) through B while C does so through B. B ‘shows’ the kola to C and presents it directly to A. Each of the three major segments is further differentiated: e, f and g represent the minor segments in C. Kola presented to C (that is, e, f, g) by c passes through f to g. In a threefold segmentation model, such as we have here, the ‘intermediary’ segment, B or f, ‘shows’ kola nut to its junior segment, C and g respectively, and passes on to the senior segment. It is a serious breach of tradition to omit any segment or to reach it at the wrong time.

Nsirimo has connections with other ‘towns.’ Marriage, funerals, title-making and some ritual activities provide occasion for meeting other ‘towns’ formally. In this meeting, kola nut is involved. Each of the ‘towns’ represented is treated as a unit. With its own share, it may divide according to its internal differentiation.

Conclusion

Igbo data supports the principle of ‘segmentary sociability.’ Through the institution of ‘kola hospitality,’ the share order of the lineage segments and their relative ages are emphasized. Each segment is reminded of its rights and privileges as well as its obligations to other like segments. Igbo segmentation model provides a map with which all human societies may be viewed. In a society which ascribes importance to age, the ‘presentation,’ ‘breaking’ and ‘distribution’ of kola nut provide different principles on which seniority, precedence in the segmentation order, relative age of the individuals who are involved in face-to-face interaction are measured.

Besides its symbolism, the institution has ethno-historical potentiality. It provides a laboratory through which genealogical history can be documented. Segmentation ‘models’ are living links in the genealogical structure. Different societies view them in different ways. Igbo imagery for viewing and reinforcing their genealogical structure is expressed each time kola nut is offered. It is this regular reinforcement which helps to account for social stability in such an egalitarian society.

Notes

Notes on Occupational Castes among the Gurage of South-West Ethiopia. By Dr. William A. Shack, Department of Sociology, Haile Sellassie I University, Addis Ababa. With two figures.

I

The presence of so-called 'primitive hunters' dispersed throughout Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa has been noted by several writers as representing remnants of ancient hunting and gathering populations which have survived into the historical period (Cerulli, 1922, p. 209; Clark, 1954, p. 232; Honea, 1958, p. 98; Jensen, 1959, p. 422; Murdock, 1959, p. 61; Lewis, 1961, p. 14).

Representative of this population are the Fuga, a generic name (which I clarify below) given to an endogamous group of artisans and ritual specialists, some of whom in the past were also hunters, and today live in symbiotic relationship among the settled agricultural Gurage. Historical evidence suggests that the Fuga were first subdued several centuries ago by the Sidamo peoples who once occupied present-day Gurageland; the coming of the Gurage merely replaced the Sidamo as conquerors.

II

The distribution of Fuga varies considerably among the 'Western' Gurage tribes; Yá sábat bet Gurage, The Seven Houses (Tribes) of Gurage. Small Fuga populations are found in every tribe, but not in every village within each tribe. Fuga areas of settlement follow a consistent pattern: either a small plot of common land is set aside on the edge of the village on which huts can be erected and crops grown; or a wealthy Gurage will permit a Fuga to erect a hut on his land at a 'safe' distance behind the homestead, in which case the landowner enjoys the right of priority over the service which the Fuga performs for the village. Of the various estimates obtained on the size of the Fuga population, the average is about 5,000; the 'Eastern' and 'Western' Gurage combined number about 300,000 (Shack, 1961).

I note here that my knowledge of Fuga settled among the 'Eastern' Gurage tribes is limited to the fact that they are said to exist, and that to them, as distinct from Fuga in the west, hunting hippopotami and gazelle in the Rift Valley lake region is still economically important. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that observations during a recent trip to Lake Abaya (Margherita), revealed that the Kačama hunter population (also called Haruro; Cerulli, 1936, p. 97) living on the islands of the lake are actively engaged in using poison-tipped spears in hunting hippopotami. The meat from the kill is marketed on the mainland; the skins and tendons enter the wider Ethiopian market trade with the latter being bought by Fuga for use in special crafts.

III

In the literature, the name 'Fuga' is used conventionally to refer to artisans in general, but Gurage specifically distinguish artisans according to their craft activity; woodworkers are known as Fuga, blacksmiths as Nafrurá, and tanners as Gezha. Fuga ritual experts are generally referred to by that name, with the exception of 'chief' ritual specialists who have honorific titles. Weaving and pottery-making, which is in many parts of Ethiopia is an occupation of despised groups, for example Falasha, are 'respectable' semi-professions undertaken by some Gurage men and women to supplement their farming income. But smiths, tanners and woodworkers are members of a low-status occupational caste, regardless of specialization. Hence, we find utility in the conventional use of the term Fuga which has been adopted in the notes that follow.

The essential characteristics of the Gurage-Fuga caste are embodied in the following criteria: endogamy; restrictions on commensality; status hierarchy; notions of pollution concerning food, sex and ritual; association with traditional occupations; ascribed caste status. Seen more or less in that order, marriage between Fuga and Gurage is forbidden; Fuga generally are said to marry 'close kin,' but I am not certain of the exact relationship between spouses. Because Gurage fear contamination from direct contact with Fuga, they are forbidden to enter Gurage homesteads without permission, which in fact means until the occupants are at a safe distance, after which the homestead must be ritually cleansed. Rank and status among the Gurage are based on ownership of land and the relative size of one's ását holding. Contrariwise, Fuga own no land and are prohibited from cultivating ását (Ensete edulis) the staple subsistence food crop of the Gurage (Shack, 1963). Similar restrictions entail crossing an ását field and herding cattle. These prohibitions are ritual safeguards for the Gurage, who believe that Fuga will destroy the fertility of the soil, injure the breeding capabilities of cattle, and change the milk of a cow into blood or urine. Occupations which Fuga perform are to the Gurage despicable, and to hunt or eat large game is ignoble. Reinforcing these attitudes is the belief that Fuga take the forms of hyenas at night and consume all the domestic animals that have died in the village (Leslau, 1950, p. 61).

The observable physical differences between Gurage and Fuga are significant only when coupled with other criteria already named. Gurage consider themselves to be 'racially' different from Fuga, because Gurage have strong Semitic features as a rule with colour ranging from very light to dark brown; on the basis of my observations, Fuga mainly resemble the Bantu Negro, in colour and physique. Even so, few Gurage have any conception of the term 'Negro' and their phrase commonly used to denote non-Semitic peoples, tégwär-m, 'be black,' does not carry a 'racial' connotation, at least not in the western sense. (See fig. 1.)

Ritual sanctions which make rigid the socio-economic role of Fuga also operate to give them legal status. Fuga cannot be bought and sold as property as slaves were in the past. Legal matters concerning them are dealt with by the corporate body of the village polity and, in some cases, with the help of a religious official. Regardless of a Gurage's standing in the community, he is subject to penalties, usually in the form of fines of money or cattle, for grievously harming a Fuga. The strongest punishment imposed is a ritual curse that entails an illness which is often incurable. Furthermore, the severity of punishment depends on the importance of the
Fuga in the ritual system. If the Fuga concerned was an agent of a religious dignitary, the punishment imposed could be considerable. But since Fuga generally are believed to possess rich powers of magic and their sorcery and malediction are greatly feared, this, in itself, is usually sufficient ritual deterrent against any harm befalling them.

On the other hand, the community services which Fuga render, such as felling trees, cutting wood, constructing essential sections of Garage houses, and assisting in Garage burials, are corporate property of the village. They receive no direct payment for these services, but at festival times Fuga are given a share of any animal that is slaughtered by the villagers, which they eat alone and apart from the homesteads. The Fuga’s share of the animal consists of the lower part of the back and the feet (Leslau, 1950, p. 62).

ceremonials held for Garage women throughout the year. Initiation begins with girls being spirited away at night by Fuga, symbolizing a ritual ‘abduction.’ This is followed by a period of seclusion for about one month in huts located in the ‘bush’ where initiates are kept under the tutelage of Fuga ritual experts. Here, novices are taught the ritual ‘language’ called Fedvait which only Garage women and Fuga are said to speak, and which is kept carefully guarded from Garage men and strangers; it forms an integral part of the initiation rites and, as a language of song and praise, is used exclusively in all ceremonies conducted for women in paying honour to their deity. In both role and function, the Mueyi association closely resembles what has been described for the Sande secret society among the Mende in West Africa (Leslau, 1950, p. 57; Shack, 1961, p. 208). (See fig. 2.)

IV

Ritual activities of Fuga in Garage religious life are widely diffused. They perform circumcisions, concoct and dispense ritually prepared pharmacopoeia, distribute paraphernalia for warding-off curses and evil spirits, and collect fees for services rendered by the religious dignitaries for whom they are agents. They are also the principal functionaries in the religious association for Garage girls, the Mueyi, and this deserves further mentioning.

Mueyi is a socio-religious association that girls enter into after puberty, following circumcision by Fuga specialists. Those initiated during the same year maintain group solidarity even after marriage and adulthood, participating in the several religious

Status ranking among Fuga engaged primarily in craft work, upon which most depend for their livelihood, seems not to obtain. But in the small group of Fuga composed of full-time ritual experts status-differentiation is clearly defined; and this holds for female Fuga ritual agents as well. The Fuga ‘Chief’ of the Mueyi association ranks above his subordinate assistants because of the ritual responsibilities associated with his office, the influence that can be exerted over other Fuga and Garage as well, and the overall status derived from the position. On the other side, the female Fuga ‘Chiefness,’ the principal intermediary between Garage men and the representative of their deity, ranks above other female Fuga who assist in ritual matters. Both male and female Fuga ‘Fuga Chiefs’ assume responsibility for leading the annual
cere monies for the respective deities of Gurage men and women. They receive part of the fees collected for ritual duties performed by their assistants, the largest share passing to the Gurage religious dignitaries who represent the deities and guard their shrines.

In some cases a husband and wife team together as ritual experts, but this does not seem to be the rule for every married Fuga couple; Fuga women often do craft work. Similarly, there are no marital or kin ties between the present Fuga 'Chief', though I am not certain if this always has been so. As with Fuga craftsmen, so also with ritual experts, the knowledge of their profession is passed on to their children; but whether or not ritual offices are also inherited leaves some doubt, though I am led to believe this is the case. In the main, craft workers form closed occupational groups, for instance, a Nafurà does not work at tanning, the specialty of the Gezàh. Moreover, I am told that craft specialists cannot perform rituals, for these activities are organized and controlled by the Gurage dignitaries who represent the deities. However, it is conceivable that a Fuga can fall in disfavor of his chief and be debarred from performing rituals; but if he is permitted to take up certain craft work later is unknown. Nor do I know of any attempt by a Fuga to perform rituals for Gurage outside the supervision of his or her chief.

V

The ethnography of 'primitive hunters' in Ethiopia consists mainly of loosely assembled ethnographer, ecological and racial data that attempt to account for their origin. On these data, particularly that of race, several assumptions have been put forward to explain the socio-economic status differentiation between the closed minority group of low-status hunters and the equally closed but dominant high-status group, among whom the former live. But reliable evidence is lacking as to the extent to which these factors have figured either singly or in combination in shaping the Gurage-Fuga caste system, as well as similar systems found elsewhere in Ethiopia. On the other hand, hunter populations have been termed variously as 'submersed groups or classes', 'subcastes', 'outcastes' and 'pariah groups.' Such rubrics show proof of having minimal sociological value. Nor do they add to the understanding of socio-economic and, in the case of the Fuga, ritual roles of low-status groups in the total structure of the society in question. In the analysis of such societies, it would seem to make more sociological sense to define minority occupational groups like the Fuga, as we have done here, as a 'low caste' in a caste society in which certain privileges are associated with the 'high-caste' position occupied by the dominant group, like the Gurage. Seen in this way, and paraphrasing Leach (1960, p. 6), specific economic and ritual roles are allocated by 'right' to the minority low-caste Fuga, to whom the numerically large Gurage must compete among themselves for the services of individual members of the lower caste.

And this is exactly what happens in Gurage. As craft specialists, Fuga produce such mundane utility items as wooden household utensils, headrests, stools, and decorated leatherwares. Moreover, as a consequence of their special skills, Fuga are a centre of fabrication of technical relations for the village and tribe. Of no less importance, they reinforce the aesthetic values of the tribe through their art which is an extension of their craft activity. But Fuga also produce the digging stick (the double prong, iron tip and wooden haft), the basic implement used in Gurage horticulture, and without which the cultivation of ãólìt would be, at least to the Gurage, impossible. In this, the inter-dependence of Gurage-Fuga relationships is strengthened by the fact that land cultivated only with ãólìt is an index of high status to the Gurage, and the attainment of status is made dependent on the labours and skills of the low-status Fuga. A case has already been made for the significant functions which Fuga perform in Gurage religious life. And while certain economic and ritual privileges accrue to low-caste Fuga, as caste sanctions and behaviour eliminate Gurage competition in these areas, at the same time Fuga have 'separate but equal' legal rights which safeguard their persons and property.

In a word, the dichotomy of social relationships between Fuga and Gurage is intelligible when viewed, as we have attempted in these notes, in terms of a caste system; a system in which the rules of caste behaviour are essentially the same for those at both ends of the caste structure. It is a system which does not simply isolate a group of 'élite Gurage'; instead it defines the structural role of Gurage and Fuga in the total system (Leach, 1960, p. 10).

Notes

Fieldwork on which these notes are based was carried out among the Gurage between 1957 and 1959. I am grateful to Hapte Mariam Marcos, Lecturer in Linguistics, University College of Addis Ababa, for clarifying several points herein. It is noted that Fuga are not readily accessible to interview, partly because they are reluctant to discuss in detail their activities, particularly those concerned with ritual. But also too frequent association with Fuga is liable to 'pollute' the investigator thus making the interrogation of Gurage increasingly difficult. Throughout these notes I refer to Fuga in both the singular and plural, e.g. 'a Fuga' and 'the Fuga.' The phonemic values of the sounds used in the vernacular terms italicized in the text are roughly as follows: 'a' as in English up; 'e' as in English 'er,' a neutral vowel. Consonants take the common English phonetic values.


Gezàh artisans are sometimes referred to as 'Buda,' which as a Gurage term does not carry the Amharic meaning of 'one possessed with the evil eye.' Gurage refer to such persons as 'Oze'; either a Gurage or anyone in the artisan caste can be so possessed. Note also that generally Fuga women follow the craft speciality of their husbands.

The belief that persons possessed with the evil eye take the form of hyenas is widespread throughout Semitic Ethiopia. Gurage extend this belief to include Fuga and Oze alike.

Some Gurage express the opinion that Fuga might be 'racially' different from Nafurà and Gezàh, since the latter two often appear to differ physically from both Fuga and Gurage. However, Gurage enforce caste restrictions equally to all three occupational groups.

References


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The Revd. James O’Connell in MAN, 1962, 199, presented an ‘Essay in Interpretation’ with the title ‘The Withdrawal of the High God in West African Religion’ in which he essayed to explain the reasons for and meanings of the ‘withdrawal’ of God in West African religions. The raison d’être de dei otiosus, he argued, is that the high god is both creative and abstract. Moreover, the mythological interpretation of the high god’s withdrawal is that the African peoples developed uneasiness about the ‘all-purity’ of the god, and presumably wished to avoid the shame of having God continually observe their every action. Thus, O’Connell argues, Christianity and Islam became successful because they offered personal, merciful supreme gods.

The purpose of my paper is to develop one of O’Connell’s merely asserted points—that the lesser gods lump large psychologically in people’s minds—and to offer several contrary arguments and conclusions about divine ‘withdrawal.’

Before commencing an interpretation of divine ‘withdrawal’, one must clarify precisely what the problem concerns and which points of view will be considered. First and simplest, the problem concerns the reason why the high god is ‘withdrawn’, to what extent he is ‘withdrawn’ and with what currency such ‘withdrawal’ occurs in human religions. Secondly, the ‘points of view’ are important because it makes a vast difference whether we are considering ‘withdrawal’ as an act of god or as a socio-religious phenomenon—the act of persons paying greater ritual and other service to lesser deities than to God.

The Problem and Points of View

That the high god in many West African religions is ‘withdrawn’ has become an accepted fact. In the religion of the Ibo of Eastern Nigeria, for example, the high god in his two aspects, Chukwu (High God) and Chineke (Creator), is not proffered nearly so much ritual or prayer service as the auhi (spirits) including the important Ani (Earth-female) and Igwe (Sky-male). Such is the case in a number of other West African tribal religions, including Yoruba religion with the high god, Oloodumare, and the lesser Ore and Egun and the better-known Orisha; and Ashanti religion with the high god Oyankopu and the lesser abosom or intermediaries. It may also be argued that in the Judeo-Christian world God the Father is ‘withdrawn’, for which reason God offered the sacrificial victim, Christ, with whom the faithful could more easily identify insofar as he was the ‘Son of Man’; and furthermore that the actual practice (if not the dogma or theology) of Mariology and hagiology in general is, in the minds of the Christian congregations, fundamentally a supplanting of God the Father with lesser beings. There is actually, indeed, a wide currency of belief in the ‘withdrawn’ high God among various peoples of the world, and in innumerable religions, including those of West Africa.

This introduces the important question of the extent to which the high god is ‘withdrawn.’ There has existed a relatively traditional tendency among Europeans in Africa not only to consider the high god of African groups as ‘withdrawn—as if the phenomenon were peculiar to African or other ‘primitive’ groups—but to overestimate the extent to which the god is ‘withdrawn.’ Idowu argues that Oloodumare has not been considered by Yoruba peoples to be so extremely ‘withdrawn’ as outsiders suppose, but that because of his greatness he is by his very nature somewhat incomprehensible to men. Nevertheless, there has been specific ritualistic worship of Oloodumare, although he has not had temples or statues built in his honour. Moreover—and this is the case in many religions—worship of the lesser deities is an act of worshipping the high god, who is considered to be immanent in the subordinate beings or is symbolized by the images of lesser deities. In any case, whatever powers the inferior deities possess, these powers are ultimately derived from God, the Source. Thus, among Ibo in Eastern Nigeria, auhi shrines (among which are those for Ani) are common, but it is also understood that auhi are descendent powers, essentially considered, of Chukwu (Chi, Oluko, Chinike). There is a certain amount of prayer to Chukwu, but naturally far more through (although in apparent practice, to) the various auhi; mankind, furthermore, participates in the high god insofar as man’s chi is derived from the Giver of All Life, the Creator, known as Chinike. The ‘withdrawal’ of West African high gods, then, is not at all a complete separation from the affairs of men, nor is the direct worship of the high gods completely lacking, although ‘withdrawal’ of a sort does exist.

What is this ‘withdrawal’? To answer this, we must consider the ‘point of view’ which I mentioned above. If the withdrawal, whatever its degree, is a separateness occasioned and effected by God, it is one thing; if the idea of withdrawal is based merely upon the observations of the behaviour of worshippers, or if it partly derives from the floundering attempts of some villagers to explain God’s separateness, it is quite another. In the first case, if God has withdrawn because he is solely a creator and his work of creation long ago ceased, then he is in rare instances representative of the high gods of West African religions. O’Connell suggested that the high god retires because he is creative and abstract, but this, too, is seldom the case. God does not necessarily retire, but more often—as in the case of Ibo religion—is involved in the continuous process of emanating all things which have vital force, for forces come ultimately from God.

The separateness of the high god is not an act of ‘withdrawal,’ but a necessary interpretation of the situation: the interpretation is a result of the failure or inability, or both, of village Africans to have formalized their theology. Chukwu (Chinike) has not withdrawn from the Ibo, for example; the extent to which he appears distant and separated from them results from their inability to demonstrate how he—who is so vast and almighty—would be directly concerned with them. Thus the separateness results rather from human interpretation than from God’s action, as was partly suggested by O’Connell when he said that African peoples in their myths explain God’s withdrawal—although he added that this was because they became uneasy about God’s ‘all-purity’, and it was easier for them to have God angry once and for all time at the beginning of creation than to have him hovering about, constantly preoccupied with the shameful affairs of men.

This latter argument is at best only obliquely the case in West Africa. God himself does not withdraw, and people do not relegating him to a dim never-never land to relieve their guilt and shared feelings. God is separated from the affairs of men—infobar as he is separated—because men cannot understand him. A proper analogy, as I mentioned earlier, is with Judeo-Christian belief, in which God the Father appears remote to the majority of believers, even though some prayers are directed specifically to him. Much West African language—the ‘container’ of the terms for concepts—is predominantly concrete, furthermore, and highly unsuitable for any well developed formulation of highly abstract theology—even if the worshippers were inclined particularly to engage in abstractions, which they are not. Peasantries the world over, regardless of their religion, are not particularly interested in theology and detailed explanations of why God is in certain ways distant from ordinary life: the peasant knows that God is somehow immanent, or exerts his force in the world, and he knows further that prayers to lesser powers in effect are prayers to God.
because if God exists as God then the lesser deities have their existence from God and are seldom confused with the Almighty. Priests, too, are rarely theologians despite their occasional pretensions: the priest in most religions is he who officiates at religious services, the person with the ability to arrange communication between individuals and the gods, and at times the specific intermediary in that long hierarchy stretching from the high god to the lowest mortal. To claim that men shrank from God because of their sense of impurity by contrast with God's 'all-purity' is erroneous, a romanticization obscuring the simpler fact that people find One so powerful impossible to comprehend. In West African and other religions constantly perfect behaviour is seldom made obligatory, nor is the high god often considered to be harsh and merciless. Indeed, God is the omniscient, regardless of separateness, he is as omniscient to the Ibo or Yoruba or Mende as he is to the Christian, and men cannot avoid having their behaviour known by him. Thus, again, he is not separated because he is so pure, but because he is so vast, powerful and perfect that he is incomprehensible.

But men require the comprehensible for immediate acts of religious worship. O'Connell says correctly that the lesser gods loom large psychologically in people's minds, although the worshippers are generally aware of their limitations (p. 68). This is the actual reason, though, for the apparent 'withdrawal' of the high god. For, whereas God does not understand them (as a result of his very ineffability), they develop a system of intermediaries through whom they can communicate their aspirations, needs and adoration, and who can often be manipulated to some degree. Men can more readily identify with such intermediaries, and especially can symbolize them so that religiously sanctioned retainable mental images, as distinct from abstract terms (the only proper terms for God's 'qualities'), might be formed. The retainable images which include also the majority of constructed sayings and stories about lesser deities, constitute the means whereby the religious beliefs are perpetuated, ensuring through their concreteness that the rituals and other means of worship will be carried on properly from generation to generation. So God is separated not so much because he is creative and has willingly 'relinquished control' after his initial creation, but rather because he is by his nature so abstract that he is virtually impossible for the ordinary worshipper to understand or, indeed, do any more than to name and discuss in the most general and vague terms possible.

Christianity and Islam in Africa

At the conclusion of his paper O'Connell presents conclusions partially drawn from his interpretation of God's 'withdrawal' in West African religions. He says that the religious strength of Christianity and Islam is that they brought a revolutionary monotheistic idea and accepted the high god whom they found in African religions but gave that high god features—Christianity through the full meaning which it manages to give the Father who is in heaven and Islam through its divine names. And they have shown that this God is a merciful Providence whose power can be approached immediately and who has no need of intermediaries (p. 69).

The presumed 'religious strength' of Christianity and of Islam in Africa are best not lumped together, for the 'strength' of the former is far less certain than that of Islam. What strength Christianity has gained in West Africa is often closely related to the rewards which it offered for conversion or the semblance of conversion—specifically, education which would bring immediate material benefits to the African. The high rate of reversion from Christianity to modified traditional village religion is indicative of the lasting influence of village religion and the failure of Christianity itself to offset the anti-European reaction (nationalism and Africanism) which very often associates Christianity with colonialism. Islam has more permanency for several reasons: it did not usually require such a great number of immediate and unimportant behavioral changes among Africans, it was not brought by Europeans and it was made originally effective by the fact of conquest by peoples who often remained among those converted. Neither Christianity nor Islam brought a truly 'revolutionary monotheistic idea' to most West African peoples, nor did they give the high god any particular features. Islam's divine names do little to enlighten the mass of Moslems concretely about Allah, for they are merely terms (not greatly different from those by Zuo-Dionysius the Areopagite) which can be applied to the Almighty, and which do not alter the abstract nature of the All-High. Christianity's 'full meaning which it manages to give the Father who is in heaven' is equally vague, especially since Christian missionaries and priests refer congregations primarily to Christ, Mary, the Saints and the Prophets—all persons with whom worshippers can more readily identify and emulate. Such indeed are the intermediaries between God and man, and such is the actual teaching of the majority of Christian churches, including the Roman Catholic Church.

Neither Christianity nor Islam, in conclusion, has fundamentally altered the situation of God's separation from the bulk of immediate worship and affairs of mankind. But God among Christians, Moslems and the practitioners of most West African religions has not 'withdrew', for he is ever-present through his immanece, whether that be his maintenance of things in existence, the procession of 'forces' or soul from God which vitalizes existents, or God's delegation of divine power to the angels, the orisa or the Prophet.

Notes

3. Idowu, p. 143.
7. Trimingham, p. 49.


The American University, Washington, D.C. With a figure

Recent publications on kinship systems of the European type have neglected the terminological aspects of these systems, e.g. a recent British monograph purposely emphasizes the non-verbal kinship behaviour of the groups under investigation. This paper directs attention to the study of bilateral kinship terminologies and to some of the problems inherent in their analysis, by describing the terms of address and the rules for their application used in in-laws on Andros Island in the Bahamas. Since every society has rules or principles which guide and regulate behaviour, it is assumed that terms of address are a form of behaviour governed by principles. The Principle of Respect. The first rule which Androsians use for regulating the usage of kin terms I call the principle of respect. This rule, which is based on seniority, states that a person must call an older in-law by one of the following terms. A brother-in-
law can be called 'brother-in-law,' 'brother,' 'bren,' or 'bren-law.' A sister-in-law can be called 'sister-in-law,' 'sister' or 'sis.' These terms show respect. The terms of respect do not have to be used when addressing a younger or same-age in-law, for a person may speak to a younger in-law by his first name. The length of time for which they have been acquainted regulates whether a term of respect will be used. When they first meet the older relative is likely to call the younger relative 'bren' or 'sis.' Later he will use the name, but the younger relative must always continue to use the term of respect. Another factor regulating whether the older relative will use a term of respect is the social situation. Even though the older relative calls the younger relative by name in informal situations, he will probably use the term of respect if there are people present who are non-kin.

As indicated above, in-laws of the same age do not have to use terms of respect. What is meant by same age? Men two or three years apart in age would be considered to be the same age. The same applies for a man and a woman. But for women the age gap may be considerably greater. Sisters-in-law call each other by name if their ages are at all close. The size of the gap will vary with the degree of friendship; the greater the friendship, the wider the gap can be. In one case it was over ten years. The terms will continue to be used if the affinal bond is broken by the death of the husband or wife. The principle of respect is explicitly recognized by Androsians and is used in the manner described above.

The Principle of the Equivalence of Spouses. This rule arises only in the case of in-laws linked by two marriages. It can be stated as follows: if respect is required by one's spouse, a person uses a term of respect even if he is older than his spouse's in-law. This rule can be better understood with the help of a diagram (fig. 1).

![Diagram of the equivalence of spouses](image)

**Fig. 1. The Equivalence of Spouses**

The figures stand for ages. An arrow indicates that the person to whom the arrow points is addressed by the term above it.

The younger in-law, on the other hand, does not have the option of addressing the older in-law by name, for he must follow the rule of respect. If both the husband and wife are younger or older than the kinsmen being considered, the principle of respect operates. Thus in-laws always follow the principle of respect except when a person's age lies between the ages of his spouse's sibling and this in-law's spouse. In this exceptional case, the couple function as a unit, or in more technical terminology they are sociologically equivalent. Although Androsians use the principle of the equivalence of spouses, it is not explicitly recognized.

**Notes**

4. The field work upon which this paper is based was conducted during the summers of 1959 and 1961. The Bahama Islands are inhabited by the descendants of Negro slaves who were freed by the British in 1838. They have adopted the kinship system of their former masters. Even though I speak of Andros Islanders or Androsians, my data come primarily from two informants. The degree to which their kinship terminology conforms to British usage is a problem beyond the scope of this paper.
5. Androsians refer to the parts of a person's name in the following manner. For example, if Mildred McKinney marries John Davis, her 'title' becomes Davis, her 'first name' remains McKinney, and her 'last name' remains Mildred. A man's title and his first name are the same. In order not to confuse the reader this nomenclature will not be used in this paper.
6. This rule is similar to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown's 'principle of the equivalence of brothers,' *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, The Free Press, 1952, p. 18, and his 'principle of the unity of the sibling group.' This refers not to the internal unity of the group as exhibited in the behavior of members to one another, but to its unity in relation to a person outside it and connected with it by a specific relation to one of its members' (p. 64). The principle of the equivalence of spouses is also similar to Gregory Bateson's concept of the 'identification of wife and husband,' *Naven*, Stanford (U.P.), 1938, 2nd edition, pp. 322.

**Shorter Note**


The paper compared three main groups of west Borneo; the Kelabits and Muruts of the far uplands in northern Sarawak; the Kenyahs of the great rivers inland in Kalimantan and Sarawak; and the Malays of the coastal south-west. Observations for each of these span 16 to 18 years of frequent, short contacts, plus some longer stays in specific communities of each type.

Principal points are: (i) the extent of local differences in sexual behaviour patterns—both formal (custom) and natural (observed)—even within one linguistic group (e.g. Kelabit-Murut), so that distinct mores may operate in adjacent valleys (Baram headwaters, e.g., upper Trusan); (ii) a widespread pre-marital promiscuity (e.g. Kelabit), yet practically subject to obliteration in some groups owing to socio-economic controls operating as bride-payment systems (Murut brian), which re-value pre-marital ‘chastity’; (iii) the high frequency of divorce and adultery where there is neither pre-marital promiscuity nor a complex of economic controls centred
in marriage; (iv) the very high degree of ignorance about some sexual facts—for instance the precise causation of fertilization—and the effect which this has on praternity, adoption, etc., in areas of pre-marital promiscuity; (v) the generally higher tendency for sexual 'desires' to be incited by the women rather than the men, and the capacity of many men to 'forget sex' over considerable periods; (vi) the absence of masturbation and extreme rarity of active sexual perversion; (vii) the channeling of physically abnormal men or women into acceptable near-hermaphroditic or transvesticist roles, especially as shamans and 'spirit liaison officers'; (viii) the powerful influence of growing-up in the long-house, as a pressure towards sexual normality within the accepted local behaviour patterns; this environment exercises other major controls—for instance through lack of privacy (sometimes overcome by specified areas for young sex).

Special observations on the rural Sarawak Malay detail a custom by which the eldest brother of a large family not infrequently forgoes all sexual relations for life, in order to keep psycho-economic control of his siblings and limit the land-fragmentation otherwise quite automatically arising from Mohammedan law in the next generation.

There are also major differences between Sarawak Malays and Malayan Malays, within Islam. For instance, the very sharp and rigidly enforced penalties for inter-sexual propinquity of the unmarried in Malaya are not practised in Sarawak. Polygamy is almost unknown among Sarawak Malays. Divorce is rare, and nowadays almost unknown among the rural and fishing communities—whereas both this and polygamy are common in Malaya (cf. M. G. Swift in MAN, 1958, 288). Much of the organization and solidarity of Sarawak Malay marriage is related to costly betrothal and other ceremonies, which operate quite like the bria
t payment system and have non-Malay roots.

Finally, a body of new information about the palang or 'penis bunt' has been collected. This initially painful device has spread widely within Borneo in historic times. It was very widespread in the Philippines when the first Spaniards wrote about those islands in the sixteenth century. This again is an arrangement primarily for female physical satisfaction. (A full paper on the palang is in press.)

CORRESPONDENCE

A Possible Case of Amputation. Cf. MAN, 1963, 244

Sr.---The interesting paper by Messrs. Brothwell and Moller-Christer on your December issue, on a mutilated skeletal arm from Sidman, requires a little modification to some of its assumptions. First, it is clear that the Ancient Egyptians did not sever the hands of their prisoners. Apart from humane considerations, the wholesale incapacitating of their prisoners by chopping off hands would have thrown an intolerable burden on the Ancient Egyptians’ medical services besides depriving them of one of the most valuable spoils of war—much needed skilled and unskilled labour for agriculture, temple services, mining and even conscription in the armed forces. Ramesses II, for instance, had a corps d'elite of Shedren 'sea peoples' whom he had taken prisoner in one of his campaigns. Representations of Egyptian soldiers or mercenaries cutting off hands with their swords, as on the girdle wall of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, or the painted casket of Tutankhamun, show that it is the dead and mortally wounded who are so treated. The texts of Merenptah and Ramesses III make a distinction between hands and prisoners taken. The cutting-off of a hand was a means, of course, of counting the dead on the field of battle and was generally followed, except that in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu the Libyan dead are represented by their severed phalli, presumably in order to distinguish them in the count from their fallen auxiliaries, since the Libyans differed from the other contiguous nations in being uncircumcised.

The practice of counting severed hands certainly existed before Dynast XIX, as the paintings on the Tutankhamun casket testify, and was probably introduced with other foreign novelties during the wars that resulted in the expulsion of the Hyksos at the beginning of Dynasty XVIII. The two warriors 'Ahmose, who fought under the early kings of the Dynasty beginning with Amenophis, both speak of having been rewarded at various times for bringing back 'living prisoners' and 'hands,' i.e. evidence of having killed their foemen.

Cyril Aldred
Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh

Prescriptive Patrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage

Sr.---In the past few years there has been a great deal of discussion as to whether social systems with prescriptive patrilateral cross-cousin marriage exist—I don't think that I have to review the problem for the readers of MAN. Obviously whether or not such a system exists depends on how it is defined. In this letter I would like to point out that with a suitable definition, which would not be very different from others and would include the kind of system we want in it, prescriptive patrilateral cross-cousin marriage would exist all over New Guinea and perhaps elsewhere.

I think it fair to say that much of the disagreement lies in the use of the same terms for the very different concepts of social and genealogical categories, and this is true for both words and diagrams. Perhaps one of the most serious barriers to the understanding of primitive social organization is the concept of 'kinship' itself, since the terms studied under that heading are not in fact expressions of kinship. If we disregard for the moment the kin terms involved, I think that the Siane according to Salisbury’s data (American Anthropologist, Vol. LVIII, p. 639; MAN, 1956, 2) could be said to have had a prescriptive patrilateral cross-cousin marriage system. First, is it prescriptive? At present, no. With the changing economic situation other valuable in addition to women have become involved in the traditional exchanges between groups. Prescriptive marriage systems are very common in Australia where the local group is economically self-sufficient and the only resource needed from elsewhere is women. As the economic system becomes more complex other valuables such as cows or cowries become involved in the exchanges. Thus, in many parts of Africa the traditional system is various kinds of women-exchanges but more recently marriage by bride price has become prevalent. The Siane and many other tribes of New Guinea also seem to have viewed their system as prescriptive in the sense that it is not desirable or economic to keep sending women to another group with no exchange. This has been recorded in the literature as prohibiting or at least not sanctioning marriage with mother's brother's group. Second, is it cross-cousin? Genealogically, no. But when the kin terms are considered with respect to clan membership, they seem quite analogous to the 'wife-giver' and 'wife-taker' categories of a prescriptive matrilateral cross-cousin marriage system.

For most of the tribes of New Guinea the basic unit which governs marriage is a patrilineal-patriclan which usually resides in one village. The countryside is thus dotted with these autonomous, exogamous units which contract marriage alliances with one another. Marriages are viewed in terms of reciprocity, and any clan divides the others with which it has alliances into 'father's sister's people' and 'mother's mother's people,' which can be interpreted as 'those clans which owe us a woman' and 'those clans which we owe a woman,' respectively. To obtain a wife a man negotiates with 'father's sister's' clans and even uses this term of address as he approaches their village. Despite contradictory 'kinship' data for much of New Guinea including the Siane, the clan is surely the unit of exchange in most of these societies most of the time. The clan as a whole is aware of the direction of exchange of the last woman to be transferred between their clan and any other, and this is a major determinant of their 'kinship' categories.

Whether others may want to label such a system prescriptive patrilateral cross-cousin marriage or not, it seems to me to possess the features which we would want to include under such a label.
It also seems to contrast with prescriptive matrilinear cross-cousin marriage in the characteristics which Lévi-Strauss distinguished as differences in 'organic solidarity.' As a population geneticist, I have been concerned with the genetic consequences of marriage systems. In the matrilinear system the locus of mate-selection is a matrilineal, exogamous, autonomous clan and for each clan the pattern of alliances is different and is primarily a function of distance. This situation contrasts with matrilinear groups such as the Purum in which the alliances are between groups within the political community which itself is highly exogamous. In the latter case the group which corresponds to the breeding isolate is rather obvious, while in the former the clan is the only unit which could be called a breeding isolate and this implies 50 per cent. gene flow in every generation and a very different pattern of the distribution of gene frequencies. This marriage system in New Guinea was probably very common among neolithic agriculturists—particularly those who were expanding in population and territory. It should have a name and I think that prescriptive matrilinear cross-cousin marriage fits as well as any.  

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Note  
Since writing this letter, I have read an unpublished manuscript by David M. Schneider in which he states that the Siane appear to conform as well to the model of prescriptive matrilinear cross-cousin marriage as the Purum and other societies which have been generally accepted as having a prescriptive matrilinear system do to the model of prescriptive matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Obviously I agree.

REVIEWS

GENERAL


The Library of the Royal Anthropological Institute is providing a very valuable service in this quarterly Index to the contents of rather more than 470 periodicals, dealing with all aspects of anthropological work in most countries of the world, which have been received since the beginning of 1960. (A trial run of a single issue was made in 1962.) Most special libraries of standing produce 'accessions lists' of new books but a new list of periodical articles is a very rare thing indeed, even though individual contributions to the most prominent journals in anthropology may frequently be equal in importance to many books on the subject and may have as long a useful life. The arrangement of the articles is primarily geographical, in the following order: General, Africa, America, Asia, East Indies, Oceania, Australasia, and Europe, each of these chapters being further subdivided by subjects into Physical Anthropology, Archaeology, Cultural Anthropology and Ethnography, Linguistics. He who would keep fully abreast of anthropological writing in periodicals (if such an individual should exist) would need to have read 4,237 articles up to September, 1960.

There can be few omissions of any substance in the fields of anthropometry and ethnography. That the library possesses an unrivalled collection of journals is evident from the list of its holdings printed in the first issue of the Index; this ensures that the Index will be reasonably exhaustive as far as these subjects are concerned. A useful bonus for the anthropologist is afforded by the lists of articles in archaeology and linguistics. Though those would not be sufficient for the more highly specialized devotees of these disciplines, none but the most exacting would cavil at this. Undoubtedly the indexes are filling a gap in the bibliographical needs of both scholars and librarians and should attract subscriptions from all comprehensive and special libraries.

J. D. PEARSON


This lavishly produced report, published for the Advisory Group for Aeronautical Research and Development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, describes the planning and methods of a NATO Anthropometric Survey conducted in 1960-61, when 915 Turkish, 1,084 Greek and 1,357 Italian military personnel were measured. No less than 130 body dimensions were recorded for each subject as well as skinfold thicknesses and other measurements and photographs to assist in the assessment of somatotype and body composition. Each metric character that was utilized is clearly defined by a diagram locating the measurement, a photograph illustrating the actual measurement technique, and instructions relating to procedure.

Both conventional and unconventional anthropometric instruments were used, the empirical approach to special military problems dictating the design and construction of the latter. The measurement of the inner arm seam, for example, is of obvious relevance to the standardization of uniform sizes in a military force of mixed nationalities, and a special tool was accordingly designed to facilitate the taking of this particular measurement.
The tables of data include the means, standard deviations and coefficients of variation for all 150 metrical characters, as well as the means of 25 percentiles, ranging between the first and the ninety-ninth, for each national sample. In many instances, data relating to United States Air Force personnel are tabulated alongside, for comparative purposes.

The importance of the vast amount of basic information contained in this report (quite apart from its immediate military applications) will be obvious to all physical anthropologists and human biologists, and is a splendid example of the contemporary significance of multifactorially determined characters. It is no surprise to read that each of the authors of this book expects to elaborate, at a later date, upon his present specialist contribution.

Two suggestions are of particular interest to students of human variation: first, that a high-speed computer, in a very short time, could produce three initial correlation matrices of 150 x 150 characters—matrices that would be the most comprehensive of their kind so far obtained for any living human group; and, secondly, the intention of eventually allowing interested scholars who might wish to pursue further research to purchase, at cost, sets of punched cards containing this unique storehouse of information.

The book contains a table of Contents, an Index of Dimensions, a Visual Index of body dimensions, a Glossary, a Bibliography and a large number of explanatory plates, charts and diagrams in addition to those already mentioned as accompanying the 150 metrical characters.

D. R. HUGHES


The second edition of this classical work is like the Bible. It consists of an old testament, the unaltered text of the first edition; and a new, called an Introduction to the other, though it is really a sequel. As with its prototype, the new part is the more relevant to our time and it alone is reviewed here.

Briefly, a 38-page synopsis of the diverse discoveries and speculations made since 1955 ends with a look at the impact of nuclear biochemistry upon evolutionary philosophy. In particular, what a student has pardonably misspelt as Deoxy-oxyribonucleic acid is greeted hesitantly as the Logos of the new revelation, or at least as its incarnation. The general picture is of a complex disarray of hypotheses about the causal principles of evolution. No longer, it would appear, are the laws of the gaming table and of the bankruptcy court enough: Morgan-Mendelism and Natural Selection may still be necessary but they are not sufficient. We find, then, that teleology is shown the door on p. xiv but comes in again later through the window under the name of "teleonomy," being welcomed politely in this guise. This teleonomy (of C. S. Pittendrigh) is, by the way, the teleology of Aristotle and the Thomists, both medieval and modern. Huxley's synopsis shows that modern evolutionism is still in a state comparable to that of fifteenth-century Ptolemaic astronomy. This is itself a useful contribution to our knowledge.

As a whole the book is well produced but the Introduction bears the marks of hurry. The proof-reading has been careless; and there are no 'author' and 'subject' supplementary indices in conformity with the supplementary bibliography. Although indices are given for the older part. These faults will doubtless be amended in the next impression.

M. A. MACCONAII


The massiveness of Professor Coon's compilation—and this is only the first of two volumes—could not fail to impress both the general reader and the professional student of mankind alike. There has long been a need for a contemporary review of the evolution of man and his kind, as opposed to revisions of older ones, and the mass of well illustrated technical data that Professor Coon has patiently sifted through and assembled in these pages will be invaluable to those readers in many parts of the world who lack access to the very large number of reference works and up-to-date articles that have been consulted. The style of the book has the congeniality and facility that will encourage the general reader to consult it, although the later chapters may, perhaps, be expected to exercise his pertinacity to the full.

There is more than a possibility, however, that the uncritical general reader may be beguiled by the pace and interest of the story, and by the ingrassing details with which it is elaborated, into a state of interpretative euphoria where fact and speculation become indistinguishable from one another. Professional physical anthropologists, and human biologists, on the other hand, are already well aware of the implications of Professor Coon's theory of the five-fold independent evolution of Homo sapiens, and of the use to which the weight of his authority can be put by the proponents of the inherent inequality of the racial groups of man. The fact that certain intransigents have chosen to make use of Professor Coon's hypothesis for their own egalitarian purpose is, of course, no criterion for the validity of his theory. It is not improbable, however, that the general reader, picking up the book in the months to come, will remain unaware of the conflagration of controversy that the publication of this book, first in America in 1962 and now here in Britain, has ignited. A short review such as this cannot possibly do justice to the arguments, but those responsible for directing the reading of students, for example, would be well advised to ensure that they consult the very extensive reviews published elsewhere, particularly in Current Anthropology for October, 1963, where Professor Coon replies to some of his critics.

The origin of the races of man is, in its very conception, a story on the grand scale, and Professor Coon has unfolded it in an appropriately grand manner. It is therefore ungrateful, perhaps, to suggest that having presented the evidence, it might have been useful to point out more clearly that there exists a valid choice between the possible interpretations of it.

No one can minimize the importance of Professor Coon's book as an outstanding review, particularly of the fossil hominids, but it remains to be seen whether, in the promised second book, the genetical evidence of the specific unity of mankind can be presented and interpreted in such a way as to appear to support the main hypothesis of the first one.

D. R. HUGHES


This work is the outcome of 18 months of fieldwork carried out by the author on the gorillas of the Eastern Congo and adjoining parts of Uganda. Six months were devoted to a survey of the distribution and structure of the population of Gorilla gorilla beringei; the following year to a close study of the natural history and social behaviour of the gorillas of a limited area. During the latter period the author came to recognize individually about 200 gorillas. The resulting book is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and readable account of a Primate species in the wild to have appeared to date. A few of the chapter headings will give an idea of the scope of the work: Population Density, Structure and Behaviour, Individual Behaviour, Social Behaviour, Responses to Environment. No statements are made without corroboration from the author's field notes, and the extensive literature which has accumulated on the subject of the gorilla, mainly on the basis of a few anecdotal accounts, is critically examined. Field observation is supplemented with descriptions of the behaviour of gorillas in captivity, but the latter data are treated with proper caution. Much of the information is presented quantitatively, which makes it the more valuable for comparative work. While most of the data are concerned with various aspects of gorilla behaviour, valuable information, much of it original or collected from rather obscure published sources, is presented on such physical features as weight, ontogenetic development and the frequency of occurrence of ischial calllosities.

The author maintains a high standard of objectivity and adherence to observed fact throughout, but at the same time manages to convey his enthusiasm for the gorilla, and the ethos of the animal
The text is copiously illustrated with maps and plans, with outstanding black and white photographs, and with clear and informative line drawings; some of the latter, showing typical gorilla activities, have a distinctly Thubersque quality.

The full value of this work, which deserves a place in all anthropological and zoological libraries, will probably become apparent when studies of a similar standard on other primates, especially the other pongids, are published. At the present state of knowledge, the material that is presented will be compared with that available for simpler human societies, particularly from an ecological point of view. The pitfall here is that, pending the appearance of comprehensive work on the natural history of other primate species, the mountain gorilla may come to be regarded as 'the ape' or even 'the non-human Primate,' thus leading to unwarrantable generalizations about the nature of human and non-human Primate society. No adverse criticism of the book's content is implied; the author's scrupulous avoidance of unsupported extrapolation from his data is a significant contribution to the study of primates and ecology. The book is a further contribution to an already vast literature. Its main contribution is that it presents a framework for the comprehension of one small volume to the population problems of Africa as a whole, and the potential of the different kinds of points of view. It succeeds in this task. Fairfield Osborn, the editor, is well known for his writings on population problems, and some of the other contributors among them are Marston Bates, Boyd Orr and Julian Huxley. They and many others give their views on population pressures and their effects on the natural environment and on economic and political development, and on population problems in particular parts of the world. The differing points of view of Roman Catholic and Protestant are given in the final section there are three interesting essays on population problems, morals and ethics. There is considerable range of thought and viewpoint, and inevitably there is some repetition. All the essays are brief, some of them so brief as to make it difficult for the author to do more than outline their ideas; this is a criticism when one remembers the interest general public for whom this book is presumably intended. They will be helped by the bibliography which concludes the volume. For the more specialized reader the essays add little that is new. But with few exceptions they are all stimulating, presenting the problems in stark but realistic terms, with few dramatics. In this way they are most telling in their impact.

R. MANSELL PROTHERO


A third of a million words on matriliney; this is a formidable achievement and no reviewer can hope to comment on more than an arbitrary selection of the arguments, assertions, hypotheses and methods found in so large a book. Therefore I mention here only some of the points that I would like to discuss.

Half of the book is by Gough, a quarter by Aberle and a tenth by Schneider, with shorter contributions by Colson, Dauer and Basehart. It contains papers presented at a seminar in 1954 as well as several analytical papers that developed out of the seminar discussions. The long delay between the seminar and publication of its results is regrettable, for despite several references to post-1954 literature the intellectual climate of the book, for better or worse, remains firmly that of the early 1950s. Thus there is no reference to any of the works of Lévi-Strauss or to componential analysis and there are only brief comments on metaphorical ideas that may be critically associated with matriliney. Conceptually the book is the offspring of Audrey Richard's compatriot 'Secondary Types of Family Structure amongst the Central Bantu' and of Murdock's 'Social Structure'; appropriately, the matrilineal inheritance is dominant.

The book is divided into an introduction and three parts. Part I contains summaries from 4,500 to 47,000 words long, setting out the relevant features of nine matrilineal peoples: Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, Navaho, Truk, Trobriand, Ashanti, Nayar of central Kerala, and three peoples of north Kerala, Nayar, Tiyyar and Mappilla. In each instance the focus of interest is the kinship system, but a substantial amount of information is included on political and economic systems, external influences and historical changes, to bring out their effect on kinship. The Navaho chapter by Aberle contains much information not previously published, there is some new information on Tonga and Truk, the Kerala chapters bring together information previously scattered or only implicit, while the remaining two chapters are straightforward and useful collations of earlier publications. The Trobriand account is based only on Malinowski, without reference to Powell's work or to the recent critiques of Malinowski's material. These nine matrilineal peoples were chosen to make the best use of the knowledge and experience of those attending the seminar, and at the same time to give a reasonable range, morphologically and geographically. The chapters form a useful addition to the corpus of succinct descriptions of matrilineal societies.

The other three sections of the book are synoptic or comparative. The first is the introductory essay by Schneider, in which he seeks to determine what are the logical implications of the set of minimum given conditions or 'constants' that we identify as matriliney. The constants are: matrilineal affiliation to a descent unit; each child the responsibility of a specified woman; men in authority over women and children; descent lineages are hereditary. These data logically entail, Schneider argues, all the distinctive characteristics of matrilineal descent groups. Like most deductive demonstrations of this kind, e.g. those in Murdock's 'Social Structure,' Schneider's arguments are clear and plausible even when not quite convincing. But the reader should not forget that although these arguments are formally presented as though they were predictions, in large measure they cannot be anything but reconstructions after the event. Schneider must have known before he wrote the chapter, just as many of his readers know before they begin to read it, what the salient features of matrilineal societies are, and the deductive process is carried on with full knowledge of the deductions that have to be reached. An exercise of this kind would be more persuasive if it were done 'blind,' by a logician who had never previously heard of a matrilineal society.

But from what premises would an uninformed logician start? There's the rub. For while it is scarcely surprising that the various observed characteristics of matriliney (or whatever other institution it may be) can be deduced from some set of initial premises, it is not obvious what these premises are. Some selection by trial and error seems to have been like in this case, for it is not immediately apparent that Schneider's set of exogenous variables are adequate for the deductive load placed upon them. I would like to have been told whether, before making his final choice, Schneider made any false starts from other sets of data that he had to discard because the deductions drawn from them did not tally with ethnographic fact. Although his set is shown to be sufficient, is it a minimum sufficient set? All four constants are treated as if they were of equal status and Schneider says that he tries to avoid biologically-based definitions of kinship. But matrilineal affiliation and exogamy are much less
closely connected with primate biological characteristics as than are the other two constants, women's responsibility for children and the subjection of women and children to men. Even if one does not entail the other, the near-universality of these two constants suggests that they both may be biologically determined. Nevertheless, Schneider's deductive process does throw up some propositions that are not obvious from the ethnographical literature, and his statements about the logically entailed differences, between matrilineal and patrilineal societies, in their mechanisms of fission and segmentation go a long way towards clearing up an important puzzle.

The second half of the essay is by Gough. Whereas Schneider is deductive, she is inductive. Drawing her material from the nine matrilineal societies already mentioned, plus Hopi, Minangkabau, Mayombe, Bemba, Ndembu and Nyasaland Yao, Gough infers a wide range of propositions about the connexion between matrilineal and level of production, degree of political centralization, and type of economic production. I found this the most interesting section of the book, for here informed use is made of the details of ethnographic description, propositions can easily be checked against data from other societies, and most of the time Gough is looking at the interconnections of kinship with other forms of organization rather than at kinship as a system on its own. She argues that matrilineal societies are quite common in the larger range of political centralization than is the middle range of production that descent groups have their greatest strength. Much of Gough's argument turns on the extent and nature of cooperation between kin and affines in economic activity, and here she is much less the ethnographer's record to its limits, not beyond, in her endeavour to rank her societies in terms of the degree to which a society is economically dependent on its own matrilineal kin, is his wife's, his daughters' husbands, and so on. Most of the ethnographic evidence is not quantified, and within any society there are likely to be substantial variations in this matter between man and his neighbour, and between one phase of family development and the next. Likewise Gough is probably on shaky ground when she tries to rank her 15 societies in terms of total production per capita. However, the generalizations that she makes from the evidence are all phrased in broad terms and the precise level of productivity of, say, the Yao and the Bemba and the Mayombe ceases to matter.

In the last section, Aberle contributes a chapter on 'Matrilineal Descent in Cross-Cultural Perspective.' He tries to determine whether the generalized statements of Schneider and Gough are true for a statistically significant proportion of the 565 societies in Murdock's World Ethnographic Sample (1957), and in addition looks at the statistical association between various types of subsistence, size of political unit, degree of stratification, forms of marriage, etc. He discusses some of the problems that have to be faced when dealing with ethnographic material coded according to Murdock's scheme, and hows that with some societies he went back to the original ethnographic reports in order to clear up queries arising from the coding. This method of analysis, with its reliance on statistical tests designed for random samples and its emphasis on social evolution, is now fashionable and Aberle's chapter is a good example. His eagerness to fit the categories of coding to reality continually leads him to develop new categories or to reject tests based on misleading categorization. But he says 'sooner or later we must face the question of whether a random sample of cultures can be drawn... we do not always have a rule for deciding when we have one culture and when we have two or more' (p. 724). Unfortunately, this question lies beyond the scope of his inquiry, but to anyone who holds that culture is not something divisible into natural units that can be meaningfully counted, this chapter by Aberle must be largely irrelevant.

In general, this is a good book. Given the existence of matrilineal and exogamy, then most of the non-ideological characteristics of matrilineal societies and their co-variance with other aspects of social life are fully explored and plausible hypotheses given for most of the associations found. No one asks why exogamy exists, incest prohibitions are merely taken for granted, and Gough and Aberle glance only very briefly at the problem of how matrilineal came into being (pp. 552ff., 658). The neglect of ideology leads to a failure to discriminate clearly between matrilineal as a principle of recruitment or placement and matrilineality as a principle of group structure, but perhaps it is this that saves us from pages of sterile discussion on what is a lineage. Gough is content to note that some writers would not call the Nayar taravad a lineage (p. 325), and to leave it at that. There is throughout the analytical sections a lively appreciation of the distinction between necessary and sufficient conditions for the existence of matrilineal descent and also between those conditions characteristic of the development of matrilineal institutions and those under which matrilineality, once established, may continue sometimes in modified form. Kinship terminologies are discussed, though rather perfunctorily as if their inclusion were a reluctant concession to academic interests already obsolescent. The bibliography is good, the index poor and 'shepherding' the only unfortunate technical term. It is a pity that this book did not appear sooner but it is still a very solid contribution to kinship studies.

Yet after this extended examination, matrilineity seems to be not so important as we might have thought. Gough and Aberle both note that though their analyses begin from concern with the specific characteristics of matrilineality they are led on to discuss the significance of descent and kinship, whatever their particular manifestations may be, as principles of social organization in societies of varying complexity and specialization. I hope that we shall not have to wait too long before this next stage of their inquiry appears in print, for it could well open up the fundamental question of whether, in broad evolutionary and comparative terms, specific characteristics like patriliney, matriliney, polygyny and rules of marriage are of any great significance. J. A. BARNES


Here is a book which has been widely acclaimed as a work of great significance and outstanding importance. It is indeed a volume which is extremely lively and interesting to read, and it has been beautifully translated.

The author derives the immense and varied influence of crowds from man's native repugnance to be touched, especially by the unknown. Only in the crowd is this natural fear felt completely, and that particularly in the large, dense, active and moving crowd. All such crowds have a period of 'discharge,' 'when all who belong to the crowd get rid of their differences and feel equal.' Having established, or rather asserted, these alleged basic characters of the crowd, Canetti goes on to comment on whatever comes into his extremely active and restless mind that can be, in almost any way, connected with crowds. He considers some common properties of crowds: destructiveness; the burst into action ('eruption'); persecution; the power of religion to tame and domesticate the crowd; panic, and the crowd considered as a ring. He writes of the attributes of the crowd: rhythm; stagnation; possession of remote goals; infancy. He differentiates crowds on the basis of their prevailing emotions: baying, flight, prohibition, reversal, feast, living and dead, and fighting crowds. He discusses 'crowd crystals' and 'crowd symbols.' Crowd symbols are 'collective units which do not consist of men, but which are still felt to be crowds. Corn and forest, rain, wind, sand, fire and the sea are such units.' They are important because they can be used to develop new ways of studying the human crowd.

We have now got about a quarter of the way through the book. The rest of it consists of studies of special topics, often enough with rather tenuous connexion from one topic to another. The topics are: The Crowd in History; The Entrails of Power; The Survivor; Elements of Power; The Command; Transformation; Aspects of Power; Rulers and Paranoiacs, and an epilogue entitled The End of the Survivor.

It is extremely difficult, in a brief review, to be fair to all this. The various sections are, in fact, a series of essays on matters connected directly, and indirectly, with crowds and power in the author's daring imagination. 'Power' is what is principally to be studied. Perhaps it is that 'power' is first closely associated with the pack and the crowd, and then its aims, directly, or indirectly, are mainly destruction. But as time goes on, and especially as what Canetti calls 'religions of eament' grow weak and tend to disappear.
'power' becomes more and more linked with 'productiveness.' There are, however, 'survivors,' and these, representing earlier phases of animal and human social conduct, have more and more the character of abnormalities, become literally paranoiac, and try to destroy every power but their own. The overriding practical problem of modern society is how to control the 'commands' and 'system of commands' which issue from the crowd survivors. The conclusion is: 'If we would master power we must face command openly and boldly, and search for means to deprive it of its sting.' But how this is to be done remains untold.

Throughout the whole of the book there are frequent illustrations, drawn from a very great wealth of anthropological and psychological studies of almost every degree of authority or lack of authority. There are numbered and annotated Notes and there is an excellent bibliography.

It is a book which is full of interest, and all the more provided the reader can keep his critical capacities awake and working.

F. C. BARTLETT


The argument between the nominalist and the realist is always with us. Does the world consist of natural kinds or does one thing differ from another because our language says so? Anthropologists, like other scholars, tend to swing from one extreme to the other. Professor X believes that he displays for our attention what really is the case; Professor Y ponders in amazement at the infinite malleability of human cognition. Just now it is Professor Y who seems to be in the ascendant; the linguistic heresies of Benjamin Lee Whorf are bearing fruit all over the place; in Lévi-Strauss's hall of paradoxical mirrors all the apparent facts of our science disappear in infinite regression.

That the nature of primitive society must be closely linked with the nature of pensée sauvage, and that the categories of this pensée sauvage may be very different from our own was first seriously considered by Durkheim and Mauss in an essay published in L'année sociologique in 1903. This essay has now been meticulously translated into English by Dr. Needham who has added by way of introduction a long and trenchant criticism of the Durkheim-Mauss thesis. Introduction and text together provide a valuable and timely comment on a number of currently fashionable problems of anthropological theory.

The Durkheim-Mauss essay is a sketch for an argument which was developed further in Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse (1912). The categories of things and values which make up our physical and moral environment do not possess any intrinsic order by nature. The human mind lacks any innate capacity to construct complex systems of classification. Yet empirically we find that such classifications exist; our language imposes order upon our experience. How does this come about? The order cannot be arbitrary, it must be 'caused.' Society, according to Durkheim, is an entity sui generis which is structurally ordered. The classifications of language which impose order on our moral and religious ideas are caused by a reflection of the intrinsic order inherent in society.

Dr. Needham has no difficulty in showing that this chicken-and-egg style of argument is 'logically fallacious and ... methodologically unsound. There are grave reasons indeed to deny it any validity whatever.'

Such comment from an editor is brutal and it might be urged in extenuation that similar naive ideas about social cause and social effect are deeply rooted in all nineteenth-century positivist thought.

Dr. Needham finds several justifications for publishing a translation of the essay at this time. It has demonstrably had important influences upon a number of distinguished modern anthropologists, mainly Dutch and French; we may profit from a consideration of Durkheim and Mauss's mistakes; it provides an early example of the thesis, developed more fully in Mauss's later work, that comparison in social anthropology must concern itself with total systems and not with detached elements in the then fashionable Franziusian style. To this one might add one further comment. Durkheim and Mauss in this essay draw attention to examples from particular Australian and North American tribes in which there is a striking correspondence between the categories of social organization, the categories of moral ideas, the categories of cosmology and the categories of living things. If, following Needham, we reject the particular causal explanation of these facts which Durkheim and Mauss offer us, we are still left with a problem to be solved. The philosophic basis of totemism still challenges the anthropologist's imagination and intelligence.

EDMUND LEACH


The author of this collection of essays, all of which have been published elsewhere, writes that they are intended to illustrate 'the different levels at which anthropologists find that they have to think and write, those of general theory and method, of literary analysis, and of field research.' They also illustrate trends in the development of social anthropology over the last 30 years.

The book falls into three sections. The first begins with the Maret Lecture for 1950, in which the author first clearly stated his conviction that social anthropology is a humanity rather than a science and is closely allied to historiography. This view is now generally accepted; but in this country at any rate it was not in 1950, and the change in opinion stems largely from this lecture. The second essay in this section is the Aquinas Lecture for 1960, on religion and the anthropologist, in which the author places the anthropological theories of religion in the context of the intellectual climate in which they were formulated. The third is another lecture on anthropology and history, given at Manchester in 1961, which deals in greater depth with the subject of the first lecture. It was written after the revolutionary and unpopular views put forward in 1950 had gained general acceptance. The first and third of these lectures are concise, exciting and elegantly written. I find the second less satisfactory, partly because it attempts too much in the small compass and partly because it seems to lead to no new avenue of thought; it reads rather as a classroom lecture.

The second section consists of four essays based largely upon the researches of others: the Frazer Lecture for 1948 on the divine kingship of the Shilluk and a paper published in 1957, in which, with great skill and in the light of his own knowledge of the people concerned, he uses accounts of early travellers among the Azande of the Sudan to reconstruct some details of the Zande kings. The Frazer Lecture, in which he shows how a king may reign but not govern, and that whether a senile king is actually killed or not is irrelevant to the institution of the divine kingship, has long been a classic account for all students of the subject. The other is slighter, but is an exemplary anthropological use of existing literature to write a historical account of an institution which had largely vanished by the time of Professor Evans-Pritchard's fieldwork.

The third section consists of four papers based upon his own field research among the Azande: on notions of heredity and gestation, on blood brotherhood, on theology and on the sanza, a kind of doubletalking used as a means to allusive communication. These papers are brilliant ethnography, in which the author deals with the thought and beliefs of the people whom he studied, the most difficult aspect of the culture of any society to understand. All are based firmly upon what Azande told him; there is none of the easy conjecture of what the people might think if only they thought as the field-worker does. Each essay may at first appear slight, concerned only with a very limited topic. Together they compose an impressive account of Zande thought.

So much for the first intention avowed by the author. The second has not been achieved so well. The essays in this volume cannot be said to give a reliable account of the development of social anthropology, nor of Professor Evans-Pritchard's own thinking. To understand the latter the reader must also consult the author's books. Two of the essays on the Azande in this collection were originally published in 1932 and 1933, the two others long after, in 1956 and 1957, when the author had returned to his Zande notebooks after a
the relations between wife-giving and wife-taking groups. He says: 'Now a dualistic categorization of phenomena, and the symbolic opposition of the sides, are so common in history and in societies which we know directly as to appear natural proclivities of the human mind' (p. 99). If this is Needham's 'sociological' alternative to the psychologically universal Edipus Complex, then there seems little to choose between psychology and sociology.

Early in the book Needham rightly points out that the ranty of unilateral marriage prescription 'is of no importance' in a methodological and theoretical essay. Yet one cannot help wishing that such sustained critical energy could be applied to the example, to the economic and political institutions of simpler societies.

RALPH W. NICHOLAS


For those anthropologists who are primarily oriented to the accumulation of new data rather than the 're-thinking' of the conceptual framework within which the data are to be considered, this book is of little interest. To two of its 34 contributors are anthropologists, and none of the data are exotic. For the diligent re-thinkers, however, this work provides intellectual nourishment — though the fare is rich (in jargon and mathematical models) and expensive (£3).

The anthropological contributions are a paper on descriptive approaches to communication (by the linguist, Macay), and a paper on authority interactions by Kimball Romney (in collaboration with a psychologist, Stacy Adams). In the Romney paper, as in a paper by Scott on the relationship between cognitive structure and social structure, and the paper by Rotter, Seeman and Liventz on the relationship between internal and external controls on reinforcement of learning, there is an attempt to bring together socio-cultural factors and intra-psychic factors in understanding behavioural sequences. This work differs from earlier inter-disciplinary efforts at the frontier between anthropology and psychology in its emphasis on the study of operationally definable elements in quasi-experimental behaviour sequences.

The approaches stressed in this volume thus communicate a sense of antithesis, providing stimulation but no consummation in the quest for new syntheses. The vigorous approach of many of these contributors, however, to such topics as communications, authority, conflict, social control, leadership and influence, may provide leads for considering new approaches to problems of process and change in social systems. This book thus affords perspectives in some ways complementary to other current approaches to understanding process, e.g. Goffman's 'dramaturgical' model, the work of Homans and others on 'exchange theory', the work of Erikson, Caplan, Lindemann and others on 'crisis theory', and the work of von Bertalanffy and others on 'open-system theory'.

ROBERT N. RAPPOPORT


This book contains about 40 of Redfield's occasional papers, articles, lectures and reviews. They fall into three categories, and the book is accordingly divided into three Parts. The papers in Part I (Anthropology as a Social Science) are mainly about the place of anthropologists among the social sciences, and of social science among the humanities. Part II, The Folk Society and Civilization, mostly concerns Redfield's researches in Middle America, in the course of which his concepts of the folk society, the great and little traditions, the folk-urban (or folk-civilization) continuum, and so on, were developed. Part III, on Human Nature, is a brief residue of four or five essays about human society and 'man' generally. In a second volume we are to have a further collection of papers on 'race, education, "the commands of reason," and the good life'.

Redfield was a prolific and sometimes a discursive writer, and it would be unreasonably to expect all the papers in this big book to be of equal quality. As Professor Firth points out in his useful intro-
duction, his main contribution has been in the study of 'communities in the middle cultural range,' neither 'primitive' nor wholly urban and literate, but somewhere in between. So, at least for most British readers, Part II will be the most valuable section of the book. It includes such well-known essays as 'Culture Change in Yucatan' and 'The Folk Society,' as well as some important lesser-known ones, like 'The Peasant's View of the Good Life,' a remarkably sensitive and humane study of peasant values.

Indeed, as both Mrs. Redfield and Professor Firth note, 'humanity' is the key to much of Redfield's writing. He thought (as indeed perhaps more anthropologists do than are prepared to acknowledge it) that the kind of understanding that anthropologists seek is, and ought to be, useful in human affairs. 'As the subject matter of social science is humanity,' he writes (p. 36), 'it would be inhuman not to care.' And there is no doubt that his comprehensive and sensitive investigations of the character and predicaments of the 'folk society' have added significantly to the kind of understanding which he sought. It is, unfortunately, inevitable that this broad, 'human' approach sometimes leads to rather diffuse and imprecise statements about what anthropologists actually do. Like some other American anthropologists, Redfield thinks that they study 'all peoples, everywhere and at all times' (p. 15), or, as he puts it on p. 26, even more briefly and vaguely, 'I suggest that the subject matter of social anthropology is, in one word, humanity.' This sounds fine, but it can hardly be of much help to the student who knows that 'humanity' has an infinitude of aspects, and that these are dealt with by a vast and growing range of humanistic and scientific disciplines.

But Redfield's lack of an organized analytical approach is a source of strength as well as weakness. Realizing the limitless complexity of the data of the social sciences, he early saw the inadequacy of mechanistic functional models taken by themselves. 'The dominance in anthropology of models associated with the natural sciences is not matched by corresponding success in executing studies based on these models,' he wrote (p. 117), perhaps a little unfairly. There is an attractively simple and home-spun quality about many of his ideas. We are asked to ask: What do people over there, and our business is to make propositions of fact about those people over there,' he says (p. 99), speaking about the study of other people's values. On the issue, sometimes debated, of the significance in fieldwork of the anthropologist's own values and moral standpoint, he says succinctly: 'the anthropologist I know disapprove of cannibalism, but I do not think that cannibalism has been studied with less scientific detachment than have other subjects' (p. 24). 'Society' is defined simply as 'people with common ends getting along with one another' (p. 418). And a good deal of theorizing about the expressive aspect of magic is summed up in the wordly (p. 436) that 'magical rites are little pictures of what one wants.'

Redfield writes without jargon and he is always readable. Though this collection is perhaps a little longer than it might have been, the reader who wades through all of it will find much to refresh and stimulate. He will also improve his acquaintance with one of the broadest-ranging and most influential anthropologists of our time.

Redfield thought of anthropology not as a narrow university specialization but as a study which has practical importance and value for everybody, and he acted on this belief. For student reading, however, most teachers will prefer to make a selection of some of the more important pieces in the volume. JOHN BEATTIE


In this well illustrated monograph Professor White makes available the evaluation of Boas's work which he presented in 1962 to the Conference on the History of Anthropology, held in New York under sponsorship of the Social Science Research Council (U.S.A.). In its general tone the present work is, by contrast to Professor White's past polemical attacks upon Boas's work and influence, so restrained as to seem almost contrived. Following a brief foreword and biographical note on Boas, the author treats of Boas's contribu-

ations under the two heads indicated in the title. The section on 'Ethnography' provides an unusually detailed account of the number, duration and extent of Boas's field trips, and of the magnitude and scope of his ethnographical publications. Part II, 'Ethnology,' examines Boas's theoretical orientation and his impact on the scientific status of that discipline.

To me, it appears that an examination of the contributions of a historic figure to the progress of a science should provide two perspectives: (1) the state of the science at the time the figure concerned was working in it; and (2) the subsequent developments of the science.

Professor White has done a rather better job with respect to the second than to the first of these perspectives. Ethnographical fieldwork methods and ethnological theory have both progressed in the 21 years since Boas's death. The theory of cultural evolution has been revived, revised and in certain respects advanced. But can it be argued cogently that this could have been done in Boas's time, much less that Boas and his students actually determined such advances? Since, writing this monograph, Professor White has attempted a cultural explanation of the fact that Boas and many of his students emphasized in their work the importance of the role of the individual in culture—a kind of thinking, which, to Professor White's mind, is antithetical to his Culturology, and which, moreover, impeded the growth of a correct interpretation of culture (see his 'Individuality and Individualism, A Cultural Interpretation' in Texas Quarterly, Summer, 1963, pp. 111-27). Professor White's effort to account for the Boasian concern with the individual in culture in terms of the Jewish backgrounds of Boas and many of his students, and their consequent concern to dispel racial and group stereotypes in favour of emphasizing individuals, strikes me as, at best, unsubstantiated. (His citation, in the same article, of a statement by a magazine writer about 'the disproportionate position held by Jewish scientists' in the field of anthropology in the U.S. is open to a less charitable interpretation.)

Boas's work and that of his students, for all of its shortcomings, has provided important data and insights into the nature of culture, with which ethnologists have been better able to carry forward the building of their science. Can more be asked of any men?

CHARLES S. BRANT


Apart, however, from demonstrating this wide range of interests and knowledge, the purpose of this book is far from clear to me. The preface tells us that the selection of essays for inclusion was made by Professor Kluckhohn himself before his death in 1960. Some of the essays are classics of anthropological exposition and to have them reproduced in this volume is valuable for students and other interested in the subject. The first essay in the collection, 'The Concept of Culture,' falls into this category. At the other extreme is the essay, 'Notes on Navaho Eagle Way.' This latter is a piece of incomplete ethnography lacking any theoretical analysis and originally published in the New Mexico Anthropologist. Its value is surely for a relatively small number of specialists who would be able to go to the original publication.

The introductory chapter of the book is a brief history of cultural anthropology and its relation to other disciplines, particularly psychology. This was written by Professor Kluckhohn's son.

The book contains a complete bibliography with the reference to Kluckhohn's work. This gives a clear indication of his great contribution to anthropology. It is a pity that his last book should be a seemingly haphazard selection of his previous writings.

Culture and Behavior looks back over a man's life's work and in
was provided as a guide to the wealth of information that it contains, and I feel that the eight pages of half-tones could have been more usefully employed in depicting some of the remarkable personages who have been instrumental in formulating the Idea of Prehistory as we see it today.


The Jordan Lectures for 1962 were delivered at the School of Oriental and African Studies and are printed here substantially as given; the author was obliged to place the manuscript in the hands of the School before delivering the lectures and so was unable to incorporate any of the suggestions made in the lively discussion that followed some of the lectures. Professor James could have written this book, for its encyclopedic knowledge, based on a lifetime of the comparative study of religions, is married to a remarkable compression of detail which does not detract from easy reading. The book is the essential counterpart to the author’s Cult of the Mother-Goddess, published in 1959, and shows that ‘the Sky-father and the Earth-mother constituted basic cultic figures’ in ancient times. That there are abundant remains of maternal figures and fewer of sky fathers is in the nature of the case, but early religious consciousness was ‘aware of a supra-mundane Power directly or indirectly creating’ and ‘living in the sky.

Professor James avoids the debate, largely theological, of the beginnings of monotheism and attempts to trace the history of the emergence of celestial deities. After an introduction, in which it is good to see account taken of modern work in Africa such as that of Evans-Pritchard, attention is directed to the ancient Near East and Israel, where Professor James is most at home, and then to India, Persia, Greece and Rome. In India, more than Greece, the diversity of deities tended towards unity, but in Persia and Israel complete monotheism prevailed. Christianity later tried to combine Hebrew cosmology and Greek and Roman ideas ‘with their deep- lain Indo-European roots’, and so produced a synthesis of all that has been most enduring in the unifying traditions of the worship of the Sky-god. This is written with copious illustration, full recognition of the many elements and borrowings in the Christian tradition, and remarkable scientific detachment.


There are now available several excellent books which deal with the problems of archaeological methods and techniques but regrettably few on the equally important aspect of the history of the subject. A full understanding of the intellectual and practical machinery of any discipline can only be gained by studying current ideas in their historical perspective. Nowhere is this more true than in archaeology, a subject which grew out of and borrows from so many disciplines.

Dr. Daniel has already made two valuable contributions in this field (The Three Ages, 1943, and A Hundred Years of Archaeology, 1950); his Idea of Prehistory is a worthy sequel. Confining himself in this case to prehistory, he traces the changing intellectual approaches to the study and interpretation of the material remains of Early Man—what Professor Piggott has termed ‘models.’ Much of the information contained in the present book has already appeared in his more general work, A Hundred Years of Archaeology, but additional material has been incorporated and the arrangement is somewhat different as a result of its original presentation as the Josiah Mason lectures, delivered in the University of Birmingham in 1966.

The Idea of Prehistory is written lucidly with a style and wit which make it both stimulating and pleasurable to read; the text is further enhanced by numerous apposite quotations from contemporary sources. It will be of value to professional scholar, undergraduate and layman alike. One regrets, however, that no index


The author is well read in the literature of his subject, but here and there his notes often tend to generalizations with little or no evidence to support them. We are repeatedly told what ‘man’ thinks and feels, as if men had always thought and felt the same. At times he becomes cryptic, as when he says: ‘Man’s use of primordial imagery should be construed as evidence of his experience of reality’ (p. 186).

‘The psychology of children and primitives is alike in so many respects that the way children behave, think and dream throws light on the psychology of primitive peoples’ (p. 202). This, of course, is not so; the psychology of an adult African non-literate is no different from that of an adult European non-literate. He goes on to say that ‘ogres, cruel witches … and fear-sorcerers are the forms in which the child appears naturally to express his emotions,’ But children can acquire ideas of ogres, etc., only with the words in which these ideas are expressed. Can the author really suppose that language comes naturally to children?

For tens of thousands of years, we are told, man has had ‘a vivid recognition of the difference between the familiar and the mysterious, between the Natural and Supernatural’ (p. 46). But the idea of this difference is a scientific one; it is unintelligible except to those who have been taught to recognize the existence of natural laws.

Finally, ‘modern studies have made it clear that the individual does not emerge from the group mind until comparatively late in the history of human development’ (p. 118). The book is, of course, not composed entirely of such statements as this and the others which I have quoted, but there are enough of them to make one distrustful of all psychological pronouncements on religion.

In this book, which is inspired by Lord Raglan's general theory that civilization had a ritual origin, A. Seidenberg raises a question of the utmost importance. The system, consisting for the '2- system' and the 'new 2- system' appears to be one of the most interesting parts. I doubt, however, whether the time is ripe as yet for a work of such ample scale. For one thing, the copious literature in the field has not been exploited to the full. This is especially evident in the section on Africa. For this reason the author's conclusions concerning cultural geography are not wholly convincing. The spelling of tribal names (with and without prefixes, quite apart from mere printing errors) is not standardized and the maps are to some extent misleading. Despite its shortcomings the book is stimulating and of great scientific value.

STURE LAGERCRANTZ


In recent years there have been numerous efforts by scholars to compress the story of art produced by peoples of the 'simpler' cultures within a book of manageable format but highly diversified content. Some of those efforts have proved more enduringly successful than others; and it is tempting to suggest that the reason may lie in the ratio maintained of explanatory text and illustrations to the variety of original materials added by the author. Whatever this be so or not, it does seem true that very few guide books are also intended to be used as a text in either the history of art or in anthropology; although a fair number have been written as a guide for the student or layman through the labyrinthine halls of 'primitive art' and culture. Moreover, paucity of reliable information in some areas may have made it extremely difficult to achieve a well balanced or even thoroughly readable handbook of primitive art.

Dr. Paul Wingert's 'Primitive Art: Its Traditions and Styles' seems to belong to the category of textbook and guidebook at the same time, which means that it hardly belongs fully to either classification. From the standpoint of the handbook it is not sufficiently broad in scope, since prehistoric art, Mexican Indian art, and some other so-called primitive arts are either merely touched upon or entirely excluded. On the other hand, it lacks that coldly impersonal and often drastically sententious approach to the material that the typical guidebook usually adopts. But considered as a text of 'primitive art' I find it sufficiently inclusive to fulfill its mission which is to attest the variety as well as the comprehensibility of 'anonymous' primitive art and to define and illustrate the term 'primitive' as applied to the arts and their originators. Indeed, these aims are stated briefly on the jacket as follows:

'... one of the world's foremost authorities on primitive art presents for the layman a panoramic view of this newly popular field... the book is the best introduction yet produced for anyone who enjoys reading about primitive art, looking at it in galleries and museums, and perhaps starting to collect it...'...

Fundamental to this approach to primitive art is the principle of 'understanding' the societies whose arts have become known to the West only in recent generations. Oddly enough, in a book which pretends to serve as a guide to lay appreciators and would-be collectors of 'primitive art,' it is difficult to follow this principle in all cases, since it is all but impossible to describe or to define with requisite thoroughness all the customs, social and religious agents or cults basic to the societies and to the arts we are asked to study. In the present instance, a major impetus is the section on oceania, which limit the use of this principle in relation to a background of aesthetic understanding or interpretation.

In this book of some 360 pages, embracing the arts of Negro Africa and of Oceania and selected phases of North American Indian and Eskimo art, the cultural forms of various primitive societies are examined in some detail and at the same time adduced as the generative springs of dynamic form. The producers of such arts are represented as religiously concerned with satisfying the drives of survival, security, stability and continuity, equilibrium and balance as motives of social control. Thus set out at the very beginning goes the book, that 'primitive art' as a term is frequently adduced to explain the form and function of ritual and of the carvings used in connexion therewith. At the same time, the author is at pains to conduct the reader through an almost Kantian verbiage of systematic analysis offered as aesthetic appraisal of the art. This does sometimes get in the way of his concern that the reader, in addition to appreciating the motives behind the art, should not fail to react to those qualities of significant form and aesthetic value which he is at great pains to point out.

The plan of discussion adopted by the author for his book is one of admirable clarity and directness, and reveals, as well, of the significance of primitive art for peoples of 'complex' culture. By the table of contents we note the following sequence of parts: Part I is devoted to Art in the Life of Primitive Peoples, under which general heading are discussed the following: the artist; his patron and the public; the need for art; motivations, functions and meanings of art. Part II is concerned with Artistic Traditions and Styles; and the areas of culture treated are those of Africa, Oceania and the American Indian. Throughout these sections there are instances of admirably succinct and even brilliant writing, but also much of problem at the point of repetitious description and analysis. While one must credit the author with a remarkable desire to be inclusive as well as accurate, one realizes also how heavy must be the task of differentiating clearly the major styles of the Oceanic and West African regions. To master this task and at the same time not to obscure the symbolic and aesthetic roles of art in tribal culture is, to say the least about it, a tour de force.

When Dr. Wingert takes up the question of 'what is primitive art?' it is difficult to decide if he, like some who have written about 'primitive art,' is also an apologist for primitive values and character or more precisely, for the word 'primitive' itself as applied to 'exotic' cultures and non-technological civilizations. His efforts to set students of the matter straight concerning the correct use of the term as applied to peoples of non-derivative culture fail since he cannot offer a better word. He cites the fact that abusive and even disdainful use of the word has blurred its meaning, so that its precise denotative value in this connection has become confused. On the other hand, he does counsel that its use should be grounded in understanding of what is thereby implied or understood.

After giving examples of the flagrant misuse of the term primitive to characterize the cultural products of the 'simpler' societies, Wingert then goes on to say that the use of the art of primitive peoples, defines the art but in no way refers to kind or quality. And the fact that such art is the art of peoples of non-derivative culture is in no way a characterization of the forms. From this one gathers that tribal peoples are either primitive or backward on the basis of their advanced or retarded social and cultural condition, a status which hardly allows us to anticipate the probability of there being an advanced culture possessing only an elementary or even a 'retarded' art. In the end Dr. Wingert offers the following as a general definition of primitive culture or civilization:

'Any comparison between the so-called high and primitive cultures discloses that a number of features and institutions that have led to the development of the great civilizations are conspicuously missing in primitive societies, and that this absence in good measure is responsible for their "low" cultural status...'

The author then goes on to list the lack of a written language, the absence of any concept of a political organization, or of such engineering skills as would assure the development of roads, bridges, architecture, etc., the inability to maintain a standing army or to develop religious institutions into a theocratic system, as evidence of the dominance of the primitive mind and of such a loosely organized society as would merit the qualification 'primitive.'

The African section of the volume begins with Baule culture in
the Ivory Coast and concludes with the Mangbetu and the Barotse in the Eastern Congo, representing in all a measured descriptive and analytical progress through some 35 traditional art styles. The author suggests that for all its variety, African Negro art is, in the main, homogeneous. This is that the differentia of its styles are found largely in the differences of motivation or aim, as well as in the materials employed. While he apologizes at the outset for not having included many important sub-styles of West Africa, that is to say, sub-styles of the regional or national tribal styles, because of limitations of space, he nevertheless neglects to give adequate or proportional treatment to some of the major styles of Nigeria, an area which by the abundance and diversity of its art, and sometimes even quality, outmatches the major production in certain neighbouring nations.

Although Dr. Wingert's sympathetic interest in and real knowledge of African art have been evidenced more than once since the publication of his first book, The Sculpture of Negro Africa, in 1950, it is difficult to understand why he has not always made good choices among the many appropriate carvings that must have been available to him to document Ivory Coast art. In addition to an unclear use of the term 'organic' in his descriptions of this art, he adds two carvings which are scarcely typical of Baule or Senufo work. I refer to a Baule sculpture of a monkey (Plate 2 of Primitive Art), which is an unfortunate choice because such figures are rather too exceptional in this art to warrant consideration in a book purporting to be a guide to tribal styles as well as to the more typical manifestations of regional and/or local styles. Similarly, his choice of an equestrian figure to illustrate Senufo style is of doubtful wisdom, since, again, this is not a figure that is truly typical of Senufo art. To adduce it as such is to mislead the layman rather than to direct him in accordance with the announced purpose of the book. Moreover, the particular example offered us is of a virtuoso-like stylization strongly suggesting a prototype in metal.

In his discussion of masks, Dr. Wingert merely alludes briefly to the association or combination of other elements of costume such as raphia, straw, cloth, or bits of metal, where, in fact, these are important elements of ritual or of the dance costume, and for the user as well as the spectator are inseparable from its function or significance. Dr. Wingert seems here to divorce ritual theatrics from conscious esthetics or art.

Notwithstanding such small errors of interpretation, the section on African tribal art is well written. The author grasps the opportunity to demonstrate the functional virtues of a schematic approach to an analysis of the art, although it is not easy to pardon his summary treatment of the arts of life and Benin which, sophisticated or not, might well have served to underscore both diversity and contrast in West African art. In view of his own dictum, namely, that the cultural motivations and functions of art relate strongly to the institutions existing among its originators, a reasonably lengthy discussion of the arts of the ancient Nigerien civilizations would seem indispensable.

When discussing the arts of Oceania, it becomes clear that Dr. Wingert's use of the terms 'homogeneous' and 'heterogeneous' is intended to distinguish the generic forms of African cultures from the diversified forms which he surveys in the cultures of Oceania. While the pattern of culture in Africa is for him homogeneous, if not, indeed singularly so, Oceania illustrates a more complex morphology arising from greater racial and cultural diversity or, to use his word, heterogeneity. By recourse to this fundamental distinction as a frame of reference, the author successfully avoids giving the impression of chaotic diversity which has marred certain other surveys of the arts of Oceania. Assisted, then, by a plausible conception of the multifarious arts of Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia, the author threads his way through the myriad artistic styles of this vast complex of island cultures.

For purposes of convenient study Dr. Wingert reduces the almost bewildering variety of Oceanic art to five modes of artistic or plastic expression. He posits first, the two-dimensional mode; second, the three-dimensional (sculptural expression stressing planes or volumes); third, the polychromatic; fourth, the compositional expression of 'life forms' whether carved or painted; fifth, forms of an open or pierced character suggesting a special consciousness of the added element of space. Apparently, the author believes that "... a consideration of the art in terms of these modes of expression is one way to give some unity to a discussion of the multiplicity of Oceanic styles..." However, the variation even within a single mode of these styles is so great that Wingert is compelled to concentrate on just the dominant styles of Melanesia and Polynesia and to relate these briefly to Indonesia, Australia and Micronesia. He shows that the art forms of Melanesia, like those of Africa, are closely related to the underlying social customs and religious concepts. All aspects of life are under the control of a supernatural mythology and the ancestral spirits. Art is therefore used to gain control of unknown forces; so that its typical and often dramatically artistic features are also sometimes analyzable in terms of their symbolic function.

In a book of this kind consistency of purpose and of viewpoint may easily prove to be a boon to both author and reader. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that what, in the nature of the case, must make for consistency of effect may also contribute to the reverse when exceptions are not clearly underscored. For example, in speaking of the arts of the Sepik River, Wingert says that the variety in the repertory of a hierarchically structured society destroying caste. But when he reaches for and pretends to find a common denominator of this style, he only discovers 'spirit content' to be the common element of expression investing the forms. Even so, the conclusion that he reaches is that Sepik River art shows 'qualitative rather than artistic representational character' because many of its forms are redolent of nature, but of a nature dismembered and re-combined. This is a formulation that is not easily understood or accepted since it seems to divorce quality from an aesthetic order from either deliberate or unconscious artistic expression.

It is regrettable that this book is not provided with a single colour plate that would help the lay reader to visualize the often brilliant polychromy of the Maprik Mountain or Abelam cultural style. Black and white reproductions can scarcely do justice to such carvings as these. It should be noted that Dr. Wingert characterizes the representative examples of this style as an illustration of the unsuccessful combination of two modes of artistic expression, sculpture and polychromy. This is both a harsh and a dubious judgment which would seem to take advantage of the lay reader's ignorance of the style or its relatives; for they have not been highly integrated examples of this style to which Dr. Wingert's conclusions would not apply.

In the concluding section of the book which is devoted to the arts of the American Indian, the author departs rather radically from the method of massive schematic presentation and detailed analysis used in the earlier chapters. Now he devotes himself to detailed descriptions of the pertinent geographical aspects of the cultural sites or areas, and distinguishes one from another while avoiding such detailed objective examination of basic religious and other cultural data as would explain the art. He here follows rather more closely the typological features of the arts, and evinces interest in those symbolic features which illustrate the culture. This has the effect of reducing the section to little more than a list of cultural artifacts, since considerations of dynamic form and colour and the effects of 'spirit content' which characterize his earlier discussions are largely absent. Excluded from this criticism are his descriptions of Northwest Coast American Indian art (Haida, Tlingit, Kwakiutl, etc.), an area of production already well studied and published by Wingert in his American Indian Art: A Study of the Northwest Coast. In that book, he supplies an excellent introduction of the temper and condition of the people and proves his ability to use an analytical and recreative method of study to triumph over a recalcitrant material.

Supplementary to his detailed and often interesting analyses of the many primitive arts and cultures, is the lengthy footnote section by which the author manages to include some material on the Tierra del Fuego and Amazonian arts of South America. Eskimo art is also brought in for a very brief consideration owing, chiefly, to limitations of space.

This very useful book is provided with a brief bibliography and a quite serviceable index by subject. JAMES A. PORTER.
Zimbabwe: A Rhodesian Mystery. By Roger Summers. Johannesburg (Nelson), 1963. Pp. 120. Price 17s. 6d. (Rhodesia)

The Zimbabwe Ruins have been the major issue of Iron Age archaeology in Southern Africa ever since the early years of this century, and the literature on them, both scientific and romantic, is prolific. Mr. Summers' short book is an attempt to summarize current scientific opinion on the Ruins for the benefit of the interested layman.

He approaches the site from a historical standpoint, commencing with its discovery by Carl Mauch in 1871. From there he gives a critical description of the work of the first excavators, Bent, Hall, Neil, Willoughby and others. Serious scientific investigation began with Maclver in 1905, Schofield in 1926 and Dr. Caton-Thompson in 1929. It was on the basis of work in the nineteen-twenties that Robinson, Summers and Whitby excavated at Zimbabwe in 1958. Four phases of occupation and pottery were identified, the first, on the Acropolis hill, associated with Gokomere pottery and dating to A.D. 330 or earlier. The last three stages were all associated with building activity.

In later chapters Summers considers the anthropological evidence for identifying the builders of the ruins, and the economic reasons for the importance of Zimbabwe to the Monomotapa and Rozwi confederacies.

It is considered that Zimbabwe was a sacred site, connected with an autochthonous religion. Its position was determined by an unusual climate, making a green island through the dry Rhodesian winter. The technique of wall-building was at first in favour as a result of the natural exfoliation of the rock, adobe is conducive to its use for building. The earliest walls are thought to have surrounded sacred places on the Acropolis Hill. To this ancient sacred place gravitated local leaders. Zimbabwe became the centre of a large confederacy of peoples under the royal dynasty of Monomotapa. Later, this leadership was replaced by Rozwi overlords, who built the great walls of Zimbabwe. It was a wealthy state replacing its trade with the Arabs and, later, the Portuguese. Zimbabwe was finally destroyed by a horde of Ngoni warriors under Chief Zwangendaba in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. This short book is but a semi-popular summary of the problems of Zimbabwe. An impressive body of evidence on the history of the Ruins has been built up in recent years by experts in different fields, but no one has yet attempted a comprehensive survey of the problem for specialists. I feel that the time is now ripe for the historians, ethnologists, archaeologists, anthropologists and others working on Zimbabwe to combine in producing a well-organized and detailed synthesis of the whole problem within the covers of one book. Such a study of Zimbabwe is urgently needed.

Of particular interest in this volume are the historical photographs of the Ruins, some taken in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. The plates showing the gold and iron objects and the porcelain are not up to the standard of the remainders.

BRIAN FAGAN


The Lele were first described in 1907 by a passing traveller-anthropologist, E. Torrey. His general description did not indicate that Lele society is very different from the types of societies amongst the peoples which surround them. Yet when the author had finished her fieldwork it became apparent that the Lele have a highly original, indeed a unique, type of society. Culturally they fade away in the general pattern of the area but, structurally, they stand absolutely apart. This book, which includes topics already dealt with in previous articles, gives us a general analysis of this unusual system. The author did not limit herself to a study of the social and political structures but includes a discussion of Lele economy and religion to show how all the other features of the system are related to one another to form an integrated system revolving around the central theme that age should be respected, that wealth, religious control and authority belong to the aged. This theme is so extreme that it goes against such biological facts as the urge to reproduce of the young adult males and the general physical weakness of the older people which makes them unfit to carry the responsibilities and the hard work associated with their leadership. How this central theme is worked out throughout all the institutions of Lele society is described with elegance and clarity.

In the chapters about Lele economics the most original contributions are the discussion of economic spaces of distribution so that prestige items are separated from barter or foodstuffs or from the transfer of rights over women, and the discussion of the general weakness of the Lele in producing agricultural food because the young men are not supposed to work, the aged cannot do the work and there are no patterns of economic co-operation because the young fear to be exploited by the old. In the discussion of the social and political systems one will note the unique system of blood debts which are settled by the transfer of rights in marriage over women, the pawns. Blood debts operate between clan sections but also between villages, the corporate political units. Here an analysis on the lines of Levi-Strauss's theories might have yielded an even clearer understanding of the process, although the author's discussion is certainly precise and complete in itself. Another interesting point is the existence of an aristocracy which fulfills the roles of political chiefs, through the intelligent manipulation of the rules pertaining to the blood debt and preferential marriage (or rather, again, rights to give women away in marriage). But this aristocracy has not, however, any power, it is rather more a frill of the system than an essential part of it, at least today. The discussion of Lele religion brings some new insights into the problems of sorcery, including the realization that poison ordeals and anti-sorcery cults seem to have been alternative techniques for the resolution of conflicts. This goes against formerly held theories that anti-sorcery cults originated only after the Europeans had abolished the poison ordeal. It would seem as if data from the Lower Kongo area (where they are available since the seventeenth century) confirm Dr. Douglas's conclusion. Finally she stresses that the success of Christian missions in Lele territory was due to the fact that they enabled young men to marry at an earlier age and break away from the control of their elders. Lele society explains as well why modern economic incentives were not very effective. They were operating against the interests of both young and old. The young men could not use the money to acquire wives or prestige items, whilst the older men feared that the acquisition of any type of wealth by the youngster was breaking down the authority of the aged on which the whole of Lele society is built.

The author is lucky to have found such a fascinating society to study, but the Lele are lucky too to have found the author. A less outstanding anthropologist might easily have overlooked the complexity and the originality of the system. This book, although it is relatively short, will certainly become a classic in the anthropology of Central Africa, because it is so well thought out and so well written.

J. VANSINA


This is a general ethnographical monograph on a Northern Nguni people which in the last century moved into the Southern Nguni area and settled among the easterly Xosa tribes. They therefore present interesting problems of social and cultural development in a milieu different from that of their traditional ethnic fellows. They are also interesting as one of the Nguni groups to be the least affected by European economic and political contact.

The book is arranged in a straightforward way: ecology, family, growing up, marriage, economy, government, religion, magic and witchcraft. Each chapter consists of detailed ethnographical data, accompanied by frequent comparative references to other South African peoples. The attempt to provide an overall ethnographical
account of Bhaça culture has meant that the book is heavy going, the continual description slowing down the sociological argument. This is, however, a difficulty inherent in such an account, and is not intended as a criticism of the author. The motif of the book is a point of considerable sociological importance: Bhaça society has been able to accommodate rapid and intensive social change, rather than being disintegrated by it. The author shows ably how this has happened.

There is much of value and interest in this book. The author gives a detailed description and analysis of the ingaube ceremony, which is similar to the Swazi isucala used by Gluckman in his analysis of 'rituals of rebellion'; it is extremely useful to have this comparative account from the Bhaça, and particularly because the Bhaça, unlike the Swazi and Zulu, did not develop a centralized military system. The material on religion, Christianity, witchcraft and divination is very interesting and fully written, and the part played by religious and magical beliefs and practices in maintaining the social structure and accommodating change is well shown.

Despite its quantity, most of the published material on the Southern Bantu cannot be said to be a high quality. Mr. Hammond-Tooke's book is an exception and is a most valuable addition to Southern Bantu studies. JOHN MIDDLETON

Die Völker Afrikas: Ihre Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.

In this revised and expanded translation of Narody Afriki, originally published in Moscow in 1954, ethnographical and political maps have been added to each section, as well as modern photographs (from the Zentralbild at Berlin, the Deutsche Fotographie at Dresden and others). The two volumes cover the African continent, including Egypt, and the Maghreb, and Madagascar. Sections on prehistoric, racial types, languages and scripts are followed by regional sections. MARY HOLDSWORTH


The Ahmadiyyah Muslim sect has had an influence, especially in Africa, out of all proportion to its numbers. Even in England the two best-known mosques, at Woking and Southfields, are Ahmadiyaa and their literature and propaganda are considerable. Yet to orthodox Islamic in India and Pakistan where it arose, this is a grievous heresy. Dr. Fisher's thesis is that Ahmadiyyah is on the move in giving a critical account of Ahmadiyyah teachings and its history in West African countries. Since this book is specifically intended for Africa it begins with four chapters on the organization and characteristics of paganism and Islam on the West Coast. There is little new in this survey, except Dr. Fisher's curious habit of quoting verses from the Psalms to clinch his points. The next section on Ahmadiyya doctrine gives a useful survey of its relationships to traditional and modern Islam and Christianity. Ahmadiyya claims are examined, and where necessary disproved; for example, the favourite assertion that Jesus did not die on the cross but wandered off to Kashmir and was buried in Srinagar, on evidence, they say, backed by ancient documents and 'the unanimous oral testimony of hundreds of thousands of men.' Of this one might feel content to say that the bigger the lie the more easily believed, but Dr. Fisher gives chapter and verse against it. Ahmadiyyah arrived in West Africa in 1921, at the invitation of Fante Muslims. 'Abd-ur-Rahim Nayar, a companion of Ghulam Ahmad the founder of the sect, paid a brief visit to Freetown, went on to Saltpond and then to Lagos. He returned to Saltpond, had great success among the Fante, and this is now the headquarters of the largest Ahmadiyyah community in West Africa. The longest chapter summarizes Ahmadiyyah history in Nigeria with its divisions and litigations. The last section of the book is concerned with Ahmadiyyah organi-

zation and finance in West Africa, their energy in education and their political conservatism. Dr. Fisher estimates their numbers at perhaps 25,000 in Ghana, 7,000 in Nigeria and 3,000 in Sierra Leone. There are very few in the French-speaking countries, partly because of the handicaps of English-speaking Pakistani missionaries, but perhaps even more because of the relative strength of the orthodox Muslim denominations. 'The future is not secure for Ahmadiyya,' concludes Dr. Fisher. Its exaggerated claims and flamboyant propaganda will bring a reaction but for more important is the fact that orthodox Islam has not so far taken it seriously, except in the coastal towns. When it does so the attitude must be massive opposition. We were told recently that the mosque built two years ago at the University of Ibadan, and still unused, was likely to remain so since northern Muslims objected to using a building to which Ahmadi had contributed. The more that orthodox and informed Islam spreads, the less room there will be for this curious sect. In its Qadiani form at least, which alone affects West Africa, and claims that Ghulam Ahmad is a prophet after Muhammad.

E. G. PARRINDER


Ethiopia is a country rich in complexity and contradiction and not an easy subject for a short monograph. Mr. Jesman therefore has set himself a hard task which he has unfortunately not made any the easier by his rather curious choice of material and idiosyncratic method of presentation. Part of the trouble is not that although Ethiopia's historiography has undeniably played a singularly important part in shaping current Ethiopian aspirations and interests, far too much space in this short volume is devoted to the past. Consequently the author has left himself no space to do anything like justice to such vital topics as Ethiopia's present economic and political structure, or to the increasingly important role played by Ethiopia in Pan-African and international affairs. And even on their own terms Mr. Jesman's historical sketches leave much to be desired. Here a principal defect is the all too frequent confusion in the text (but not so much in the maps) between Ethiopia as a geographical region and Ethiopia as a political entity.

At the same time, a disproportionate amount of space is given to the dispute between Ethiopia and the Somali Republic concerning those Somali nationals who, as a consequence of the colonial partition of Somaliland, live in eastern Ethiopia. This refrain indeed dominates the whole volume to such an extent that a cursory reader might be forgiven for concluding that this is almost the sole international problem with which Ethiopians are seriously concerned. In his treatment of this issue, moreover, Mr. Jesman commits a number of errors of fact which cannot legitimately be excused as merely questions of emphasis or interpretation (as is implied in Mr. Mason's preface). For example, contrary to what he states on p. 39, the Haud grazing area was not designated as 'Ethiopian territory' by a 'Protocol between Ethiopia and Great Britain' in 1894. The parties to this protocol were Italy and Britain, and its effect was to assign the Haud to the British sphere of interest while preserving the Ogaden for Italy. It was only after the outstanding Ethiopian victory over the infiltrating Italians at Adowa in 1896 that the whole position changed, and, like France, Italy and Britain were forced to recognize Ethiopia as an independent sovereign state and to come to terms with her. Moreover, while in 1955 Britain chose to interpret the 1897 Anglo-Ethiopian agreement, which followed the battle of Adowa, as conceding Ethiopian sovereignty over the Haud, at the time any statement to this effect was deliberately excluded. And for good reason; for Britain sought in 1897 to avoid any recognition of Ethiopian territorial claims to Somali territory which might conflict with those already advanced by Italy and accepted in the 1891 and 1894 Anglo-Italian protocols.

Errors of this sort greatly reduce the value of a study which is already seriously deficient in other respects. And one can only conclude that it is unfortunate that the Institute of Race Relations should have published a volume which is no credit to the series in which it appears and which certainly does not do justice to its subject.

I. M. LEWIS

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STONE VESSELS FROM NORTHERN RHODESIA*
By Professor J. Desmond Clark, University of California, Berkeley

In reporting on the discovery of another stone bowl from South-West Africa, H. R. MacCalman (1962) shows that nine such vessels are now known from that country and from Bechuanaland.¹

None of these bowls can be accurately dated and they all vary in form but the circumstances of discovery of three of them (Fock, 1961) at a depth of six feet in red alluvial sand nevertheless indicate that they are of some antiquity. In any case objects so unusual in South Africa must surely have formed a significant part of the material culture of the one-time occupants of the western and south-western Kalahari, in particular of the Waterberg where most of them were found.

There is not the least evidence to connect these South-West African bowls either with the Later Stone Age Wilton or with the Brandberg-Enongo complex, and the only objects believed to be associated are two stone balls. It seems more probable that they formed part of the culture of one of the early migratory groups of pastoralists or mixed farmers that crossed the Zambezi between the first and the third centuries A.D. Attention has already been drawn (Clark, 1959, p. 282) to the possible connexions between these bowls and those of the Stone Bowl Culture of East Africa. It is not yet proved that the makers of the earlier variants of the Stone Bowl Culture possessed stock but it seems likely that they did. The makers of the later North-East Village, Hyrax Hill Variant, were certainly pastoralists owning sheep and cattle. Moreover, the pottery associated with this and other Variants, with its spouts and lugs, straight-sided and pointed-based pots, finds reflection in some of the pottery of the historic Hottentots of South-West Africa (Leakey, 1945; Schofield, 1948).

If such a cultural connexion exists it is very probable also that the ‘Europoid’ features to be seen in the Herero, Himba, Ndemba, Kuwale and associated peoples of South-West Africa and south-west Angola, as well as in the extinct Kakamas Hottentots of the northern Cape, may also have their origin in the East African Afro-Mediterranean stock, some of whom were the bearers of ‘neolithic’ culture there. Fig. 1 shows a Ndemba man from Oatholicu in south-west Angola and illustrates well those physical characteristics which, south of the Sahara, are above all associated with East Africa and the Horn.

If cultural and physical connexions, such as are postulated above, really exist between East and South-West Africa, then it is to be expected that some of the intervening regions would provide evidence to support this. The carved soapstone bowls from Zimbabwe and the bowl-manufacturing sites in Southern Rhodesia (Robinson, 1958) and the Transvaal (Mason, 1962) provide doubtfull connexions by reason of their age and the technique of their manufacture. But, on the other hand, little is yet known of the prehistory of the region in which the factory sites are situated.

* With five figures

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From north of the Zambezi the only forms known to me that are in any way comparable come from the Tanganyika plateau in north-eastern Rhodesia. While these specimens show no very close resemblance either to the South-West or to the East African stone bowls they are nevertheless sufficiently unusual objects in south central Africa to warrant being recorded here. These Northern Rhodesian specimens comprise two mortar-like objects and a thick, shallow dish or bowl. They are described below. The first two specimens are referred to as mortars since this term best describes their shape, but, although they may have served for crushing soft substances, this was certainly not the main use to which they were put.

(1) Stone Mortar, This was found by a Mr. Mathers on the surface in 1950 in the course of road work at an old village site adjacent to the Great North Road near Isoka (Lat. 10°16'S, Long. 32°25'E). The local villagers stated...
that they had never seen anything similar before. It was sent to the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum (Acc. No. 2520) by D. G. Lancaster who also provided all the extant information concerning it. It is illustrated as figs. 2b and 3b.

The specimen is cylindrical and made from a micaceous, schistose rock (pegmatite schist) which is fairly soft and so not too difficult to work. The base and top are flat, curving gently over to meet the walls. The smooth and regular exterior has been worked to shape by rubbing and grinding, and none of the original cortex is preserved. The upper half of the cylinder has been hollowed into a mortar-like cavity. This has been carefully excavated, not by drilling, but by working with a wedge-shaped tool that had a blade between 2.0 and 2.5 cm. wide. Several grooves can be clearly seen and suggest that they were made by a spud-shaped metal chisel which must have been hafted in the same plane as the handle. The walls of the cavity are gently concave and the bottom flat but rough with only a slight suggestion of smoothing. The inside of the rim is bevelled and rounded and shows some polishing due to use. The base and walls of the lower half of the cavity, the inner bevel and one-third of the circumference of the rounded exterior surface of the rim show blackening by some, as yet undetermined, substance, probably carbon. The remainder of the exterior and interior surfaces are clean.

Maximum height 26.0 cm.
Maximum diameter across short axis 14.6 cm.
Maximum external diameter of rim 12.8 cm.
Maximum internal diameter at rim 6.7 cm.
Depth of cavity 10.8 to 11.2 cm.
Weight between 15 and 20 lbs.

It seems unlikely that a hard pestle was used in the mortar-like cavity since such use would have obliterated the manufacturing marks on the walls and base. That it had at one time been in regular use for some purpose, however, is shown by the adherence of the black substance and by the smoothing and polishing of the rim and some of the exterior surfaces.

(2) Stone Mortar. This was found in 1932 at Mwenco on the Northern Rhodesia—Tanganyika territorial boundary (Lat. 9°20'S, Long. 32°41'E) and presented by Dr. J. A. Chisholm to the Albany Museum, Grahamstown. I am most grateful to Dr. H. J. Deacon, archaeologist at the Museum, for the information concerning this specimen and for the illustrations at figs. 2a and 3c.

The mortar was said to have been found in the mushitu or patch of relict forest in which the Mukoma, paramount chiefs of the Inamwanga tribe, are buried. It lay just below the surface of the ground and there was no local knowledge of such an object or tradition as to its use.

This specimen also is roughly cylindrical with flat top and bottom, the top showing an approximately circular cross-section. The base, however, is more elliptical and the walls parallel to the longer axis are flattened. The bore is circular and the sides of the cavity are vertical though showing some irregularities. The rock from which it is made is light reddish brown in colour and highly weathered; it is soft and easily scratched with a penknife. Professor Mountain and Dr. Eales of Rhodes University, Grahamstown, have described it as a medium-grained igneous rock of intermediate composition, quartz-free with occasional flecks of mica and low in ferro-magnesium minerals. The rock shows a definite lineation but this is not sufficiently marked to be termed schistose.

**Fig. 2. Stone vessels from Northern Rhodesia**

(a) Shallow bowl of quartzite from Lake Tanganyika at Mpongwe. (b) Mortar from old village site near Isoka. (c) Mortar from Mwenzo

The exterior surface shows tool marks at one place below the rim and on the wall where the shaping is at an angle with the lineation. These are compared by Deacon to the kind of marks produced in shaping soft stone with a knife.
Like the Isoka mortar the Mwenzo specimen has a deposit of carbon adhering to both exterior and interior surfaces. On the exterior this is restricted in the main to 3-4 cm. below the rim except in two areas where it extends well down the wall of the mortar. In the interior cavity this carbonaceous deposit is again confined to an area round the rim and immediately below (3-4 cm.), with a second, well-defined ring 2-5 mm. wide 8 cm. below the rim. The deposit appears to be organic in origin and a borax bead test failed to show any traces of metal other than iron. The manner in which the ring-like carbonaceous deposit occurs in the cavities of both these mortars suggests that it may be the result of the mortars' having been used to cook some substance with organic ingredients that formed a hard ring of carbon (two in the case of the Mwenzo specimen) at the level to which the mortar had been filled.

Maximum diameter at rim 23·5 cm.
Minimum diameter at rim 19·7 cm.
Maximum height from base to rim 11·5 cm.
Maximum depth of ground surface below rim 1·8 cm.

It could be argued that this specimen might be a Later Stone Age, Nachikufan, grindstone but, if so, it is atypical. All the Nachikufan examples known to me from Northern Rhodesia have either a lenticular grinding surface or an extremely small, shallow, circular depression. It is also quite unlike the present-day saddle and dish querns of the Mambwe-Lungu people.

As in the case of the South-West African examples, the cultural associations of these Northern Rhodesian vessels are at present unknown, though the Mwenzo specimen suggests a possible connexion for the 'mortars' with a Bantu people, perhaps the Inamwanga.
The Inamwanga are offshoots of the same stock as the Nyakusa, Kinga and Ngonde of southern Tanganyika and of Nyasaland and are immigrants from the east and north-east. They are said originally to have been a nomadic people living in rough conditions in the bush. They were without chiefs and were ruled by clan heads until a Bisa ironworker and agriculturalist from the south-west was accepted and established himself as the first chief of the tribe. They are among the very few cattle-owners in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia and are related to the Mambwe-Lungu peoples who, like them, moved southwards from Tanganyika and with whom they share a common language as well as a history of having been at one time similarly without chiefs (Brelsford, 1937).

The Isoka vessel comes from what is now Bemba country but at the beginning of the last century it was almost certainly occupied by the Inamwanga or Iwa who are a splinter group of the former. If these stone vessels are connected with the Inamwanga or with any of the peoples grouped as Mwika by Wilson, it is most likely that they belong to the period when the people were without chiefs for such objects are without place in either the Nyakusa or the 'Luba' chiefly rituals. Most of the peoples of this region are believed to have obtained their cattle only after the arrival of their chiefs but the Kinga in the Livingstone Mountains certainly had cattle before the arrival of the Nyakusa chiefs sometime between 1550 and 1650. If, therefore, stone bowls and stock-herding are related, we may have to look for possible associations to a time before the sixteenth century when the Nyika and Kinga were in undisputed occupation of the Nyasa—Tanganyika corridor country (Wilson, 1938).

Perhaps the stone 'mortars' are copies of wooden ones. Small, vertical wooden mortars, similar to the large examples for pounding maize, are sometimes used today in south central Africa for pounding snuff, arrow poison, groundnuts or relishes. The shape of these, however, is very different, from that of the stone 'mortars' and in the region in which the latter were found it is the horizontal, rather than the small, vertical, wooden mortar that is used today. The nearest East African equivalents to the stone vessels are believed to be the flowerpot-like stone bowls from the late Gumban graves in Ngorongoro in northern Tanganyka, which still remain unpublished. It is further of interest that the East African bowls from the Njoro River Variant (fig. 4; Leakey, 1945) and the Gumban A Variant at the Little Gilgil River Site (Cole, 1963, p. 309) bear signs of burning and carbon on the inside as do the 'mortars' from Northern Rhodesia. This suggests that the purpose for which they were used may have been similar and this may be a more significant indication that the two were connected than would appear from their shape alone.

If cultural connexions between South-West and East Africa do, in fact, exist, and in the absence of anything comparable from south of the Tanganyika plateau, it seems likely that the main migration of pastoral groups from northern Tanganyika would have been south through Sindiga and across the great Ruaha river to the southern highlands of Tanganyika and thence around the north end of Lake Nyasa and the south end of Lake Tanganyika, down the grass covered, high Kalahari Sand country of the Kundelungu and along the Zambezi-Congo watershed which forms a natural route into south-west Angola. That is to say, the route would have been largely associated with land over 4,500 feet and with country which is almost completely unknown so far as its prehistory is concerned. Fig. 5 has been drawn to show the location of the Northern Rhodesian stone vessels in relation to those in South-West Africa and to the East African Stone Bowl Culture and the possible migration route from East Africa into the South-West.
The main purpose of this note is to emphasize the need to carry out investigations of the South-West African localities, in particular of the Waterberg, where these stone bowls have been found. If, as I believe, they belong with a proto-historic, pastoral culture, most of the evidence from which this will be reconstructed will lie on or near the surface, in the form of ground plans of huts, stock pens, shallow middens and soil or refuse dumps, rather than buried in rockshelters. The often bare, stone-strewed and open topography of South-West Africa lends itself to a careful survey of surface indications of this kind. In the heavier rainfall areas of the tropics such indications are usually hidden or lost. There the virtually unlimited supply of timber in the ubiquitous woodlands means that stone very rarely needs to be used as a supplementary building material, for strengthening the base of structures, for example, as it frequently is in drier regions where the vegetation is sparser or occurs mainly as bushes or low thorn scrub.

A study of the kind suggested would provide the opportunity, indeed the necessity, to develop new techniques for identifying and interpreting the surface indications of past human settlement. One would presumably start by studying the pattern of present-day Hottentot, Himba and Tswana camps, both occupied and abandoned, and from this work back to an interpretation of the proto-historic settlements. Studies of this kind would provide a most important contribution to African proto-history as well as contributing to a better understanding of much older, buried camping sites of Pleistocene age. Moreover, so far as I am aware, no recent serological or somatic studies of the Bantu population of the northern part of South-West Africa and Bechuanaland have been carried out. Surely, with the great advances that have been made in blood-grouping in the last few years, some firm deductions are now possible that would show whether the relationship postulated for the East African Afro-Mediterranean stock and the South-West African populations with Europoid characteristics is a valid one.

Acknowledgments
I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Alburquerque Matos for fig. 1; to Dr. H. J. Deacon for figs. 2a and 2c and for the details of the Mwenzo mortar; to Mr. C. S. Holliday for figs. 2a, b and 4a; and to Mr. B. M. Fagan for searching the files of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum and to Mrs. B. C. Clark for fig. 3a, b.

References


Note
Six specimens come from the Waterberg from sites at Hama-kari (three specimens), Osire, Oti-waxongo and Klein Etjo. One is from Omaruru and one from Farm Oteniqua in Okahandja District, 57 miles south-west of the Waterberg. The Bechuanaland specimen comes from Kanye.

A Note on the Pongal Festival in a Tanjore Village. By André Béritte, Department of Sociology, University of Delhi

The pongal festival, which takes place on the first day of the solar month of Capricorn (generally in mid January) is celebrated throughout Tamilnad as an occasion of major social and religious importance. In fact, as we shall see, pongal is, in a sense, the one festival which is viewed by Tamils as their very own.

Pongal has, by tradition, a dual significance, being, on the one hand, a harvest festival, and marking, on the other, a change in the relation of the earth to the sun. In its latter aspect, it is also referred to as sankranthi (properly makara sankranthi), and is an occasion of ritual significance for Hindus throughout India.

Pongal is an occasion of worship in the home as well as the temple. It is also an occasion on which people get together, visit each other and exchange gifts. People look forward to pongal as a time of plenty and of goodwill among men.

A festival such as pongal is generally viewed by social anthropologists of the functional school as providing an occasion for the affirmation of the bonds of solidarity between people. There is, however, another way of looking at it. In a complex and highly stratified society the same festival may have a variety of meanings for different people. And within a single village, different people may celebrate the same festival in ways which are sometimes not only unrelated, but also at conflict.

Under the conditions of social change a traditional festival may be invested by some with a new meaning. Traditionally pongal has been a religious occasion. Today a secular meaning is being attached to it by certain sections of people. This leads not only to a conflict of ideas, but also to an opposition between people who view pongal as a religious occasion and those who regard it as a secular one.

This note is based on a study of the pongal festival in Sripuram, a multi-caste village in the Tanjore district, and on observations made in the surrounding area. Sripuram is a Brahmin village with an ancient religious heritage, situated on the north bank of the river Kaveri. Socially the population of the village is segmented into three broad divisions, Brahmans, Non-Brahmins and Adivis, who account for 92, 118 and 86 households respectively. The three segments live in separate residential areas and are marked by broad differences in styles of life, including religious practices. The Brahmans of Tanjore district have an elaborate religious
culture. It is characterized, on the one hand, by an intricate system of rites and, on the other, by a complex body of beliefs often set forth in a highly abstract and systematized form. The Brahmins use Sanskrit in their worship, and most of them in Sripuram have some familiarity with the language. They are strict vegetarians, and do not engage in animal sacrifice. The principal gods worshipped by them are Vishnu and Shiva, and some sections of them worship only the former. Religious activities have been traditionally viewed as the particular province of Brahmins, although not all Brahmins are priests, nor are all priests Brahmins.

The religious system of the Non-Brahmins is simpler and more limited in scope. Their religious ideas lack the abstract and systematized character associated with the Brahmins, and this is particularly true in a village like Sripuram where the bulk of Non-Brahmins are peasants. The learning of Sanskrit verses is not essential equipment among Non-Brahmins. In addition to Shiva and Vishnu, they worship a number of local deities. These latter are often propitiated by animal sacrifices. The Adi-Dravidas, finally, are excluded from many areas of worship which are open to Non-Brahmins. They are not admitted to the major temples dedicated to Vishnu and Shiva, and Brahmin priests do not officiate in their domestic rites. They have separate temples, and are served generally by priests from their own group of castes.

Sripuram has a number of temples, and each stands in a special relation to a particular section of its population. The Vishnu temple, situated at the head of the Brahmin street, is the centre of religious activity for the Brahmins. It is rarely visited by the Non-Brahmins, and never by the Adi-Dravidas. The Non-Brahmin worship at the Elangadi temple, and also at the Shiva temple. The Adi-Dravidas have separate temples in their own residential area.

On the day of pongal worship is held both in the home and in the temple. Domestic worship on this occasion is organized more elaborately among Non-Brahmins than among Brahmins. The streets are decorated in front of the Non-Brahmin houses, and new earthen pots decorated with turmeric and sugarcane are set out. Food offerings of various kinds are made by the women to the sun god. In the Brahmin street new pots and food offerings are not displayed outside, although the special pongal dishes are prepared there also.

In Sripuram the Brahmins celebrate sankranti by a series of rites in the temple. These do not show any apparent connexion with either the domestic rites or the general activities of agriculture. On the morning of sankranti the Brahmins assemble at the Vishnu temple, and carry the deity in procession to the river Kaveri for a ritual bath. The ritual bath plays an important part in the life of the Brahmin. And to bathe in the sacred waters of Kaveri along with the deity on an auspicious occasion is considered particularly rewarding. Sankranti is one of a few occasions in the year when the deity from the Vishnu temple is carried in procession to the river for a sacred bath. The ceremony is known as kaveri teertham, or teertha vari. In the Vishnu temple at Sripuram there is a separate idol which is taken out on this occasion to the river bank for worship and ablution. The ceremony on the river bank is attended exclusively by Brahmins. Some 50 persons, both men and women, go in procession, participate in the worship which is conducted by the Brahmin priest of the Vishnu temple, and take their bath after the idol has been dipped in the water.

The procession from the Vishnu temple, and the ceremony at the river, as mentioned above, is attended wholly by Brahmins. The entire cycle of rites has a different meaning from the ceremonies performed by the Non-Brahmins in their homes. The two sets of activities are not functionally interrelated, but the one is organized independently of the other.

While in the past there were differences of meaning and emphasis in the way in which pongal was celebrated by Brahmins on the one hand and Non-Brahmins on the other, it was marked generally by an atmosphere of goodwill in the village. Until the last decade pongal was one of the two major occasions in Sripuram on which gifts were exchanged between landowners and tenants, between Brahmins, Non-Brahmins and Adi-Dravidas. Gift exchange takes place now on a much more reduced scale and only between a few families. This is partly because pongal itself has acquired a new meaning in the context of a much more pervasive conflict between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins.

Tensions between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins have been a feature of social life in Tamilnad over the last four or five decades. These tensions developed an ideology in the Self-Respect Movement which called upon Non-Brahmins (and Adi-Dravidas) to rid themselves of the spiritual domination of Brahmins. The Self-Respect Movement sought, among other things, to do away with the services of Brahmin priests and Brahminical rites. In the nineteen-forties and later, various political parties developed with an anti-Brahmin and anti-Sanskrit ideology, and an emphasis on values distinctive of Tamil society and culture. Most prominent among these was the Dravid Kazhagam whose leader E. V. Ramaswami Naicker symbolizes the opposition of the Dravidian South to the Aryan North with its heritage of Sanskrit and Brahminical ritual. Naicker launched a powerful attack against ritualism in a general way and championed the cause of a secular social order. Although the Dravid Kazhagam has not contested elections, the personal influence of its leader over Non-Brahmins and Adi-Dravidas has been considerable in Tamilnad.

Other political parties have also opposed Brahminical ritual, although in different ways. The Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K.), which is the chief opposition party in the state, has a secular outlook with a strong emphasis on things indigenous to Tamilnad. The Tamil Arasu Kazhagam urges, among other things, a substitution of Tamil for Sanskrit in temple worship.

The new political climate has invested pongal with an additional meaning. It is now viewed by an increasing number of people as a symbol of all that is local and indigenous to Tamilnad. In many quarters it is celebrated today as thamizhar thirunal: the day auspicious to Tamils. A traditional religious occasion has acquired a colour which is distinctly political in nature.

It has becoming a common practice in Tamilnad to print greetings cards on important ceremonial occasions. Pongal cards today often carry pictures of Ramaswami Naicker and other Non-Brahmin leaders together with greetings which convey a political message. It should be of interest to note the close association of the occasion with the name and ideas of Naicker who is viewed by the orthodox as representing the negation of traditional religion. The new name for the occasion, thamizhar thirunal, is equally significant. It represents an expression of political unity in ritual terms, the word thirunal (thiru = auspicious; nal = day) signifying a day set apart for religious ceremonial.

Thus, in Sripuram, while one set of people celebrate sankranti with traditional religious rites in the temple and at home, the occasion is utilized by another for a different purpose. A separate and independent celebration is organized in a reading room which serves as the centre of activities for the D.M.K. party in the village. The reading room is often used as a base for party political activity by the D.M.K. in Tanjore district; it serves, in addition, as a kind of club house and recreational centre for young Non-Brahmins with 'progressive' and secular ideas.

The D.M.K. reading room in the village is gaily decorated on the occasion of pongal. Like the Vishnu temple, although in a different way, it bears a festive appearance. The street in front of it is decorated with paper streamers coloured red and black, the
The subject of this article is category 2. This category is of interest because it is nativistic. It negates the principle of economic efficiency (the reprocessing involved considerable mammy labour) in its function of maintaining custom and asserting local aesthetic values against styles imposed by the cheaper foreign imports.

Although the literature on West African beads is extensive, I am not sure that the 'cooking' of modern koli beads has been adequately described. On several occasions in 1959 and 1960 I witnessed this process and the trading of these beads. Several market women (mammies) were self-employed in this business in the Krobo markets. Some of the facts of this local entrepreneurship are as follows:

The raw material for the production of modern koli is the plain blue glass cylindrical beads imported from various European countries by the wholesalers, who sell the goods to Syrian, Lebanese, Indian or Ghanaian shopkeepers. The mammies dealt primarily with these lesser businessmen, although some of them have been developing sizable credit accounts with the wholesalers.

The Koli makers are itinerant mammies or mammies who can afford a permanent place in the market. They visit several shops and haggle over the price of the imported beads which they need. In June, 1959, I accompanied a mammy from the moment she started out to buy the imported beads until they were reprocessed into koli and made ready for the market. We started early in the morning from her home and visited several Syrian and Indian shops. After considerable bargaining the mammy bought a 1 lb. package of Italian transparent blue cylindrical beads at 10 c.

We then went back to her house where she filled a little portable stove with approximately two pounds of charcoal and lit it in the courtyard. She then filled a local globular pot with successive layers of dried skins of the palm-oil nut (pericarp), plaited skins, clumps of fresh cassava and fresh skins of the palm nut in that order. She then poured the entire contents of the bead package on top of the stuff, adding another handful of palm-nut skins on top of the beads, for good measure. She then covered the pot with a wooden lid and let it cook on the stove.

The cooking lasted a little more than an hour during which time the mammy fed her children and did other chores. She interrupted these chores every now and then in order to shake the pot vigorously 'for the proper cooking' of all the beads. When she thought that the beads were ready she extracted some from the burning mass, let them cool off, and then ground them a little on a grinding stone nearby. They gave an opaque blue colour contrasting pleasantly with the transparent blue of the beads before the cooking. Having thus satisfied herself that the cooking had been a success, the mammy poured the contents of the pot on the ground. All the vegetable matter had burned in a reduced atmosphere and the beads were hardly distinguishable from the black mess.

Now the arduous task of grinding would have to be done. This stage of bead-reprocessing takes place as follows: The fire-blackened beads are collected from the ground and are placed in a bucket full of water. The water washes away the ashes and other dirt and moistens the beads before the grinding. Beads are always kept wet when ground. The prospective koli are ground individually at first. The mammy picks a bead from the bucket and with the aid of a needle holds one end of the bead firmly against a grinding stone. The needle is equipped with an improvised stopper of thread wrapped around it. The distance of the stopper from the end of the needle is regulated according to the length of the bead. Thus the needle holds the bead firmly without scratching the grinding stone. Both ends of the beads are thus ground. An experienced bead-maker (child labour is often employed in this business) requires approximately 20 seconds to grind both ends.
of a bead. A good average is three beads per minute although work is continuously interrupted because water must be poured over the grinding stone, and because of the tending and feeding of babies, gossip or other activities. The grinding of the two ends is considered important because in order to be successful the ends must slant in relation to the axis, when the right slanting is achieved, the subsequent armllets or necklaces will tend to form a circle when strung tightly against each other. The slanting angle is checked constantly by placing two or three beads against each other on the ground to see if they 'fit'. Subsequently 20 or 30 beads are threaded onto wire. About a dozen of these wires are then held by one or two hands against the grinding stone and are ground all over. Much water is continuously used in the process. The grinding ends when the beads are smooth and all traces of the black from the cooking are gone. The time involved varies enormously again because of interruptions. A good guess would be an hour for a dozen wires. The beads are then removed from the wires, washed, dried in the sun and strung on cotton thread ready for the market. Their colour is a uniform pale opalescent blue.

Such koli beads were the commonest item of adornment among the Krobo women (all ages) in 1939-1960. They were worn below the knees, on both arms and the waist.

I think that the retention of the term koli in the vocabulary of modern and rather cheap beads is demonstrative of the persistence of certain aesthetic predilections among the Krobo for local products. If this is true then the modern koli are not 'faux' but kubromorphic substitutes for the 'true' koli.

And now a generalization about the circulation of styles. Even the casual inquirer will soon note that there is strong competition between the local bead-makers and the bead-importers. The competition was translated into distrust by many bead-makers who thought that I was the representative of some importer, and into hostility on the part of some importers who thought that I was invading their cherished grounds. This competition is mentioned here because it affects local styles. Importers send their agents to the local markets and find out what styles are currently in fashion. They send samples to European manufacturers who turn out sizable quantities of these styles at a very low cost. The local bead-makers offset this dumping by changing the colour combinations or the shape (new variants) of the beads they produce. Now it is these local manufacturers that set the pace of fashion to a certain extent because they know very well that their local beads are considered 'better' than imports. There are important exceptions to this rule. For instance, in the northern areas of Ghana the cheap plastic beads have replaced the glass beads. But this reflects economic conditions which are quite different from those of the forest dwellers in southern Ghana. In the affluent south it is the 'local' beads with high prestige that are opposed to the foreign manufacturers. Thus local labour and craftsmanship were important factors in the setting of prestige value and styles in the bead market in 1959-1960. It is, of course, possible that some other 'services' were added while cooking the profane European imports. But this was explicitly denied by my informants.

Notes

2 I am grateful to Dr. O Brew, Director of Peabody Museum, Harvard University and Miss Alexandra Weinstein for their interest and assistance in my work.
3 See, for instance, Fage's bibliographical notes, ibid., p. 343, particularly the work of Mauny and Krieger.
4 The imports of beads in 1958-59 amounted to about £200,000. Beads were imported by all the big firms. Certain firms like ZICK (Holland) traditionally specialized in the bead trade.
5 Specification No. 1188, size 5x12.
6 There were about 50 nuts, 1 pound of plantain skins, 1 pound of cassava, and three or four handfuls of palm-nut pericarps.
7 The glass consistency of the beads after the cooking undoubtedly facilitates the grinding. Uncooked beads seem to be brittle.
8 These grinding stones are known in Accra as adhimon-te. They are made of sandstone in contrast to grinding stones for food which are made of harder metamorphic rocks. This has archaeological implications. Large grinding stones should not be invariably associated with food-processing. The nature of the rock might be relevant in controlled circumstances such as this.
9 Adhimon-te are the land marks of bead-maker homes. They are often seen piled up near their homes. Very often the stones are unfinished, lying together with broken or discarded grinding stones. Very often these last ones have a hole from repeated usage.
10 This point will be elaborated in another article.

Domestic Fuel in Primitive Society. By Barrie Reynolds, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia

Professor Heizer's recent paper on 'Domestic Fuel in Primitive Society' (J. R. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. XCIII, Part 2, 1963) forms a most useful contribution in this rather neglected subject. Such neglect, as the paper demonstrates, is ill deserved in view of the important part which fire and its attendant activities play in the lives and cultures of all peoples. The present paper is intended not as a criticism of but rather as a supplement to Professor Heizer's paper, and is based on field observations made among various groups of Bantu-speaking subsistence cultivators living in Northern Rhodesia and neighbouring territories in this sub-tropical zone of Africa.

These people are, understandably, less concerned with fire as a means of providing warmth than are people living in more temperate regions; nor, except in country heavily infested with dangerous wild animals or during a long journey, does the question of fire as a means of protection normally arise. Fire is primarily a domestic tool intended for cooking purposes. As a result its tending and the supply of fuel are a woman's work. Whilst the collection of firewood is a recurrent daily task, one must avoid over-emphasizing the importance of fire-tending activities in the work routine of Bantu women. Similarly, one must avoid attributing to the Bantu villager an excessive emotional concern for the domestic hearth fire that he or she does not in fact possess. Except in the evenings and at cooking times the fires in a village are usually neglected. At best they are only small, and during the day reduce to one or perhaps two barely smouldering thick sticks or are allowed to die out completely. In a village it is unlikely that every fire will die out during the day; somebody is sure to be cooking or using her fire at any given time and so there is usually no difficulty in women obtaining live coals or a few burning twigs from their neighbours. Only when the agricultural cycle demands that people should live and sleep in their scattered garden shelters does the need for extra care of the fire arise. Even then, if a fire is allowed to die out there is no real hardship involved in borrowing from another garden group or even in kindling a completely new fire using firesticks.

The normal fuel in south-central Africa is dry wood, though reeds and the cut stems of garden cereal plants (maize, millet, sorghum) are used on occasions. This occurs only, however, when such materials are close to hand and firewood is not. Rarely is coal employed, even among urban Africans working as domestic servants and having access, therefore, to their employers' stocks. It is to be noted that it is common practice, where the employer uses wood and not coal for his own fires, for the servant to rely
on this stock for his own fuel. Perhaps the reason for the apparent dislike of coal fuel is partly that open coal fires are less satisfactory for cooking purposes than are open wood fires in that they cannot be developed to a satisfactory level of heat as quickly, and partly that whilst a servant soon learns in a coal-using European household how to build fires with such material, his own meals are prepared by his wife whose experience is limited to wood fuel.

There is a similar barrier in the rural context where men prepare charcoal and use it in smithing and smelting. Women, however, do not normally use this material for cooking purposes, and even in urban areas where they are officially encouraged to do so there is a definite resistance to making the necessary change, even when wood fuel is difficult and expensive to obtain.

The practice among the south-central Bantu of each wife preparing food for herself, for her children and, when required, for her husband, means that just as she is entitled to a hut of her own in her husband's village, so also she needs her own hearth and cooking fire. Whilst friends may join her and cook their food at her fire any attempt on the part of another, particularly of a cow-wife, to usurp her rights over that hearth and fire would be bitterly resented and could give rise to accusations of witchcraft. (Indeed certain witchcraft practices demand, among other things, the theft of a cinder from the fire of the intended victim.) Thus, at cooking and meal times the various basic kinship units and certain friendship links are strikingly apparent.

A point that Professor Heizer implies but does not specifically make is the extent to which members of a rural wood-burning community differentiate between timbers, and clearly evaluate the relative burning and heating propensities of different woods. Among the Bantu, even children of nine or ten years of age are fully aware of the differences between 'good' and 'bad' firewood; an awareness gained in helping their parents and made important because of the labour involved in cutting and carrying the fuel.

Women are normally responsible for the gathering of firewood and usually combine this activity with their visits to their gardens. Rarely do they carry axes; a woman's tool is a hoe. As a result, in their gathering they are not usually equipped to cut large logs, though their iron hoes are strong enough to chop dead branches of up to two or three inches in diameter. Sometimes they return from their gardens bearing a full bundle of firewood. More often they bring back only a few sticks, sufficient for their immediate needs. A most interesting point that I have observed in the Mashi Valley is that the southern border of Botswana is that even where larger logs (six inches and more in diameter) are available in the valley itself, women prefer for normal cooking purposes to use sticks of up to three or four inches diameter and even to split such logs. This preference could arise from the fact that the cooking vessels generally employed are three-legged iron ones purchased from European trade stores. The legs are fairly short and so there are only three or four inches of room beneath the body of the pot. More probably, however, the preference is the result of a sense of economy. The bigger the fire, the greater the labour involved in collecting and transporting the firewood.

For beer-brewing, a major task that requires the assistance of other women for pounding the grain, the women of the Mashi Valley need plenty of firewood for the lengthy cooking process. The normal arrangement is for a man, often the husband, to supply this and to be paid for his services in kind—an agreed quantity of beer, almost invariably four 'cups.' I know of no other occasion among these people when the collection of fuel is so delegated to another person in return for payment. Since beer parties are arranged for work parties employed in the gardens or in other major activities, for ceremonial occasions, and for commercial purposes when the beer is sold by the cup, this employment of a firewood-collector is frequently necessary. No one man, however, is regarded as the 'collector' for a village and the work is very much an unspecialized activity.

In the more important urban centres of Northern Rhodesia firewood and its collection present a considerable problem to the African housewife. Only a minority of such houses are equipped with electric stoves and scarcely any with electric heating. The countryside immediately surrounding the towns is scoured and soon cleared of any firewood. Thereafter recourse must be made to firewood purchased in the market. In recent years this commercial enterprise, run usually by African lorry-owner-drivers has established itself as an apparently permanent feature of the African market place. The firewood is gathered on licence in the Government Forest Reserves and is transported on often grossly overloaded lorries. It is then sold in small bundles for 6d. or more. That this business must gradually die and be replaced by the supply of some other fuel is to be expected. When and how this will occur, the type of fuel that will then be employed and the manner in which and the extent to which it is accepted by the African urban public will present interesting ethnographical problems that should well repay study. It is to be hoped that the neglect which the subject of domestic fuel in primitive societies at present receives will not be followed by its neglect in relation to developing communities.

A Biochemical Analysis of Human Remains from Gua Cha, Kelantan, Malaya. By Kenneth A. R. Kennedy, M.A., Ph.D., Post-doctoral Fellow, National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C. With two tables

Samples of human bone from the mesolithic (Hoabinhian) and neolithic deposits at Gua Cha, Kelantan, Malaya, were analysed for the presence of nitrogen and blood-group antigens. Previous accounts of this site have been concerned with its archaeology (Noone, 1939; Sieveking and Tweedie, 1955; Sieveking, 1956) and with an anthropometric description of its human remains (Trevor and Brothwell, 1962). In the present report, the problems under consideration are: (1) the nature of the specific results obtained from the biochemical analyses; (2) the comparison of these results between the two series, which are representative of populations of earlier and later cultural horizons at Gua Cha; (3) the relative frequencies in the present-day populations of southern Asia of the blood groups identified in these prehistoric skeletons.

Five bone fragments and one premolar tooth from the Hoabinhian and three bone fragments from the neolithic skeletons were selected for nitrogen assay. Whenever possible samples from the same portions of the skeleton of a given specimen were employed in the palaeochemical analysis, but for specimens Cha. H.5, S.7, H.1 and A.5 different ossese parts had to be selected.

The surfaces of the bones marked for testing were cleaned by use of a coarse-burred dental drill. They were washed in a solution of 2-0 per cent absolute ethyl alcohol and 98-0 per cent. distilled water, then air-dried for one hour and oven-dried for two hours. The diploc was removed from each bone with a probe and drill, the cancellous tissue being preferred to compact bone. These bone samples were pulverized in a sterilized stone mortar after the larger bits of bone had been sifted from the powdery residue. The samples were placed in labelled sterilized containers which were tightly stoppered. The nitrogen assay was carried out by Mr. G. C. Ross at the Central Laboratory, British Museum (Natural History), London.

The presence of nitrogen in bone is indicative of protein and
protein-derived substances. Subsequent to the initial interment of fresh osseous tissue there is a rapid loss of its nitrogenous constituents. This process may continue at a gradually decreasing rate for the period of a century or more. Thereafter the nitrogen loss proceeds at a still slower rate so that in a time range of 5,000 to 10,000 years this decline may reach the order of 0.1 per cent. This range of nitrogen reduction has been recognized as a useful method for the dating of bone when large samples are available: for small samples, considerable caution must be exercised in the interpretation of test results. In the 1,000 samples of bone from California Indian skeletons, Cook (1960) discovered that recent bone has a mean nitrogen content of 4.0 per cent, while only marginal traces occurred in specimens whose antiquity was estimated at 7,000 to 10,000 years B.P. Barbar’s (1939) series of bone samples from mid-Pliocene to Holocene times gave a range of from 0.009 per cent. to 3.99 per cent. nitrogen. Individual fossil hominid specimens have shown nitrogen quantities of 1.87 per cent. in Pleses Man, 1.05 per cent. in Grimaldi and 3.15 per cent. in recent human bone (Pin, 1950). Traces of nitrogen of the order of hundreds of 1.0 per cent. are less reliable for dating purposes.

The amounts of nitrogen present in the sub-fossilized remains from the Hoabinhian and Neolithic deposits at Gua Cha are not marked by a significant quantitative difference (Table I). The range of mg. of nitrogen per 100 mg. of bone is 0.17 to 0.23 for the earlier samples and for the later ones the range is from 0.11 to 0.24. These give means of 0.20 and 0.19 respectively. The sample of premolar dentine from specimen Cha, H.10 shows a nitrogen quantity which exceeds the amount present in any of the other samples. It is also different from the results obtained by testing the sample of bone from the same skeletal specimen. This striking disharmony in results is ascribable to the fact that the dentine and the bone react in different ways to the assay, as do bone and shell under identical types of biochemical tests. The similarity of nitrogen content in the bone samples of both prehistoric series suggests that a time period of a few centuries rather than millennia may intervene between the Hoabinhian people and their Neolithic successors at Gua Cha.

While the results of the nitrogen assay show that the quantity of organic material remaining in the bone samples is too low to permit great confidence in the identification of antigens, paleo-serological analysis was conducted for the purpose of determining the kind of results which such sub-fossilized bone might afford (Table II). The standard absorption technique was used. This is the modification of the Boyd’s (1933) standard inhibition test for blood-group-containing substances as applied by Candela (1936) to bone specimens. The procedure is based upon the presumption that a group-specific antigen is present in a given sample if antiserum of proper concentration is inhibited in its activity with red cells of the appropriate group following its prolonged contact with the test sample. Three naturally occurring human anti-A and three such human anti-B sera from living individuals of known serological constitution were selected for use with each of the bone samples to be tested. Previous trials with controls of known blood groups assured that these anti-sera were suitable for testing purposes. Each of the six anti-sera was titrated in series containing equal volumetric units of buffered saline, to which had been added 1.0 per cent. sodium azide as a preservative, and a 1.0 per cent. suspension of red cells in saline. Titre was determined as the third or fourth dilution from the end point for any given anti-serum, as estimated from microscopic examination of a smear on a glass slide. Following repeated titration tests, the ratios of anti-sera to saline were converted from unit volumetric quantities in cc. for the preparation of sufficient amounts of neat sera. To 0.2 gm. of ground bone were added 0.5 cc. of neat serum of the appropriate type. The saturated bone samples were then refrigerated for a 24-hour period.

At the termination of this incubation period, the samples were centrifuged for four to five minutes at moderate speed. By throwing the heavier particles of bone to the bottom of the tube, the supernatant could be drawn off easily by means of a Pasteur pipette with its tip encased in sterilized cotton wool. Two consecutive titration tests were carried out over three 24-hour periods for the Hoabinhian series and its controls. Three tests of identical nature were administered to the neolithic series. To each sample were added equal volumetric units of 1.0 per cent. suspension of saline in red cells of the appropriate type. Before beginning the microscopic examination of the samples for the presence of agglutination, they were incubated along with their controls for a period of two hours at room temperature.

The presence of contaminants is a recurrent problem in the biochemical analysis of bone, and it is frequently impossible to detect the infiltration of foreign substances into the sample. Until methods can be found to detect and isolate contaminating agents, this factor cannot be disregarded in the interpretation of paleo-serological test results. However, the proper cleaning of the samples and their subjection to repeated tests assures the researcher of a greater margin of accuracy in his data.

Scrutiny of the multiple tests conducted on the two Gua Cha series shows that the A antigen has the highest frequency in both. The B antigen is also well represented, particularly in the Hoabinhian group. The frequent association of the B antigen with the A antigen suggests the occurrence of the blood group AB in the two series.

In summary, the bone samples from the Hoabinhian and neolithic skeletons from the site of Gua Cha show a striking similarity in their nitrogen contents and in their frequencies of the A and B antigens. Does this imply that the two series are representative of two contemporaneous populations with similar antigenic constitutions? The archaeological evidence demonstrates that there is a positive stratigraphical sequence of cultural horizons at Gua Cha. Nevertheless it is conceivable that these two populations which are separated in time may have shared similarity of blood-group patterns, a factor which is not compromised by evidence of physical differences which the anthropometrist discerns from examination of the osseous remains. The two populations may be regarded as standing at opposite ends of a genetic line which underwent certain physical modifications from Hoabinhian to neolithic times without any proportionate shift in its antigenic features. These problems can be studied more effectively after the analysis of larger series from both the earlier and later horizons of the site, and when the question of the contamination of samples is no longer a major consideration in the interpretation of test results. Perhaps what is most significant in this study of the Gua Cha series is the suggestion that the B antigen, which has a high frequency in this part of Asia today, appears in these prehistoric remains as well. The high incidence of the A antigen in the ancient series is not a characteristic feature of the present-day serological map of southern Asia.

Note

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Some Kaguru Plants: Terms, Names and Uses. By Dr. T. O. Beideman, Assistant Professor of Social Anthropology, Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University

The purpose of this short paper is to present what little information is available concerning plants known and used by the Kaguru, a matrilineal Bantu people of east-central Tanganyika, East Africa. This information is necessarily brief and at times vague, since I have no knowledge of botany and am very inexact at the identification of even the commonest plants. Nonetheless, I hope that the information below, however brief and vague, may be of some help to future researchers working in this area of East Africa. This paper gives only a meagre representation of the very wide number and range of domestic and wild plants familiar to Kaguru. Unfortunately, a proper study of this sort would require a Kaguru herbalist and I was unable to enjoy the help of such a specialist.

As a result of these shortcomings, this paper makes no attempt to analyse or discuss the various types of plants cited here. Instead, I use the following arrangement: (1) I present various Kaguru plant terms that might be of some general use to botanists attempting to make enquiries in this area; (2) I then present a list of various domestic plants which Kaguru cultivate, along with certain related terms; (3) finally, I present a brief list of various wild plants known by Kaguru. In many cases, I was able to secure only the Kaguru name for a particular plant. Where possible, I have cited both its scientific and Swahili names as well.

### 1. General Terms

*ibike (pl. mahike): tree.*

*ibua (pl. mahuua): stalk of a plant.

*idali (pl. madali): reed.*

*igome (pl. magome): bark of a tree; see also mahada.*

*ihamba (pl. mihamba): flower.*

*ihumba (pl. mahumba): a husk or skin, e.g., banana skin; see ikombi.*

*ijolo (pl. majolo): greens, greenery, vegetables.*

*ikombi (pl. makombi): husk; see mhumba.*

*iila (pl. miila): flower; see ihamba.*

*inyagala (pl. manyagala): leaf.*

*ipoli (pl. mapoli): a rather flat, dry area dotted with small hills and only moderately covered with vegetation.*

*tungu (pl. mzungu): grass, e.g., grain stubble.*

*isukusu (pl. masukusu): bush, shrub, stump.*

*isula (pl. masula): fern.*

*iwela (pl. awela): a place with few trees and where it is very difficult to find water.*

*kafufuluka: to ripen.*

*kahanda (or kemahanda): to plant.*

*kukota: to sprout.*

*kulina: to cultivate.*

*kulisa: to replant, to transplant.*

*kungukuka: to grow, to sprout.*

*lukole: root (arachis).*

*mahada: bark; see igome.*

*mabago or mhago: grass, a grassy place, a grassy wilderness, the bush.*

*mbeva: seed.*

*miau: thorn.*

*modio: fruit, berries.*

*muhulo: forest, thornbush.*

*musisi (pl. misissi): root.*

*mumbiya or mboga: vegetables.*

*ngodi: firewood; also dichosa (pl. mchikosa); ibilo, a load of firewood.*

*nindigita: a damp, flat lowland tending to be swampy during the rains.*

*nyika: the bush, remote country, woodland.*

*sukisa (pl. masukisa): a branch.*

### 2. Domestic Plants

*chibamba: bulrush millet; an important staple, especially in western Uganda where it tends to replace maize as the major staple.*

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May-June, 1964

TABLE I. THE NITROGEN CONTENTS OF THE BONE SAMPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field No.</th>
<th>Burial No.</th>
<th>Assay No.</th>
<th>Portion of skeleton</th>
<th>mg. Nitrogen per 100 mg. bone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOABINIAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha. H.5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AS 113</td>
<td>Head of femur</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(10-01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha. S.7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>AS 114</td>
<td>Head of humerus, calcaneum</td>
<td>0.25</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(10-05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>AS 109</td>
<td>Shaft of femur</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(10-04)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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NEOLITHIC

<table>
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<th>Field No.</th>
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<th>Tests I</th>
<th>Tests II</th>
<th>Tests III</th>
<th>Blood group</th>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Shaft of tibia</td>
<td>B B B</td>
<td>A B A A</td>
<td></td>
<td>AB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha. S.7</td>
<td>Shaft of femur</td>
<td>O B B A</td>
<td>A A A A</td>
<td></td>
<td>AB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha. H.8</td>
<td>Shaft of femur</td>
<td>O B A B</td>
<td>A A A A</td>
<td></td>
<td>AB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha. H.10</td>
<td>Axis</td>
<td>A A A A</td>
<td>A A A A</td>
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<td>A</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

NEOLITHIC

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<tr>
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<th>Tests I</th>
<th>Tests II</th>
<th>Tests III</th>
<th>Blood group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cha. H.1</td>
<td>Head of humerus</td>
<td>O O O</td>
<td>A B A A</td>
<td>A A A A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha. A.5</td>
<td>Head of femur</td>
<td>A A A</td>
<td>B B O B</td>
<td>A A A A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha. B.8</td>
<td>Head of femur</td>
<td>B O B O</td>
<td>A A A A</td>
<td>A A A A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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References


chungwa: orange; a Swahili term; it is grown by very few Kaguru.
dibinga (pl. mabinga): a maize cob.
dinholo (pl. manholo): potato; an important food crop; see indolo; Swahili, kiazi.
muhah: millet or sorghum which has grown up of its own accord without having been sown by men; see miyotela.
hule: a maize kernel.
ibamila: okra (Hibiscus esculentus), probably a Kaguru pronunciation of the Swahili mbamia. It is a minor vegetable relish.
ijebele: finger-millet; an important staple, especially in western Ugakuru.
tende or dende, denda (pl. malende): a creeper somewhat resembling okra which is grown for its edible leaves.
ilenge or ilenje (pl. malenge): a type of squash; an important relish vegetable.
ilombo (pl. malombo): a type of sweet potato or yam; an important supplementary food crop.
indolo (pl. mandolo): potato; see dinholo; an important supplementary food crop.
ingebe: a plant resembling eggplant (Solanum spp.) used as a vegetable relish.
isu (pl. manu): an ear of maize.
iyungu (pl. mayungu): a gourd plant eaten and also used to make calabash containers.
iyemba (pl. manyemba): castor plant; see yemba; the oil of the castor seed has a number of important ritual uses for the Kaguru; Swahili, nynyongo.
itembele (pl. matembele): the leaves of the sweet potato, used to make a vegetable relish; see ilombo.
kaiyewa: cassava; see mungala; the Swahili term (mahogo) is commonly used today by most Kaguru. An important crop grown as a famine reserve.
kunde: certain types of beans; see mkunde, ng'unde; an important vegetable relish.
lomba: datura (Datura metel); used as a poison and as a drug reputed to be a violent aphrodisiac and a witchcraft confession substance. This term is extended to cover any strong narcotic, including Indian hemp (Cannabis sativa) or hangi.
mali: lima beans; Swahili, muri.
miyotela: maize which grows in a garden without having been sown there by men; see miyotela.
mowote: groundnuts, an important supplementary food crop in some areas; Swahili, njigu.
makewe: cassava flour; see makopa, kaiyewa, mungala.
makopa: cassava flour; Swahili, kopa; see makewe.
makalakawata: maize husks.
malefulula: maize silk.
mamanya: tomatoes; Swahili, mamanya.
mamyota: potatoes which have grown up in a garden without having been sown there by men; see miyotela.
matoaga: cucumber vine (Cucumis spp.), an important vegetable relish; Swahili, mtoaga.
mamokoko: the sweetpot (Anona squamosa) cultivated and eaten by very few Kaguru; Swahili, mpetopec.
mangala: sorghum, a very important staple, especially in western Ugakuru; Swahili, ntama.
mhubungi: maize tassel.
mhange: pigeon pea, an important vegetable relish; Swahili, mbaazi.
mhoko: the hard type of groundnut, an important supplementary food crop in some areas; Swahili, njigu mawe.
mhoyo: a type of bean.
mhuya: the leaves of the gourd and squash vines, used to make a vegetable relish.
miyotela: any plants which grow up in a garden without being sown there by men; see miyotela, mamyota, funha; Swahili, mbote.
mkunde: several types of bean plants (Phaseolus spp.), an important vegetable relish; see also: kunde, ng'unde; Swahili, mkunde.
mapanda: a type of bean.
muniga: rice, only rarely grown in Ugakuru; same word in Swahili.
mupu: the cowitch bean; same word in Swahili.
mtamana or mtama: maize. This is the most important staple in Ugakuru, especially in the central and eastern parts of that country. The Kaguru term must not be confused with the Swahili word for millet, mtama. The Swahili word for maize is mhindi.
mugusa: sugarcane, a very important cash crop; Swahili, muma.
muhina: the henna plant, used by some Swahilized Kaguru women to colour their hands and feet for beautification, especially for visits to town; Swahili, nihina.
mungaila: cassava; see kaiyewa.
mwana: see mtama.
ng'ho: bananas, an important supplementary food crop; Swahili, niizi.
ng'unde: see mkunde.
muhete: green maize.
pili-pili: hot peppers, a common relish seasoning; clearly a Swahili word.
ule: grain (also, millet).
ulumbu: also, ulumbu, hemba, millet, sorghum, a very important staple, Swahili, ntama.
mukaya: sesame; Swahili, ujata.
ulebe: finger-millet, an important staple; see ulebe.
ulebe: a castor seed; see inyemba.

3. Wild Plants

chibalangia: (Euphorbia cuneata) a type of euphorbia with zigzag series of jointed stems; its milky sap is used in preparing fish poisons and also to make birdlime (ulombo).
chibungu: (Landolphia petersonia) Klotzch. Dyer apopynyx), a small, tough flexible tree used for its pliable, strong wood in making walking sticks. It is said to have an edible fruit. The name is sometimes given to a woman ‘because a beautiful woman is flexible like this tree.’ The name is probably applied to several species of Landolphia.
chipela: young baobab tree (Adansonia digitata) whose leaves are sometimes cooked to make a vegetable relish. Rope is sometimes made from its beaten bark.
chitikanukwuwe: the sensitive plant (Mimosa pudica); Swahili, kifunwongo.
chitupa: a type of euphorbia (Euphorbia canadensis) used in making fish poison; Swahili, ntupa.
dinga: a tree-climbing plant with edible fruit, said to have leaves somewhat similar to those of a sweet potato or yam.
fibungo: a tree (Landolphia spp.) said to have edible fruits, perhaps the same as chibungu (q.v.); Swahili, mukukwasa or mbingo.
ibhodo: a tree creeper (Flagellaria guineensis) with red berries and heavy leaves; its leaves are said to be used in preparing medicine for rain-making; Swahili, mchaba.
ibwembele: a plant used to make a vegetable relish; also sometimes called bhwimburi; Swahili, pwimwuri.
idaha: a plant used for seasoning, said to have been the original seasoning used by Kaguru before the introduction of pepper.
ideka: a shrub with no apparent use. Although my informant denied this, its name might indicate that it is some kind of purgative (kudaka, to vomit); Swahili, ntapiiho?
ifene: a spinach-like vegetable used for vegetable relish (Amaranthus spp.).
ifu: any plant which is pulverized and then mixed with water so that it may be applied as a medicine, either internally or externally. For example, luhosa (q.v.) is an infuso plant.
ifumasa: a strong-smelling herb (Ocimum canum) whose leaves are boiled and then wrapped in castor leaves and applied to the head for treatment of headache; Swahili, kuimwine.
igole: a type of euphorbia put around doorways when guests are invited to the celebrations of female initiation. It is believed that if a witch enters such a doorway, he or she forgets about witchcraft.
ikweja: the wild plantain.
indela: a tree with yellow, edible berries, said to have no important use; Swahili, mlocho.
indiga: a plant which has a root which is edible if boiled, but which is otherwise poisonous; a type of manioc.
mukikira: a plant (Ehretia spp.) used to make magical medicine for keeping unwanted persons or unpleasant events from entering a village; Swahili, mkirika.

mukoko: a type of mangrove (Rhizophora mucronata) used to make beds; Swahili, moko.

mukole: a tree (Bryophyllum spp.) with small red edible fruits used to make sticks, bows; Swahili, mkoile.

mukwamba: a type of tree with edible fruits.

mukwambo: a type of shrub used for certain medicines.

mulama: various Combretum? used as fuel.

muleng’: a tree with no particular use; Swahili, mlong’.

muluti: a yellow flowering shrub (Abutilon zanzibaricum) whose leaves are used by women to wipe up their children’s faces; it has given its name to the latter part of the Kagusuru dry season, the period in which it flowers.

mumbo luwezi: a shrub with peeling bark (Commiphora boviriniana) used in making ropes.

munaju: a plant (Solanum spp.) used for making vegetable relish; Swahili, muuru.

munagali: a type of euphorbia used to make fish poison; it is considered less effective than chikalanga (p.v.).

munyogola: a plant which is cut up and used as an anti-witchcraft medicine. In its medicinal state it is sometimes called magleta.

mapela: baobab tree (Adansonia digitata); Swahili, mbaya. Burton reports that, in the past, the bark and “calaba-bfruit” of this tree were shredded and used by the inhabitants of this area to make fibre kilts or skirts. No such gorb is worn today. He also states that the fruit of this tree was eaten by travellers, a point which I could not confirm (J. R. Geog. Soc., Vol. XXIX (1859), p. 97).

musabi: a tree (Hoslandia opposita?) used in making birdlime; it sometimes grows as a parasite on other, larger trees and in this state it is called muivikosa.

musasa: fiscus shrub (Corispa ovalis) used to smooth wood; Swahili, misasa.

musogese: a tree (Bauhinia thomsonii syn. Pilocarpia thomsonii) used to make furniture; its bark and roots are used in making a medicine to be chewed to treat coughs; Swahili, msogese.

musingu: a tree (Tremia guineensis) of no particular use; Swahili, mpsi or msingi.

musingisi: a tree (Murraya trichophylla) whose bark is said to be eaten by donkeys; Swahili, misingizi.

musongi: a tree (Trichilia emetica syn. Trichilia roka) whose fruit is sometimes eaten; Swahili, mtimazi or mkingwina.

musonguti: a knotty thorn tree with red flowers and purplish fruit (Acacanthera longiflora) considered to have a nasty but edible fruit. This plant is used, according to Dale and Greenway, op. cit., p. 43, by Kamba to make arrow poison.

musui: a low tree (Mandula seteza) whose bark, seeds, leaves are used in making a fish poison; it is not to be confused with the candelabra euphorbia which is also used for fish poison and which is called mtupa in Swahili.

mutalalanda: a tree (Mimusops densiflora? syn. Manilkara modisi) used for firewood; Swahili, mitalazanda.

muwanga: a type of tree used for firewood.

muvile: the raphia palm (Raphia monbutorum), the fruit is used to make beer; the leaves to make doors; Swahili, muvile.

muwmbango: a spiny shrub (Fagara spp.) whose roots and leaves are used for some kinds of medicines.

muwambula: a herb with poisonous roots (Plumbago zeylanica) whose fruit is used to make dye to put into forehead scars in order to blacken them; Swahili, mambula.

muwendi: Delphi palm (Borassus flabellifer var. ethiopimum), its fruit is used to make beer; Swahili, muwemo.

muwikosa: see musabi.

muwisa: a tree with red sap (Bridelia micrantha?) whose wood is placed in a field in order to prevent a menstruating woman passing through and thereby damaging the crops.

muwiyego: the sausage tree (Kigelia pinnata) whose fruit is used to prepare a brewing acid for beer; a medicine used to treat a type of fever (muwango tungi) is taken from it first from the east side of the tree, from then from the west. This bark is pounded, boiled and
then drunk. Muviegen bark is also sometimes used in preparing a witch-confession medicine to be drunk; Swahili, mugeg.

Muyiombo: a tree (Brachystegia spp.) often used to make fibres, bark-cloth, twine. The Kaguru have called the Mguu ‘Wayombo’ because the Ngulu repeatedly seized Kaguru prisoners in the past, bound them with muyiombo cords, and then sold them to the Arabs. The whole bark is sometimes used to make food storage bins or in making smaller containers for storing clothing or tobacco; Swahili, myombu.

Ndage: nut-grass (Cyperus rotundus); Swahili, ndago.

Ndiow: a shrub eaten during famine; Swahili, ndigih.

Ngigeli: a plant (Tribulus terrestris) said to provide edible leaves; Swahili, ngigeli.

Njwegele: a tree with edible fruits (Sclerocarya spp.); Swahili, ngiwegele. Its bark is used to make food storage bins.

Ngithi: a spiny shrub (Ziziphus murosata); Swahili, ngithi.

Mwambuliji: see ibwegele.

Mkombha: good tall timber tree (Afzelia quanzensis) used to make chairs, stools, mortars, beehives; Swahili, mkamboki.

Munguulu: a plant (Strophantes cuneifolia) whose latex is used to make a person vomit up a more harmful poison; Swahili, munguulu.

Mbowe: any sticks provided for boys after initiation and circumcision. These sticks symbolize these boys’ new status. The term has a far more precise meaning in Swahili, referring to a shrub (Strophantes cuneifolia) whose wood is easily bent into different shapes, especially after heating. Both uses now occur in Ugakuru.

Muhabuka: the East African laburnum (Calpurnia subacaula); yellow African shrub whose boughs are used as decoration in female initiation and whose roots are used in various medicines.

Mutoyo: a type of tree (Dolichorhynchus condylocarpus (Mull. Arg.) Pichon apoynacce) used in making casting poles.

Ngatonga: a tree (Strychnos spinosa) whose fruit is edible but is rarely eaten, although it is said sometimes to be used in preparing certain medicines; Swahili, ngatonga. This tree must not be confused with the candelabra euphoria which is also sometimes called ngatonga in Swahili.

Nkula: a plant (Solanum hojari) whose fruit is eaten when green; the ripe fruit is considered poisonous. Other parts of the plant are used to make medicines; Swahili, nkula.

Nkinda: wild date palm (Phoenix reclinata), used to make mats, baskets; Swahili, nkinda.

Ng’ihuulikia: a parasitic plant growing on trees, used for medicines in rainmaking, to kill dangerous animals and to ensure good harvests.

Notes

1 I did initial fieldwork in Ugakuru in 1957-58 under an Assistant Research Appointment given by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University of Illinois; I did further research in 1962-63 as part of a study of the Kaguru, Ngulu and Baraguyu made possible through a Ford Foundation Fellowship awarded under the auspices of the Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford.

2 I have been greatly helped by: F. B. Hora and P. J. Greenway, Check-List of the Forest Trees and Shrubs of the British Empire: Tanganyika Territory, Oxford, 1940; Dale and Greenway, Kenya Trees and Shrubs, Nairobi, 1952; A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1935. Sir Richard Burton makes a few comments on the use of certain trees and plants in this area, but it is very difficult to determine exactly what tribal groups are involved (J. R. Geog. Soc., Vol. XXIX (1859), p. 103).

3 Identified by the East African Herbarium, Nairobi.

Kensiu Negritos: Dermatoglyphic Data with Comparative Notes. By David R. Hughes, Duckworth Laboratory of Physical Anthropology, Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge. With six tables

The dermatoglyphic data that form the material for this communication were collected at my request by members of the Cambridge Expedition to South-East Asia, 1962, between July and September of that year, in the course of their investigations in southern Thailand.

Finger impressions were taken from a sample of 13 male Kensiu negrito subjects and 11 females, living at Tam Teloh, near Banangtar, Yala Province, South Thailand. Hair and blood samples were also collected. Care was taken to exclude close relatives from the sample, the full size of this now sedentary group being approximately 60.

The impressions, recorded on a proprietary brand of sensitized paper, were clear enough to enable a quantitative investigation to be made by ridge-counting (Holt, 1961), in addition to the conventional and simpler analysis by frequencies of arches, loops and whorls. Although the sample sizes were small, it was considered that the finger impressions should be investigated in both ways in view of the paucity of fingerprint samples described in quantitative terms, and, in particular, in view of the gaps in our knowledge of the genetic affinities of the Kensiu of southern Thailand.

The mean ridge-counts for individual fingers (left and right hands being considered separately because of the known disparity between them in this respect) appear in Table I. As might be expected from the smallness of the sample sizes, the standard errors of the means are rather larger, and the standard deviations are rather smaller, than those attached to a more extensive sample such as Dr. Holt’s English series (Holt, 1961).

Table I. Kensiu Negritos (South Thailand): Mean Ridge-Counts for Individual Digits and Total Ridge-Counts

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Digits</th>
<th>LEFT</th>
<th>RIGHT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(\bar{N})</td>
<td>(\bar{N})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (13)</td>
<td>21.08 ± 1.45</td>
<td>24.83 ± 0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>19.69 ± 0.79</td>
<td>21.92 ± 0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>19.04 ± 0.97</td>
<td>19.01 ± 2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>18.91 ± 0.82</td>
<td>18.91 ± 2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>18.91 ± 0.82</td>
<td>18.91 ± 2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (11)</td>
<td>19.04 ± 0.74</td>
<td>19.04 ± 0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>19.04 ± 0.74</td>
<td>20.36 ± 0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>19.04 ± 0.74</td>
<td>19.04 ± 0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>19.04 ± 0.74</td>
<td>19.04 ± 0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>19.04 ± 0.74</td>
<td>19.04 ± 0.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample sizes are within parentheses.

Table of Measurements

(13) \(\bar{N} = 172.08 ± 5.96\) \(s = 20.65 ± 4.22\) \(v = 12.00 ± 2.45\)

(11) \(\bar{N} = 180.73 ± 17.37\) \(s = 37.62 ± 12.29\) \(v = 31.88 ± 6.80\)
An extended form of the $t$ test, for small samples, reveals no significant difference between the male and female total ridge-counts, $t$ with 21 D.F. being $1.212$ ($0.15>P>0.10$). There is a significant difference between the variances of the male and female total ridge-counts however, $F$ with 11 and 10 D.F. being $7.786$ ($P<0.005$). It would be incautious, therefore, to lay any stress upon the larger total ridge-count occurring in the female sample, which is the reverse of the usual observation. The Kensi total ridge-counts are significantly higher than those for Europipform samples.

Comparative data, evaluated in the manner described above, are unfortunately scanty, especially for South-East Asian population samples. Three groups from the area have been investigated, viz. 70 Javanese (Weninger, 1961); 45 Tonkinese, i.e. from North Vietman (Jungwirth, 1939); and 70 Chinese (Abel, 1933), all being samples of male subjects. The mean individual ridge-counts quoted for these samples are: Javanese 13-9, Tonkinese (North Vietnamese) 14-6, Chinese 15-8, and that for the Kensi male sample is 17-2. No standard deviations are furnished, so a statistical comparison of mean values with those of the Kensi is not yet possible. The Kensi values appear to be consistently higher than those of the Javanese and Vietnamese (see Table II).

If individual digits are ranked in descending order of mean ridge-counts, a high degree of consistency is noticeable, the orders $1.4.5.3.2$ or $1.4.3.5.2$ being predominant not only in the South-East Asian samples but also in Dr. Holt's far larger English series. The ranking orders for various samples appear in Table III.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Digit</th>
<th>Javanese (70)</th>
<th>Vietnamese (45)</th>
<th>Kensi (13)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$16.4$</td>
<td>$19.5$</td>
<td>$17.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>$10.8$</td>
<td>$11.5$</td>
<td>$11.4$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>$12.9$</td>
<td>$13.0$</td>
<td>$12.8$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>$14.6$</td>
<td>$14.8$</td>
<td>$15.9$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>$12.0$</td>
<td>$13.2$</td>
<td>$12.9$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One comparison that appeared to be an obvious one to undertake was between the Kensi and the Senoi Temiar (Hughes, 1963) especially in view of the fairly clear distinction that could be tentatively made on dermatoglyphic evidence between the Semang (a Malayan negrito group) and the Senoi Temiar (a Malayan Proto-Malaysian group). One barrier to any direct quantitative comparison was that the state of preservation of the Senoi Temiar data precluded any full attempt at ridge-counting. The patterns of the prints, however, could be reliably assessed, and a comparison—albeit a crude one—could be attempted on a basis of computing mean pattern scores, an arch being scored as 1, a radial or ulnar loop as 2, and a whorl as 3. The mean pattern scores obtained in this manner for the two male series appear in Table IV, together with the statistical constants, and the calculated values of $t$.

An extended $t$ test for small samples shows that a significant difference exists between the two samples for mean pattern scores, the Senoi Temiar having a higher pattern intensity and coefficient of variation than the Kensi. No significant difference between the variances could be demonstrated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>$n$</th>
<th>$\bar{x}$</th>
<th>$s$</th>
<th>$t$</th>
<th>$P&lt;0.001$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kensi</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>$10.86$</td>
<td>$0.23$</td>
<td>$1.20$</td>
<td>$0.24$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
<td>$11.54$</td>
<td>$0.12$</td>
<td>$1.24$</td>
<td>$0.22$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senoi Temiar</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>$12.40$</td>
<td>$0.24$</td>
<td>$1.81$</td>
<td>$0.24$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
<td>$12.62$</td>
<td>$0.13$</td>
<td>$1.72$</td>
<td>$0.23$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally there remained the problem of a wider comparative study. With some reluctance (because of the known sexual dimorphism in dermatoglyphic patterns), it was decided to pool the male and female Kensi samples, in view of the small size of the two components, and to restrict the comparisons to similar combined male and female series from South-East Asia and East Asia. This procedure can be justified for comparative purposes, I think, provided that no serious departure from the $1:1$ sex ratio occurs in the pooled samples. This condition is satisfied for the majority of the samples listed in Table V. The comparisons were of necessity confined to data relating to the frequency of arches ($A$), loops ($L$), and whors ($W$). The frequencies for the 15 population samples appear in Table V, together with the values calculated for Dankmeijer's index ($100A/W$) and Furutahi's index ($100W/L$). The frequencies of patterns in the male and female Kensi samples appear in Table VI, and appear to differ significantly when investigated by the $x^2$ test on absolute frequencies of impressions.

There are various methods of assessing affinities on a basis of dermatoglyphic data such as those contained in Table IV. One method that has been demonstrated to be useful is to plot the values of the $100A/W$ and $100W/L$ indices using one as ordinate and the other as abscissa (Hughes, 1963). Whilst this method does
attempt to take into account all three variates (A, L and W) on a basis of rectangular co-ordinates, it would appear that a trilinear co-ordinate system of defining the position of points would be more precise. This, however, is clumsy to construct or may involve the use of special graph paper, and it would seem to be easier in practice to convert A, L and W frequencies into values of x and y according to the following formula:

\[ x = \frac{2A+L}{\sqrt{3}}, \quad y = L \]

and to plot the values obtained (x, y) using a conventional rectangular co-ordinate system on ordinary graph paper.4

Both methods of constructing point diagrams were used in the present study, the conclusions being similar in each case. These were to confirm that the Andamanese sample lay nearest to the Kenisi and sharply to distinguish between these two negro samples and the Semang and Aeta samples. The Semang sample and the Aeta samples in fact lay furthest away from the Kenisi on both point diagrams. This situation can perhaps best be explained by the hypothesis of random genetic drift operating at an accelerated rate in small genetic isolates such as the South-East Asian negro groups. The same kind of hypothesis was put forward by Polumin and Sneth to explain the high intra-group variability in blood-group and other parameters for small isolates in South-East Asian populations (Polumin and Sneth, 1953). In this connexion it is of interest to note that the three Aeta groups included in Table V are clearly heterogeneous in their fingerprint type frequencies, the value of \( \chi^2 \), with 4 d.f., being greater than 4.876 (P < 0.001), calculated on a basis of absolute frequencies and using the combined total of 1,900 impressions.

Tentative conclusions, therefore, concerning the affinities of the Kenisi sample as revealed by those dermatoglyphic characteristics here described, may be summed up as (1) linking the group with the negritos of the Andamans, (2) clearly separating it in this genetic context from other Malayan and Philippine negro groups, and (3) distinguishing between it and Proto-Malayans groups exemplified here by the Senoi Temiar.

I wish to express my gratitude to the members of the 1962 Cambridge Expedition to South-East Asia, particularly to C. A. Morris and T. J. H. Chappell, for the collection of the dermatoglyphic impressions, and my indebtedness for comparative data to a number of her offprints kindly sent to me by Dr. Margarette Weninger of the Anthropological Institute of the University of Vienna.

Notes
1 Still unresolved is the problem of what most pertinently to call the population groups in South-East and East Asia customarily referred to as 'Negritos.' The Spaniards were the first to use this diminutive of 'Negro' in order to describe the pygmy people that they encountered upon landing in the Philippines, but the result has been to perpetuate in many minds wholly unnecessary and inappropriate Negriform connotations. Although the term 'Negrito' has been retained in this communication as a matter of descriptive convenience, I feel that a classificational category such as 'Asian Pygmies' would be more accordant with what is now known concerning the genetical affinities of these peoples.

2 'Fingerprint' paper and impressed pads, obtainable from Reed Research Laboratory Distributors, 28 Carnaby Street, Regent Street, London, W.1. The paper does not appear to deteriorate in any way when used and stored under humid tropical conditions.

3 Cf. mean total ridge-counts of 144.98 ± 1.98 for males and 127.23 ± 1.83 for females in Dr. Holt's English series of 1,650 subjects (Holt, 1961), and 140.6 ± 4.2 and 126.2 ± 4.6 for Portuguese males and females respectively (da Cunha and Abreu, 1954). A small series of Russian immigrants in Brazil (11 = 19 males and 17 females) examined by Freire-Maia et al. (1960) shows a higher total ridge-count for females (156.88 ± 7.82, males 137.68 ± 10.57) but the difference is not statistically significant.

4 This transformation formula can be applied to any set of character frequencies where \( p+q+r = 1 \), e.g., for ABO blood-group gene frequencies, as has been done by Rao (Majumdar and Rao, 1960, pp. 120f).

5 It is easier to account for the disparity between Aeta groups and the Kenisi than between the latter and the Malayan Semang. Different migration routes, viz. from south-east China via the Taiwain Kaikyo (Formosa Strait), Taiwan Island, and the Bashi and Balintang channels, ending in Northern Luzon, may account for the Aeta negro immigration into the Philippines and may have resulted in long genetical isolation from other South-East Asian negro groups. Such isolation may have been initiated in the vast mountainous tracts of the inland regions of south-west China, of Northern Burma and Northern Laos. The easiest eastward route from this mountain region runs along the coastal plain fringing the Gulf of Tonkin, extending across the Si Ting delta, and ending on the shores of the Taiwain Kaikyo.

The alternative assumption is that the Aetas reached the Philippines via the other migration route running down south-eastwards through the Malayan peninsula, via the Rhio (Riau) archipelago into Sumatra, Java and other Indonesian islands. This alternative would not appear to be as feasible as the first, in view of the absence of negritos, or, so far, of skeletal evidence of earlier negritos, in the intervening island of Borneo. Neither is there any clear evidence of negritos having lived in Suluwesi, although they have been reported across the Banda and Flores seas in some of the Lesser Sundas islands.

It should be noted that, in general terms, serological evidence strongly suggests that South-East Asian negro population samples have a common genetical identity (Polumin and Sneth, 1953).

References
Archaeological Maize in West Africa: A Discussion of Stanton and Willett

By G. F. Carter, Isaiah Bowman Department of Geography, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

Stanton and Willett have made an interesting analysis of maize-impression on potsherds from Old Oyo. Their results are not a fault of the method, and they are to be congratulated on introducing a line of research that may be productive when more material can be examined. I am concerned, however, with some misunderstandings, and some narrowness of presentation almost certainly due to limited library resources.

Study of their photographs of maize-marked sherds suggests that we in America might take a much closer look at the so-called 'basket-impressed' sherds. Many that I have seen look like some of Stanton and Willett's photographs that are labelled as made by rolling an ear of corn on wet clay. The right-hand side of fig. 2 closely resembles the pattern attributed in the Southwest to a coiled-basket impression. Thus, marking with corn roulette may be more widespread than has been reported, even if Stanton and Willett's particular citation to Weatherwax is not an especially apt one. On the other hand, one wonders about the presence or absence of coiled basketry in the Yoruba area. However, I do not question maize cob impressions. Fig. 3 is, most impressively, clearly corn-cob marking.

That maize is archaeological in Africa impresses one from America much more than it does Stanton and Willett. Maize found widely at depths of two to 12 feet in a city refuse sheet spread over 20 square miles as at Old Oyo is clear evidence of some antiquity. Assuming rates of accumulation is obviously risky, but are there data anywhere that suggest accumulation over areas such as this at rates greater than inches per century? Granted that sherds might get into a pit, are not repeated findings at greater than five-foot depths meaningful? Perhaps there is something unusual about the sites of Ife and Oyo that explains the anomaly of sherd layers at such depths within short times. Lacking any such explanation, one tends to expect considerable antiquity, not recentness. The repeated findings of maize-marked pottery at depths of five to 10 feet must be significant and seemingly deserves more weight than the authors gave it. Is the presence of the maize overly influencing the assessment of the data?

In a final section on the introduction of maize into Africa, the discussion becomes somewhat narrow. A theory of 'Western China "Old World" centre of origin' is discussed. A reference is made to Weatherwax, but the pertinent paper seemingly is Stonor and Anderson, and if the idea were to be pursued, there is a relevant literature of criticism and rebuttal. The gist of Stonor and Anderson's discussion is that maize among the hill tribes of Assam is of a type that the Spanish would not have been likely to carry to Asia, and that the hill people insist that they had maize long before they had rice. When it was thought that rice was ancient in equatorial Asia, and that maize could not possibly be pre-1500, these data were seemingly inexplicable. We know now that rice was extremely late in entering equatorial Asia, e.g. about A.D. 1000 in Borneo. Meanwhile, Asiac colonization in America at least as early as 2000 B.C. (see below) has been documented. Thus maize could possibly have been carried to South-east Asia and to the Assam area centuries before rice arrived. Thus the Assamese legends could be factual. They could indeed have had maize long before they received it. It is perhaps unfair to expect Africanists to have this larger picture in view, although Murdock (cf. below) should have alerted them to such possibilities.

In dismissing 'The "Oceania" Route' Stanton and Willett cite only Hornell, a scholar well informed in the area of the history of boats, an important field for trans-Pacific discussion, of course, but neither a general cultural historian nor a plant geographer. The evidence of trans-Pacific transfer of plants and animals and arts and sciences is massive, and the literature extensive, and much of the newer data were not available to Hornell in 1946, the date of the publication cited by Stanton and Willett. To highlight the situation: scholars at the Smithsonian Institution are presenting evidence for Asiatic contacts with Ecuador beginning about 3000 B.C. and with direct colonization by 200 B.C. The dates are from C14, and the early-period pottery is startlingly like Early Middle Jomon material from Japan. The total picture suggests massive contacts comparable to the European colonization of the Americas. Several domestic plants were carried to and from America; maize may well have been one of these plants; and it now seems probable that some domestic animals were also carried.

Jeffrey's 'theory' that the Arabs reached America, of which Stanton and Willett are critical, has recently been supported in a most curious way. Chinese records of contacts with the Arabs contain accounts of Arab trade connections, one of which seems to have been trans-Atlantic. There are evidences in America suggesting Mediterranean contacts, e.g. the preparation of purpura (Phoenician purple) in the Caribbean in pre-Columbian times. The use of the Roman balance in pre-Columbian Venezuela was early noted, and a current master's thesis at Johns Hopkins, most unexpectedly, documents eastern Mediterranean axe types in the Caribbean-Ecuadorian region. Ibarra-Grasso of Bolivia tells me of numerous finds of classic Greco-Roman oil lamps in northern Peru. Although the relevant data are now fragmentary, they seem likely to grow and gain cohesion. Plurality of pre-Columbian contacts over much time, by several cultures, via both the Atlantic and Pacific, seems indicated.

Stanton and Willett sense this plurality, but reject the idea of great time depth, and postulate two routes for maize reaching Africa, a Spanish and a Portuguese, with associated differing sorts of maize transported to differing parts of Africa. While the Spanish route and source is a reality and should have introduced Caribbean types of maize, if the Arab contact were a reality, it should have brought the identical type of maize. Hence if it were proved that the Old Oyo maize was Caribbean in origin, the question would still be left open of who brought it and when. As for the Portuguese route, some consideration should be given to the types of maize found in Brazil and especially to the question of the actual areas of maize growing in Brazil in pre-Columbian times. Much of the region was centered on manioc and not maize, and in parts of Brazil there was no maize for the Portuguese to obtain. Early Portuguese introductions would seem to be purely hypothetical at the moment, even if probable.

There is considerable evidence that maize was already entering the eastern Mediterranean before A.D. 1500. This was reported some time ago by Finan, and further evidence has been indepen-
dently assembled and reported recently by Sauer and myself. From maize, and from other studies now in progress, it now seems possible that many New World plants had been carried across the Pacific, had got into the Indian Ocean trade, and via the Arabs were being introduced into eastern Europe before A.D. 1500. As knowledge of the antiquity and importance of the Saxonian grains, it seems increasingly possible that many of these American elements may have reached East Africa before they reached the Mediterranean. Murdock has presented the hypothesis of the American sweet potatoes reaching Africa about the time of Christ via the Pacific and Indian Ocean. The basis of his reasoning is strikingly like Sauer and Anderson: the plant is widely spread; it is deeply embedded in the most ancient agricultural rituals. Although Murdock implies that maize-growing is not ritualized, suggesting later arrival, Jeffreys (in correspondence) states that maize does have ritual associations in Africa. In short, there may indeed by multiple sources for maize, and other American crops in Africa, and some of the introductions may be many centuries pre-Columbian.

Difficult as it is, we should aim at a broad view of the problem, and view the data without prejudice. If maize-imprinted sherds are five to 10 feet deep over an extensive area (square miles) of an archaeological debris sheet, the evidence suggests antiquity, not recentness. Admittedly, just how much antiquity is a matter to be explored, but to use the maize to imply that the time must be small is to prejudice the case. In face of the growing evidence of pre-Columbian voyages and the transfer of plants and animals across the world oceans, one can no longer safely use the appearance of American biota as a post-Columbian time-marker.

**Notes**


5. E. Estrada and B. J. Meiggs, *A Complex of Traits of Probable Trans-Pacific Origin on the Coast of Ecuador,* *Amer. Anthrop.*, Vol. LXIII (1961), pp. 913-939. The literature here is very extensive and key names include the work of the Austrian art historian Robert Heine-Geldern, the American archaeologist Gordon Ekholm, the American geographer Carl Sauer, the Bolivian archaeologist Ibarra Grasso and many others.


8. C. O. Sauer, *Maize Into Europe,* *Aetn des 34. Internationalen Amerikanistik Kongresses,* Wien, 1960, pp. 777-785. 'At what times and by what routes maize was carried into the Old World still remains to be determined. . . Its entry into Europe is indicated as pre-Columbian . . .'


**SHORTER NOTES**

**Recent Excavations at Hopewell Habitation Sites in Ohio.**

*By Dr. Alan Lytle Bryan.*

96 The Hopewell complex, the most famous early cultural climax in the Eastern Woodlands of North America, has long been known from excavations of large burial mounds in southern Ohio and adjacent sites. In recent years radiocarbon dates pertaining to Hopewell mounds have placed the development of this truly remarkable religious complex during the first century before Christ and for five centuries after. The climax centre of Classic Hopewell was in the Scioto River region of southern Ohio, although the Illinois River valley was another centre. Recognizable Hopewelian phases have been excavated as far west as Missouri and Hopewelian-inspired phases have been found as far afield as Florida and central Minnesota.

Large oval or elliptical mounds, some several hundred feet long, were carefully constructed with floors paved with stone or mica. The tombs themselves were constructed of logs roofed with bark. Frequently other inhumations and cremations were placed within the mound; such differences suggest the probability of class differentiation. Other special earthworks include various complex ceremonial geometrical forms; and, apparently during the final phases of the Hopewell tradition, hilltop sites were surrounded by embankments, apparently for defence.

Burial associations have yielded almost all we know about the Hopewellians. They made conical-or-flat-bottomed pots decorated with distinctive dentate-stamped, rocker-stamped and curvilinear bird designs. They flaked rather large corner-notched projectile points and were proficient in the knapping of knife blades, microblades, discus, and eccentric flints of various shapes. As stone-carvers, they excelled in making curved-base platform pipes, often in the form of elaborately decorated effigy figures, atlatl weights, and animal effigies. They were also masters at bone-carving and engraving; bear canines elaborately inlaid with shell or pearl are of particular interest. Great skill was exhibited in metal-working, especially hammering native copper obtained from Lake Superior. Awa's, axes and celts were made of copper, as well as earpools and cutouts of animal effigies and geometrical designs. Meteoric iron was commonly collected and beaten into sheeting. Even silver, gold and galena ornaments have been found, all of which indicates considerable interest and technical skill in cold-hammering native metals after preliminary heating to increase malleability. One of the most significant aspects of their culture is the fact that their raw materials were obtained from great distances. An extensive trading network covering a large proportion of the continent is revealed by the fact that copper and silver came from Lake Superior, grizzly bear teeth from the Rocky Mountains, mica and graphite from the southern Appalachian region, while alligator and shark teeth and many kinds of marine shells came from the Gulf Coast. Obsidian must have been obtained from west of the Continental Divide.

The evidence for class differentiation suggested by the extreme differences in burial types and associations, the evidence that some form of political or religious control had been developed to a considerable degree in order to organize a labour force to build the massive mounds, and the evidence for the presence of specialized
Craftsmen give us a picture of a remarkably complex and well-organized cultural tradition which apparently lasted the greater part of a millennium. Until recently, little was known about how these people actually lived. Settlements were unknown although portions of structures with postholes have been encountered beneath some mounds. As maize agriculture was not known to have been diffused this far north by such an early time, archaeologists were not even sure whether this elaborate culture was supported on an agricultural basis; an alternative suggestion had to be considered that their climax was sustained by trade upon a hunting-gathering subsistence base. The record that two cornrows had been obtained from Hopewell mounds suggested the likelihood that hunting and gathering was not the sole economic basis; however, it was realized that the ears that could have been traded in from the Southwest. And unfortunately the ears were not available for examination as they had been lost in museum collections.

Olaf H. Prüfer and a team of students from Case Institute of Technology and Western Reserve University commenced excavations with a National Science Foundation grant in the summer of 1963 at two unimposing sites, Brown's Bottom and McGraw, on the Scioto River near Chillicothe, Ohio, in the heart of the Classic Hopewell territory. Dr. Prüfer had previously deduced from the lack of known occupation sites that the people probably farmed but their plowed land, where many sites would have been covered by subsequent alluviation. Hopewellian-type potsherds were noted on slight rises in a plowed field along an interstate highway right-of-way. Prüfer commenced excavations at McGraw and recovered a copper awl, much mica, drilled bear canines, gorgets, micro-blades, the characteristic notched points, and a small percentage of the Classic Hopewellian burial wares in addition to simple- and check-stamped and cord-marked sherds and portions of tetrapoloidal vessels. The importance of hunting is attested by the recovery of thousands of bones, predominantly deer. A quantity of wild nuts was also recovered. Most significantly, the remains of two maize Mazes have been identified, proving conclusively that the Hopewellian people were farmers, at least during the latter part of their existence. Two radiocarbon dates for the McGraw site have been announced by the Ohio Wesleyan University laboratory: A.D. 481 ± 56 (OWU-61) and A.D. 435 ± 166 (OWU-62). Other dates are pending. (O. H. Prüfer, personal communication, 1964.)

Prüfer's working hypothesis is that the people lived in small scattered farmlands related to great ceremonial centres in the manner of the Meso-American vacant-ceremonial-centre-shifting-small-harvest-patterns-and to have been verified by the first season's work. We may expect much of the remaining picture of Hopewellian culture to be filled in shortly by further excavations in settlement sites.

**Collecting Shellfish in Ghana.** By David W. Brokensha, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley (formerly of University of Ghana).

I wish to draw attention to a method of fishing—or collecting—which does not appear to have been described hitherto. I am in some doubt whether to refer to this activity as fishing or as collecting. *Notes and Queries* states that 'Fishing is carried on either (a) without appliances ... or with nets; traps; dams or weirs; lines; arrows, spears, harpoons, and gaffs; poison; trained or wild animals. When no appliances are used, fish are often caught with the bare hand.' This suggests that the activity which I describe, when the bare foot is used, may be classified as a form of fishing. On the other hand it may be a form of 'the most primitive method of obtaining food ... the simple collection of ... shellfish, and such wild animal food as insects, shellfish, ...'. Whatever category is used, *Notes and Queries* advocates the obtaining of full information, including a 'list of such wild produce' and 'the method, and seasons of collecting, and the share undertaken by each sex.'

In an attempt to provide some of this basic information, I supply these brief introductory notes.

It is a common sight on the sandy beaches near Accra, Ghana, to see a group of Ga adults and children wading in the shallow water, periodically scooping to pick up small shellfish which have been entrapped by the bare toes. Usually, the group slowly traverses the beach, wading shin-deep in the water and pausing frequently to search for the seafood. This is done by keeping the feet about 12 inches apart and gazing the hips very much in the manner of the recently popular Twist dance. This causes the toes to subside in the soft sand, where they may come into contact with a burrowing shellfish from one to three inches below the sea floor. The fisher then reaches down, seizes the shellfish and transfers it to a container (generally a one-gallon tin or a bucket) which one of the party carries on her head. Collection is not difficult—I caught several myself at my first attempt—and a group can fill a container with several hundred of the small sandfish in a few hours.

The shellfish, or 'olive shells,' are generally *Olivellaria hiatala* known by the Gá as *shàdów or 'shellfish.' Other types of shellfish are caught along the beaches near Accra, a popular resort beach of Labadi, eight miles east of Accra. Shellfish are also caught in the rocks, and in the numerous lagoons in the area.

Although women and children more frequently use this method of collecting shellfish, adult men also take part; sometimes the latter make special excursions to the beach late at night or early in the morning. At night, when there is a moon, the men look for dark circles (about five inches in diameter) in the sand, which reveal the presence of a nest of five to eight of the sandfish. The sandfish have not been found throughout the year, but I do not have precise information about the seasons of their availability. They may be collected on any day of the week, even on a Tuesday when all other forms of fishing in the ocean are, by Gá religious observances, prohibited.

When caught, the sandfish are placed in a container where they are covered with water. Various methods are used in the preparation for eating, the common one being to boil the sandfish, remove the shell, and use the flesh in a stew; roasting is also used, and some sandfish are preserved by drying, then sold in the markets at four for one penny (eight to 12 for a penny if sold raw). They are delicacies.

On Sundays, when Labadi beach is crowded with many hundred sunbathers and swimmers (including many non-Ghanaians), groups of sandfish-collectors calmly and unhurriedly make their way along the fringes of the beach. Frequently, the visitors, especially children, join the Gá collectors, to their mutual satisfaction as the children enjoy learning what is for them a new and fascinating game, and the containers of the Gá collectors benefit by the addition of the extra sandfish discovered. Like so many other activities in Ghana, collecting the olive shells is entirely public, and secular.

**Notes**


I am indebted to Mr. Charles Stewart of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, and to Mr. Walter Pople, Department of Zoology, University of Ghana, for kindly obtaining much of this information for me.

**Cave Art in Kürmiten Ini, a Taurus Mountain Site in Turkey.**

By Professor Ralph S. Solecki, Columbia University. With a figure.

An interesting set of simple animal paintings was found in a little cave in south-western Turkey by the Columbia University archaeological expedition during the summer of 1963. These paintings, done in monochrome (black) appear to represent four mountain goats, or ibex, and one possible bird. The representations may be part of a widespread survival of late prehistoric art in this region of south-western Asia.

The cave in which the paintings (fig. 1 c–e) were found, Kürmiten Ini (Lat. 37° 21' 5" N.; Long. 31° 53' 3" E.) is a small but conspicuous limestone cave situated in the mountains bordering the west side of the Sûglû Göl plain. It lies between the villages of Suberde and Taşığal, about 3·5 km. south-east of Taşığal. Seydijehfer town is about half an hour away. The cave is clearly visible for miles, in the east-facing side of a hill called Dolmus Tokadi. There are well-worn trails up to the site, and the slope in front has a rank growth of verdure, indicative of organic-rich cave débris. The cave is about...
The paintings were found on a flat step-back on the north side of the cave interior, about a third of the way from the entrance. The step-back faced to the outside, and was well lit. The paintings were about 1.75 m. above the floor level. Four of the figures looked like mountain goats or ibex, with long, backward-curving horns. These paintings are in a small group measuring 22 cm. by 16 cm. The smallest (fig. 1a) is 5 cm. by 4.7 cm., and the largest, (fig. 1c) is 9 cm. by 7.5 cm. The paintings were rendered in a black coloured material in simple profile. The horned animals are executed in a rather schematic style, indicating the most salient characteristics of the animals. A bold thickened horizontal line appeared to suffice for the body, with tail attached, and four legs depicted as vertical appendages (one of the animals, fig. 1b, has but two legs). All of them have representations of heads and noses. One ibex (fig. 1a) even seems to have a little beard. One ibex (fig. 1c) is shown as though it were in a climbing position, with its forefeet splayed out to secure its grip.

On several lines of evidence, I did not feel that these paintings belonged to a cultural age beyond that of the Neolithic. In the first place, we did not find any trace of palaeolithic- or mesolithic-age material in the vicinity. Although the paintings had a thin coating of cave solution or stalactite accumulation from the damp cave wall, as well as some dust and grime, they appeared to be relatively fresh-looking. One would suppose that there would be some deterioration, considering their exposure to open air. Furthermore, the convenient height would have made it very likely that someone in closely contemporary times would have executed them. Lastly, there was no evidence of great antiquity in the cave deposits.

The bird-like figure (fig. 1e) found near the ibex group was represented by several dark smudges. There was some doubt in my mind about it, but it is included here as a possibility. These paintings appear to be the manifestation of the ‘wishful-thinking’ type of art, in which the artist, here the untutored huntsman, portrayed his one paramount wish, a good hunt of the animals sought.

At Çatal Hüyük, about 85 km. to the east over the mountains on the Konya plain, James Mellaart (1961, 1962) has uncovered a wealth of paintings of both humans and animals and other artistic works associated with buildings dating about 6500 B.C. in the early Neolithic. These mural paintings are of special interest because of their nearness to Kürtün Ini, and the possibility that the Kürtün Ini paintings represent part of the same tradition. The stylistic technique of the animal drawings seems to be roughly parallel, although this may be just fortuitous. However, Çatal Hüyük itself lies on a branch of the stream called Çarşamba Çay, which actually flows out of Suğla Göl, hence a good connexion with the region of Kürtün Ini.

Near Beldibi, about 140 km. to the south-west over the Taurus Mountains, Enver Y. Bostanci (1959, Plate 1, No. 5; Plate XV) has found among other cave artistry a representation of an ibex. It is much larger (15 cm.) and much more schematically rendered than the Kürtün Ini paintings, painted in a dark red pigment. Bostanci speculates that the Beldibi paintings may be late mesolithic in age, with an alternative early neolithic.

We are gradually becoming aware of a tradition of prehistoric cave and mural art in south-western Asia. Bostanci (ibid.) has summarized some of the findings elsewhere in Anatolia and south-western Asia. I have seen representations of the ibex schematically drawn on the side of a rock gorge near Rowanduz in northern Iraq. Ibex are rare in the Taurus and Zagros Mountains today, but it is plainly evident that they have been a favoured target among hunters from early times in this region.

References


Note

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Inventaria Archeologica Africana. Communicated by Dr. Jacques Nenquin, General Editor, I.A.A.

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It was decided during the V Panamerican Congress on Prehistory and Quaternary Studies, held at Santa Cruz de Tenerife in September, 1963, to follow the example of the Inventaria Archeologica edited by the International Congress of Prehistoric and Proto-historic Sciences, and to publish similar illustrated cards devoted to pre- and proto-historic closed finds and type series from the African continent. The series is to be called Inventaria Archeologica Africana (I.A.A.). It was thought by members of Congress that it might be possible in this way to have rapidly, in condensed and standardized form, the most significant results of new excavations. As only very few specialized journals are prepared to take even preliminary excavation reports, this method was suggested as being both convenient and rapid for publication of new material. On the
other hand, important old material, already published in scientific periodicals, could possibly be redrawn and uniformly re-issued in the series. To implement this resolution, Congress appointed a committee consisting of Messrs. L. Balout, J. D. Clark, O. Davies, R. Inskip, J. Nenquin and M. Posnansky. Since these persons are also members of the Standing Committee on Terminology, the necessary close collaboration between these two bodies is guaranteed. It was further decided that all matters relating to the practical side of editing the material should be centralized in one person, so as to ensure a maximum of uniformity in section drawing, general presentation of the cards, etc. The Patrimoine du Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale at Tervuren (Belgium), through its Chairman Professor L. Cahen, very kindly offered to provide the financial backing necessary for this enterprise.

The first set of 23 cards devoted to the description of the protohistoric material from the site at Sanga (Congo, Léopoldville) was chosen as an example, mainly because the blocks had already been made and could at negligible cost be reproduced again. It is of course to be understood that it is hoped to publish not only protohistoric ensembles, but also stratified material or closed finds of the Old Stone Age, the Middle Stone Age, etc. An effort will be made, after consultation with the Standing Committee on Terminology, to publish typological series of the Stone Age industries. It is thought that by these means it may be possible to avoid certain confusions and to arrive at a better definition of, e.g., the local variants of later archaeological material.

The plan of each card is as follows:

1. A code symbol comprising one or more letters and a number. The letters stand for the country in which the archaeological material has been found, for example: A, Algeria; CB, Congo (Brazzaville); CL, Congo (Léopoldville); GH, Ghana; NR, Northern Rhodesia; NY, Nyasaland; SA, Republic of South Africa; SR, Southern Rhodesia; UG, Uganda, etc. The number following these letters stands for the ensemble (burial, industry, etc.) which is described on the card. This numbering will be continuous for one and the same country. For example the symbol CL 1 means the first card for the Republic of the Congo (Léopoldville).
2. In case the complete ensemble cannot be described on a single card, a second number is given, printed below the first symbol. This second number gives first the total of cards devoted to this ensemble, next the serial number of the card in the set. Thus the number 5(2) means that this is the second card of a group of five devoted to one archaeological ensemble.
3. Below this second symbol is given the type of archaeological ensemble described on the card (burial, hoard, etc.).

4. Below this, in cursive lettering, the museum or collection where the material is kept.

Front, top right
1. In large characters, the name of the locality where the material was excavated.
2. In smaller lettering, the name of the province or district, and the name of the country.

Back
1. A short bibliography giving one or several of the more important publications relevant to the described material.
2. Concise localization of the site, in degrees of longitude and latitude.
3. Short description of the circumstances in which the material was discovered (controlled excavations by qualified archaeologist, accidental find, etc.).
4. Complete description of the site, giving for burials, for example, the position and orientation of the skeleton, the position of the gravegoods, the size and shape of the burial pit, etc.; for the Stone Age industries their position as observed in the stratified deposit, etc.
5. An acerbic description of the discovered objects with measurements in mm. and cm., and references to the illustrations.
6. Comparisons with other material.
7. Evidence for dating, absolute and relative.
8. All other relevant observations (chemical analysis, pollen diagram, etc.).
10. Name of editor of the card; date of editing.

It is most important that all line drawings be of very good quality. For technical and financial reasons it will be impossible to publish photographs. The editor of the I.A.A. guarantees publication within a very short time (2-3 months) after receipt of the typewritten copy and illustrations.

The price of each card is provisionally set at 7 Belgian francs (15 cents sterling; 15 cents U.S.; 0.7 N.F.) and may be paid to the Patrimoine du Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale, Tervuren (Belgium), C.C.P. 90.87-28, or Banque de Bruxelles A 55/451, or Banque de la Société Générale 22.783.

The first set consisting of 23 cards, its price has been put at 161 Belgian francs (£ 1 3s.; $3 20; 16.10 N.F.). It is important to know whether the persons or institutions interested in the I.A.A. and wishing to buy the first set also wish to subscribe to the complete series to be published at irregular intervals from now on.

CORRESPONDENCE

'The Structure of Chin Society.' Cf. MAN, 1964, 37

Sr.—I wish to reply to Dr. Leach's review of my book, The Structure of Chin Society. Leach says that I lay stress very properly upon the way in which certain Chin peoples are part of a generalized system of adaptation to both the physical environment and the political context of civilized Burma, and that 'ecological description is good.' He says further that what I consider to be the major chapter of the book, that on Northern Chin Social Systems, constitutes an important addition to the literature. He adds more generally that besides giving due attention to the work of several of my British colleagues, I have 'contributed substantially' on my own. Since the book was written almost solely to make the ecological point and to present an adequate statement of the formal properties of the social system of particular Chin peoples, I cannot fully accept the reviewer's arguments for nonetheless calling it 'unsatisfactory' after having agreed very grudgingly with most of what the book actually had to say. I note that he has not called it a bad book. But what are his objections to it?

First he complains that the bibliography is 'quite deplorable,' but this judgment is predicated upon the assumption that, because, as I say on p. 1, the book is not a detailed substantive ethnographical monograph, it ought to have been a thorough survey of the literature on all the Chin-speaking peoples. I submit that these two categories do not exhaust the universe of works based upon ethnographical study. It is in part a matter of taste and tradition that leads many persons to feel dissatisfied with a book which has as much theory and as little case history as my book certainly has. I think that, nevertheless, it may be proper to begin publication of the results of field work amongst the Chin by presenting simply an analysis of some systematic properties of the society and attempting to relate this abstract structural or theoretical statement to an ecological view that appears to be acceptable to the reviewer. The work was based primarily upon my field work amongst only a few of the many Chin peoples and I made sparing reference to the published literature on other Chin peoples mainly to show that my field materials made sense only as part of a very general Kuki-Chin social and cultural system that I merely outlined. My bibliography
on the Chin groups which I myself worked with is substantially complete.

It would have been gratuitous to have used this book as 'an obvious opportunity to bring all the literature together.' I agree fully, however, that I am now obliged to publish more of my actual field data.

Leach himself identifies several authors whose works on Chin peoples other than those whom I worked with have not cited in my book. I simply had no justifiable occasion to do so and, for example, Maung Tset Pyo's *Customary Law of the Chin Tribe* is about the Plains Chin who are explicitly marginal to the considerations of my book. There are, of course, a certain number of items, both well-known and other, which are not available to me in this country and seen, though not too many, I have never even been able to see during two necessarily brief periods of library research in Britain. This alone makes a survey of the literature something that I would not have attempted. Not to have cited a work is not proof that it has not been read and if the book is not a literary survey these things ought not to be called 'glaring omissions of scholarship,' strong language indeed.

Second, Dr. Leach objects to certain things as 'fictional learning.' I should myself now prefer not to have so many lengthy references to out-of-the-way publications on such marginal issues as botanical identifications, which Leach offers as an instance of what he finds objectionable. I was, however, urged to do so and far from wishing thereby to indicate any sort of learning at all, I wanted only to refer the reader to relevant issues that I clearly have small competence to deal with.

Third and most important, Leach makes a serious, objectionable and unwarranted alligation about my professional veracity in connexion with my reference to a work which I listed as *Two Years in Ava* by T. A. Tran. I cited the work in the text only as referred to in another author's work and intended as is usual in such cases to indicate outspokenly that, as of the writing, I had not myself seen the item. Had I wanted to give the contrary false impression of erudition which Leach attributes to me, I should certainly have cited the book in question directly. However, before my own book was in page proof, I did obtain and read a copy of *Two Years in Ava* and therewith was able to add to my bibliographical reference the name of the publisher, a piece of information not given by Stern. The title is indeed as I gave it, and 'From May 1824 to May 1826' is the subtitle, the rest of what Leach gives in his review being only a 'cover' for the proper name of the author, T(homas) A(bercrombie) Tran. For me to have referred to Tran's book by its short title is not a bit worse than for Leach to have headed his review of my book with only its short title (A *Tribal People of Burma Adapted to a Non-Western Civilization* is the subtitle). Are we to assume that Dr. Leach has not read the book he has reviewed?

I had reason, even from Stern's remarks to refer to Tran in a chapter on Northern Chin Economics. Admittedly Tran wrote at first hand only about a village of Plains Chin near Ngape, between Magwe and the An Pass, but he appears also to have been writing about what he had heard of other Chin trading with Burmans. I mention his remarks simply to cite an old reference to the kinds of things that Chin in general used to trade into Burma (in this instance, wild honey, dried fish and coarse cloth). I was trying to show that it is difficult to account on the basis of trade alone for the traditional possession by Chin of a large quantity of Burmese goods, heirloom properties and utility items, because as far back as we have any account of that trade it is apparent that the Chin contributed only occasional quantities of miscellaneous jungle produce. I then gave examples from my own notes from the Central Chin.

The paragraph in which I say all of this is headed by a sentence that Leach finds vacuous: 'The Chin pays for all these things in a variety of ways.' 'These things' are the goods from India and India listed in the preceding paragraph (p. 166) and the offering sentence is followed by the reference to Tran and by the contemporary examples from my notes. I can hardly see that the sentence is an 'unnecessary gloss' or an example of a kind of fictitious learning.

Fourth, my Chapter 7 attempts merely to show some formal relations that pervade alike the conceptual categories for the environment, ritual, social relations and metaphysics in Chin culture. I attempt to show how this formal structure is related to the Chin adaptation to the social environment of Burma. My presentation is undeniably skeletal, but I suspect that part of Leach's objection to it is that I have made use of very little of the considerable literature on ritual and metaphysical categories amongst related peoples. In view of how poor the published interpretations have been of the so-called megalithic world view for any given hill people of mainland South-Eastern Asia, my own brief analysis devoted almost exclusively to my material from Haka may not be altogether lacking in power or interest.

Finally, Dr. Leach is correct but too generous in attributing to a printer's error the omission from my bibliography of a large block of works cited in the text of my book; I or my editor should have caught these up in galley or page proof. I am told that they will be inserted in a later printing.

Incidentally, the literary surveys on which Dr. Leach would like my book to have been, has in part at least been done as a B.Litt. thesis in anthropology at Oxford: Lewis G. Hill, 1962 (ms.) *Ethnographic Survey of Kuki-Chin Society*.

University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

F. K. LEHMAN

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Sir,—You and I are both inured to the boomerang qualities of my MAN reviews, but surely Dr. Lehan's complaints are being too sensitive? Many admirable books, including *The Golden Bough*, have been hailed as unsatisfactory on their first appearance, and rightly so. A dish of the very best meats may still be badly served.

My complaints against Dr. Lehan's scholarship referred explicitly to his presentation. A book entitled *The Structure of Chin Society* deserves a respectable bibliography on its subject matter. If this is too much to ask for, then the reader should at least be told where such a bibliography may be found. Dr. Lehan cannot now defend the relevance of the work of the gallant, but anonymous, Captain Tran while at the same time rejecting the relevance of Maung Tset Pyo; for both authors were writing about exactly the same area of the map.

Where Dr. Lehan refers to Tran in his book (p. 166), it is plain, as I indicated in my review, that he supposes that Tran gives some indication of how Northern Chins might have obtained metal valuables from India or Burma by means of trade. His letter shows that he has now actually consulted his source and finds that it has the exactly opposite implication to that suggested. So he now tells us that when he wrote 'the Chins pay for all these things in a variety of ways (see Tran, 1827)' we were to understand that Tran makes no reference to the matter whatever! It is true that in his book (p. 167) Dr. Lehan had already reached the conclusion that the trade appeared to be out of balance: 'clearly the Chin had no particular source of income for purchasing outside goods, ... they simply sold what goods and services they could from time to time and raidied and looted when payment was not possible.' How does he know this? He doesn't; he has made it up. If Tran is relevant, anonymous or otherwise, then so is H. Malcolm, *Travels in South-Eastern Asia*, London, 1839, Vol. II, p. 242, where we are told that the 'Kyens under Burman authority pay their tribute chiefly in ivory, wax, coarse cottons, ginger and turmeric.'

But I have teased Dr. Lehan quite enough. His book will be a useful one; it would be a lot more useful if it had a prezentable bibliography; but to claim it as a work of scholarship, as I understand that term, is quite preposterous.

King's College, Cambridge

EDMUND R. LEACH

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Malinowski and 'the Chief.' *Cf. Man, 1963, 63*

Sir,—In 1891 Sir William MacGregor, Lieutenant-Governor of British New Guinea, advised a congregation at the Methodist Mission at Kavatari to give no more women as wives to Enamakala, chief of Kirwiina. He explains in his Annual Report on British New Guinea for 1894-6 that he thought that the score of wives which Enamakala had already married were more than enough. Malinowski's fabricated
A Suggested Case of Evolution by Sexual Selection in Primates. Cf. MAN, 1963, 222

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Sr. — Mr. Clifford J. Jolly makes the suggestion that the large male in the hamadryas baboon (Papio hamadryas) is to be interpreted as a case of sexual selection. In the species Papio hamadryas mating is confined to groups containing only one male (Kummer and Kutt, Folia Primatologica, Vol. I, No. 1, 1963, pp. 4–19) and this is in marked contrast to other baboons in which many males may mate with an estrous female. Jolly suggests that large males presumably hamadryas with this social structure, with the sex of the animal. In the hamadryas social structure with the one-male groups, there is much more male-male competition and threat in the other kinds of baboons found described. In baboons the majority of male-male threats are bluffs and do not continue to actual fighting. Efficient bluff is much more likely to be rewarded by reproductive success in the hamadryas social system than in that of other baboons. The larger male may be more attractive to females and more effective in male-male threat.

In priamate taxonomy very little attention has been paid to the meaning of the species differences. Here a case is made that hair length may be related to social structure. Since facial expression, movements of ears, position of tail, and many other features of primates figure largely in social gesture, it may be that many of the apparently meaningless structural differences between species are related to social communication.

University of California, Berkeley

S. L. WASHBURN

In Feudal Africa. Cf. MAN, 1963, 104

Sr. — There are some clarifications needed in the review of my book In Feudal Africa by Dr. L. P. Mair (in the heading of which the following should have appeared: Pp. xxi, 383, 5 maps, 11 plates, 115 photographs. Price 86, £2 10s.).

1. The statement that the expedition to the Kuyamba Ambo occupied a total of 15 weeks implies inadequacy. Page 7 of my book also states that 'The expedition spent a year in South Africa...'. At the approach of the rainy season we were requested to leave our zone of operations...'. We continued the study of the Kuyamba by taking informants and translators with us.'

2. My field work does not go back to the days of Frazier and Roscoe who were evolutionists, and to Rivers, a diffusionist, because my results are the reports by Kuyamba participants in their ancient culture at the turn of the century.

3. The reason I did not refer to Ganshof and Marc Bloch and other historians on feudlism is because they do not treat primitive (preliterate) feudalism. Also, American anthropological textbooks do not treat this subject because feudalism is not found in aboriginal America.

4. Although my aim was to 'disentangle the strata which accumulated in the Kuyamba culture, it was not accurate for Dr. Mair to state 'as its bearers migrated from the shores of the Mediterranean to their present habitat in South-West Africa.' On p. 14 of my book I state: 'Although it is possible to discover the migratory routes of cattle breeds, architecture and other facets of culture, it is not possible, at least as yet, to trace the exact path of certain megalithic and cattle-culture traits.' Page 10 states: 'The area of Ambo culture is an enclave in which the beliefs and practices of the people are distinguished by features that appear to be survivals from ancient Mediterranean culture diffused from the north and east and amalgamated into the cultures of migrating Bantu tribes.'

5. It was an oversight for Dr. Mair to account for the 'high position for women indicated by easy divorce, etc.' when she could have quoted trait number 5 of the Negroid Hoe Culture from p. 315: 'The comparatively high position of women in society owing to their economic importance...'. etc.

6. Stratum IV, The Zimbabwe 'big city' culture' misquotes 'The South Rhodesian "Big City" Culture' on p. 317. Here, I state that the Zimbabwe ruins furnish the prototype of certain characteristics of the present Bovenda culture.

The University of California African Expedition 1947-48 reached Ovambo land 30 years after the Kuyamba divine kingship had been abolished, and the book, In Feudal Africa, is an important historical document as well as a contribution to African ethnography.

EDWIN M. LOEB

Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley

Negative Wishing. Cf. MAN, 1963, 106

Sr. — With reference to Professor Radwanski's article on Negative Wishing etc., there is an alternative explanation, namely 'death invocations.' Most of Professor Radwanski's examples are referable to the spirit world, the land of the dead. In my article on funerary invocations in Africa I showed how the spirit world was a mirror image of the mortal world. In the spirit world the belief is that things are done and appear the reverse way round. Thus Professor Radwanski writes: 'One wishes aloud the opposite of what one really wishes him.' One asks 'why?' and answer is found in: 'Their aim is to trick the "evil spirits" which make everything turn out to the contrary.' This alternative explanation for 'negative' or 'inversive' wishes causes the following to be accepted with reservations: 'All sorts of "negative wishes" found among the Western peoples, seem to be due only to Slavic influence, since it is in popular beliefs of the Slavic peoples that the element related to the tricking of divinities or spirits is most strongly represented.'

Funerary invocations, or invocations to meet or cheat the spirits, are not restricted to Africa but are found extensively in Europe, as Professor Radwanski's examples demonstrate.

Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

A Hocart Bibliography

Sr. — There seems not to exist anywhere a complete list of the writings of A. M. Hocart (1884-1939), and it is highly desirable that one should be compiled. I should therefore like to ask anyone who is interested in the study of this remarkable man (cf. the obituary by Professor Evans-
Pritchard in *MAN*, 1939, 115) please to send me the complete details of publication concerning anything by Hocart that they know of or happen to come across. Contributors are urged not to assume that any item is too well known to send in, but to list every reference they can. Hocart’s writings are scattered in many different places, and what is important is not the trivial editorial labour of sorting out reduplicated entries but the eventual discovery of everything that he ever published.

After a due interval, the titles will be brought together and printed, with grateful acknowledgment to those who lend their help.

RODNEY NEEDHAM
Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford

**REVIEWS**

**GENERAL**

**Evolution in the Arts and Other Theories of Culture History.** By Thomas Munro. Cleveland (Museum of Art), [1962]. Pp. xxi, 562, index.

The Curator of Education at the Cleveland Museum, and Editor of the *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, believes that art studies must be rescued from their contemporary domination by a metaphorical idealism which he equates with ‘supernaturalism’ and ‘spiritualism.’ For him the proper place for art studies is with the behavioural sciences, under the aegis of evolutionism in the multilinear or pluralistic aspect. His conception of evolution eliminates the universality, the necessity, and the progressiveness that characterized Spencieran ideas (p. 221), and he defends an evolution which will settle for partial explanations as to the antecedents and the causal relations of artistic phenomena, in a moderate, pluralistic, flexible, naturalistic and empirical determinism (p. 451). He aims at a scientific treatment of art and aesthetics, freed from nonotheistic historicism (p. 189) as well as from idealism.

Part I, Theoretical Problems in the History of the Arts, introduces the question of evolution vs. idealism. Part II, Theories of Evolution in Art and Culture, recapitulates the history of evolutionism with special attention to anthropological theories of history. Part III, How the Arts Evolve, seeks to trace types, descent, modifications, change, purposiveness and causality in the arts.

The book is more useful as a text for university students in the behavioural sciences than in art studies. The review and inductive testing of many theoretical writings favour the domain of science. For art studies he recommends and defends (p. 104) the combination of socio-economic, biological and psychological approaches with morphological and stylistic considerations. He sees the taxonomy of art as based on the types of transmission, the components, the development, and the composition of the work. Composition has four modes: utilitarian, representative, expository and thematic. Transmission has two modes: ‘presentation’ (direct sensory stimuli), and ‘suggestion’ (p. 237), *i.e.*, symbolism.

To me the omissions and silences are more disturbing than the topics which Dr. Munro treats so copiously. The twentieth-century study of symbolic experience, from Cassirer to Panofsky, in the large literature of iconographic and iconological studies, is barely mentioned. Perhaps it is part of that ‘German idealism’ whose baleful effects are repeatedly lamented by Dr. Munro, but not analysed in this category of symbolism. There is no discussion of Gestalt psychology (configurationism), probably because of the Platonic overtones of ‘classical’ Gestalt theory. As to why the arts change (Chapter XVII), Dr. Munro fails to mention the writings on *Formentrudigung* (e.g. Adolf Götzler, 1887), preferring to consider aesthetic fatigue as aversion to complexity, instead of as the tide induced by the obvious. Paul Frankl’s *System der Kunstwissenschaft* (1938), with its phenomenological categories, is never mentioned in the ‘taxonomic’ sections of Dr. Munro’s book. Existentialism and its whole spectrum of proponents are likewise bypassed, save for an indirect allusion to a ‘phase of total nihilism and blackest pessimism’ in contemporary thought (p. 519). The differences between art and science are minimized by reduction to differing degrees of cumulative (Chapter XIX). Change owing to immanent determinism is underrated, being presented as a variety of cultural orthogenesis for which Dr. Munro finds the evidence weak or non-existent (p. 440). He seems unaware of the recent work by linguists in lexicostatistics, demonstrating such immanent determinism in the history of speech (glottochronology).

The aim is clearly a quantified science of art, with which I, for one, would not quarrel. Dr. Munro wants to sharpen and refine our ideas about the evolution of art. He has done so for me (an art historian) in regard to evolution, but not in regard to art. He has rightly criticized some of the art historians’ abuses of exactness and credibility. For this, they and their readers in other fields of study can be grateful.

GEORGE KUBLER


When the British Ethnography Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute started its meetings in 1948 there was unanimous agreement that the misleading word ‘Folk’ should be avoided, but it is difficult to find a substitute. It should be remembered that there are others than ‘the common people’ who have their ways of life and traditions but are still ‘folk.’ Some such combination as ‘Museum of English Life and Traditions’ or ‘Department of Local Life and Traditions’ seemed more suitable. ‘Folk’ has no great appeal to the average council committee who, after all, will most likely decide whether funds are to be made available or not.

The author of this handbook has provided an admirable history of folk museums and collections both in this country and abroad but seems to have failed when it comes to providing a handbook for museum curators. This section should have been the work of a committee or panel rather than the author’s personal experiences as Keeper of the Museum of English Rural Life in the University of Reading. The classification which he offers is not nearly so comprehensive and convenient as that recommended by the British Ethnography Committee produced after careful consideration of existing classifications. It embodied the opinions of sixteen members, each of whom had had considerable museum experience, plus the co-operation of two subject experts. It was odd that the Museums Association never chose to review the publication.

In this present handbook one looks in vain for hints how to cope with the innumerable problems which come the way of a curator collecting folk-life material. It would have been more useful had there been less historical background and more advice on how to deal with specimens with the resources available to the ordinary museum curator. Information about methods of adding accession numbers to objects varying in size from farm wagons to pillow lace bobbins would have been useful. Very few curators are born sign-writers! Simple methods of treatment of specimens against decay and methods of storing them would also have helped the curator in his problems.

The use of a photographic index as used at Reading is to be commended but is often beyond the resources of an average museum curator. There is no advice offered as to methods of storing photographs other than those of actual specimens. Mr. Higgs has, however, given some useful hints and much food for thought.

On reading the handbook one cannot help feeling that it is lamentable that there still is no English Museum comparable with Nordiska Museet in Stockholm. Rising building costs have now made the removal and reconstruction of old buildings almost an impossibility so there is unlikely to be an English equivalent to Skansen. The Welsh Folk Museum has put England to shame. But on looking back on the various efforts to start a national collection...
of folk-life material it was a good thing that the idea of a British Folk Museum at the Crystal Palace (1912) never took shape, and that some of the suggestions put before the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries never came into effect.

THOMAS W. BAGSHAWE


This book fills the need for an up-to-date, comprehensive, reasonably priced work in English dealing with the Muslim and Christian calendars. It facilitates the calculation of the dates, years, months and days of the week as given in the Muslim calendar to their Christian equivalents and vice versa.

The book is arranged in a totally different way from its predecessors. To find an equivalent date for a Muslim one, for example, the reader first refers to Table I, the Hijra year. He will find there the exact date on which that Hijra year began in the Christian calendar, the number of days which had elapsed in the Christian year and the day on which the Christian year began. Turning to Table II, he can ascertain the exact day to which the Muslim date corresponds in the Muslim year. By adding this figure to the number of days elapsed in the Christian year, he can then refer to Table III, where his total will give him the date and month of the Christian year, be it a common year or a leap year. Table IV, a perpetual calendar of the days of the week in the Christian year, will give him the day of the week.

To many, the method will present no difficulty, but it is unfair to ignore, as the author does, the work of H. G. Catenoz, published in Casablanca (1952), which is far easier to refer to, involves no calculations, and is likely to be the first choice for many who read French.

In view of all the care taken in presenting this book, it is a pity that several transcription errors should appear in the text, for example Jumada al-Ukhra for Jumada-l-Akhirah.

H. T. NORRIS


This book takes its title from the inaugural lecture delivered by the author on appointment as Professor of Sociology in the University of London in 1946. In it he urges sociologists not to diverge on the one side towards formulating theories with an insufﬁ cient basis of fact or on the other towards the collection of facts too trivial to serve as a basis for theories; they are to keep to the middle way, but whether this will lead them is not made very clear, either in this or in the next two chapters, both of which deal with sociology but specify no theories.

More than four-fifths of the book consists of a series of lectures on recent social history, and in particular the history of concepts of social class and of the rise of the Welfare State. That these are important subjects cannot of course be denied, but the question is whether their history is sociology and if so whether sociology is a science. To some extent it may be said that the history of a science is part of that science, but the history of the Welfare State is not part of the history of sociology but of the history of this country, and the same applies to 'the changes which have been taking place in social stratification in the twentieth century.'

The author begins an essay on the Welfare State by saying that 'it is the business of sociologists to classify social phenomena and arrange them in categories' (p. 289), but a little later he says that 'all generalizations are dangerous,' and apparently to be avoided if possible. But surely there can be no classiﬁ cation without generalization. And does any scientist investigate anything without having in his mind the idea of formulating some generalization?

The reader will ﬁ nd much of interest in this book, but whether he will ﬁ nd any sociology is another matter.

RAGLAN


The recital of heroic lay and epic before a chief and his war band was characteristic of a number of preliterate Indo-European societies. Both hero poetry and conmitatae are known elsewhere, but their association is less universal. A deﬁ nition of the genre in literary terms is therefore easier to sustain than one founded on speculative cultural prehistory. The surviving corpus, however, is neither homogeneous nor, presumably, representative; the chants of the Kara-Kirghiz have little to do with the Iliad, nothing to do with those features of it most generally admired.

Dr. de Vries' book, addressed to the educated layman, inevitably invites comparison with Bowra's Heroic Poetry (which incidentally de Vries seems unacquainted with), and leaves a faint sense of disappointment. A useful series of chapters, in which less space might have been given to philological history, survey the texts school by school from Homer to Maui. The more hypothetical discussion of function and origin which follows belongs all too plainly to the tradition of 'Most historians prefer to leave the question open.' Epic can always 'give that a certain form of culture has evolved.' It telescopes historical events, but carries them far in space and time. Concurrently, it incorporates myths rooted in cult, but outliving the fathering ritual. We are left in doubt, however, as to the relationship between these elements. The schematic analysis of the type hero in chapter xi, transferred from an earlier work, seems not entirely appropriate to the present one.

A purely literary approach, as Bowra has shown, can illuminate much of this ground without invoking questionable sociology. One could wish that it had been followed here; and wonders whether scrupulousness in detecting the mythical reflects our own doubts about the propriety of religious belief. With 'stories,' as C. G. Jung says, 'Ob sie wahr sind, ist kein Problem!'

H. L. SHORTO


Comparison with the Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, published during the nineteen-thirties, is inescapable. After careful consideration of the ﬁ rst three issues of this new Manual it would seem that the grouping of the material is excellent. But some headings are unfortunate and the style of writing as well as the treatment of subjects is far less uniﬁ ed. The majority of articles read like a well arranged, and sufﬁ ciently documented collection of register cards. Some articles are very learned and authoritative; they exclude, however, references of a general kind which can also be very useful especially for the interested and not too specialized reader. A few articles are written in a manner which I ﬁ nd too personal. The word 'I' is out of place in a Manual of this magnitude. Also out of place are some slipshod colloquialisms which present quite unnecessary difﬁ culties for foreign readers.

Enough space has been allotted to British, Celtic and Norse legends. Brittany fares better than Provence: La Tarasque is in spite of its great importance not mentioned in the article on Anthropo- phagie.

ELLEN ETTLINGER

AFRICA


Following the Second World War there came an increased awareness on the part of rich corporations of their responsibilities towards scientific research. The work of the great British and American foundations is well known to readers of MAN but much less publicized is the work of a Portuguese colonial corporation, the Diamond Company of Angola (Diamang) which since 1946 has subsidized the publication of no less than 62 works dealing with the natural history, archeology and anthropology of Angola. Most of these
relate primarily to the province of Lunda but naturally there is a wealth of comparative detail and occasionally Diamang's publications cover the whole African continent. The publications relate mainly to collections in the Dundo Museum and are, in fact, occasional papers of that institution.

The first of this series was by the late Jean Jamart who between 1937 and his retirement in 1953 laid the foundations for Angolan prehistory, basing it securely on geological data, for Jamart was primarily a field geologist. Both Breuil and Leakey collaborated with Jamart but his sudden death in 1955 left much work unfinished. Professor Desmond Clark was invited to continue Jamart's research and the present two volumes—dedicated to Jamart's memory—are the result of Clark's fieldwork in 1959 and 1960. Part One contains the text lavishly illustrated by maps and sections. In Part Two Mr. Clark has once again placed African prehistorians in her debt by her superb drawings of selected facts. Diamang's half tones are always of high quality and the photographs of both implements and their environment greatly help in following Clark's text.

Since north-eastern Angola is but a segment of the Congo basin, Clark has made full use of comparative material described by Colette, Mortelmans, Anciaux and others, and has looked over the watershed at his own work in the Zambesi basin. The whole paper is a most valuable study of mid-African prehistory as it is known today.

Not least of Clark's services is a clear exposition of the extremely tangled nomenclature which bedevils Congolese prehistory. That there is a tangle is scarcely surprising when one recalls that the area in question is a good deal larger than Western Europe and that a handful of prehistorians have been nibbling at various points on its periphery. Clark draws particular attention to the danger of using 'Sangoan' as a portmanteau and appeals for the use of Middle Stone Age regional terms to describe industries now lumped together as 'Sangoan.' To this appeal I give my fullest support: undoubtedly some confusion will result, but it should not be nearly so difficult to sort out now that radiocarbon gives us so objective a chronological framework in which to sort our localized industries. Such a system might well be extended to cover much of Africa for many years to come, until such time as detailed synthesizes are possible. At present our nomenclature—the relic of selective collecting and overmuch typology of end-products—gives a false air of simplicity to a picture which is now becoming more and more complex.

For the specialist in Stone Age systematics there are good descriptions of cultures, complete with all the fashionable histograms and such like (based, in some cases on dangerously small samples), while the ethnographer will be delighted with a description of the manufacture of gun 'flints' by techniques which owe nothing to Brandon and everything to the African Stone Age.

Of far more general interest, not only to anthropologists, but to botanists and zoologists as well, is the examination of the Pleistocene environmental patterns, in detail for north-eastern Angola and more sketchily for the whole of the Congo basin. Clark and others have done the same sort of exercise elsewhere in Africa but in this particular instance there is rather less guesswork than usual, for as an appendix to the publication there are pollen analyses by Professor E. M. van Zinderen Bakker of Bloemfontein. These confirm that mean temperatures during Upper Pleistocene wet phases were lower than those today—in the case of the late Gambian, about 15,000 years ago, the reduction is placed as high as 5°C.

Finally, using all his data Clark interprets his archaeological material in the light of the corresponding environments and visualizes man living in comparatively large groups in the forest savannah during the wetter periods (Lupemban: Middle Stone Age) and breaking up into smaller groups (Tshitolian: Later Stone Age) when the climate became drier and the change in environment compelled man to adapt his way of life to it.

Careful editing and sub-titling makes this long (200-page) paper easy to read. This is most fortunate for it will not only be searched by all prehistorians working in Africa but it will be necessary reading for students who will have cause to thank Dr. Clark for clarifying and summarizing so much that has until now been most difficult for them to understand—especially if they are unacquainted with Africa.

ROGER SUMMERS
collection of oral dynastic poems, the Rwanda cycle as recorded by Father Alexis Kagame in *La poésie dynastique au Rwanda*, with a literary epic, the *Akrityad*, composed by a Byzantine monk on the basis of an oral heroic cycle celebrating Degenis Akritis, the eponymous leader of Byzantium's defenders against the Arabs and Persians. It is at first sight difficult to see why, as Mr. Papadopoulos constantly reminds us, the two cultures represented are widely different and, as far as is known, unconnected; and indeed he says some perceptive things about the difference, in terms of values, between two structurally similar centralized theocracies, one of which, however, postulates a transcendentally all-powerful God, whereas the other sees divinity as immanent in the institution of kingship.

The author's purpose appears in the subtitle, which refers to the conceptual apparatus with which he has burdened his book, and which largely mars it. In the concluding section, we are told that 'anthropological time' is an 'axiological' concept postulated in order to explain differences in complexity between chronologically contemporary cultures and to 'classify civilizations in their necessary and organic relations.' All cultural traits are to be evaluated according to the degree to which they promote 'social progress'—nowhere defined and presumably regarded as given—and then plotted on an old-fashioned evolutionary scale; which, however, is labelled 'anthropological time,' and on which Byzantine culture appears rather higher than that of Rwanda, the Arabic Mausaddan poems falling in between. The old distinction between 'primitive' and 'civilized' societies is to be replaced by a more 'scientific' one between 'anthropological' and 'historic' societies, which is to make 'objective' anthropological comparison easier. It is difficult to see how this new terminology advances understanding.

The book is also flawed by a slippery use of terms such as 'social,' which is used sometimes in the normal sociological sense of 'pertaining to society and its institutions' and elsewhere as meaning 'resembling modern Western society' or even 'contributing to social progress.' It contains appendices on Rwanda customary law, Rwanda ideas of inequality, culture heroes and possible ethnological links between Byzantine and Rwanda kingship.

E. KRAF ASKARI


This collection of six studies by French women research workers—one an African psycho-analyst, one a doctor and the rest ethnographers—is presented by its editor as a counterweight to accounts of the position of women derived from discussion with men. In Denise Paulme's view, even women fieldworkers are generally barred from gaining the confidence of women by the fact that they step out of the feminine role and associate themselves with masculine activities. She singles out one or two who have been saved by exceptional circumstances. Monica Hunter 'happened to have learned (Pondo) in her childhood.' Do we infer that French fieldworkers do not learn African languages? Sylvia Leith-Ross had special qualifications which are not described. Baba of the Kari is praised but not accounted for. *Women of the Grassfields and Chitengu* are mentioned in the bibliography, but not in this context. While one welcomes all new ethnographical data, it is hard to see where the pictures presented here differ from the accounts used in the *Survey of African Marriage and Family Life*, which Denise Paulme would seem to have read though she does not refer to it.

The essays do not follow a common pattern. Only that on Burundi by Ethel Albert, of the University of California, sees women as occupying a place in a social structure—an elaborate ranking system of the kind which we have learnt to know from Maquet's *Premise of Inequality*. In their efforts to raise their own status and that of their husbands they yield nothing to the court intriguers of recorded history. Monique Gessain gives a tantalizingly obscure account of acts of reprisal between descent groups; this is not made easier to understand by the use of the words 'vengeance' and 'vendetta' where no question of homicide is involved. Anne Laurentin presents five biographies, from a collection of nearly three hundred, chosen to show how women's life has changed over the generations. Marguerite Dupile and Solange Falade (and also Monique Gessain) give the standard treatment of woman's life in a series of phases, among Bako, organized Wolof and Lebou, and Coriagu respectively. Anne Lebeuf gives a conspectus from the literature of political roles played by African women.

L. P. MAIR

**AMERICA**


This study is a comprehensive and detailed ethnography of the Round Lake band, situated on the northern border of Canadian Ojibwa territory. Based on a year's resident fieldwork, it is both competent and modest. All statements are clearly based on observed behaviour and careful questioning of informants. There is a complete description of the geography, the economics of trapping, fishing and casual labour, as well as discussion of religion, residence, household and domestic-group composition and cross-cousin marriage.

In view of the paucity of comparative ethnographical work in the whole region combined with the fact that several points observed were in direct contrast to some current views concerning the Ojibwa, it might be hoped that Dr. Rogers in future papers would consider some of these. For example, whereas the Pekanganum Ojibwa (Dunning, 1959) displayed a sharp dichotomy between cross and parallel relatives, the Round Lake people appeared to lack any such behavioural distinction except for kin terminology and cross-cousin marriage. Both categories of relatives exhibited warmth and friendliness, including joking and teasing, without any conceptual opposition.

Secondly, these people are close to their northern Cree-speaking neighbours, the latter being similar in many respects but lacking any sib organization or names. The Round Lake Ojibwa also lack any knowledge of totems or totemic organization, although the word is used to designate a 'friend' or any sibling-in-law. The lack of sib knowledge among an Ojibwa group is unique in my knowledge and deserves comment.

With respect to change, a special query arises as to why the Round Lake people appeared so willing to accept change, e.g. afianced persons walking about hand in hand (B46), and the taboo on drinking and smoking but not on chewing snuff (B51). More important, there is the question of the emergence of the nuclear family as dominant form (note the rapid house-construction organized by Indian Affairs personnel, from approximately four houses in 1936 to 16 in 1958 in the Weagamow sub-area—B87, n.2 and B88).

In sum, the placing of a wealth of ethnographical data from this study into a comparative framework would have added a dimension to northern Algonkian ethnography. One is reminded of Eggon's plea (1954) for more comparative studies in this cross-cousin region in order to resolve some general questions of social organization.

R. W. DUNNING


This is a careful history of the Sioux from the surrender of Sitting Bull in 1881 to the campaign of 1890-91 which spelled the end of any resistance to reservation policy. The whole issue of the final Sioux uprising is confused. To what extent did the land treaties, the failure of reservation agriculture, the ghost-dance movement and the failure of the rationing system, together with the influence of the 'chiefs' and the activities of the agents, contribute to the final explosion and ultimate downfall of the Sioux? Did the army pursue the campaign too vigorously?
How true are the allegations of massacre and cruelty against the cavalry? Could the whole thing have been prevented?

As usual the truth turns out to be mixed. The only people who emerge with honour are a few agents and some of the Indian leaders. But apportioning blame and shame does not help understanding and it is to the author's credit that he tries to establish exactly what happened during these momentous ten years rather than to carry on a campaign for or against the Indians as has been the fashion with some historians. In his hands the whole thing takes on the usual air of inevitability that historical events acquire when viewed calmly from a distance. Given the premises of both sides and the actual physical conditions pertaining it is difficult to see quite what else could have happened. The 'murder' of Sitting Bull and the massacre/battle of Wounded Knee were both well meant operations that went wrong and got out of hand. The description of both these tragic events is excellently done. It is useless to try to lay blame. What is remarkable is that so much courage and dignity on both sides was maintained throughout the confusion and the bloodshed.

Anthropologists will find nothing new in the book regarding Sioux culture, descriptions of which are taken from standard ethnographical sources. But it should add to their knowledge of the Ghost-dance Religion, which should be placed alongside such things as Mau Mau and the more violent manifestations of the Cargo Cults in an attempt to understand violent resistance of a magico-military kind as an acculturation phenomenon.

J. R. FOX


Every anthropological tourist driving through the Navaho Reservation must have been struck by the obvious social importance of the trader, and must have been correspondingly puzzled, once he reached the Berkeley or Stanford library catalogues, to find that apparently no social anthropologist had made or published a study specifically devoted to the trading post. Dr. William Adams has now admirably filled this curious and yawning gap.

His qualifications begin with the splendid fortune to have been brought up at Window Rock, and to have spent his boyhood on the reservation. He studied anthropology at the universities of California and Arizona, paid summer visits to the Shonto area, made a social survey of Navaho for a governmental agency, took part in archaeological investigations with Navaho assistants, then superintended a six-week lamb drive, with Navaho herders, for the owner of Shonto trading post, and finally settled with his wife at Shonto, where for some months in 1955 he worked as the trader's assistant in the store. His accomplishments also included a command of colloquial Navaho, so that he presents his monographic report with an ethnographical authority that must be very hard to match.

There is no doubt, moreover, that he has made the most of his opportunities and experience. His book is long and very detailed, amply supplied with tables, maps, charts, figures and plates. It deals extremely thoroughly, in the fashion typical of the Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology, with a great variety of features of the Navaho community and of the trading post, and answers factually and convincingly the central questions posed by their interrelation. The range of services that the trader supplies, and the concomitant dependance which he demands of his Navaho clients, is remarkable; and the variety of institutions involved, from the U.S. Government down through the Navaho Tribal Council, merchandise retailers, and the trading posts, must have presented formidable difficulties of investigation. Dr. Adams has succeeded, nonetheless, in making a factual study that is of a competence matching the interest and importance of the situation which he studied. It is all the more to be regretted, therefore, that in his obligatory 'theoretical' passages he should have been induced to concoct such dismaying and obtrusive examples of American sociological gobbledygook; but his work as a whole is a welcome return to the high standards of the great early American ethnographers of the Southwest, with whom Dr. Adams, for this single fear of description, may well be compared.

RODNEY NEEDHAM


When Ricardo Pozas published his biography, a reconstructed autobiography in fact, of a Chumula Indian, the book received a literary success which it deserved. It is also an important ethnographical document whose authenticity, whatever the extent of the editing may have been, impresses itself on anyone who knows the highlands of Chiapas. As a portrait of a way of life and a way of viewing life it touches on profound anthropological issues. The style of speech and manner in which Juan Perez Jolote recounts his story fill out the portrait.

It is characteristic of this mode of presentation that, avoiding any generalizations, it is nevertheless sometimes able to convey a profound understanding of 'what these people are like'; the unique experiences, adequately described, may illustrate social problems more penetratingly than the theoretically oriented glosses which derive from them. Thus I gained more insight from this short book than from Pozas's much longer monograph on the Chumula. Not that one is any substitute for the other; the two are
complementary. It is a pity therefore that this translation should curtail the ethno-graphical footnotes published in the original, rather than expand them for the benefit of the reader unacquainted with Central America, and unable to refer to the monograph.

The problem which occupies the author hinges on the marginal position of the Chamula in Mexican society; how they are able to live both in their traditional social and economic system and also, much of the time, in the non-Indian world which they know but recognize as something quite exterior to their own. Yet Juan’s account of his life reflects a coherence of values which is unaffected by, because it is unconcerned with, the diversity of the origins of his culture and untroubled by the fact that he spent many years away from his people and fought, as the occasion dictated, on several different sides in the civil wars which followed the Revolution. When he returned to Chamula he had forgotten how to speak properly and had to relearn the culture into which he was born—a fact which may have made him a particularly helpful informant for Professor Pozas and which may also explain the rather heterodox account of Chamula beliefs.

The reviewer’s facility with the language is extremely free, not to say slipshod, and no attempt is made to find an equivalent for the style of the original. But all this hardly surprises after the initial shock of finding on the cover, rather than the drawing of a Chamula which graces the front of the Spanish paperback edition, a photograph of a Zinacanteko. Why worry about such fine points? Indians are all much the same! But the reader, if he is an anthropologist, is advised to tackle the Spanish edition if he can.

**JULIAN PITT-RIVERS**


Dr. Jayawardena’s monograph is the only study so far in anthropological literature concerned with social conflict in plantation communities. It treats of two British Guianese plantations and the predominantly East Indian (the term here means ‘descended from migrants from India’) working-class populations on them. The disputes which are described and analysed are of a category locally called ‘eye-pass,’ and seem to be concerned in large part with affronts to personal dignity. In his analysis, the author shows convincingly that ‘eye-pass’ altercations and their resolution arise out of the egalitarian ideology of the people and may serve to reinforce that ideology.

In presenting his case, Dr. Jayawardena provides a good description of the technical, social-class and ethnic-stratified structure of the plantation population; he also shows well how communities of this kind fit into a colonial, dependent, agrarian society of the British Guianese sort. In his view, such typological labels as ‘plantation society,’ ‘proletariat society,’ and ‘plural society’ will not do, since they fail to reveal the ways ethnic, class, racial and other axes of alignment intersect, or are counterpoised. For instance, East Indian plantation workers sometimes identify themselves with the wealthy East Indian townsmen-professionals; but on other occasions they identify themselves instead with their plantation co-workers, of whatever physical type or ethnic background.

In 1956 in British Guiana, 238,950 persons out of a total of 306,900 were classified as East Indian; these are the unmixed descendants of an almost identical number of contract labourers who were brought to British Guiana between 1838 and 1917, less than a third of whom were eventually returned to India. The indenture system was a grand scheme designed to debase and control the labour force in the British West Indian dependencies after the emancipation of the slaves. It worked and, to the extent that ethnic and racial tensions can still be exploited in these areas, continues to prove useful. Indian culture by and large was maintained only very imperfectly, though Indian ethnic consciousness was strong. The social integration of the East Indians with their creole neighbours of African origin was not smooth and has not wholly become so. In the dependent political status of British Guiana; in labour’s struggle for more security and greater economic reward on the plantations; and in the ethnic-stratified divisions between East Indians and ‘creoles,’ one could find many kinds and degrees of conflict to study and to explain.

But Dr. Jayawardena, while by no means ignoring these wider themes (one excellent chapter, pp. 53–71, treats more general social conflicts on the plantations), has chosen to concentrate on disputes among East Indian plantation workers of about the same social and economic status and level of technical skill. His cases are thus very much in-group conflicts, though they involve both Moslems and Hindus, men and women, skilled workers and unskilled workers, and members of different families. Read without reference to the author’s thoughtful and illuminating analyses, these cases seem almost clowish—a dispute arising out of one man’s jealousy because another is building a larger house; a drunken tantrum originating in an alleged accusation of alleged chicken-stealing; a Hindu-Moslem altercation beginning when a borrowed walking-stick is ‘lost,’ and another returned in its place. It is the author’s skill that makes clear in each instance how the ‘cause’ of each dispute is largely incidental to the dispute itself; that people wish both to stay as they are and to ‘better’ themselves; and that slight differences in wealth, status and consumption are not sources of conflict until employed in an attempt, real or imagined, to establish status distinctions. ‘Eye-pass’ disputes may end up in the courts, but it does not appear to matter much one way or the other. Usually they are settled, more or less inconclusively, by the intervention of local figures enjoying prestige or minor dignitaries. Since the litigants therein appeal to the public in arguing their views—and since ‘winning’ or ‘losing’ outside the courts is a matter of how the public reacts—‘eye-pass’ disputes transform the people into judge and jury. The cases which the people pass on eventuate in the reintegration of the antagonists into their own (East Indian, proletarian, planter-labour) group, and Dr. Jayawardena believes that this process serves the best group interests of the plantation workers by maintaining intact their egalitarian social norms.

This neatly executed study is a valuable addition to anthropological literature on several counts. As a description of multi-ethnic plantation communities it can be compared usefully with studies in Africa and in the Caribbean islands. By the insightful attention which it gives to a particular kind of public disagreement it enhances our sensitivity to the dynamics of in-group conflict. Finally, it is an intelligent synthesis and reappraisal of some of the more attractive notions about conflict of such scholars as Gluckman, Coser, Frankenberg and others.

**SIDNEY W. MINTZ**

**Jamaica, the Search for an Identity.** By Katrin Norris. London (O.U.P. for Inst. of Race Relations), 1962. Pp. 103

Katrin Norris is a British journalist who, after following her profession for a year in Jamaica, has written an account of her impressions of the historical background and of the cultural, social, economic and political life of the people. The book, for the most part, is a rebuff of what has been written before. In another such as the economic and political in which Miss Norris has some competence, she has supplied some useful titbits of information. But in other areas, such as the social and cultural, she often shows serious lack of understanding of the society and has frequently misinterpreted important facets of Jamaican life and history. This approach has too frequently been followed by some rather pretentious remarks about the society.

In her brief review of the economic situation, she is often objective and constructive. She notes that the island’s material and human resources could and should be better developed for the benefit of its rapidly growing population and cites instances where she considers that important opportunities to this end have been missed. The role of political leadership in exploiting to advantageous settlements, as well as the current economic and social problems, is also discussed with some interest.

Much of the book is devoted to comments on differences in the society based on colour, class and culture and their relation to inequalities in opportunities and status and to the colonial heritage. The reactions of the less privileged sections of the society to these conditions are reflected in such protest groups as the Marcus Garvey and Rastafarian movements. According to the author, ‘Jamaica is still colonial at heart, drawing her values from foreign sources,’ and, ‘this is the greatest wrong colonialism has done her.’ The island
suffers from a 'national inferiority complex,' it is a 'society completely lacking faith in itself,' and a 'society of frustrated people.' The most ardent 'nationalist' and every Jamaican considers himself to be one ... tends to despise everything that is characteristic of himself,' and she continues, 'the cultural life of Jamaica is not the natural product of the cultural tradition or creative spirit of the Jamaican people, etc., etc. All this pretentious nonsense, as expressed in these and other statements, mars the book. We may surmise that Jamaica, Britain or any other society will have people among the population who perhaps are frustrated in many ways or suffer from unfortunate complexes, etc., but to use such stereotypes as labels for a whole society is most irresponsible. This is all the more unpardonable since Miss Norris has not made a serious study of any of the problems about which she writes.

Finally, what do phrases such as 'in search for an identity,' or 'of two worlds' really mean? Such terms could be applied in similar ways to scores of other countries. The fact is, there are to be found not two, but many worlds in Jamaica as in these other countries. Jamaica's two worlds as she sees them are, supposedly, Britain and Africa, but Miss Norris has too often demonstrated in her book how little she knows about either of them.

MILLICENT COLLINS


After somewhat more delay than usual, the 34th Americanist Congress has published a substantial volume of proceedings. It begins with reports of three symposia, one on urgent ethnological work in Central and South America, one on development and change in native peoples since the Conquest, and one on pictorial and written sources for Middle American native history. In the nature of things, the usefulness of the first of these must depend largely on any action which it may provoke, and information on this is not available. The second and third include some useful papers, but the common theme running through each of them is rather thin.

They are followed by a long archeological section, in which the papers range from Alaska to north-west Argentina. A very satisfactory feature is a summary by Ekholm and Evans of the first session's work, under the auspices of the Institute of Andean Research, on the relationships between the Meso-American and Andean centres of civilization, which arose from the appointment of a committee on the subject at the San José Congress. Work was done in areas stretching from Mexico to Ecuador; a good deal of it was still in a fairly early stage at the time of the report, but work in Guanacaste, Costa Rica, by Coe and Baudez had advanced further, and the authors supply fuller reports later in the section demonstrating a succession from the Late Formative onwards. The section includes a number of progress reports on work outside this project, among which may be mentioned the Maya site of Altar de Sacrificios by Willey, the Cusma Valley in Peru by Collier, and the Middle Amazon by Hilbert. There are also some more definitive reports like that of Larsen on the Trail Creek Caves in Alaska, although this at least will surely be republished elsewhere with more illustrations. The section includes some general papers, among which may be mentioned a discussion of the origin of the North Pacific sea hunting culture by Chard, and the first indication, by Haberland, that the Scarified Ware of Chiquire, Panama, is much older than the other well-known pottery types, thus opening up the possibility of establishing a chronology in that area.

The ethnological section is somewhat shorter, but has an equally wide geographical range. The papers inevitably show a considerable concern with acculturation, even when they deal with remote Amazonian tribes. Other subjects include a paper by Hoebel on Pueblo systems of authority, and one by Zerries on a fine Brazilian ceremonial staff now at Munich. The inclusion of a paper by Barthel on survivals of masks associated with theatrical performances on Easter Island until at least 1860 does not imply that he believes that the idea came from South America!

The section on the high cultures contains papers on Zapotecs, Mixtecs and Aztecs based largely on codices and chronicles, and there are two brief ones on Inca subjects. It also includes an important paper by Weitlaner and de Cicio on the surviving calendars and gods of the southern Zapotecs, which for some reason at present unknown are not generally the same as the old ones found in the Valley of Oaxaca.

A brief linguistic section is introduced by a statement that a commission appointed by the last Congress had done very little (which is apt to happen to such commissions), and a proposal that there should be a linguistic conference to forward future work. Physical anthropology is barely represented by a short paper on racial mixture in Salvador, and a summary of another published elsewhere. Under Ethnobotany, Sauer maintains that maize reached Europe before Columbus, and Heyerdahl, in a similar vein, discusses Merrill's reappraisal of the evidence for prehistoric contacts between South America and Polynesia. The volume ends with four papers on Colonial themes, two on sociology, and four under the general heading of the history of exploration.

It is impossible to do justice in a small space to such a mixed bag, and it must suffice to say that there is a good deal of interest and some of lasting value amid the quantity of ephemeral matter that a Congress has to publish.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL


This book consists of four separate sections, geology, exploration, social organization and cartography mainly of the Nepal section of the area around Mount Everest. It was first published in German in 1959. It forms a useful reference work for students of these four subjects in acquiring an up-to-date summary of the research work carried out in each of these fields.

The section dealing with the mountain exploration of the Everest massif is the most disappointing as it consists of a condensed summary of historical events derived from the works of those climbers who returned and published without any attempt to describe the social relationships of their expeditions. In 1954 I published a review of G. Chevalley's Avant-premieres de l'Everest in the Bombay Economic Weekly in which I showed that the social relationships between the Swiss climbers, the high-level Sherpa climbers and the porters were of a totally different nature from those on Hunt's British expedition. In the former we had long descriptions of the initiative that certain higher Sherpas such as Pasang took in organizing assaults. Tensing himself became a firm friend of Lambert. In the British expedition, the whole project was one of efficiency with each group, climbers, Sherpa and porters, all entirely separate. The Sherpa climbers in Darjeeling have clear ideas about which nationalities are good to climb with and which are not and there is sufficient evidence available to show that some of the Himalayan disasters could have been avoided by different social relationships between the governors (the foreign mountaineers) and the governed.

This book says nothing about these important relationships. There is not a single reference to the governor's point of view. Tensing's autobiography Man of Everest is not mentioned in any bibliography for example. We get here only traditional summaries of modern research unrelated to each other without reference as to how men, divided into artificial groups, managed to combine together over a long period of time, in climbing to the top of one of the most difficult mountains in the world.

ASIA

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Professor von Fürger-Haimendorf tries to redress the balance to some extent with his description of one of the mountain communities of the Khumbu district.

In the course of this description he brings to light a number of interesting points. He shows that there has been a steady immigration of Khamba (Tibetans) into areas where Sherpa have settled and that the distinction between the two groups is largely based on the greater wealth of the latter. This tendency for Tibetans to expand outwards has also been noticed on the Tibetan side of China where it has been described by Robert Ekwall in Kansu province. Von Fürger-Haimendorf reveals a fact that I was previously unaware of, that Tensing's father and mother were both Tibetans so that his Sherpa status is in his own generation only. He shows the existence of a patron-client relationship between the pembu (revenue-collector) and a client and that this connexion is not based on a territorial but a personal jurisdiction, adjoining houses being often connected with different pembus. But there is also a village system of responsibility centred on temple service. There are two principal 'castes,' an upper group of Sherpa and Khamba, and a lower one which includes Khamenduo and Yemba (released slaves). The lower group may interdine but not marry with or smoke from the same pipestem as the upper caste. This distinction between upper and lower castes which may allow interdining but not intermarriage is found elsewhere in the Himalayan foothills both among Buddhists (as in Upper Kulu) and Hindus (as among the Gaddi of the upper Ravi) and seems to be partly associated with ecological differences. Haimendorf objects to the use of the word caste for this relationship. The system of family life, property inheritance and the temple system is also briefly described. But there is no attempt to relate the Sherpa social system to Everest either by assessing economic changes as a result of climbing allowances from foreign mountaineers, nor to analysing the modifications in the social system of the villages through villagers becoming members of climbing parties for longer or shorter periods.

Humans in this area live together and are classified as either Sherpa or Tibetans. But yaks who cannot descend to Solu village and cows and bulls who cannot ascend above Khumbu village solve their problem by meeting in 'borderland' villages to produce six varieties of crossbreeds known as zopki and zhun. In Khamba state these animals are called pung but I have never found any reference to them in zoological journals. The males are inoffensive.

There is no map of the Nepal valley as a whole, although in the geological section references are constantly made to places which the reader has difficulty in finding. The geological maps are from the German edition, in German, and the meanings cannot always be deduced from the text which is translated.

But this does not detract from the 31 magnificent photographs and the endpaper map of the Everest area. The book is to be recommended as an interesting summary of research in three disciplines, but unfortunately not as a study in interdisciplinary research. There is no index.

W. H. NEWELL


There could be few persons better qualified than Dr. Selosomerdjan to undertake a comprehensive study of social change in the Jogjakarta Special Region in Central Java. The son of a priyayi civil servant in the service of the Sultan of Jogjakarta, the author's own fieldwork in the region was preceded by almost 15 years as an official in the same administration during the final years of Dutch rule, the Japanese occupation and the post-1945 Republican era. The result is a lucid and compact documentary account of administrative and broader political changes, the sociological value of which is increased by a verstehende interpretation of the effects of these changes on the various social classes composing Jogjakarta's urban and rural society.

The first half of this eminently readable book is concerned primarily with the administrative structure of the sultanate, a vestigial fragment of the Mataram Empire which came to an end in the mid-eighteenth century. A unique, charismatic role is assigned to the present Sultan, Hamengkubuwono IX, in steering a largely independent course through a sea beset with both visible and hidden dangers. The divergent fates of Jogjakarta and Surakarta, the two adjacent Principalities (Vorstenlanden) of the Dutch period are contrasted in terms of the differences in personality and political outlook of their respective rulers. The abolition of Surakarta’s status as a Vorstenland by the Republican Government and its administrative incorporation into the province of Central Java, in contrast to Jogjakarta which is today both a Sultanate and a ‘Special Territory’ under the Minister of the Interior, may well have appeared a triumph for the Jogjakarta court, nobility and the priyayi administration generally. The reader is not altogether convinced, however, that post-revolutionary social and economic problems have been negotiated more successfully by Jogjakarta.

The discussion of the introduction of political parties and ideologies into village life is presented with subtlety and penetration. The ideologies themselves were scarcely understood and were, in Dr. Selosomerdjanz’s view, relatively unimportant to the villagers who were subjected to numerous pressures to affiliate with one or another of the competing political parties. What mattered most in this political struggle were issues of prestige, influence and personalities, all of which were closely linked to the network of kinships.

In discussing rural matters there is an unfortunate translation of the terms desa as ‘village’ and of dukuh as ‘hamlet.’ I have never doubted that the village in the Jogjakarta Region is the dukuh, and I would agree with Dr. Selosomerdjan in describing the dukuh as being ‘usually surrounded by natural borders, such as roads, rivers, or rice and grazing land’ and constituting a community ‘characterized by strong cohesion’ (p. 97). The desa, on the other hand, is ‘an administrative unit only’ (p. 96), it combines a number of villages in much the same manner as an English parish or a French commune.

The second half of the book deals with the social changes that attended economic development and education during the three historical phases, Dutch, Japanese and Indonesian Republican. The Webberian method of descriptive analysis is used to provide an admirable section on the pre-independence sugar industry as it was perceived by the highly organized Dutch entrepreneurs on the one hand and by the indigenous peasants, on the other, whose land and labour the Administration made available to the alien capitalist companies.

The description of the structure of village society and the system of land-tenure is less searching. Several important categories of peasants, such as magersari and kuli gundul are nowhere mentioned. The highly significant differences in land-ownerhsip between peasants with widely differing land-owning rights, such as the kuli kentjeng, indang tisor and ngarep, might well have been expanded. The increase of indang tisor, peasants who own neither arable land nor house sites, is undoubtedly connected with both the increased frequency of famine and nutritional deficiency diseases, and of the phenomenal growth of the mystical movements known as Adam Makfitat and L.I.A. (Igama Indonesia Adil) during the nineteenth-fifties. It is doubtful if, after the armed revolution, when democratic ideas could be materialized... people shifted their attention from the immaterial world of mysticism to the material’ (p. 404). Whereas there was undoubtedly some shift, it was more urban than rural in character, and less general than Dr. Selosomerdjan suggests. Some of the greatest advances of the post-independence mystical movements in Central Java occurred in Gunung Kidul and Kulon Progo, two of Jogjakarta’s poorer districts. Indeed these phenomena support Weber’s contention, mentioned by the author, that mysticism is one of the consistent avenues by which tension between economics and religion has been escaped.

These relatively minor points do not however detract from the essential value of a book that makes a major contribution to the descriptive sociology of Indonesia. It should also be found instructive by those concerned with the more general and theoretical problem of social change which Dr. Selosomerdjan approaches through carefully documented diachronic comparisons and a welcome absence of jargon.

M. A. JASPN
OCEANIA


Collections of Polynesian artifacts made on the Pacific voyages of Capt. James Cook provide some of the best documented specimens for the study of Polynesian culture as it existed during the earliest period of European contact. Today, almost two centuries after these great voyages of discovery only some of the collections are available to students in a published form. This monograph by Stig Rydén makes a substantial contribution to the literature of Polynesian artifacts by providing a good description of an important collection made by gentleman-botanist Sir Joseph Banks and his assistant Daniel Solander who sailed on Cook’s first voyage of discovery in H.M.S. ‘Endeavour’ (1768–1771).

Daniel Solander, a ‘Swedish citizen and pupil of Linnaeus’, enjoyed the personal friendship of Sir Joseph Banks. It appears that this friendship, and Solander’s association with members of the prominent Alström family, resulted in much of the Banks material entering the Alström private museum which in 1824 was donated to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, and subsequently transferred to the Swedish Ethnographical Museum. The historical background and investigation into the circumstances and people connected with the collection occupies the first half of the book; the second half is concerned with factual description.

The artifacts described (and illustrated) are predominantly of Tahitian and New Zealand origin, but the presence of items from Tonga and the New Hebrides (islands which were not visited by Cook until the Second Voyage of 1772–1775) indicates that all items were not collected personally by Banks and Solander. Sir Joseph Banks is known to have received by gift objects from the subsequent voyages of Capt. Cook, some of which were probably sent to the Alström Museum. The material from New Zealand (which is the most abundant in the collection) suggests a preference on the part of the collectors for the common objects of Maori life. The ornate objects usually favoured by the ‘curio’ collectors of the time are quite absent and no item can be considered unique.

The artifacts are described in a satisfactory manner, with reference to relevant literature, but the book is especially remarkable as an example of scholarly research into the history of an ethnographical collection, the personalities and institutions connected with the objects, and the circumstances of the times. Abundant excerpts from letters and documents provide a ‘life history’ of the collection against the background of events in England and Sweden during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

T. BARROW


Dr. Salisbury’s study is of the Siane, a culture of the Central Highlands of New Guinea. The title, subtitle and parts of the introduction indicate that this is a study of the developmental consequences of the introduction of a limited technological change into the economy, namely the substitution of steel for stone axes. In order to carry out this task, the author makes some ingenious and, I think, valid historical reconstructions, and presents a summary but perceptive analysis of Siane society as it was during his fieldwork in 1952.

Steel axes, once acquired, resulted in considerable savings in labour. The conclusion of this part of the study is one which is borne out by many empirical investigations undertaken in other circumstances that is that where ceremony is highly valued, increased resources (including time) will be devoted to ceremony even more than to further capital improvement or other forms of consumption. Clear though the conclusion is, it is one which is not often related to the corollary, a desire for increased ceremonial consumption is a powerful instrument in bringing about capital investment and increased production, up to the point of diminished returns.

But from stone to steel is by no means the major theme of the book. From Chapters five to nine the author has analysed the consequences of what in effect is a major cultural change accompanying direct contact with Europeans and the market and administrative relations which follow. Here the data are relatively simple and straightforward, if sometimes thin, but presented with a refreshing ingenuity and a rigorous respect for economic terminology which is too frequently lacking in anthropological accounts.

Among the most intriguing elements in this part of the work are a detailed analysis of capital investment, a description of the author’s manipulation of supply in order to arrive at conclusions about elasticity of demand, and a useful examination of value theory, which, however, does not press matters far enough.

This is not a weighty book. But the kind of sociology with which Dr. Salisbury is dealing is not readily amenable to observation by the techniques which are necessary to obtain full economic data. A single worker in the field has his ingenuity taxed if he is to produce anything better than the standard and rather dull and predictable conclusions of anthropological economics. Dr. Salisbury has been ingenious and interesting; it would be fascinating if he were able to apply his skill to the analysis of a more involved economic condition.

CYRIL S. BELSHAW


This is a clear exposition of the origin, formation and extent of one of the two great problems weighing heavily on Fiji’s future. One problem is simply as represented by the title. But Dr. Mayer also has interesting things to say about the second problem, whether the communal system of the Fijians under their chiefs has to give way to an economic one of every man for himself. He includes this in his survey as having a relevant significance affecting Fijian-Indian relations for the future. Added to this is another major doubt, whether the separate administration for Fijians can remain any longer distinct from the central, combined government for Indians, Europeans and other races in Fiji. This leads back to the view that Indians may have suffered through too little administration, Fijians by too much. It is more than a facile aphorism: there is a good deal in support of it. Indeed it has been positive policy by Government in recent years from the time of the abolition of the Indian Department—a regrettable step from any viewpoint except that of encouraging integration in the Colony which the maintenance over a longer period of a separate Fijian Department has also not assisted. Dr. Mayer’s treatment of the
KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

By Dr. J. H. M. Beattie, Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford

In a recent paper on 'Nature and Society in Social Anthropology' (Philosophy of Science, Vol. XXX, No. 3, 1963) Professor Gellner argues for the relevance of 'the physical-proper' to social anthropology, in connexion, in particular, with the relation between genealogical connexion and social kinship. This issue first arose in connexion with Gellner's claim that an 'ideal language' for 'kinship structure theory,' based on the various possible kinds of biological relationship, would be useful for social anthropologists. Dr. Rodney Needham rejected this claim, on the ground that the anthropological study of kinship is an investigation not of biological categories, but of social and cultural ones, so that no schema based solely on distinguishing different kinds of genealogical connexion could be of any use in analysing such categories. Professor Barnes contributed a note to this discussion in support of Needham's view. In the paper here under consideration Gellner generalizes his position, and argues that in giving accounts of societies, social anthropologists must take account of physical events, as well as of cultural and social ones.

Although social anthropologists will agree with Gellner that human societies exist in a physical environment, and that this environment includes the biological nature of man himself, his thesis, which I take to be that these physical facts must enter into the explanatory syntheses used by social anthropologists, cannot be sustained. His contention appears to me to rest on two errors; first, a seeming misconception of the nature of scientific method, and second (in the case of kinship studies, to which context I chiefly confine myself in these comments), a misunderstanding of the nature of 'kinship' as a field of enquiry for social anthropologists. Briefly, on the first point (as Gellner himself recognizes) scientists cannot study everything at once; they are bound to select a field of interest and to take for granted, without analysis, materials peripheral to it. On the second point, kinship as it is studied by social anthropologists is not a set of genealogical relationships; it is a set of social relationships. This is so even though these relationships may (or may not) be denoted by terms having a genealogical reference, and even though they may (or may not) overlap with 'real' genealogical links between the parties concerned. Kinship can no more be reduced to a set of statements about genealogical connexion than, say, an enquiry into the social significance of funerary feasting can be reduced to a set of statements about the physiology of human metabolism. People eat, and people copulate and have children; the social scientist does not doubt these facts, but in the context of his own enquiries he takes them for granted: they form no part of his explanatory apparatus. If they did, it would follow that nobody could ever study anything without studying everything. An examination of some (not all) of the arguments in Gellner's paper will make these points clear.

He begins by asking how social anthropologists isolate 'kinship' from the 'total mass of relationships.' He answers: 'by selecting those relationships which systematically overlap, in the anthropologist's view, (without being identical with) physical kinship.' But in fact this isn't really what social anthropologists do. They couldn't, for at the stage where they isolate or select they cannot possibly know anything about such overlap. What they do is to isolate the field of institutionalized social relationships in which the people whom he is studying use the language of kinship, an idiom which is (sometimes) expressed in terms of genealogical—or in some meanings of the term kinship, affiliate—connexion. But it is the social relationships that the social anthropologist is interested in, not the biological connexions, though of course the existence of these is not denied. This is so notwithstanding that such relationships are sometimes named by terms which have reference to genealogical links, and that there commonly (though by no means always) are genealogical links between the persons who so designate each other. In fact some 'kinship' terms contain in themselves no reference at all to genealogical links. For example, the term mwiliwa (or one like it), found in many Bantu languages, is usually translated as 'sister's child.' But it does not mean 'sister's child,' and in fact a man applies it to a large number of persons besides the children of his sister. And the term nyinarumi, usually translated 'mother's brother,' does not mean this; literally it means 'male mother,' or 'mother man.' Even such terms as 'mother' and 'father' are very much more than merely signs of a presumed genealogical connexion; they imply social relationships, and it is as such that social anthropologists are concerned with them. Kinship terms are not the names of genealogical connexions, even though they may be associated with such connexions; they are the names of categories, sometimes groups, of people, socially defined. And the anthropologist's task is essentially to understand other people's social categories, not uncritically to impose his own.

Gellner again states later in his article what he calls the 'main issue': 'Is anthropology (or can it be) concerned exclusively with social matters, or is it inherent in anthropological method that it studies society as located in and limited by a physical environment, which also enters essentially into the anthropological accounts?' Here Gellner poses a false disjunction; anthropologists need opt for neither of these mutually exclusive alternatives. They are, as I have said, well aware that societies could not exist if there were no people, no air, no water, no food, no procreation. But this does not mean that they can give no account of social institutions without bringing into their explanatory syntheses physical anthropology, human
physiology and human genetics. Like all scientists, social anthropologists are concerned with problems, and the relevance or irrelevance of causal factors deriving from the physical environment depends upon whether or not they illuminate the problems being dealt with. It is relevant to an understanding of the way of life of the Eskimo that they live in the Arctic, and to that of the Bushmen that they live in the desert. But it is not relevant to the understanding of the way of life of either Eskimo or Bushmen, as such (and it is “as such” that social anthropologists are interested in them), that they are, as organisms, genetically interrelated. All God’s children are this, and so the fact can throw no specific light on any of them. All God’s children have bodies, and they have words to denote them and their various parts. Without bodies they could not move around or, so far as we know, enter into social relationships with one another. But this does not mean that social anthropologists must concern themselves with human anatomy and the physiology of locomotion. The case is the same with biological kinship.

Gellner’s criticism of Barnes is just: a distinction cannot usefully be drawn, for sociological purposes, between those physical events which are “knowable” and those which are “unknowable.” But it seems surprising that Gellner does not draw the plain conclusion that it is not a question of epistemological status (what, in the last resort, is “knowable” in itself?), but of relevance. Of course there is an “overlap,” as Gellner says, between the social and the physical, but what Gellner seems to forget is that different sciences, even though they deal with the “same” data, operate at different levels. This does not mean that a scientist denies the validity or importance of information gained at levels other than that on which he is operating; what he denies is that it is necessarily relevant to the particular set of problems which he has in hand. Physiologists do not deny the validity of chemistry, nor chemists that of physics. Certainly their fields overlap, but they deal with different problems. It would not be useful to state all of the problems of physiology in terms of chemistry, or all of the problems of chemistry in terms of nuclear physics. In the same way it is not useful to state the problems of kinship, as it is studied in social anthropology, in terms of “real” genealogical connexion. Such connexion is a physical “given” in all human societies, and so it can cast no new light on any particular kinship system which is being studied by a social anthropologist.

Failure to see, or at least to give weight to, this point (stated for the social sciences by Durkheim a good many years ago) leads Gellner to make quite inaccurate statements about what anthropologists do. “A good deal of anthropological work (including studies of kinship),” he writes, “consists of relating social and physical reality.” Since he gives no examples, it is difficult to conceive what kind of work he can have in mind. So all that can be said in reply is that an examination of any socio-antropolohical monograph which is concerned with kinship (Evans-Pritchard’s Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer, Oxford, 1951, for example, or Fortes’s The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi, O.U.P., 1949) will show that far from being concerned to relate social reality with “physical” reality, what they are chiefly concerned to do is to elicit people’s various concepts about kinship, and to relate these, and the patterns of institutionalized behaviour with which they are associated, with one another and with other social aspects of the community being studied.

Gellner’s lumping together of “kinship,” “politics,” “economy,” as being somehow comparable and so commensurate categories of social action suggests that he has not really understood what “kinship” is, as a field of study for social anthropologists. Thus he writes: “roles only come to be subsumed under a given rubric (“kinship,” “politics,” “economy”) in virtue of overlapping in a reasonably systematic way, directly or indirectly, with the real facts of procreation, of power, or of usable commodities.” He fails to see that kinship differs from politics and economics in that the two latter terms themselves denote social categories; the term kinship in itself does not, it denotes merely the kinds of labels which are used in a particular culture for social phenomena which must be further defined in other terms. To say that a relationship is a political one or an economic one at once gives us some idea of what kind of relationship it is (e.g. that it is concerned with maintenance of territorial order, or with the production and distribution of resources). To say, on the other hand, that a social relationship is a kinship one is to tell us nothing at all of its content. The whole point about kinship relations for the social anthropologist is that they must be something else, for example political, juridical, economic or ritual. Kinship is the idiom in which certain kinds of political, juridical, economic, etc., relations are talked and thought about in certain societies. It is not a further category of social relationships, which can be set beside political relationships, economic relationships, and so on, as though it were commensurate with them. To suppose that it can be is to misunderstand the whole nature of kinship, as social anthropologists study it. Roles are subsumed under “politics” because their social content is political, and they are subsumed under “economics” because their social content is economic. But they are subsumed under “kinship,” not at all because of their content, which has to be defined in social terms, but because this is the idiom in which they are thought of and talked about in the society being studied.

Gellner then goes on to attempt to show that as feud involves reference to actual homicide, so kinship involves reference to actual propagation: “when we are concerned with feud, we are concerned with those relationships centred on the systematic elimination of individuals from the world, just as when we are concerned with kinship, we are interested in those relationships centred on bringing people into the world.” Only Gellner’s odd idea of what kinship is could lead him to so curious a formulation of what kinship studies are about (to say nothing of his statement of what feud ing is about). A study of institutionalized relationships between men and the category of people they call by the term which we translate as “sister’s son,” for example, does not in the least concern the social allocation of new entrants into the world. It concerns institutionalized
and relatively enduring social relationships between two categories of people, defined in terms which may (or may not) imply reference to genealogical connexion, but which are not all to be understood by reference to such connexion. And the social anthropologist's interest in these relationships is not principally in how far they 'overlap' with real biological 'facts' (often they do not do so at all), but in their jural, ritual, economic, or other social or cultural content, and the manner in which they are related to other co-existing complexes of social interrelationships in the society being studied. I do not wish here to discuss Professor Gellner's notion of what feuds are about, but it may be pointed out that even though people are 'really' killed in feuds, and even though people are 'really' born in societies, in neither case are social anthropologists concerned with the physical facts of death or birth, though they willingly admit that they occur. Their business is with the attitudes, beliefs and values involved, and their associated patterns of social behaviour.

Towards the end of his article Gellner raises the question of social causation, and suggests that 'if we excluded physical nature and the difficulties and imperatives it imposes, functional accounts which merely related purely social features to each other would get rather close to logical vacuousness.' But, as I hope that I have already made plain, it is not a question of 'excluding' physical nature, but a question of judging relevance to a problem in hand. Social anthropologists select certain problems of human behaviour for study; others they leave to other disciplines. They assert, for example, that in some societies the payment of bridewealth and its associated prestation involves (causally) the maintenance of certain kinds of social relationships between territorially discrete groups. They know perfectly well that there are physical factors involved in this causal nexus, for example bridewealth could not be paid, or its social consequences ensue, if neither cows nor people were endowed with an anatomical structure affording them the power of locomotion. But an investigation of this aspect of the situation is no part of the task of the social anthropologist who is investigating the social significance of bridewealth. There is not the slightest reason why it should be. As a philosopher, Gellner is certainly aware that one science cannot take account of everything. Any explanation of anything involves reference to other levels than that on which the investigator is operating; but this does not mean that he must give a full, or indeed any, account of all of these other levels. It would be absurd to claim that I cannot give an adequate sociological account of bridewealth without bringing in anatomy, chemistry, physics and mechanics (though they are all involved). It is scarcely less absurd to claim that I cannot study those social relationships which are labelled with kinship terms without bringing in the physical facts of human procreation. All sociological and cultural explanations 'make or presuppose some [my italics] assertions about the physical environment,' and certainly this environment is not 'out of bounds for anthropology.' But unless aspects of it are relevant for the solution of a problem of socio-anthropological concern, there is no justification for bringing it in. As I have said, it may be relevant to certain kinds of anthropological interests, as where ecology may explain differences in social organization between neighbouring peoples. But, as a concern with the actual facts of biological consanguinity, it has nothing to do with the sociological understanding of kinship systems.

Gellner concludes his argument by remarking that 'anthropological explanations give accounts, amongst other things, of how societies cope with nature, and indeed of how they cope in it,' and he asserts that there is a 'persistent temptation to deny' this truism. No doubt social anthropologists do give such accounts, and I do not know of any of them who have denied that they do. What they do deny is that these extra-social factors are relevant to all the kinds of explanation with which they are quite legitimately concerned. And among the kinds of explanation to which they are not relevant are those which are mostly used in the study of kinship. To return to the argument originally put forward by Gellner, the reason why an 'ideal language,' based on the kinds of real genealogical connexion found in human (as in other animal) societies, can never have any relevance to the socio-anthropological study of kinship, is simply that the categories of kinship, as social anthropologists study them, are social and cultural categories, not biological ones. And there is no one-to-one correlation between the categories of kinship, and the kinds or degrees, or even the presence, of genealogical connexion. Entirely different levels of investigation and analysis are involved.

In the penultimate paragraph of his paper, Gellner raises the hoary problem of determinism, and suggests that an 'idealist' sociology (regarding social phenomena as 'wholly autonomous') may have the gratifying consequence of obviating the disagreeable possibility of 'physical determination.' I do not know how far this consideration has motivated 'idealist' sociologists. I might say, however, that I personally hold no brief for a purely 'idealist' sociology. I agree with Professors Parsons, Firth and others that social phenomena must be studied both on the level of action (in causal terms), and on the level of ideas (in terms of concept, symbol and value). But surely the determinist bogey in social science can now be laid to rest. Knowledge of the physical world, no less than knowledge of the ideal world, is a construct of the human mind; a set of (working) hypotheses, which make sense of experience. Free will, the fact that men may make choices, is an immediate fact of human experience, however it be defined or qualified. It is not to be rebutted by imputing to the set of models whereby, for the time being, we make sense of the external world and our dealings with it, an ultimate, ontological validity.

Professor Gellner's ideas, as always, are provocative and stimulating. But I, for one, hope that he will now abandon his wild goose chase in pursuit of an ideal kinship language, and apply his mind to some other aspect of our subject.
A Carved Stone Figure of Eshu from Igbajo, Western Nigeria. By Philip A. Allison, Department of Antiquities, Nigeria. With two figures

The accompanying photographs (fig. 1) were taken on 25 October, 1961, at the Yoruba village of Igbajo, about 35 miles north-east of Ife. The figure is carved from a hard crystalline rock and stands 233 inches high, the head being nearly half the height of the overall dimensions of the figure. The hair is dressed in three ridges, running fore and aft; the center ridge consists of six separate knobs and there is a circular patch of hair over each ear. A small object, probably a medicine calabash, is suspended on the chest on a thick cord round the neck. Four ornaments hanging from the waist hide the genitalia. Round each wrist is a deep bracelet and three rings encircle each ankle. The right hand holds a bulbous staff or club and the left hand is held flat against the leg. The figure stands on a rectangular block of stone which is firmly rooted in the ground.

The right shoulder has partly flaked away, one corner of the stand is broken off and there is a deep groove in the left upper arm which is said to be the result of a machete cut, inflicted during a raid by the Ijesha many years ago. The front of the figure particularly is covered with lichenous growth, but in general the carving is in a good state of preservation.

The figure represents Eshu, an important Yoruba deity sometimes considered to be the spirit of evil but probably more correctly regarded as personifying the element of chance or uncertainty, which is often propitiated before sacrifice is made to other deities. Eshu is commonly represented as a male figure carrying a club and sometimes, as in this case, with hair plaited like a woman. The carving is in current use as a cult object and is in charge of the Olu Awo, who lives nearby.

The figure is most sensitively modelled but is different in style from both the stone carvings of Ife and Eshure, with their more naturalistic proportions, and those of Esie.1 The shape and poise of the head, the prominent eyes, the flared nostrils and deeply modelled lips are all more reminiscent of some styles of Yoruba wood-carving. No traditions as to its origin could be collected locally.

FIG. 2. DISTRIBUTION OF STONE CARVINGS IN NORTH-WEST YORUBALAND

During 1962 Mr. John Picton, Curator of the Nigerian Museum, Lagos, visited Igbajo and was shown another, much damaged, carved stone figure; he was told that a third had been removed some years previously.

FIG. 1. THREE VIEWS OF STONE FIGURES AT IGBAJO
Photographs: P. A. Allison, 1961
Igabo is situated in hilly, forested country on the borders of Ibadan, Ilesha and Ekiti. In his *History of the Yoruba*, Johnson states that Igabo is 'a border town and, as its name implies, contains a mixed population of Oyos, Ijeshas, Ekitis and other clans... the rulers and principal inhabitants were Oyos and all were Oyos in sympathy.' Johnson also records a raid on Igabo by the Ijeshas in 1866 and states that the Igabos refused to join the Ekiti Parapo—an alliance formed by the Ijeshas and Ekitis as a defence against Ibadan raids during the eighteen-seventies and eighties and in consequence were frequently overrun by both sides.

**Note**

1 See 'The Ore Grove at Ille,' by K. C. Murray and Frank Willett, *MAN*, 1958, 187, and 'Stone Carvings in the Ille Style from Esibare, Ekiti,' by Frank Willett, *MAN*, 1962, i, for illustrations of these two styles of stone carving.

The accompanying map (fig. 2) illustrates a point raised in the last paragraph of the note on the stone figures from the Yoruba village of Ijea, Northern Nigeria (*MAN*, 1963, 115), and shows that the sites from which the stone carvings of the Yoruba country have been reported all lie within or adjacent to the High Forest zone. The stone stools at Kuta near Iwo and Esie, with its hundreds of stone figures, in fact stand on the edge of the Savannah country and the villages of Ijara and Oforu, where there are small groups of Esie-type carvings, are actually in Derived Savannah country which has resulted from repeated felling, burning and farming of High Forest along its northern climatic limit. The stone carvings at Ille, Esibare and Igabo and the single stone head at Efon-Alaye are all within the present limits of the High Forest zone.

Willett considers that the stone carvings of Ille and Esibare may have a pre-Yoruba origin (*MAN*, 1962, 1) and the above ecological evidence suggests that the stone carvings of the Yoruba country in general were the work of a forest people who were settled in the area at any rate before it became dominated by the Oyo Yoruba of the savannahs.

**Two Zande Tales. By Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, F.B.A., Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford**

I hope, with the Hon. Editor's consent, to publish in *MAN* some half-dozen Zande folktales. Others are being published elsewhere. My intention in doing so, apart from the wish to record as much of my ethnographical material as I can get published, is to suggest to a younger generation of anthropologists, and especially fieldworkers, that this department of culture has been much neglected in recent years, and even decades, by British students, and that it offers an opportunity for new theoretical advance. For, usually, if folktales have been collected and published at all, there has been no emphasis on their significance for the understanding of a people's thought, which they undoubtedly have. It is as though a historian were totally to ignore—and some Philistine historians do—the literature of the period about which he is writing, for these tales, together with proverbs and certain other forms of language, correspond in some respects—we will not be more precise here—to literature among literate peoples; which raises the whole question of the nature of literature and what part it has in social life, and also what meaning we are to give to the expression 'oral literature.' I think that things are changing, and that folklore is about to attain to a more prominent position, even being sometimes given a central position in anthropological studies. One might mention, as straws which show which way the wind is blowing, the interest shown by Professor Claude Lévi-Strauss in the subject and the already launched Library of African Literature (Clarendon Press). One might further mention recent articles by Dr. Tom Beidelman on Kaguru texts and the remarkable collection (as yet unpublished) by Dr. Ruth Murray (Dr. Ruth Finneghan) of Limba folktales.

With regard to the two tales here presented, different versions are set forth: those written for me by a Zande schoolmaster, Mr. Richard Mambia, in 1961; those collected by Mrs. Gore in 1951 (the revised 1951 edition being used), which are in vernacular only, there being no English translation, so I have had to translate them myself, as well as I could; and one recorded by Mgr. Lagae, for which there is his own French translation, but which I have translated, making use of his guidance, from Zande. Since for Gore and Lagae the vernacular texts are available, though not reprinted here. Mr. Mambia's and Mrs. Gore's versions were written, or taken down, in the Sudan, Mgr. Lagae's just over the border in the Congo.

**How Ture killed Bigtooth (R. Mambia)**

kumba na di u nga barindira na ba ngua pura vurukporo ko. gi pura
There was a man called Bigtooth who had a big African breadfruit tree in his courtyard. This bread-fruit tree
re ki zu zuo zoro, barindira ki ni ere a era pati e, ko a ni zoro
bore abundant fruit, and Bigtooth kept angry watch over it. Whenever he caught anybody
na ga ko pura ko ni yere rogo ni nzi na da bangsa riindi ko,
his bread fruits he would cut him in two with one blow from his single huge tooth.
awiri ko a da a ni bangsa yo.
He also had many children.
ture ki guari ki ndu furo fura ki ya furo, 'bakure mi ye ani ndu
Ture arose and went to Bat and said to him, 'my friend, come let us go
ka kuta nga ga barindira pura' ature na fura ki ndu ki biti gi
and Bigtooth's bread fruit.' So Ture and Bat went together and climbed this
ngua pura re he barindira na rame ki kati e ki zoro na nisa
bread-fruit tree, picked the fruits while Bigtooth was asleep, and
then climbed down with them and went
ka konda ha, furo auwa yo ho ture ki ya fura, 'bakuremi mi na home with them to shell them (the seeds, after eating the fleshy part).
After they had roasted them (the kernels), Ture said to Bat,
'ture ki da nangi going to draw water so that we may drink after eating our bread fruit.' Ture only pretended to
a nanga ko yo ki karaga ti ko ki ye ki pita fura a pita kindi ki go all the way and turned back and came and stalked Bat till he
na mbeda na ko ko ki sa pa ko ki ya, 'de ture nzi, de fura
was near to him and then, disguising his voice, he said 'cut Ture very deep.' Bat was scared and ran away with all speed, and Ture came forward and
budangu,' fura ki gunde a gunde ki zubo ni oto, ture ki kuru ki very deep.' Bat was scared and ran away with all speed, and Ture came forward and
riti gi pura re dunduko, kina wo ture a na manga fura pati gu
ate up all the bread fruits. Ture always tricked Bat in this way to consume
pura i a na di he re.
the bread fruits they used to steal.
ni gi pura sa wa i a di pura gi ko gba sa be yo ki ti ku sende yo,
One night while they were stealing the fruits one fell down
barindira ki zingi rame yo ki ye kengedi ture ku ari yo, one fura
and woke Bigtooth from sleep and he trapped Ture in the tree, whereas Bat
a ima gi ku mere tigako,
had already flown away for his part.
barindira ki ya furo, 'arem me a kpi, da ni ya fo ro me
Bigtooth said to Ture today you will die. Who told you to

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ye ka di gimi pasa?" Ture kie zungadi ko ya, "ako gba, wa giza come and steal my fruits?" Ture pleaded with him, saying, "o man, as your rindi ro gbe me gedi he ti gi ngu du mi rogo re, ho mi ka zora tooth is very long just lean it against this tree on which I am so that when I climb down ni mi ki ti ku ngba a, barindira ki mangi e wo, barindira na I may fall on to it." Bigtooth did so. Bigtooth and auri ko ki rogo abaso ki ngu gbe ture la pide ko ku ari yo. fuso his sons gathered spears and sat beneath Ture to watch him above. After bete rago auri barindira ki tiwi na rame, fuso ho barindira ki ti a while Bigtooth’s sons fell asleep, then Bigtooth also fell a tiyaka na rame. ture ki ni mo ka zora yce ki di bafo ki so asleep. So Ture climbed down quietly, took a spear and speared barindira na ni ki ta ngba ko ki ya gbudeuce! ani sopas ture a Bigtooth with it and shouted, saying, ‘Gbudeuce, let us speak Ture’. sopas auri barindira ki zingi rame yo ki mo ko sopas ba yo Bigtooth’s sons awoke from sleep and began to spear their father ghunjuaqbangu ya yo ti gue da. to death,4 thinking it was Ture. ture ki ya he yo kina ku o, ko ki ima ora ki ru tuturu ki ya, Ture left them there and having run away he stood far off and said, ‘mi duwo, mi nga uiri ba ture, mi nga toni oni sopas ba toni.’ ‘It is I, I am the son of Ture’s father. I have tricked you into spearing your father.’ ture ki gbezi ni oto ki mere be auri barindira. i ki ni mo ka Ture then ran off as fast as his legs would carry him and escaped from Bigtooth’s sons. They began to kpara ba yo ki kpisidi ko. mourn for their father and bury him. fuso gure i ki mangi pumbu no bakere he ka kpara ba yo na ni. ture After that they made a big feast to lament their father with it. Ture ki gi pa gi pumbu re, ko ki ndu nari ri atari ya, atari ki gba heard about this feast, so he went and knocked on atari’s head2 (consulted them), and when atari staggered ki ti uyo ki ta fuka ture ki zuba ni oto, atari ki kuru uyo yo and fell into the fire and began to melt Ture took to his heels. Atari came out of the fire ki yambu ture ya, ‘no na ye nga ti e mi bafu iwu fo ro te?’ ‘Ture and called to Ture, saying, ‘didn’t you come so that I might consult the rubber-wood oracle for you?’ Ture ki ya fu ko, ‘ka mi mangi wai ka n'ga sa auri barindira pumbu said to him, ‘what can I do to go and attend the feast of Bigtooth’s sons ka i ino nga re ya?’ atari ki ya fu ko, ‘mo kpe ri ro na mbumbudo without their recognizing me?’ Atari said to him ‘cover your head with the flowers bingha ki to kpe wa gbinza de ki di uiri toni nga ku be to wa of the spear grass (these are white) and wear leaves like an old woman and take a very small animal with you as though gude ki ndu nga; i a ya tiyako uye, gu kuru tita o ya da.’ ture it were a baby and go; they will think you are their old grandmother.’ Ture ki ya, ‘hu kungbo ghebere he wo! a nga ni mi ina ino gi pay said, ‘you ugly thing! Did I not know all that mbata te?’ before?’ ture ki mangi gi pai re ki ndu sa a auri barindira pumbu, ture Ture did what he was told and went to the feast of Bigtooth’s sons. When Ture ki ta kuru ti nga vuru-uporo i ki dusio ko ni ya, ‘tita na ye, appeared at the outskirts of the courtyard they went to meet him, appearing, ‘grandmother is coming, tita na ye, tita na ye, tita na ye.’ Ture ki ni grandmother is coming, grandmother is coming, grandmother is coming,’ Ture kpaparadi ku ti yo, fuso gure i ki yugu ba fu ture, ko ki di gi was comforting (sympathizing with) them, and after that showed him a place to rest. Ture then took wiri nganagara ko a kai ku na roko re ki voko ku, u ki ya kpari the little monkey he had wrapped up in barkcloth and pinched it, and when it cried ture ki ya pusa u a kpara tipa ha. i ki auru pusa fu e, kina ture Ture said it was crying for bread fruit. So they roasted bread fruits and gave them, but it was Ture ki riti he dunduro ya u na takpuro gude. who ate them all, pretending to feed the baby. ture ki ta manga kina gi pai re ki ni ri ti ga auri barindira pusa In this manner Ture was eating up the fruits of the sons of Bigtooth na du na ghamu. fuso rame bineu ture ki ya u na ga, auri barindira which nearly filled a granary. After five days Ture said he was going to depart. The sons of Bigtooth ki ni mo ka gasa ko a gasa kindi da ti ngba ime, ture ki ta ba which accompanied him till they reached a river. Ture then threw down wiri nganagara a ba sa ki ni mo ka ti ku ime ki uga ya gbe ku the little monkey and jumped into the river and swam to and appeared on the other mbiti yo; ki karawa roko ade ki ko kusayo ki wi roko akunba ki ni side; and he then pulled off his woman’s dress and dressed himself in man’s dress, and then mo ka tambha ni ko fu auri barindira, ni ya, ‘mi du, mi nga ture he started to boast to the sons of Bigtooth, saying, ‘it is I, I am Ture he started to boast to the sons of Bigtooth, saying, ‘it is I, I am Ture’s son, go against him they reached a river. Ture then threw down wa maangi apai, ni ma imi ba toni, mi maungi toni bereue riti ga oni the doer of things. It was I who killed your father, and I have deceived you and again have eaten your pusa.’ ture ki mere ni oto mhu yo ngbada yo ni imi. bread fruits.’ Ture then made off quickly, leaving them in great wrath.

**How Ture Killed Bigtooth** (Gore, 1951)

Ture and Bat went after Bigtooth’s bread fruits to steal them. They arrived beside them and plucked them and took them away with them. Then when they had shelled the fruits and they were ready, Ture tricked Bat, saying, ‘my friend! Bat, you stay here, I am going for a walk.’ He deceived Bat so that he might eat the bread fruits by himself. Ture got up and went and hid behind some banana trees and then deceived Bat, saying in a disguised voice, ‘cut Ture right through, cut Bat very deep.’ Bat was scared at this speech and began to flee in fear from beside the bread fruits. Ture then came forward from behind the banana trees and came and ate up the fruits by himself. Ture tricked him again and again with this trick without his knowing that it was Ture who was deceiving him. When they sat down Ture asked Bat thus, ‘who is it who is eating these bread fruits?’ Bat replied, ‘I don’t know who it is, when you went away something came and spoke and said, ‘cut Ture right through, cut Bat very deep.’ When I heard that speech I began to run away.’ They went again after the fruit and Ture began to trick Bat in the same way, and though they plucked the fruits for a long time Bat did not eat even one of them, only Ture ate them. When they next went there and plucked the fruits for a long time, one of them slipped from their hands and fell, and it made a big noise and Bigtooth heard it in his home.

This man Bigtooth, his tooth was as long as from here to Mari.10 He ran and spotted Ture up above, and Ture began to entreat him, saying, ‘alas! master, since your tooth is very long you take it and prop it up against this tree in which I am so that when I come down I shall fall upon it.’ Ture said this deceitfully. Bigtooth agreed to his proposal and put his tooth beneath this tree. When night came the sons of Bigtooth all fell asleep and Bigtooth also fell asleep, but Ture did not sleep. Ture said to himself, ‘since you say that you are going to kill me, it is good that you have fallen asleep.’ Ture climbed down and when he got down he took Bigtooth’s very fine spear, the shaft of which he had bound with metal, and he speared Bigtooth with it and then left it with him and disappeared as quickly as he could.
The sons of Bigtooth awoke and picked up their spears and speared their own father with them, thinking that he was Ture whom their father had speared. Then as they stood later and learnt that it was their father whom they had speared they took his corpse and took it home.

They made a big feast to lament their father with it. When Ture heard about it he began by a trick to come to the home of the dead Bigtooth to eat up those bread fruits which he was in the habit of storing in a granary. He took a baby grey monkey, and he plucked flowers of the spear-grass and put them on his head like white hair; and he carried this little animal as though it was his (her) son, and in this disguise he was just like an old woman. He went to the home of lamentation and when the children of Bigtooth lookeded towards the path and saw Ture coming they thought that it was that aged sister of their father whom they had seen a long time before, it was she who was coming, and they ran to welcome Ture on the path, crying out, 'my granny, my granny.' Ture came and sat on the grave to deceive them into thinking that he was mourning. He then came into the homestead and sat down, and he pinched this little animal and said, 'oh! The Child is crying for bread fruit.' They went and roasted bread fruits and came and gave them, and Ture ate them up at once and went on eating them till all in the granary were finished. It was just the pinching of the little animal with which Ture every now and again pinched it which made them say, 'the child of our grandmother cries for bread fruit.' Ture ate up all the bread fruits which filled the granary. But they did not know it was Ture. When Ture knew that all the bread fruits were finished he said he would return home. The children of Bigtooth said they would go with Ture, since he was their grandmother. For Ture had tricked them by wearing leaves like a woman. Ture said to them, 'ai! you go back, when I come again I shall then return with you.' They said, 'not at all! We will accompany you.' Ture bade them go back in vain, they followed after him, thinking that he was in truth their grandmother, and they arrived at a river. They stood by the water and discussed the matter among themselves, and they said to Ture thus, 'since you send us back you do not consider that a man came a while ago, who was Ture, and killed our father beside the bread fruit tree so with whom shall we live? Since we have found you, our grandmother, we will go home with you.' They did not know it was Ture; if they had known they would have killed him right away. They stood for a long time at the edge of the water with Ture.

Ture sought for some trick to play and he dashed off and plunged into the water and he swam and appeared on the other side; and he took his barkcloth from where he had hidden it, and he came and stood on the edge of the river on the far bank. That little animal he had brought to deceive them with it, he had already thrown it to the ground, and it ran along the bank of the river to where he had taken it. Ture stood on the far bank and said to them, 'it is I, O Ture. I have tricked you, telling you that I am your grandmother so that I could eat your bread fruits. Look at that little animal I cheated you with, saying that it was my son. It is not my son, look at it, how it runs. Its place is over there from where I took it from the bank there.' They then knew it was indeed Ture who had killed their father, and they were angered against him on the farther bank, and they said to him thus, 'if we had known it before we would have killed you.' They stood on their bank and then went back to go home. Ture congratulated himself as he went off, saying, 'it was I who first killed your father and then tricked you again to eat up your bread fruits.'

Ture and Yangaimo (R. Mambia)

kumba na du yo nga yangaimo, ba ko ka t kpi ko ki mhu kpakpari There was once a man called Yangaimo. When his father died he left Yangaimo

fu yangaimo na dangu sue azire ti ni, gi sue re a du na bakere his many-feathered hat. These feathers had great power, tandu ti ni ki susi. very great indeed.

zingo paso a ni tona manga adia yangaimo ko ki ni dua kina gi Whenever Yangaimo’s wives began to lack meat he would put on this
gi ko sue re ki ya fu adia ko, ‘ade, oni wege vurukporo ki zunda his hat and say to his wives, ‘women, you sweep the courtyard and clean

aakoro na akunungbu, oni rogo abaga na abumo dundako.’ fio gure the pots and bowls, and gather up all the baskets, open-wove and close-wove.’ After that

ko ki ni dua ga ko sue ki za ka gu ku aru yo ki ni bi ga ko bia he would put on his hat and then jump up on high, singing his song ba ko a yugu fu ko nga, which his father had taught him, which is,

‘yuu yangaimo, yuu yangaimo yangaimo mo ye ka dia sue.’

‘yuu Yangaimo, yuu Yangaimo Yangaimo, you come to take feathers.’
yangaimo ki ni ta rika ghere aricho dogba nghanghabatu na sese, While Yangaimo would be dancing on high between heaven and earth,
aziiri ni ngba dundako ni ni ye ka a ti ku vurukporo ku yangaimo. birds from all over the world would fly and fall in the courtyard of Yangaimo’s homestead.
wangu azire ki ni ti kpsko, ka boro a bi nga kura ni ni azire ya. Whole flocks of birds would fall in his home, so that a man could not see his companion on account of the birds.
dia yangaimo ki ni mo ko ina omu azire re, ga yo ake ki ni hiki Yangaimo’s wives would kill these birds, and all their receptacles were full, dundako, aghamu a na abamu, ghere adia ko ki ni papasi ra na ba and the granaries and huts also. After that his wives would cook them in big

aakoro, aboro ki ni tiria ku yangaimo yo ka ri pasio ko na zoro pots, and people used to flock to Yangaimo’s home to eat his meat which came down

ariyo, si du aboro a kpi nyamu ko ti ni, ka aboro a kata nga from on high. That is why he was so much liked, people were never kpsko yo wa sa ya. lacking in his home.
pande yangaimo ki tenghe rogo arago da; ture ki gi e a tigo. si The fame of Yangaimo spread over the whole countryside; and Ture for his part heard it also.

du ture a di ga ko mangu mbaru tins ko ti tissi ki ni mo ka danga So Ture picked up his elephant-hide bag, hung it over his shoulder, and began to go

ku yangaimo yo ka bi gi rika pai re. fio bi ture yangaimo, ko ni to Yangaimo’s home to witness this wonderful thing. After Ture had seen Yangaimo doing

mangi gi pai re, ko ki ya, ‘aka gbwa, nina a ya fe re mi a ta a this thing he said, ‘oh sir, my mother said that if I wandered ta kindi mi ta ndu ka bi boro na manga pia were, mi ki ima ya and found a person doing such a thing I should understand that he ando du. aka ando, wa mi a tona gbata re, atoro titi ya mi bi ro is my maternal uncle. Oh uncle, how I have been searching for you, it is the ghost of my grandmother that decided I should find you ariere.’ yangaimo ki ya, ‘wo du iri daweiro, mi ri pasio du re today.’ Yangaimo replied ‘so be it my sister’s son, eat this meat kina kungho abo na sa ti yo na ni.

of which those who are not kinsmen have been eating so much.

ture ki ni mo ka raka ku ando ko yo gbe, rago ki ta da ko ki ni Ture spent many days at his uncle’s home and then one day he ya, ‘ando mi a ga gba,’ yangaimo ki idi ya fu ko, ‘mi sanago he, ‘uncle I shall leave tomorrow.’ Yangaimo agreed, saying to him ‘give my greetings na mo gbe,’ rago ki ta gira kina boro wiso ture ki ni mo ka dia na mo gbewa; very early in the morning Ture took
gi yangaimo sue yo ko a na igo huoni ki si e ku rogo ga ko Yangaimo’s feathered hat from where he used to hide it, stuffed it into his
Mangu ki ni mo ha pa kuti yangaimo ki ga.

baj, bid Yangaimo farewell, and departed.

ture ki ta ga gene, sue ki katia sa ki ti pangha ku yangaimo. ture

As Ture was on his way a feather broke off (from the hat) and fell near Yangaimo’s home. Ture,

ture ki ta kura a kura ku kpuko yo, ko ki zina he fu adia ko i zokodi

as soon as he arrived home, incited his wives to burn

awande na asere dunduko mbiko zingo passo a manga nga bereuc te.

all their groundnuts and sesame because they would never lack meat again.

ture ki ya fu yo ‘oni wege vulunkoro ki rogo abumo na aba na

Ture said to them ‘sweep the courtyard and collect close-wove and

open-wove baskets and

akarungha ki runqo e vulunkoro. ture ki dua ga yangaimo sue ki

bowls and stand them in the courtyard. Ture then put on Yangaimo’s

feathered hat and

ti ku ngba ko yo ni ya,

burst into song, saying,

‘yuw ture, yuw ture

mo ye ka ri re na sue, ywu yuw ture.

‘yuw Ture, yuw Ture

You come and see me with feathers, ywu yuw Ture.’

ture ki ya gu ku ariyo, wangu azire ki ti ku ture. adia ture ki

When Ture jumped on high a swarm of birds fell in Ture’s home.

Ture’s wives

imi azire, ah he kiki he ra du. si ki ya ngba ana (?) auwa) ture, ko

killed birds till everything was full of them. Ture was so pleased

with himself that he

ki ny a nye tigako ki ta ngba ko kina pai ni manji ku sende

remained up shouting while birds were falling down

no nga azire.

in heaps.

ko na kina gi pai re, yangaimo ki ni ngere ba ga ko sue yo yuru.

While this was happening, Yangaimo looked in vain for his hat.

ko ki ima ina ya kina ture dii he, si du ko a guari ti ni ka pe

He at once knew that it was Ture who had stolen it. So he got up

and followed

fuo ture, ko ki ta ghisa toni ki bi gu wiri sue na a ti be ture, ko

Ture. He advanced but a little way when he saw that little feather

that had fallen from Ture, and he

ki di e ki nda a nda kindi kura ku ture yo ki bi gu pai na a manga

took it and walked on till he reached Ture’s home and saw what

was happening.

yangaimo ki ni mo ka gi ga ko hia a tigako ya,

Yangaimo then also for his part sang his song, saying,

‘yuw yangaimo, yangaimo

yangaimo mi ye ka dia sue.’

‘yuw Yangaimo, Yangaimo

Yangaimo I have come to take feathers.’

yangaimo ki mo ka gu a gu sa ki da ghisa ture ariyo, ko ki ghisa

Then Yangaimo jumped and flew up on high until he met Ture.

He met

ture, ture ni sanhuo ti ko kindi na gbere, si yangaimo a kura a

Ture still glorying in himself with dancing. So Yangaimo flew

kura ti ni ri ture ki ya ka zora ki tuka ga ko sue ti ture yo.

higher than Ture and when he descended he snatched his hat from

Ture’s head.

azire ki kiti nihasa, tandu do gbere ariyo ki go ti ture, ko ki ni

The birds stopped abruptly. The power of dancing on high left

Ture,

mo ka gha ka ti ku sende yo ki ni mo ko kpi,

so he fell down to earth and died.

yangaimo ki zoro ku sende yo ki ye ghisa adia ture i ni kpafi tipa

Yangaimo descended to earth and came and met Ture’s wives

wailing for

ko, mugha yo ki ti zio yangaimo ko ki ni mo ka kpe ga ko nbiro

Yangaimo had pity on them so he smeared his medicine-ashes

ngba ture yo, ture ki ni mo ka zinga he kpiyo, yangaimo ki ya fu

on Ture’s lips and Ture rose from death. Yangaimo said to

ko, ‘wiri dawire, ko ma adiu nga gi sue bereuc ya, ni mo kpi nyamu

him ‘my sister’s son, never steal my hat again; if you want

pasio mo ki ye kina ku kpure yo,’

meat, just come to my home;’

adia ture ki ta mo kuti ko tipa gu ga yo awande na sere ko a ya i

When Ture’s wives began to get at him for their groundnuts and

sesame which he told them

zokodi e ko ki ni mere ga ko be yo, ngbadu yo zere mbata.

to burn, he wandered away from them to let their anger subside.

TURE AND YANGAIMO (Lagae)

There was a man called Yangaimo whose father was already
dead. He departed and took the plumes of his father with which his

father used to dance. He built for himself a homestead and he cleared a plot of bush for his

millet only, for these plumes of his provided him with his meats. One day Ture departed and

arrived at Yangaimo’s homestead, and there he saw many men.

He (Yangaimo) told his wives to prepare porridge and his wives

started at once to prepare food (porridge). When the porridge was

ready Yangaimo went to the verandah of his hut and took his

plumes and appeared with these in the courtyard, and he began to

sing, saying,

‘yu Yangaimo, these plumes of father,

father gave to Yangaima.’

The people took up this chant and indeed it was like a wailing.

Yangaima danced vigorously. Three times they took up this chant

and then in a moment the plumes took Yangaima up into the

heavens. Birds came from all over the earth and fell to the ground.

The granaries were filled with them. These birds, they cooked

themselves. When they had finished (falling) Yangaima descended

and went to the meat and distributed it to all the people, and they

all had their share. When Ture saw this he gave a shout of joy and

said to Yangaima that he, his friend, would return home, and

Yangaima consented. So Ture arose and went back to his own

home, and he told (his wife) Nanzagbe that he had seen a fine

thing.

Ture slept two nights, and on the following morning he took the

path to Yangaima’s homestead, and, as Yangaima was out walking,

when Ture appeared he did not see anyone. Ture went to the

verandah of the hut and saw the plumes of Yangaima. Some

hornets were near them, real fierce hornets. Now, Ture had come to

steal the plumes of Yangaima. When Ture pulled away the

plumes the hornets rushed fiercely on him to sting him. But Ture

paid no attention to them and clung on to the plumes and fled

away with them. But one little feather became loosened from the

hand of Ture and fell to the ground.

Now Yangaima had a presentiment on his way to where he was

going and he returned home in all haste. He got back and passed at

once to where his plumes had been, but he could not see them. It

seemed as though he would kill himself. He reflected and said to

himself, ‘who is it that has done me this great ill?’ When he looked

he saw Ture’s footsteps, and when he searched the ground he saw

just one little feather which had been loosened from the hand of

Ture. He took it and attached it to a little piece of cord and put it

in his hat. While he was occupied in doing this he looked up and

saw Ture with a swarm of birds wheeling around him.

Now, when Ture had taken the plumes he went home with them

and when he appeared in his homestead he told the people to come

and they came like the grains of earth in number. Ture told his

wives to make porridge without anything more (seasoning). Ture’s

wives had indeed prepared this food.

Now Ture took his plumes (hat) and put it on his head and went

out into the open sun and sang a song, telling the people to chant

the response to his name,

‘yu yu Ture, these plumes of father,

father gave to Ture.’
MAN

TURE AND YANGAIMO (GORE, 1951)

Now there was once a man called Yangaimo. When his father died he arose and took his father's feathers with which his father used to dance. There was power in these feathers. He stuck them in his hat. These plumes were his great meat, when he lacked meat he told his wives to sweep the courtyard, and he took his horn of medicine (ashes) and set it up in the courtyard, and he took his plume hat and put it on his head and said 'my wives, you gather close-woven baskets and open-woven baskets, and pots and bowls, and you wait right here.' He then put his hat on his head and flew above and sang his song, saying,

'yu yu Yuaimo, Yanguaimo, Yanguaimo, you come to take plumes.'

Yangaimo danced with vigour, these plumes took Yangaimo straight to the sky. Birds came together from all over the world and fell into the courtyard, and the granaries were filled. These birds cooked themselves. When they were finished Yangaimo came down and took the food and gave it to everybody, and all had sufficient.

Ture began to go to Yangaimo's home, and when Ture went there Ture saw him doing this thing. Ture deceived him, telling him that he was his mother's brother, Yangaimo accepted that, so when Yangaimo was absent Ture took his plumes and his medicine (ashes) which were in the horn and went off with them. Hornets were nearby them, real fierce hornets, and they made for Ture savagely and stung him many times, but Ture abandoned nothing, he fled with them. Just a little thing (a feather) broke off from Ture and fell to the ground.

Ture arrived at his home and said to his wives 'you burn all your sesame, for we shall never more lack meat.' Only his wife Nanggafula did not burn her sesame. Ture said, 'you sweep the courtyard my wives.' They set to to sweep it. He said to them, 'you collect close-woven baskets and open-woven baskets, and pots and bowls.' They did accordingly. He said 'you wait in the courtyard here.' Ture took those plumes which he had stolen and put them on his head and went out into the open (sun) and began to fly, and while flying he sang this song, saying,

'yu yu Ture, yu Ture
You come to see me with plumes, yu yu Ture.'

That man whose plumes Ture had stolen had a presentiment on his way to where he was going and he began to return in haste and came and arrived at his home and looked for his plumes, but he did not see them. He reflected and said to himself 'who is it who has done me this great ill?' When he looked around he saw Ture's tracks and when he searched the ground he saw that one little feather which had broken off from Ture. He took it and tied it to a short cord and put it in his hat. When he looked up to the sky and saw Ture, a swarm of birds circling around him, he flew and struck those birds falling into Ture's courtyard. Yangaimo then said, 'so it was Ture who stole my plumes, is not Ture a thief?' Yangaimo flew after Ture on high and sang his song, though Ture did not see him coming after him. Yangaimo sang, saying,

'yuu Yanguaimo, Yanguaimo, Yanguaimo, you come to take plumes.'

This feather took Yangaimo straight, right into the sky, and he met Ture. Yangaimo then snatched the plumes from Ture's head. Ture began to stumble on high and began to fall to earth. Yangaimo said to Ture 'friend, you for your part dance on the earth, I for mine dance on high here.' Ture accepted that. So the Tures danced indeed on the earth here.\(^2\)

Notes

2. These volumes display many varieties of the 'oral literature' of Africa, some of which will be in part, or in some instances mainly, folktales.
4. The Limba of Sierra Leone, with special reference to their Folktales or Oral Literature,' DPhil. Thesis, 1951.
7. Zoozo: their fruits were so many that the weight was almost breaking down the branches.
9. Atari: The name of Ture's oracle in these tales.
10. This is probably a river. What is indicated is a great distance.
11. 'Sesame' here stands for all vegetable accompaniments which are eaten with otherwise rather stodgy porridge. They would not need them in future because they would have plenty of meat to take their place; and meat is much more tasty.
12. I think that the point is missed here by the narrator. 'Above' and 'below' make more sense in the previous version.

A Note on Enggan. By M. A. Japson, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Australian National University, Canberra. With two figures and two tables

Introduction

In 1961 the Department of Social Welfare of the Republic of Indonesia decided that the island of Enggan (fig. 1) should become a rehabilitation centre for juvenile and young adult offenders from Java. The island lies in the Indian Ocean about 100 km. from the west coast of South Sumatra at its nearest point, Bintulan. Before the first shiploads of convicted persons arrived in 1962, there were approximately 400 Engganese in a total population of 690. By March, 1963, approximately 2,600 offenders, officially designated 'labourers requiring rehabilitation' (guna karya), had been transferred to Enggan.

The decline of the indigenous population and the threatened extinction of its culture have drawn the attention of a number of ethnologists, linguists, administrators and missionaries. The most recent and thorough survey was made in 1955 by Keuning in an
The essay entitled 'The History of a Disappearing Culture,' in which all existing bibliographical and unpublished sources regarding history, demography and social organization are systematically collated. Basing his analysis on the most recent available sources, Keuning (1955, pp. 210f.) concluded that 'The traditional culture, externally as well as internally, has practically disappeared.' Suzuki (1958, p. 14) regards this view and the articles of Keuning (1955 and 1958) as 'the final words on Enggano with regards to its traditional culture, contacts, depopulation and culture change, and an overall picture.'

In this note, I intend to examine events in Enggano since 1945 in the light of the prognosis of a continued trend towards population and cultural extinction, and to add some remarks on Engganan social organization based on data which I collected from Engganan informants in Bencoolen in February and March, 1963.

**FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP OF ENGGANO**

When the Dutch and allies evacuated South Sumatra in 1942, Enggano was left to a three-year Japanese occupation. In 1943 the Japanese seriously considered developing the island into a naval base from which to harmer communications between Australia and the Cocos Islands, and possibly as a base for an invasion of West Australia. The plan was short-lived, however, and the Enggannese were soon left to themselves. There was no further contact with the mainland or the outside world until a Dutch warship landed medical supplies and clothing in February, 1948. In 1952 Dr. M. Isa, the then Governor of South Sumatra, paid a visit to the island, the first since the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia, and laid the basis for the present republican system of administration. A postal service was re-established, operating somewhat spasmodically at six-to-twenty-week intervals. Despite plans for future development of the island and communications with the mainland it was feared in 1954 that the indigenous population might become extinct within ten years.

**Population**

The available information on population is summarized in Table I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enggannese</th>
<th>Non-Enggannese</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>2,800</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rapid decline from 1866 to 1884, a fall of 84 per cent. is attributed by Helfrich (1888) to a cholera epidemic in 1870, venereal diseases and induced abortion. Lekkerkerker (1916, p. 347) thought that the Enggannese showed all the symptoms of a degenerate population and would become extinct. Modern medical opinion attributes the high mortality rate largely to malaria.

Contrary to the prognosis of Keuning and others it appears that the indigenous population is now increasing. This cannot be affirmed with certainty, however, because Doreman's 1961 and 1963 estimates of the indigenous population include persons of mixed blood, his criterion being the use in everyday life of the Engganan language and acceptance of the indigenous adat law system. The 1961 census of population in the Republic of Indonesia did not register ethnic affiliation, so that it is not now possible to determine precisely the rate of natural increase of the indigenous population of the island. Since Doreman estimated the indigenous "unmixed" component as about two-thirds in 1963, there is some basis for postulating an average natural increase of about 2.5 per cent. per annum in the period 1928-1963. According to Doreman, until about 12 years ago it was uncommon for any family to have more than two children survive until marriage.

In response to my query about the absence of either increase or decrease in his population estimates for 1961 and 1963, Doreman observed that the increase has continued, but that several children and young men have left the island for purposes of education and employment and some to marry elsewhere. As examples he mentioned a young man who had recently completed his B.A. degree at the Gadjah Mada University in Central Java, and his own son who is married to a woman of Moko-Moko on the North Bencoolen coast, and resides uxorilocally as is the custom there, as in Enggano itself.

The initial response of the indigenous population to the government's plans for settling tuna karya on the island was positive, particularly in respect to the scheduled programme of implementation which called for the investment of a substantial amount of capital in the clearing of hill land in the interior, the construction of irrigation works for wet ricefields and the expansion of educational and health facilities. Until they were self-supporting the tuna karya were to be maintained at government expense. All rice and other supplies unavailable or in short supply on the island were to be imported by the government.

The eventual speed and size of the tuna karya immigration exceeded Enggananese anticipation. A number of local problems developed as a result of recurrent food shortages. Further, since the immigrants were inadequately provided with tools and building materials, many sought temporary accommodation in the three existing Enggananese villages of Dimeo, Ka'ana and Malakoni, and in the two non-indigenous trading and fishing villages of Banjarsari and Pulau Dua. The immigrants were initially well received, but long-term billeting has placed an insupportable burden on the indigenous society and tension has inevitably grown. The continued arrival of new batches of tuna karya has brought an awareness to the indigenous population that they are now but a small minority (approximately one-eighth in March, 1963) of the island's population, and no longer the chief concern of the regional or local administration.

**Administration**

Enggano is now a subdistrict (ketjamanan) of the district (kevadan) of Bencoolen in the North Bencoolen regency (Kabupaten). A subdistrict officer (ijman), not an Enggananese, is resident on the island. In the maintenance of law and order he was assisted...
by two policemen prior to the tuna karya settlement; since then the force has increased to six men. In 1956 a government handbook reported the existence of three administrative parishes (marga) on the island, Kiah, Malakoni and Dakuha, but these appear to have been subsequently merged into the single marga of Malakoni. The marga head (pasirah) is elected by adult suffrage in conformity with local-government regulations in force generally in South Sumatra. The Department of Social Affairs in Jakarta now maintains a small agency on the island to handle the affairs of the tuna karya and to act as a liaison between them and the ketjamat administration.

From 1908 until 1942, when the Dutch administration came to an end, primary education was provided by German missionaries of the Rhenish Mission whose headquarters are at Barmen in West Germany. For post-primary education, schools in Java were and are preferred to South Sumatra. Since 1953 the primary school has been maintained by the Indonesian Government.

Settlement

Walland described the pattern of settlement as based on hamlets (‘gehuchten’) consisting of three to 13 houses. The hamlets were separated one from another by a few hundred yards on the coast. In the interior they were more widely separated, and each hamlet was fortified with a palisade both for protection against wild pigs and for defence (Walland, 1864, p. 338; Loeb, 1935, p. 209; Keuning, 1955, p. 87). In 1888 there were still 50 hamlets divided into 13 parishes (karori) which the Dutch authors describe as ‘landschappen’. There are now, as in 1938 (Suzuki, 1958, p. 14), only three villages (ka’udara), all considerably larger than the traditional hamlets. There is now no trace of the former karori divisions.

In 1961, before the immigration of the tuna karya, the population of the three indigenous villages was as shown in Table II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>No. of Families</th>
<th>Resident Population</th>
<th>Average size of family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimeo</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>3.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka’ana</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malakoni</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>4.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excluding persons temporarily absent from the island for purposes of education and employment

Each indigenous village (ka’udara) has a headman (ekapu ka’udara), elected by the adult male villagers, who is recognized by the government. In addition there is an adat elder in each village. The two roles are never combined in the same person.

The traditional form of inland swidden cultivation was largely abandoned by the time of the first tuna karya immigration. The indigenous population now depends for its livelihood on fishing, the collection of coconuts, and the sale of copra after desiccation by smoking. Small gardens of cassava (bira) and taro (ebaba) are worked in the vicinity of the villages. These gardens now seldom extend to more than three kilometres from the coast.

Cassava and taro are still staple foods, though there is now a preference for rice whenever it is available through barter for copra, fish, ratten or pig meat. A few men have small gardens of coffee and cloves, the produce of which is used partly for domestic consumption on the island; the balance is exported through the three main traders, a Chinese, a Minangkabau and an Engganeese, in order of importance and trading turnover. Coffee was introduced from South Sumatra in 1958.

Social Structure

The literature on Enggano is remarkable for the absence of substance in describing the indigenous social structure and religion. Josselin de Jong (1938) commented on the paucity of ethnographic research in Enggano despite the proximity of the island to Java. Keuning (1955, p. 191), after examining all available sources, concluded that our knowledge of clan structure, kinship and the religious system remain fragmentary.

The society has variously been described as having four (Keuning, 1955, p. 185), five or six (E.N.I., Vol. I, p. 671), and eight (Walland, 1864, p. 98) exogamous matrilineal ‘clans’ or lineages. Walland, whose account is perhaps the most authoritative and reliable, describes these divisions as kha, a term which he translates into Dutch as stam (tribe or clan). He lists them as:

- Kha Adoebi
- Kha Keloeki
- Kha Hoca
- Kha Ahoeba
- Kha Thohrah
- Kha Oenah
- Kha Phinioe
- Kha Bharheibah

Of these, there is now no trace of Kha Keloeki, Kha Phinioe and Kha Bharheibah, but the remaining five still exist.

Keuning considers Ka’arubi, Ka’itora, Ka’ahuao and Ka’uno as the four original matrilineal ‘clans’, and thinks that from these or some other branches have emerged through fissipation. The clans were not territorially localized but spread over the entire island. My own information supports the five-‘clan’ (kapacheida) system, these being: Kaharuba, Ka’uno, Ka’arubi, Ka’ahuao and Ka’itora. This view is further supported by the Government’s regional monograph on South Sumatra. My suggestion, based on Keuning’s postulate (1955, p. 191) of a four-clan system which for certain purposes formed two moieties, that Kaharuba might have originated from Ka’arubi or one of the other three kapacheida, was not accepted by my informants.

The names of the clan founders are not known, as was the case when Walland (1864, p. 96) visited the island in 1861. In reply to his enquiries about the names of their ‘clan fathers’ (stamvaders) he could elicit only a collective name for the ancestors, nahoaca cheha, who were descended from the mythical culture hero, Liho. Descent and kapacheida affiliation are reckoned through the female line. The core of the kapacheida is considered to be ‘our mothers and sisters.’

Nevertheless, a man is regarded as belonging to his natal (mother’s) kapacheida until death, and his spirit is propitiated by his surviving sisters (ehu) and sisters’ children. Each clan has an elder or senior member who acts as the clan head (ekapu kapacheida). There are at least three clans present in each village. In Malakoni there are members of all five. At present the largest clan is Kaharuba, followed by Ka’uno. Two-thirds of the ethnic Engganeese at present are members of these two clans.

With regard to marriage, there is a preference, persisting to the present time, for matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (with MBD). Previous accounts (cf. E.N.I., Vol. I, p. 671) have reported a prohibition of marriage with close relatives on the mother’s side. In reality only marriage with the FZD is prohibited. In cases where a man impregnates his FZD a heavy fine is imposed, but the couple are permitted to marry and become a legally recognized family. The fine was formerly paid in ancient beads which were highly valued. Nowadays the man pays a fine of a jungle knife, a length of cloth and a sum of cash equivalent to the market value of about 20 coconuts. The fine is paid to the clan elder, and the clan and village community must be given a feast (e’ono wakorina), for which a pig (among Muslims a goat) is slaughtered ritually.

In one genealogy which I collected (fig. 2) there is a case of
marriage of one of my informants, Doreman, with his mother’s younger sister, Salbia. I was unable to obtain further details about the circumstances of this marriage, apart from the anomaly of Salbia and Sahuja, the man’s mother, belonging to different kapa’ehida. Of her sibling set consisting of Sahuja, Karopeni and Salbia, only Salbia the youngest was reckoned to belong to Ka’arubi, the kapa’ehida of her mother: Sahuja and Karopeni were counted as belonging to the Kahruba kapa’ehida. This discrepancy, which I was unable in the circumstances to elucidate, indicates the urgency of making the fullest possible study of the marriage and descent system in the very near future, before this becomes no longer possible because of assimilation into the numerically dominant ‘tuna karya society’ and the effacement of Engganese social institutions by a process of cultural erosion which is already at an advanced stage. Unfortunately the adat elder of Engganese, Amitas Ka’uno, who was believed to be the last remaining person to have a sound understanding of the traditional social system, died shortly after his arrival in Bencoolen in December, 1962, a few days before I had arranged to meet him.

The kapa’ehida (clan) of each individual is italicized. NK = not known by informant

Marriage residence is almost invariably uxoriolocal. The wedding feast is held in the bride’s home, but the bridegroom and his kinsmen contribute towards the costs, bringing coconuts, fish, cassava, taro, fowls and meat (mainly wild pig) if there has been luck in the hunt. During the first year of marriage the groom, with the help of his wife’s brothers, both actual and classificatory, gathers materials to build a house for the newly wed couple. The actual construction usually begins when the wife has reached an advanced stage of her first pregnancy, and lasts about two months, as many as 40 people assisting.

The couple occupy their new home within a month or two of the birth of their first child. Confinement in childbirth, under the influence of the government medical aid, seldom takes place in the bush outside the village or hanging from a floor beam under the pile house (traditional beehive house, kakario, or square Malay-type house on piles), as was the custom formerly (Keuning, 1955, p. 188). Children are given the clan name of their mother and throughout their lives are jurally affiliated to her clan. A son, despite the rule of clan exogamy and the custom of uxorio-local residence, never relinquishes his natal clan name and affiliation.

Except where a daughter has recently married, an Engganese household consists of one elementary family. Most of the property including all immovable property, is legally vested in the wife. Upon her death there is a partition of her estate, whereby her fields, orchard bush, heirlooms and sacred objects are inherited by her daughters. In the past there was seldom more than one daughter that survived until that time; in cases where there were, the immovable property was divided equally, but the most important heirlooms and sacred objects went to the eldest or oldest daughter. This procedure has continued to the present time. A man usually bequeaths his hunting and fishing gear to his sons. Property acquired through joint effort of husband and wife after marriage, that is, non-inherited property, may nowadays be disposed of by them in any way that they think fit. Upon the death of his wife, a man usually returns to his natal village and clan, leaving his children to the custody and care of his wife’s kapa’ehida kinsmen.

When a person requires some article or assistance from outside his own household, he usually approaches members of his own kapa’ehida. Only if he is unable to obtain what he requires does he approach his father’s kapa’ehida. Were a man to make an initial approach to his paternal kapa’ehida his action would provoke a conflict between them and his own (maternal) kapa’ehida who would feel their prior jural and moral rights flouted.

Religion

As in the case of social structure, Keuning (1955, p. 191) regrets that more careful observation and description were not made by previous writers, and in particular by those who had the opportunity to make such observations prior to the mid-eighteenth century when Engganese was almost entirely isolated from the rest of the world. The subsequent settlers on the island, Minangkabau, Buginese, Javanes and Sudanese were Muslims, but this new religion made little impact on the Engganese. Lutheran Christianity, introduced by the Rhenish Mission in 1902 with the aid of Toba Batak evangelists and teachers from North Sumatra, met with greater success. In 1942, when the missionaries left the island, Christianity had become the predominant religion among the indigenous population, Muslims accounting for less than 15 per cent. (cf. Suzuki, 1958, p. 14). Contact with the Rhenish Mission has never since been successfully re-established. Since 1942 there has been a tendency for the Christian Engganese to become Muslims. By March, 1963, the indigenous population was equally distributed between Christianity and Islam, but of the total population of the island the Christians numbered about 7 per cent., the remainder (now mostly Javanese) being either practising or nominal Muslims.

Despite the intrusion of Christianity and Islam, the Engganese have retained some features of their traditional religious system. The e’ono wakoroo ritual feast held to reconcile parties to a quarrel, or prior to a fishing expedition or hunt, or to celebrate a rite of passage, necessarily entails the propitiation of ancestral spirits. These are seldom addressed individually or by name but are referred to collectively as kendi’apath’i. At the feast certain ritual foods are served, varying slightly with each specific occasion. The basic fare, however, consists nowadays of boiled rice served in leaf-wrapped parcels, sun-dried fish, young coconuts to provide drink (water is rarely imbibed) and bananas.

The traditional dances were regarded as pagan and undesirable by both Christian missionaries and the Muslims on the island. Nevertheless, the oldest men and women are still able to perform
the c'aruhe and ja'udo dances, but these now tend to be reserved for special occasions as when Governor Isa visited the island in 1952 and Governor Bastari in 1962. The dances formed part of the ritual proceedings in the traditional religious system.

The dismantling of the house of a deceased person and the extended period of suspension of ordinary social activity as the essential features of traditional mortuary rites have now been considerably relaxed. Only in rare instances is a house dismantled and reconstructed elsewhere, and there have been no cases in the past 21 years of a village being moved entirely after the death of one of its members as was the custom formerly and particularly in the case of a woman in childbirth (Keuning, 1955, p. 189). The period of mourning has been reduced in some cases from the traditional minimum of 40 days and the rules concerning prohibited forms of behaviour and speech during mortuary isolation or seclusion have been universally relaxed.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding repeated premonitions of impending extinction, the Enggangese people and their culture have shown a surprising proclivity for survival, unlike the aboriginal Tasmanians with whom they have been compared (Suzuki, 1958, p. 12). The materials presented in this paper indicate that prior to the commencement of the tuna karya immigration in 1962, the trend towards demographic decline before the Second World War has been reversed. The three villages remaining in 1938 still exist, with an increased population in each case. This has been largely a consequence of preventive medicine. With respect to the indigenous culture and fears of its imminent extinction official government encouragement of traditional art forms has enabled public performances of native dances to be held on a number of occasions in recent years necessitating the instruction of younger men and women by the adat elders. The magnitude of the post-1961 tuna karya immigration from Java, however, introduces a new factor which is likely to result in the disappearance of Enggangese culture through assimilation into a largely undifferentiated modern Indonesian culture. It is imperative that fieldwork in situ by a trained anthropologist should be carried out as soon as possible on the island to unravel some of the many unresolved problems of Enggangese ethnohistory before assimilation has made this no longer possible.

Notes

1 Enggano, with an area of 444 square km., is the largest of a group of six islands. The others, all within 25 km. of the coast of Enggano, are Aduwa (Pulau Dua), Bangkai, Kaikum, Merbur and Satu. The native name for Enggano (a name of Spanish derivation, meaning 'disappearance') is cempo, meaning 'the land.'

2 Estimate of Doreman, the Enggangese parish head (pasirah) of Enggano.

3 Information supplied by the office of the North Bencoolen Regency (which includes Enggano) at Bencoolen, through the courtesy of the Bupati, Mr. T. Usman. Cf. also Gat, Bencoolen, 1963, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 5.

4 Notable among these are: Haeften (1910), Helfrich (1888), de Jong (1938), Keuning (1955), Lett (1903), Link (1912), Loeb (1935), Modigliani (1894), Oudemans (1886), Speicker (1913), Wegner (1914) and Winkel (1903, 1908); see bibliography in P. Suzuki, Critical Survey of Studies on the Anthropology of Nias, Mentawai and Enggano, The Hague, 1958.


7 The interviews with Engganoese upon which this note is based were conducted in Bencoolen in the first quarter of 1963. I had made repeated arrangements to visit the island personally but no shipping was available. Several of my informants, including the pasirah (see note 2) reached Bencoolen after a hazardous eight-day journey in a 28-foot native prau from Malakoni to Bintuhan on the mainland. The party included 18 Engganoese. Supplies for the estimated three-day journey to Bintuhan included 20 kilogrammes of rice, some salt fish, chillies, salt and 600 coconuts to provide drink. The journey had been undertaken to solicit the immediate despatch of food supplies to the famished tuna karya described in this paper.


9 Source: Keuning (1955), except where otherwise indicated.

10 Estimates of Pasirah Doreman of Malakoni.


12 J. Goelam, 'Een oriënteerende onderzoek naar de volksgemeenschap voor het etalond Enggano,' Mededelingen van de Dienst van Volksgemeenschap voor Nederlandsch-Indië, Batavia, Vol. XVIII (1929), pp. 68-78; also a personal communication from Dr. E. J. K. Klat, Medical Officer of Health, North Bencoolen Kabupaten, who visited Enggano for several days in 1962. Dr. Lien's Department maintains a small hospital on the island staffed by a certified medical aide (manteri kesehatan).

13 Government shipping previously allocated for the Djakarta-Enggano-Bencoolen service was unexpectedly diverted under emergency regulations to West New Guinea.

14 Sumatra-Selatan, Office of Information, South Sumatra, Palembang, 1956, p. 195.


17 Information provided by Pasirah Doreman.

18 Republik Indonesia: Sumatra Selatan (1954), p. 800.

Abnormal Haemoglobins in a Small Group of Tribesmen from North-West Pakistan. By J. P. Bolon and B. D. W. Harrison, Cambridge Students' Expedition to Quetta, 1963, and H. Lehmann and Jean Peal, Medical Research Council Abnormal Haemoglobin Research Unit, Department of Biochemistry, Cambridge. With a figure.

Abnormal haemoglobins are found with increasing frequency in India and one might therefore expect to see them in West Pakistan. In view of the observation of the sickle-cell trait in a Pathan (Lehmann, Shari and Robinson, MAN, 1961, 134) we decided to search for the sickle-cell trait amongst outpatients at the Church Missionary Society Hospital, Quetta. Two of us (J.P.B. and B.D.W.H.) visited this hospital in 1963 and by the permission of his Superintendent Dr. R. W. B. Holland and with the help of Mr. D. J. Din (Laboratory Technician) obtained blood from unrelated patients on whom venepuncture had to be performed for medical reasons. Part of this blood was sent by air to London.

There were 18 men of miscellaneous origin in whom no abnormal haemoglobins were discovered, but it was possible also
to collect bloods from 4 Brahui, 6 Sindi, 9 Baluchi and 18 Pathans.
All 55 bloods were tested for sickling, fetal haemoglobin and possible abnormal proportion of Hemoglobin A\textsubscript{\text{J}}. None showed anything abnormal, hence no sickling or thalassemia could be found.

On paper electrophoresis at pH 8.6 and pH 8.9 abnormal hemoglobins were found in the blood of seven tribesmen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Hemoglobin</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A+J</td>
<td>A+D</td>
<td>J+D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brahui</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sindi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baluchi</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathan</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hemoglobin J was identified by its mobility on electrophoresis and by comparing it with known A+K, A+J and A+N samples. Hemoglobin D was identified by showing the same electrophoretic properties as Hemoglobin S on paper and starch electrophoresis, but showing the solubility of D rather than S in Itono’s solubility test. There was not enough material to complete the proof for the dual abnormality of J and D in one of the Pathan specimens; electrophoresis showed three bands, one in the position of D, one in that of J and a third stronger one which would correspond to the hybridization products arising from the inheritance of an abnormal $\beta$-chain and abnormal $\alpha$-chain hemoglobin:

$$J_\alpha + D_\beta \rightarrow J_\alpha + D_\beta + A+J/D$$

$$\alpha_2 \beta_2 + \alpha_2 \beta_2 \rightarrow \alpha_2 \beta_2 + \alpha_2 \beta_2 + \alpha_2 \beta_2$$

Hemoglobin D is found in 3 per cent. of Punjabis and the occurrence of this hemoglobin in North-West Pakistan tribesmen is therefore not surprising. Hemoglobin J is found in comparatively rare instances in South India in Gujerat.

It is hoped to pursue these studies and to arrive at an incidence estimate for abnormal hemoglobins in North-West India.

OBITUARY

Verrier Elwin: 1902–1964

On 22 February, 1964, Dr. Verrier Elwin died in New Delhi after a long illness. His death has deprived Indian anthropology of its most striking and colourful figure, and his loss will be felt not only by his friends and by his colleagues, but by the statesmen and administrators who for many years have relied on his wisdom and experience in dealing with the problems of India’s tribal populations.

Verrier Elwin was born in 1902 as the son of Bishop Elwin of Sierra Leone. A distinguished scholastic record seemed to predestine him for a brilliant academic career, and in 1926 he became Vice-President of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford; and a year later Chaplain of Merton College. Yet, even as a young man he felt drawn towards practical humanitarian work and at the age of 25 he forsook a promising future in England and joined the Christa Seva Sangha, an austere missionary society of Anglican Franciscans, whose headquarters were in Poona. There he became acquainted with Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of the nationalist movement and it was these early contacts which many years later enabled him to exert a strong influence on the policy of the Government of India vis-à-vis the tribal tribes.

A growing appreciation of Indian cultural and social values led Elwin gradually to the realization that the role of missionary was not germane to his temperament, and abandoning his ecclesiastical associations he took the arduous path of an independent social worker. In the remote hills of Mandla District, C.P., he established a small welfare centre and leper asylum, where he and his Indian friend Shambrao Hirale cared for the needy among the aboriginals.

To this welfare centre he soon added a network of schools where tribal children were taught according to a curriculum which Elwin had designed as best suited to the peculiar needs of primitive forest dwellers. These institutions were entirely maintained by voluntary contributions, and much of Elwin’s time and energy was devoted to the raising of funds by way of lecturing and writing. During this period he lived in the greatest simplicity in a thatched hut remote from all modern communications, and his account in diary form Leaves from the Jungle (1936) as well as two novels Philmat of the Hills (1937) and A Cloud that’s Dragonish (1938) tell of the experiences of these early years. Though Elwin lacked formal anthropological training, his close contact with the local Gond and Baiga tribesmen enabled him to gain a deep insight into their way of thinking, and in 1939 his first anthropological book The Baiga, a full-scale monograph on a tribe of primitive shifting cultivators, was published by John Murray. No one has ever described an Indian tribe with so much sensitive intimacy, and from the moment of the publication of this important and elegantly written book Elwin had to be taken seriously by anthropologists. But for him anthropological knowledge was never an aim in itself; his deep feeling for the plight of aboriginals, dispossessed of their land and exploited by more advanced populations, inspired him to put forward numerous practical suggestions for the remedy of their grievances. Thus The Baiga contained a plan for the creation of tribal reservations, and in 1942 this was followed by an analysis of the aboriginals’ position and prospects in Middle India published under the title Loss of Nerve. His passionate championship of the cause of the tribals gained him friends as well as opponents, and at a time when political
feelings ran high his motives were misinterpreted by nationalistic politicians as well as by some of the Indian anthropologists.

Yet undeterred by ideological controversies Elwin continued his social as well as his anthropological work, which resulted in an impressive number of publications. Between 1940 and 1959 he published twelve major books as well as innumerable articles. The Agaria (1942), Maria Murder and Suicide (1943), The Maria and their Ghotal (1947), Bondo Highlanders (1952), and The Religion of an Indian Tribe (1955) are monographs on individual tribes of Middle India and Orissa, Folk-tales of Mahakoshal (1944), Folk-songs of the Maikal Hills (1944), Folk-songs of Chhattisgarh (1946), The Myths of Middle India (1949) and Myths of the North-East Frontier of India (1958) represent important contributions to the study of Indian folklore, and The Tribal Art of Middle India (1953) and The Art of India's North-East Frontier (1959) provide invaluable documentation of a folk art which is rapidly declining.

During the years 1943–1948 Verrier Elwin edited Man in India jointly with W. G. Archer, and nearly every number of this journal contained substantial contributions from his pen. The first official recognition of his status as an expert on tribal affairs came with his appointment as Anthropologist to the Government of Orissa in 1944, and from 1946 to 1949 he served as Deputy Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Government of India. In 1954 he became an Indian citizen and was appointed Adviser for Tribal Affairs to the North-East Frontier Agency. In this capacity he helped to shape the policy which has made NEFA a model for the administration of tribal areas, and he was fortunate in having the full support of the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru for an approach to tribal development which was both liberal and imaginative. The policy for which he stood is outlined in A Philosophy for NEFA (1959), and a group of young anthropologists working under Elwin's direct supervision was entrusted with the task of providing the factual data on which policy decisions were to be based. Some of the results of their research are contained in a series of monographs on individual tribes of NEFA, and in addition to inspiring and guiding these studies, Elwin himself compiled a volume of historical extracts published under the title India's North East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century (1959).

During the last years of his life ill health prevented Elwin from engaging in strenuous fieldwork, but those who have had the good fortune to visit the North East Frontier Agency realized that his influence reached as far as the remotest administrative outpost. He was loved and admired by those who worked under his direction, and the Government of India valued his experience so greatly that he was frequently called upon to serve on commissions enquiring into the conditions of tribal populations in other parts of India. Voluminous reports from his pen, such as the Report of the Scheduled Tribes Commission 1960–61, are evidence of his unflagging energy in supporting the cause of the Indian aborigines, to whose welfare the greater part of his life was dedicated. An autobiography, completed shortly before his death, is likely to throw much light on the fortunes of tribal populations during the first 17 years of Indian independence. The honours and academic awards of which Elwin was the recipient, include the Welcombe Medal (1943), S. C. Roy Medal (1945), Rivers Memorial Medal (1948), Annandale Medal (1952), Campbell Medal (1960), Dadabhao Naoroji Prize (1961) and Padma Bushan (1961).

No other anthropologist, neither British nor Indian, has made as massive a contribution to our knowledge of Indian tribal societies as Verrier Elwin, and books such as The Maria and their Ghotal and The Religion of an Indian Tribe are sure of a place among the classics of ethnographical literature. Yet Verrier Elwin's impact on his contemporaries can be fully realized only by those who have experienced the warmth of his friendship and the brilliance of his conversation, for in him outstanding artistic and intellectual gifts were combined with compassion and a personality of captivating charm. He was one of the great romantics of anthropology and the most inspired chronicler of India's tribal people. His friends' and colleagues' sympathy goes out to his widow Lila, herself a member of a tribal community of Middle India, and to his children whose happy home in Shillong has so tragically and untimely been broken up.

C. von FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

Suicide, Attempted Suicide, and the Suicidal Threat. By A. Giddens, Lecturer in Sociology, University of Leicester

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The purpose of this brief note is to draw attention to some neglected aspects of suicide as a social phenomenon. Following Durkheim, it is widely recognized that suicide has a social etiology. As Durkheim saw, some types of suicide, involving obligation and ritual or the presence of values making suicide an 'honourable' act, have a more directly social character. However, there does exist another form of suicide, of a rather different type from 'altruistic' suicide, which is part of a wider social system of punishment and sanction in some societies. An example of this type was given by Malinowski, in what has been recently described as 'the best-known suicide in the ethnographic literature.' This was the case of a youth who committed suicide after he had been publicly accused of incest. This action, says Malinowski, served to expiate his crime. But it also served as an act of protest and an indictment against those who had charged him with the crime. The suicide, by means of his act, 'declares that he has been badly treated'; the probability that a wronged or humiliated individual would kill himself serves as 'a permanent damper on any violence of language or behaviour, or any deviation from custom or tradition, which might hurt or offend another.' Suicide thus functions to facilitate social order; suicide, or the possibility of suicide, serves as a sanction in situations of controversy or dispute. A similar conclusion is reached by Berndt in a recent discussion of suicide. Jeffreys has collected together a number of examples of what he calls 'revenge' suicide: in these examples, again, suicide functions as a form of social sanction against those towards whom the individual has a grievance. Such suicide usually has ritualized elements in it—the suicide method, for example, is often standardized.

At the University of Leicester
is typically made in the spouse's village, and serves as a means of registering protest, in front of the relatives, against the conduct of the spouse. Gorer remarks upon similar instances among the Lepchas of the Southern Himalaya. An individual who believes himself wronged may attempt to commit suicide; this serves both to affirm his own innocence in the matter in question, and as a public indictment of the transgressor. The individual attempts suicide, but the attempt is made "in such situations that he is bound to be saved."

In all of these examples, the suicidal act is a recognized type of social mechanism, an accepted method of bringing pressure to bear upon others. Suicide, attempted suicide and the suicide threat may apparently function fairly independently as mechanisms of social sanction; but in some societies they represent increasingly more extreme sanctions.

This offers an interesting parallel with studies of attempted suicide in modern society. There is a certain amount of evidence to support the conclusion that, in modern society also, attempted suicide often does not simply represent an "unsuccessful" attempt to obtain a final release from pain or anxiety. Only a minority of people who make abortive attempts at suicide finally kill themselves at a later date; only a small proportion of actual suicides have made previous attempts. A high proportion of suicide attempts seem to take place in situations in which discovery before the consummation of the attempt is very probable, or even inevitable. The suicide attempt thus has a distinctly social character: the act represents an effort to induce feelings of guilt and concern in others. The desire to influence others through the suicidal act in this way often seems, however, to be largely unconscious.

Notes
4. Ibid., p. 98.
10. Malinowski, op. cit., p. 94.
11. Malinowski, op. cit., p. 94.
15. E. C. Lanning, With three figurines.
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Musira Island, on Lake Victoria, lies two miles from Bukoba. It was first recorded by H. M. Stanley when he spent a night there in 1875 (Stanley, 1878). In later years it was reported to have been customary for the bodies of Bakara notables of both sexes to be disposed of on the island. After being ferried from the mainland to the south-eastern shore they were put to rest inside caves worn into the cliff face by the action of the lake. With fingers and toes tied together the corpses were sewn in skin or bark, wrapped up in mats, then piled one upon another and weighted with stones (Kollman, 1899).

These caves have been visited from time to time. Sillery (1942), who has given a description of the island and caves, found human remains in well organized layers, each body draped in a tattered burial cloth of matting. A comment on a skull said to come from one of the caves that '... there was a marked destruction of the teeth, caused by caries' (Culwick, 1959), is all the information which my enquiries about the skeletal remains have brought to light.

FIG. 1. OMUMAHANGA BEACH

The caves, in the cliff face, are hidden by the thick growth of vegetation. Photographs: E. C. Lanning, 1958

When, in 1958, my wife and I visited the three caves on Omumahanga beach (fig. 1) we found human bones scattered in profusion in two of them. The orderliness noted by Sillery no longer existed. There were no skulls to be seen, although much may have been missed in the short period of our investigation. The shrouds of matting lying amidst the disorder of bones and stones (fig. 2) appeared to be made of reeds or papyrus threaded together with parallel rows of fibre. No burial goods were found.

FIG. 2. INSIDE A CAVE: SKELETAL REMAINS AND BURIAL MATTING

Subsequently, whilst making enquiries in Bukoba, we were shown a clay fumigator (fig. 3) said to have been recovered from one of the caves a few months previously by a party of African students. The circumstances of the find were not known. This fumigator was shaped like a cotton reel, with roulette patterns covering the outer surface. Centrally, but opposite one another, were two triangular holes or vents. The diameter of the top of the fumigator was about 6 inches and the height about 8½ inches. Evidently this was a form of the Ziba type of fumigator, with triangular vents, examples of which have been recorded from Bukoba District (Hall, 1953).
pecking, and then polished (abrasion scratches, other than those made by the steel tools of the ditch-diggers, can be readily distinguished). A similar specimen, described by McCarthy (1949) as a 'club head,' came from a native garden in the same valley. Wirz (1951) remarked upon the small size of one such 'club head' which he obtained from Kerowagi.

Fig. 1. Two stone objects from Nondugl, New Guinea

Questioning of the Nondugl villagers failed to elicit any information about these objects other than that they were from the past and that their function could only be guessed at. During the excavation of an artificial lake on the same station, there were reported discoveries of stone mortars and 'pineapple' club heads, but nothing is known of their present whereabouts. Stone objects unearthed in the Wahgi Valley have been described by Bramell (1939) and Casey (1939).

Fig. 2. Nondugl and the Wahgi Valley

After M. J. Tyler

Acknowledgment is made to Mr. N. B. Tindale, South Australian Museum, for his helpful comments.

References
CORRESPONDENCE

Vedda and Sinhalese Kinship

139 Sin.—In his contribution to Studies in Kinship and Marriage (1963) dedicated to Mrs. Brenda Seligman, Edmund Leach states (p. 70) that the kinship terminology listed on p. 64 of the Seligman's book on the Vaddas appears to be identical to that of the Sinhalese. In a footnote he goes on to explain:

'I say "appears to be" because, although all the terms listed are Sinhalese, there are two strange omissions. The normal Sinhalese appa (father), amma (mother) are omitted and elided respectively with mutta (grandfather) and atta (grandmother). This is simply a mistake. It is evident that in the Seligman's spelling Vedda "father" should be appu, in line with loku appu and kudu appu (father's elder and younger brothers), while "mother" should be amma, in line with the corresponding loku amma and kudu amma (mother's elder and younger sister).'

This statement raises a number of methodological issues.

In the first place appu is not the 'normal Sinhalese' for father: there are various usages ranging from the formal pīsā (Sankrit pitā) to tāta which is practically universal in the low country and parts of the interior, and appami or appoci used by Kandyans Sinhalese. The vocative form must in any case be distinguished from the formal and literary: it is rare for an English child to address a parent as 'father' (the equivalent of appa) or 'mother'—there are colloquial forms such as Dad, Papa, Mum, Ma, etc., not to mention the archaic Sire and the public-school Pater.

Elsewhere Leach (1960, p. 117) recognized that 'Sinhalese culture is by no means uniform,' but he dismissed variants in kinship terminology as 'superficial differences' caused by discrepancies, between literary and colloquial forms, differences of locality, and the fact that the language is prolific in terms of endearment (ibid., pp. 124ff.). But why the discrepancy between the formal and the colloquial? Are the colloquial forms to be dismissed as irrelevant to the study of social structure?

Surely the forms of the address are prima facie indicative of appropriate behaviours. People do not bandy terms of endearment indiscriminately; variants are used in appropriate contexts. Thus the approximate expected behaviour of son to father expressed in the kinship terms putā/appu which Leach (1963, p. 110) describes as one of 'extreme respect tending to avoidance' may be true only for a certain phase in the son's life cycle. The boy's appoci, indicative of familiarity with his father, may be replaced by a more formal term in adolescence or adulthood, especially when he marries and his own son calls him appoci.

It follows that the neat symmetry by which Leach (1963, p. 70) corrects the Seligman's 'mistake' has no justification. Just because kudu appu (father's younger brother) and loku appu (father's elder brother) are listed by the Seligmans, it does not follow that 'father' must be appu. The low country Sinhalese use these same terms for father's brothers, but father is tāta, not appu.

The contention that the Seligmans have mistakenly 'elided' the terms for father and grandfather, mother and grandmother, on p. 64 of their book The Veddas, is therefore doubtful. Since the alternative term for mother is mentioned by them on p. 66 as amma, it is unlikely that the forms for parents and grandparents would have been unwittingly confused. It is more probable that among the Vaddas, Ego did not differentiate the two ascending generations, although the Sinhalese do. This is further supported by the fact that the colloquial sīna used for grandfather in the low country, is mentioned by the Seligmans as an alternative to mutta, while kiriama is given as an alternative to ātā, grandmother. It may be mentioned that the term ātā, which Leach equates exclusively with grandmother, is used in Kandyans families known to me for grandfather, while ātama is used for grandmother. Likewise putā which Leach (1960, p. 124) defines narrowly as 'son, sister's son, brother's son,' is equally applied to daughters, instead of the more common duva, or affectionate ċi.
Furthermore, the model itself is vague and inconsistently applied. If only for these reasons, Livingstone’s ‘definition’ is in no way ‘suitable’, as he claims it is, and cannot fit the Siane facts ‘as well as any [definition].’

A model of ‘prescriptive patrilateral cross-cousin marriage’ must, to some degree, be self-explanatory, particularly as it derives its meaning from its role as the logical and semantic counterpart to the model of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. If the label does not relate clearly to this counterpart it is misleading to use it, and another label is required. Yet since Livingstone claims that this ‘definition’ is ‘not very different from others,’ and argues by analogy with the matrilateral model, his assertions must be criticized on this basis.

Why use the word ‘prescriptive’? The ethnographer, Salisbury, emphasized more than once that the Siane marriage rule is not prescriptive (1956b, pp. 639, 646; 1962, p. 103). He emphasized further that the Siane system has been stable in many respects for at least the past 40 years, well before contact with Europeans (1962, p. 11; 1956a; 1956b, p. 644). Livingstone’s use of the term is, rather, based on conjecture: ‘... I think that the Siane could be said to have had a prescriptive patrilateral cross-cousin marriage system’ (my emphasis). He supports this by what is in effect a universal hypothesis on the evolution of ‘prescriptive’ systems. But there is no evidence, so far as I know, to show that the presence or absence of goods as exchange items in a prescriptive system is significant, or that the introduction of material goods necessarily leads to the breakdown of prescriptive systems.

A model of prescriptive marriage requires the evidence of kinship terminology, not only to designate the category of potential spouse, but also to delimit a global system, classifying all the groups in the marriage system and logically entailing the ‘exchange’ of women. On the very first page of his monumental work on cross-cousin marriage systems, Lévi-Strauss said that the ‘elementary structures of kinship’ are those systems whose terminology allows us to determine at once the area of kin and affines, and the prescribed and prohibited women for marriage (1949, p. ix). Of the Siane kinship terminology Livingstone says that many of the data are ‘contradictory,’ as indeed they are when viewed in the light of a patrilateral prescription. He proceeds instead that ‘we disregard ... the kin terms involved ...’ though in fact he does not do this.

In order to fulfil the requirements of his model, Livingstone gives as evidence: the discreteness of clans as localized ‘exchange’ groups, the indigenous notion of ‘exchange,’ or reciprocity in women, and the meanings of two isolated kin terms. Siane clans are indeed corporate residential units, but such features are found only in prescriptive systems. Nor is the idea of reciprocity confined to prescriptive systems, as Lévi-Strauss amply demonstrated; prescriptive systems are, on the contrary, only one mode of reciprocity. In the case of the Siane, the bond of reciprocity in women and goods is expressed by numerical accounts, and not in a kinship idiom; this implies the tenuous nature of marriage as a stable relationship between corporate groups (Salisbury, 1962, pp. 93f.).

The only feature that Livingstone cites as evidence which could possibly be diagnostic of a prescriptive system is the terminology of ‘mother’s brother’ and ‘father’s sister.’ But the meanings of these terms as ‘wife-giver’ and ‘wife-taker,’ respectively, cannot be accurate by analogy with the matrilateral model, because ‘wife-giver’ and ‘wife-taker’ must designate groups, and, in a patrilateral prescriptive model, wife-givers and wife-takers must change in every generation, reversing their positions. In Siane, the term ‘mother’s brother’ (mono) applies not only to MB but to the line of MB, and there are other lineal equations in the designations of the term kome (see fig. 1). These are easily explained as relations of complementary filiation, but inexplicable, or ‘contradictory,’ in Livingstone’s scheme of ‘wife-givers’ and ‘wife-takers.’ That the terms ‘seem quite analogous’ to categories of the matrilateral model is an illusion and a misrepresentation of Siane facts.

Livingstone places himself in agreement with the view that ‘... the Siane appear to conform ... to the model of prescriptive patrilateral cross-cousin marriage [as well as] the Purum ... do to the model of prescriptive matrilateral cross-cousin marriage.’ But how can this be? The Purum terminology, the marriage rule, and numerous other facts—indeed, the total structure—conform to the

References


matrilateral, or asymmetric, model. On the other hand, the Siane cannot possibly fit the model 'as well as' the Purum in an informative and exact way, because they lack the evidence of terminology, the marriage rule and the categories of exchange groups, as I have noted above, and Livingstone's attempts to provide this evidence consist only of speculations and misrepresentations.

![Diagram of Siane Categories of Kinship and Marriage]

**Fig. 1. Siane Categories of Kinship and Marriage**

After Salisbury, 1963, pp. 18-25. Barred symbols = also, or only, called nofo ('cross-cousin'). Other categories are: momo, 'mother's brother'; kono, 'sister's son'; 'child of (my clan)'; and nito, 'distant affine.'

Moreover, on a world-wide scale the matrilateral system is rare enough, there being about two dozen societies known to possess it, and on theoretical grounds (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, pp. 550-8) the patrilateral form should be very much rarer. Needham has shown convincingly that '. . . a prescriptive marriage system based on exclusive patrilateral cross-cousin marriage does not in fact exist' (1958b, p. 217; also 1962, pp. 106-18). Therefore, Livingstone's 'definition' is very different from 'others,' the reverse of what he claims. Livingstone asserts that such systems are found 'all over New Guinea and perhaps elsewhere' and, in the unrecorded past, 'this marriage system in New Guinea was probably very common among neolithic agriculturalists . . . (sic) throughout the world.3' Such an implausible situation demands some further explanation. Why are such systems not found today? It cannot be because everywhere in the world, except in Australia, men have begun to exchange marriage goods, as alleged in Livingstone's letter. Such claims on Livingstone's part are simply wild conjectures.

Towards the end of his argument, Livingstone blandly misinterprets exemplary material from Needham's analysis of Purum society, whereas, if rendered correctly, it does not illustrate Livingstone's point at all (viz. a contrast between matrilateral and patrilateral systems), but refutes it. The Purum political community is not 'highly endogamous.' Needham analysed Das's census data and found that 11 out of 54 marriages (20.3 per cent.) took place between villages (Needham, 1962, p. 82). The Purum also have a record of expansion out of their original (and largest) village, which would not be expected on Livingstone's hypothesis. The 'breeding isolate' is not 'obvious' and the correlation of social organization and expansion not proven. Livingstone has misunderstood and, if I may so put it, mis-related the marriage systems of the Siane and the Purum, so it is difficult to see how he can seriously be 'concerned with the genetic consequences' of such marriage systems in any meaningful way (see Needham, 1966, p. 500).

In conclusion, Livingstone's 'definition' bears no useful relation to the matrilateral model or to reality because, as he himself says, 'Obviously [1], whether or not . . . [the patrilateral system] exists depends on how it is defined.' In other words, matrilateral systems such as the Purum exist, so, according to Livingstone, patrilateral systems must exist also by some analogy with the matrilateral systems. The logic of this statement is similar to that of the Mad Hatter, who says, 'You can draw water out of a water-well . . . so I should think you could draw treacle out of a treacle-well . . . ?'

I have tried to show that the facts do not fit Livingstone's model, that he does not even give the facts correctly, and that his 'definition' is vague and his analogy with the matrilateral model specious.

London

WILLIAM WILDER

**Notes**

1 Compare, for instance, the materially indigent Sirionó with the Purum (Needham, 1961, 1958b).

2 The use of the notion of complementary filiation here seems all the more appropriate because Needham has said that it is just this concept which should not be applied in analysis of prescriptive systems. ' . . . the notion of complementary filiation is only misleadingly applicable to a prescriptive alliance system . . . ' (Needham, 1964, p. 105). That the Siane terminology illustrates the concept so well thus implies that the Siane system cannot be described as a prescriptive system.

3 Livingstone has held that a patrilateral system may exist in Australia among the Ungarininy, but see Needham, 1966b.

**References**


(1960c), 'From Stone to Steel: Economic Consequences of a Technological Change in New Guinea,' Melbourne, 1962.

**Gongs and Bells. Cf. MAN, 1964, s2**

141 SIR.—You print in the March-April issue an interesting article by Mr. J. S. Boston on the iron instruments of the Ibo and the Igala. It would seem, though, incorrect to call these instruments gongs: they are surely bells both in appearance and in acoustical behaviour. The Sachi-Hornbostel Classification clearly distinguishes the two instruments acoustically: 111.241 Gongs—the vibration is strongest near the vertex; 111.242 Bells—the vibration is weakest near the vertex.

It is because there is little or no vibration at that point that it is possible to fit a handle to the vertex of a bell and to support a gong at the rim—a handle at the centre of a gong would destroy the tone. Equally, it is because the vibrations are strongest at that point that one tunes a gong by altering the weight at the centre and a bell at the rim.

The method of striking a bell does not affect its acoustical properties nor its classification; some bells have internal clappers, some external, and some, like those discussed in the article referred to, have none but are struck with independent beaters. It may be that the term gong is used locally but in publishing an instrument surely the correct musicological terminology is preferable.
Personally, I should have found the article even more interesting if Mr. Boston had given the pitches produced by the bells as well as their measurements; in fact a passing mention of the 'deep note' of the Ughon is the only reference to the sound of these instruments. London, S. E. 21

JEREMY MONTAGU

References


Hon. Editor's Note

Mr. William Fagg, Department of Ethnography, British Museum, adds the following comment: 'Ethnologists, or those of us who are not musicologists, have indeed fallen well short of the ideal in describing and classifying musical instruments, and we should all be grateful to Professor Wachsmann and Mr. Baines for putting the Sachs-Hornbostel Classification within our reach. All ethnographical museums should make use of it, and at the next opportunity the musical section of Notes and Queries on Anthropology will doubtless be brought into line with it; on p. 317 of the 1951 edition, bells are classified under gongs and no clear distinction is drawn between them.

'I had thought that I was performing a service to ethnology by applying the term “double gong” to the famous carved ivory objects from sixteenth-century Benin which have too often gone under the name “sistrum” since the otherwise usually careful ethnologist H. Ling Roth so called them in Great Benin, 1903. The finest of them, now in the Webster Plass collections in the British Museum, is illustrated in my Nigerian Images, 1964, Plate XXXIX as a double gong, but it is now clear to me that it is a bell, and it will be so called in future.'

'Some Ancient Human Skeletons Excavated in Siam': A Correction

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Sir,—In my article entitled 'Some Ancient Human Skeletons Excavated in Siam' (MAN, 1937, 113) I referred to 10 skeletons, accompanied by iron weapons, excavated by me considerably beneath the level of a Buddhist stupa of the Dvaravati kingdom, situated at P’ong Tík, on the Meklong River. This stupa was considered to date from the sixth century A.D.,—we should now say probably sixth to eighth centuries. Three of the skulls were brought to England and submitted to the examination of Dr. (now Professor) A. J. E. Cave, then Curator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. He reported that they 'exactly resemble the Siamese skulls in the museum of the R.C.S., and show the same filing of the teeth.' From this I drew the conclusion in my article that the Thai might have formed a large proportion of the population of central Siam already by the sixth century; the Mon whose language is used in inscriptions from the sixth century would then have been only a ruling caste, or Mon might have been merely the fashionable literary language of the period. This conclusion, conflicting as it did with historical evidence that tended to show that the Thai did not come down from Yunnan into central Siam before about the twelfth century A.D., was never widely accepted; and in course of time I myself largely to disregard it. However it is only recently that it appears that I have been able to clear the matter up.

Having to re-read my article in MAN, I was immediately struck, as I wonder that I have not been before, by the words 'show the same filing of the teeth as the Siamese skulls in the museum of the R.C.S.' Now it is not a custom of the Thai to file their teeth, and from enquires I have made it never was. John Crawford in his Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China (London, 1828, p. 314) mentions that the Siamese stain their teeth with betel 'without, however, filing and destroying the enamel of the front teeth, like the Indian islanders.' So I went at once to examine the Thai skulls in the R.C.S. collections which are now housed in the British Museum (Natural History). There had been four such skulls of which one had been destroyed in the bombing of the R.C.S. museum in 1941. I examined the three surviving skulls and also a careful drawing in the catalogue of the one that had been destroyed. I found no trace of tooth-filing. While I should not have thought of questioning Professor Cave's finding on anatomical grounds, whether or not teeth were filed was an observation which required no special qualifications. So I wrote to him at St. Bartholomew's Hospital Medical College, asking if he thought that there was a possibility that he could have made a mistake. His reply, dated 10 March, 1964, is most helpful. 'Whatever skulls I did use,' he writes, 'for comparison with your excavated specimens, must have shown filing of the teeth and must have had Siam as their locality although such specimens may have represented Malays hailing from Siam rather than genuine Thai people. I just cannot recall what particular specimens were used in the comparison made, and of course I claim no infallibility from error. It is obvious that I must have employed skulls in the R.C.S. museum of a similar provenance even though this was not accurately indicative of their racial affinity.'

In view of such frankness it is hardly necessary to emphasize that any supposition that the P’ong Tík skulls provide any evidence for early Thai occupation of central Siam must now be finally abandoned. Unfortunately these skulls are not available for re-examination, since they were destroyed when the R.C.S. museum was bombed in 1941. More such skulls could probably be found at P’ong Tík. In the meantime the drawing made at the time, which illustrates my article, shows the tooth-filing very clearly. One cannot fail to notice a strong resemblance in this respect to the filed teeth of the neolithic skulls recently found by the Thai-Danish Prehistoric Expedition higher up the same river Meklong. Perhaps the P’ong Tík skulls could be those of a similar people who by the early centuries of the Christian era had come into the possession of iron weapons.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES

REVIEWS

GENERAL


This book is a disappointingly bad translation of the author’s Die Geschichte des Menschen published in 1960. According to the cover blurb, the book is intended for the general reader, and if accuracy is not essential, and a clear presentation of ideas unnecessary, then this slim volume may well fulfil its role, as it is smartly produced and carries excellent diagrams together with some small photographs. It is however most carelessly translated. On p. 8 we are introduced to the Quaternary, which is divided into three 'Geological Formations'; Holocene, Pleistocene and Paleolithic (sic). The era here is allotted 1 million years—on pp. 31f. it is given 600,000. Confusion also reigns amongst the fossils themselves. On p. 112 the Pontéchevade finds are said to represent in one paragraph two and in another three individuals. On p. 113 the 'Carmel skeletons' are listed from four caves but only described from two. The intermediate morphological character of these fossils is then explained as follows (p. 114): 'According to Rust (1938) the Mousterian-pre-Aurignacian is a bastard culture, composed of Neandertal and sapiens-like elements, and explains why some of the Carmel skeletons were of the bastard type.' The grammar here seems to make the remarkable culture with human elements supply the rather out-
dated explanation for the interesting 'bastard' morphology of Mt. Carmel man. (Previously, p.113, Moustierian implements are parenthetically described as 'flake tool and hand industries.')

On matters anatomical, clarity is still lacking. On p. 43 we read: 'Man's lower jaw comes to a point (the chin), bearing a small bone process the spina mentalis, to which the tongue muscles are attached.' On p. 137: 'In man, however, the symphysis has a small triangular eminence, the mental process, to which two pairs of tongue muscles are attached.' These two sentences are contradictory and individually inaccurate. How did the author overlook and correct the error?

Although written (apparently) for the general reader, the author indulges in a plethora of taxonomic terms, and introduces us to 25 genera of fossil and living apes, 5 genera of Australopithecines, 5 genera of Pithecanthropines and many specimens of Neandertal man, all under the chapter heading 'Fossil Anthropoid Apes.' In some cases these genera are accepted at face value (the Pithecanthropines) while in other cases the plurality is questioned without any conclusion being reached (the Australopithecines). On p. 35 the author explains the basis upon which paleontaux are created and their existence justified: 'Experience has taught us...that different strata...may contain entirely different species.' Not only is this an entirely false account of taxonomic methodology, the argument itself performs two somersaults in three sentences. Was this book dictated late at night? On p. 34 we read: 'Unlike other species, man has no characteristic geographic distribution and no fixed habitat....' Human variability is very much greater than that of any other species. In fact ours is not so much a real species as a conglomeration of individuals.'

As I have shown in a limited space, this book is sometimes inaccurate and sometimes incomprehensible. The publishers have left in all the publication dates but omitted the bibliography, and there is no reference to any source or further reading.

But what of the general argument? Von Koenigswald's approach is based on teeth which he well understands, and he expounds the evolution of the dentition of the Hominoida with authority. The rest of the skull is lightly treated and the skeleton gets small mention. One often reflects a change of theme from which indeed we conclude is unremarkable and are illustrated on p. 131 with a figure showing Pithecanthropus alone on the direct line to modern man. The trouble here is that although there are four skulls on the diagram, the caption only refers to three and it would be difficult for the general reader to decide which was which.

I have one more complaint. We are beginning to know quite a lot about the evolution of man, and a book marketed under this title should contain a broad summary of this information. We are now in a position to tell the general reader not only something about the evolution of the human dentition with both accuracy and clarity (here lacking), not only about the evolution of the human body (here skimmed), not only about the evolution of stone tools (here touched on), but something about the evolution of the brain, of the family, of society and of culture in its broadest sense, and something about the evolution of human development, and of the factors that brought all these changes about. Von Koenigswald has done as much as any man alive for the student of human evolution, but this book will satisfy neither the specialist nor the general reader.

BERNARD CAMPBELL


When British social anthropologists decided, as most of them did when they got back to work after the war, that the centre of their interest was not culture but social structure, their more conservative colleagues assured them that this was 'just another way of talking about the same thing.' This collection of Kroeber's essays demonstrates how very much, in his eyes, it was not 'the same thing.' Social structure as he saw it was merely a segment of the entity culture which ought to be studied from a 'holistic' point of view. It is civilizations, not societies, he argues in this book, which are 'natural systems' and in being so resemble 'original classes,' and it is the task of the anthropologist to classify them as biologists do natural species. Ethnography, the study of the cultures of the non-literate peoples, is, or should be, 'a form of natural history, or scientific description, narration and classification' (p. 148). Kroeber was unperturbed by the argument that natural history was not really science. The value of the study does not lie in its application, but in the satisfaction it offers to pure intellectual curiosity; if it were swamped by 'social science aims and attitudes,' this would be 'a lowering of sights from former targets' (p. 140).

Process as Kroeber would have had it studied is not the 'micodynamic' interaction of persons that social anthropologists take for their province, but the 'micodynamic' growth, flowering and decay of civilizations; this, and not the paltry study of a few centuries at a time, is what he meant by history. He would have had it done, however, not by a 'philosophy of history aiming to string civilizations like beads on the thread of some pervasive principle,' but by a 'pragmatic or empirical approach such as sociologists or anthropologists are accustomed to use' (p. 3). His advice sometimes seems to be 'Take care of the taxonomy and the generalizations will take care of themselves.' From such a taxonomy he seems to have believed that an evolutionary scheme would emerge, but he was not much interested in pursuing the development of particular institutions.

Those who are committed to the study of social structure can hardly share his views, but any reader must admire his enormous erudition and the immensity of the tasks he set himself.

LUCY MAIR


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The book begins with a section on physical anthropology which includes an eleven-page list of human fossils. Father Fuchs then goes on to culture. He tells us that a number of tribes have, why he cannot explain, refused to change their culture and cling to their original mode of life. Other tribes have been 'arrested' at various stages in their cultural advance (p. 73). The only people, it seems, who managed to avoid arrest were the plough cultivators who, we are told, 'were at the same time also the tamers and breeders of various animals, had already in prehistoric times a considerable variety of tools, implements and weapons. A permanent house, bed, chair and table as furniture and pottery are some of their first achievements... We find them in Mesopotamia as well as in Central America' (p. 87).

Father Fuchs proceeds to generalize about tribes which he classifies as foodgathers, hunters, agriculturists and pastoralists. He sometimes mentions tribes said to observe certain customs, but when he does so gives no references. There are many statements for which one would like to know his authority. It is generally the same when he discusses the theories of others. 'The early Socialists,' he says, 'believed that at the dawn of mankind no human being could exist as an individual, nor even as an individual family, but lived, hunted and collected vegetables in loose disorderly hordes' (p. 191). But we are not told who these early Socialists were. Concerning art he are told 'Dramatic art is the oldest art of mankind, which, as an all-comprehensive art, includes all other arts at least in nuce... Music and song are originally not independent arts, but integral acoustic parts of the theatre' (p. 204).

He ends with a long section on primitive religion, and holds with Father W. Schmidt that foodgathers in general love and worship the Supreme Being. 'The conclusion,' he says, 'seems justified that belief in a High-god was the predominant form of religion in the earliest period of mankind, while magic, manism and animism developed later' (p. 224). In the agrarian cultures 'the Supreme Being loses his importance to the Earth-Mother' (p. 243). The study of the foodgathering and foodproducing cultures shows clearly that the evolutionary scheme thought out by so many...
scholars in the past, is not correct. If an evolution took place, it took a contrary course: from a comparatively pure monotheism to polytheism, and from a weak form of animism, ancestor worship and magic to a strong growth of animistic and magic beliefs and practices' (p. 250). He suggests no reason for this, but concludes that not only in his religion, but 'in his social organization and mental outlook the primitive foodgatherer stands nearer to us than the more advanced primitive cultures' (p. 276).

RAGLAN

**Reflections upon Prehistoric Metallurgy**


This book gives a brief outline of the origin and development of metallurgy based on archaeological material. The first three chapters, by far the longest in the book, are devoted to discussions on copper and bronze. First, the author deals with the ores of copper and their impurities and the effect these have on smelting and casting. Several tables of analyses are given to illustrate certain points. Various types of ingots of copper are described and their places of origin and geographical distribution are given. Copper artifacts and their properties are discussed and there is a short section on tin and tin ores. The importance of detecting certain elements for correlating metal and ore is referred to. Then follows a discussion on casting techniques, development, and typology of artifacts and decorative techniques; examples are given in each case. Brief mention is made of brass objects and their zinc content. Here the author omits to give the evidence of Near Eastern objects containing zinc long before the metal was added in Central Germany. There are short sections on gold, silver and lead and the extraction of silver from lead by cupellation with special reference to Laurion in Greece. A short list of some of the Roman lead pigs found in Britain is given as well as sources of lead in France and Spain. The chapter on iron and steel is very short. A primitive bloomery is described, the development of water power and the introduction of the blast furnace. There is a brief mention of swords and weapons, pattern welding and damascening. Methods of carburization are noted together with the introduction of high carbon steels in the Middle Ages. Lastly an Appendix gives the composition of copper ores and deposits. The book has no index.

The plan of the book is unbalanced. The historical background is too sketchy to be useful and leads to some distortion of fact; more emphasis should have been given to recent archaeological material. Despite these failings, which are mainly due to the small size of the book, it contains a wealth of information. If it merely serves as a whetstone for appetites it will have fulfilled its main purpose.

R. F. TYLECOTE

**The Prehistory of the Transvaal**


This book sets out the results of the author's first ten years of research in the southern and central Transvaal. Apart from the work on the Australopithecine caves and the Cave of Harts, this region was previously not well known prehistorically as the Free State or the Cape. Mason investigated the archaeological content of a number of erosion gullies and stream gravels, hill slope rubbles, caves and rock-shelters and an occasional living site in the open and from the wealth of material so obtained has successfully shown the composition of the succeeding culture stages in Transvaal prehistory.

Wisely, the author makes no climatic interpretations from the sediments themselves. Less wisely, however, he treats as of little account the stratigraphic relationships of the prehistoric assemblages exposed by erosion. Also, very few Transvaal sites later than the Australopithecine caves have yielded fossil fauna remains and in any case the author is sceptical of their value for dating so that he is reduced to attempting to date his material from the characteristics of the artifacts themselves. To this end he has developed his own statistical technique and terminology. In drawing attention to the need for precise descriptions of cultural assemblages he has done South African prehistory a signal service but in rejecting the terminology long in current use and substituting his own based on geometric shapes it is doubtful if he has evolved any more precise a classification. Such terms as hemilemmiscate, cuboid—referred to as 'a rectangular parallelepiped'—or elliptical paraboloid are no more likely to eliminate classificatory errors on the part of the individual than are those already in common usage.

The impression given by the technique and type are more important criteria to the author than stratigraphy in deciding whether assemblages on open sites are homogeneous or mixed. Thus assemblages from, for example, the so-called top of the Basal Older Gravels (pp. 45 f.) are considered to be mixed on typological grounds alone. As the sealed assemblages on the Olduvai floors in Beds I and II or on a number of Acheulian living sites show, technique and typology alone are now known to be much less valid determinants of cultural stage than they were at one time considered to be.

Mason's use of the term 'Acheulian' to indicate the earlier stage of the Chelles-Acheul culture (known to African prehistorians as 'Acheulian stage') is also unfortunate since confusion must result for the reader who is not conversant with the material to which he is referring. He finds that the oldest stone implements in the Transvaal occur in the red brown breccia at the Sterkfontein Extension site and in the ± 50 ft. terrace deposits of the Klip river at Vereeniging.

He considers these to be Chellian ('early Acheulian' in his terminology) rather than Oldowan and to equate with the earlier Bed II assemblages at Olduvai. The Later Acheulian, described with full statistical details, is represented at the Cave of Harts, the Wonderboom Pass and an alluvial deposit at Blaubank where it is under-
lain by an abraded industry described as Sangoan. The higher proportion of flakes at Wonderboom is believed to reflect the special tool needs that prevailed there.

The statistical description of the rich Middle Stone Age using the stratified Cave of Hearths sequence against which to compare assemblages from other sites is convincing and also represents an important step forward in analysis technique. Unfortunately, however, the three stages of the Pietersburg Culture are largely distinguished on technical criteria alone and some small space is given to comparison and typological definition of tool classes (as distinct from debitage) based on form, retouch and utilization. The activities of a group are reflected in the tools they use and it is from these that the prehistorian will learn most about behaviour, variability and culture change. For example, one of the most characteristic tools of the Pietersburg Culture is the point but Mason lists these with triangular flakes irrespective of the existence or absence of retouch or of the angle at which any retouch occurs. Comparison of tool variation between Transvaal and Middle Stone Age assemblages in other parts of the Continent is, therefore, not possible. One of the potentially most interesting Middle Stone Age sites in South Africa is the Kalkbank living floor with its bone pile since it is the first occupation site of this period to have been excavated as a floor.

In the Later Stone Age the Transvaal was a Smithfield province though remains are not as abundant there as they are in the Orange Free State. The author successfully demonstrates divisions into earlier, middle and later stages and tentatively suggests associations with the housing groups, especially those at Doornhoek and Bosworth and the painted shelters in the Waterberg.

One of the most interesting chapters is that describing the Iron Age cultures, perhaps because of the greater opportunities for determining behaviour made possible by the connections with an actual population—the Bantu. The number of occupied rockshelters, stone ruins of the Khami and Inyangwa types, the numerous stone walled villages and the mining and metal-working sites show that the Transvaal offers a rich field for investigation.

Professional prehistorians will find much in this book with which they will disagree and, on some points, not even agree in the amount of field research and precise description it contains and the light that it throws on Transvaal prehistory. The wealth of statistical material, however, makes it rather heavy going for the general reader and this is not made appreciably easier by the journalistic licence of some passages or the 'grand Guignol' like reconstructions of Stone Age life. The text figures are clear and of a high standard but the section drawings are mostly unworthy of the scientific aspirations of the work. Some of the half-tone plates are excellent while others are very bad. Not often does the text succeed in making the reader feel that the collections of artifacts being described were indeed the handwork of man.—of living hunters and collectors, of our own ancestors, in fact. While we may agree with Professor Dart, the writer of the Foreword, that South African prehistory has benefited from the author's economic background, one would have wished that the present volume had given equal prominence to his training as an anthropologist.

J. DESMOND CLARK


'I have agreed to my publishers' suggestion,' writes Professor Gluckman at the commencement of his preface to this volume, 'that they collect some of my essays in a book, because I have learnt that there is a demand for these essays among students to whom they are not easily accessible.' Anthropology teachers will note and welcome this collection for that purpose, for they represent a good deal (though by no means all) of Gluckman's contributions to the last two and a half decades. They are scattered in their original places and there is some convenience in having them together; although in fact few of them, surely, have not been readily accessible in a good library. But apart from students' demand, there really seems to be rather little value in this republishing act. In accordance with his professional reputation and the stimulating contributions he has made to social anthropology, virtually all of these essays must be very well known and certainly they have been discussed at length, commended, disputed and both argued against and developed in the writings of other anthropologists. By no stretch of the imagination can they be said to be poorly known, or in need of further publicity.

Included in the volume are 'Succession and civil war among the Bemba' (first published in 1954), 'Rituals of rebellion in South-east Africa' (1954), 'The village headman in British Central Africa' (with Barnes and Mitchell, 1949), an abstract of part of the argument of 'The Judicial Process among the Barotse' (1955), essays on Malinowski (1947, 1948, 1960—the first two republished once before), and a part of 'The kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa' (1939). There is also Gluckman's review of Fortes' first Tallensi book, which can only be of historical value now, useful as it was at the time it was written; and 'The magic of despair' (1954), a piece of theorizing on the nature of Mau Mau which could have done with more direct reference to the Kikuyu social system and Mau Mau. Here is a case where Gluckman might have rewritten and expanded his argument when no longer restricted in length (the original was a B.B.C. talk severely limited in length), rather than merely reprint it with the original, and now unnecessary restrictions.

The only original part of the volume is the forty-nine page autobiographical 'Introduction.' In this Gluckman traces something of the development of his main theoretical preoccupations, as they are shown in this collection and elsewhere. There is on the whole rather little that is new: some criticisms, both well- and ill-founded, are noted and some minor points of modification suggested. The essays themselves, and Gluckman's contribution to social anthropology in general, scarcely need this autobiographical explanation and apologia; nor do they stand differently as a result of it.

P. H. GULLIVER


Throughout his journeys in Africa David Livingstone kept a journal. From his early ones he wrote his first book Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa published in 1857. The original journals themselves have never previously been published and, as Professor Schapera points out in his introduction to these two volumes, there are many matters which do not appear in the journals but not in the book or in the book but not in the journals. When the book was first published 30,000 copies were sold and it is safe to say that it was bought because of the immense interest roused by Livingstone's trans-African journey and because of the valuable geographical data contained in it. In other words it was bought for the light it shed into the dark interior of Africa and for the adventures of the man who went there. Those who buy these African Journals will do so for quite other reasons. The adventure story is well known and the geographical facts contained in it are to be found in any atlas. Today this journal will be read by those—and there are many—who are still interested in Livingstone as a man, by those who have a special interest in the African tribal history of the areas he visited and by those natural historians interested in the faunal development of this part of Africa over the past hundred years. Although in his introduction Professor Schapera observes that there is less to interest the ethnographer in these volumes than there is in the travels of Lacerda and Gamitto, there is nevertheless some ethnographic material of value.

One small criticism is that the index is not as full as one could have wished: Livingstone's own book does not contain an index and a very full one to the present volumes would have been a great asset. Although Livingstone constantly refers to specific varieties of birds and animals, these are seldom noted in the index.

These volumes add considerably to the knowledge of David Livingstone and will be much valued over the years to come by ethn-historians, ethnographers and natural historians working in this part of Africa. All of them will be grateful to Dr. Hubert Wilson, Livingstone's grandson, for permitting publication and to
Professor Schapera for the very adequate way in which he has edited the journals, and for his interesting introduction and copious notes. GERVAS CLAY


Despite their diverse ecologies, the people of Madagascar have created a relatively homogeneous art. With most scholars, Mme. Urbain-Faiblée attributes this to the impartation of the style with the first settlers who came, she believes, from insular South-east Asia some time between 400 B.C. and A.D. 400. Having escaped the modifying influences of Hindu-Buddhist and other arts, Malagasy art therefore should command the interest of students of Pacific art.

Following a brief introduction to Madagascar economy, tribal distribution and social organization, the author discusses in detail funerary monuments (figure sculpture, decorated tomb structures, carvings, coffins), circumcision posts, sacred structures (royal tombs and residencies), circumcision house and the gods of the dead, protective spirits and charms, and decorative art which appears chiefly on objects for domestic use. She concludes with a brief analysis of the evolution of the style in the 19th and 20th centuries and some comparisons with Pacific art forms.

The bulk of the text consists of descriptions arranged geographically of monuments known to the author either personally from her two field trips or through photographs and the literature. Funerary monuments, the most important Malagasy art, usually represent human figures both male and female, long-legged birds, cattle, house models, water jars and women's heads. Rectangular in shape, the tombs are often carefully oriented with male and female figures placed alternately or at the north-east and south-west corners, respectively. Elaborate decorated mortuaries served to commemorate important chieftains and other members of the aristocracy. Other wooden monuments were raised as cenotaphs particularly by the Betseleo, Antanarivo, and Bara, when the body of the deceased was not available for burial in the family tomb or when a person died without male descendants.

In her analysis Mme. Urbain-Faiblée had hoped to illuminate aspects of Polynesian art now past retrieval. She points to visual and functional similarities between the Malagasy altar of the sea and the Tahitian altar erected on mame and sacred burial grounds. Other parallels made with Indonesian and Melanesian objects include the crocodile and boid, wave motif, baldrick decoration of figure. But the greatest affinities Madagascar art has are probably with the Megalithic art of mainland South-east Asia especially that of the Jarai which she mentions and the Naga tribes which she omits. Fig. 76 illustrates a charm in the form of a miniature head almost identical with those worn in Assam.

This raises a further question. If the Malagasy hegira dates 400 B.C. to A.D. 400, one would expect to see considerable evidence of the influence of the Dongson culture which was flourishing at that time. Certain traits in Malagasy art (bird-on-head and on roof, double birds, superposition, house models, representation of jars, framing, dentate pattern, boat-like shape on roof in fig. 52) may well derive from Dongson sources. Although she does not discuss such questions, in helping to make available additional visual materials, Mme. Urbain-Faiblée's little book serves a useful purpose.

DOUGLAS FRASER


This is the last volume of the Rhodes University trilogy on the Xhosa population of East London. It is concerned with the 14 per cent. who were born in the town and have no alternative home. Dr. Pauw has investigated their rural origins, the process by which their parents came to settle in town, and the extent to which they differ in standard of living and other cultural features.

The largest section of his book is devoted to family life and domestic relations, and in it he makes explicit comparison with R. T. Smith's work on Negroes in British Guiana. The matrifocal family is characteristic of both these populations, and in the main Dr. Pauw accepts Dr. Smith's interpretation of the phenomenon. He remarks—in this respect also aligning himself with Barnes—that the father's traditional role in establishing the lineage status of his children has lost its significance, while there is at present so little social differentiation in the town that he has no such role there either. Patrilinial kinship is of no importance as a principle of grouping, and the husband-father as a link between the 'matricentral cell' and the total society is now unimportant.

Premarital and extra-marital sex relations are not a matter of concern now that there is no longer an agranic group jealously guarding the procreative powers of its wives. (One must hope that neither the term 'genetical,' which Dr. Pauw ascribes to Mitchell, nor 'genetical' rights, has in fact found general acceptance in the sense of 'rights over a mother."

Dr. Pauw also compares the urban Xhosa with the Copperbelt populations described by Mitchell and Epstein. He does not find the Manchester School's theory of 'situational selection' appropriate to the Xhosa. In their case, he considers, conservatism is a reaction to social instability. They cling to initiation and to lolo because these are well established usages in the fields where today there is no anomie (my word, not his). Totsi behaviour and marital instability are problems for which the adoption of western ways seems to provide no solution. It is an interesting hypothesis.

LUCY MAIR


Miss Buxton's account of the Mandari is focused, as its title indicates, on their political system. This population—she will not call them a 'tribe'—is indubitably organized under chiefs, but chiefs on so tiny a scale that they have found a place in a collection of essays on 'tribes without rulers.' Traditional Mandari chiefs were primarily arbiters, 'chiefs of the meeting-shade and council,' 'men who could talk.' They had ritual functions too, and they were prepared for both by a rite de passage. They had also the obligation of largesse, without the enforceable claims on their subjects' produce that enables chiefs on a larger scale to meet this. Miss Buxton's chapter on gift exchange between Mandari chiefs and their subjects will be a godsend to teachers looking for an account of this institution in a form less spectacular than the potlach or kula. Mandari still make gifts to their chiefs, and chiefs make return with favours or with later gifts; the gifts received maintain a treasury as tribute does elsewhere. There is an analogue of the kula. A chief may ask a rival for some object of fine craftsmanship which he possesses, and he cannot refuse lest he be shamed. Later a return gift is asked in the same way.

The institution of clientship is well developed among the Mandari, as Miss Buxton showed in an earlier publication. Her book examines it in more detail, as the most important of various means by which the Mandari assimilated strangers into their polities. The Sudan government sought to suppress it as smacking of slavery. Miss Buxton does not take such an unfavourable view of it as Maquet has of the comparable institution in Rwanda. Clients certainly had little redress against ill-treatment. A patron might neglect them, but this was considered to be as disgraceful as neglecting dependent kin. It is interesting that, although kinship between patron and client lineages was in fact established by marriage, they are always spoken of as being agnatically, not cognatically, related. Miss Buxton's section on social control shows how feuding was kept in check more by preventive measures than by the 'conflicting allegiances' and 'cross-cutting ties' of which we have lately heard much.

LUCY MAIR

This is a succinct but clearly set out account of Bamiléké ecology, kinship system and political organization based upon the study of two chiefdoms (Bandjoun and Batie) among the western Bamiléké. The study was carried out in connection with a mission of the French National Geographical Institute in 1955. It gains particularly from the use of selected examples, including a notable series of drawings, diagrams, maps and an aerophotograph showing settlement distribution and land use.

M. Hurault brings out very clearly the importance of and interrelationship between certain key institutions in these Bamiléké chiefdoms, in particular those relating to land use, inheritance, marriage and the guardianship of wards, lineage formation and the various ranks and associations which centre around the chiefs. An element which runs throughout these institutions is the importance of individual status and the network of personal ties that a man can accrue to himself: the system of marriage wards, the clustering of persons around a line of succession which constitutes a Bamiléké 'lineage,' and the various curious statuses and titles all contribute to the politics of personal position and in their different ways underlie the effective power of the chief.

The book is an important contribution to the ethnography of an unusual and interesting people and provides examples of institutions and processes which are directly relevant to the study of politics in traditional African societies.

M. J. RUEUL

ASIA


This is a large book, and it is filled with information. As one turns the pages one feels as if it is a magic treasure chest from which an unending succession of objects can be drawn out, each chapter or section a parcel separately wrapped and labelled. Everything connected with the site at Nevassa is included, geology, geography, the stone industries from the earliest hand-axes to the refined blade industries of the Chalcolithic—all mirrors of the absence from the sequence. The central theme is the Chalcolithic culture of Nevassa, the upper level of which are dated by Cs14 to 3106 ± 122 B.P. (1136 ± 122 B.C.), and the story continues right up to Muslim and Maratha times in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. Throughout, the book is illustrated with plentiful and really excellent line drawings and with numerous photographs. Deal with it in this manner, in extent with no details spared, so much material is perhaps a little overwhelming. But it is precisely in the wealth of detailed cultural information about the Chalcolithic period especially, that this work makes its principal contribution, which is a massive one, to the rapidly expanding field of Indian Prehistory. Such a large corpus of illustrated material is of great interest to specialists in this and in related fields, and also of course to students. The pottery drawings are very valuable in this respect, as not even small representative collections are available in this country, or indeed anywhere outside India. Publications of this kind are a very welcome substitute for actual excavating and actually handling the material. This may also be said of the large and well illustrated collection of beads, although these are less important as cultural indices. The excellent line drawings and photographs illustrating the Chalcolithic blade industry are valuable for the same reason, and they are a great advance on many earlier publications. They give an accurate and fairly representative picture of a group of industries which cannot be studied outside India. The urn burials and the axe factory sites described in the Nevassa report stand out as demonstrations of cultural practices of their time. One could go on adding further items of interest such as terracottas, coins, etc., almost ad infinitum. This volume leaves one regretting that there is no more digested account available to bring so much careful and detailed work within the reach of the non-specialist, and also perhaps to enable the specialist to gain a better perspective of the site in general and of the rich Chalcolithic culture in particular.

BRIDGET ALLCHIN


The two books both describe skeletal human remains from Harappa, an ancient city in the Montgomery district of the Punjab. The material described is the most complete series of skeletons known from the Indus valley civilization which flourished from perhaps 3500-1500 B.C. The remains are therefore of great importance and could throw light on the origin of one of the main components of the present population of India. Ceramic remains from the Indus valley indicate close relationships with the cultures of Sumer, Elam and Mesopotamia, and it is tempting to search for an anatomical parallel to this relationship.

The long-awaited Indian Government publication is a very full report, and contains complete data (75 cranial measurements and angles, 31 long bone measurements, contours and photographs) of the 86 best preserved skeletons from the Cemetaries of Harappa. No analysis of racial relationships is made. In the smaller report, Chatterjee and Kumar have independently taken 28 measurements of 72 of the skulls and here publish statistical data, but not the original measurements. In addition, however, they include valuable comparative material from other Indian sites, and other parts of central Asia, together with data from Crete and Egypt. From a simple analysis, they conclude (p. 24) that 'The Mediterranean type of people was the earliest contributor of the agriculture and urban civilization of almost whole of Western Indian prehistoric zone and spread over extensive area stretching along Mediterranean basin towards east to Northern India.' The conclusions of this study, placed in the light of archeological evidence, justify further analysis of this important data. Such analysis will prove an essential step in understanding the development of the early civilization from the Tigris and Euphrates and the people who carried it.

BERNARD CAMPBELL


A comprehensive anthropological account of the Garo tribe of Assam has long been overdue. More than half a century has elapsed since the publication of Playfair's monograph The Garos, and though the tribe's matrilineal system of descent has been discussed by various students of Indian anthropology, none of them has undertaken an intensive study of Garo social structure. It is fortunate therefore that Dr. Robbins Burling has had an opportunity of working for two years among this distinctive and interesting people. Though the author explains that his book is not organized as the exposition of a single thesis, the emphasis is clearly on the working of the kinship and family system, and the more general ethnographical description is grouped round this central theme. There is an introduction with sections on demography, agriculture, subsistence, technology and religion, but the very next chapter deals with the conclusion and nature of marriage, and it is only after a full discussion of the family and the kinship system, that the organization of a village and the wider tribal structure are discussed. Then follows a chapter on markets, and the book closes with an account of the new ideas resulting from the impact of the outside world on the Garo tribe.

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Dr. Burling has collected a great body of detailed data on the family system, and he describes the changing composition of a household and the conduct of kinsfolk with sympathy and insight. His account is enlivened by innumerable case-histories, and there is hardly a general statement which is not supported by specific instances. The rather discursive style with its numerous references to named individuals creates an atmosphere of intimacy, and though some readers might temporarily feel overwhelmed by the wealth of detail, there is no doubt that in these chapters the Garo really come alive.

The treatment of subjects other than the structure of household and family, and the interaction of kinsmen and lineage members, does not quite match this very high standard. The nature of the system of land-tenure, for instance, remains somewhat obscure. On p. 226 the author mentions the importance of land titles, which may change hands and are bought for considerable sums. Yet, a title brings almost no direct benefit, for the title-holder has no more right to the use of the land [my italics] than anyone else in the village.' If this is really so, there must be an element in the land-tenure system which the author has either not discovered or not properly brought out. It may well be that a system of communal and frequently reallocated village land, appropriate to the traditional method of shifting cultivation, has been combined with the idea of prestige-giving land titles derived from contact with plains people, among whom possession of land involves wealth and prestige, but the author does not explicitly say so. The statement that 'the only thing to do with wealth is to buy more land' (p. 308) suggests a transition to an economy very different from that of slash-and-burn cultivators who, as explained on p. 28, annually allocate the village land in such a way that families obtain about as much land as they can reasonably cultivate without having to invest in land.

The whole complex problem of land-tenure, doubly difficult in a situation of transition, would warrant a systematic exposition, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Burling, who clearly has the knowledge and the material to undertake such a task, will in time deal with this problem in greater detail. A minor point may be raised in the context of land use. I have no doubt that the author is right in assuming that Garo, who have learnt the cultivation of wet rice from the people of the Assamese plains, cannot envisage this type of agriculture without the use of plough and bullocks, but the more general statement that 'preparation of wet fields for planting requires plowing, and this in turn necessitates the use of draft animals' (p. 303) should have been modified by some reference to such wet-rice cultivators as Angami Naga and Apa Tani who till their irrigated fields with hoes and never use draft animals.

It would be unfair, however, to judge this excellent book by criticizing the author's treatment of subjects which were marginal to his main interest. As a study of the Garo kinship and family system it has no equal among the many monographs on the hill tribes of Assam, and Dr. Burling has earned our gratitude by presenting in detail a type of matrilineal organization which has so far been known only in outline.

A wealth of tables, some very good illustrations and a full bibliography greatly add to the usefulness of the book.

C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF


This little book provides an elegant display of what a scholar who is a real master of his subject can achieve in a confined space. The text is a bare 25,000 words but it tells us more of the essential facts concerning Ceylon, both past and present, than one might ordinarily learn from a whole shelf full of standard authorities.

Mr. Farmer's leitmotif is the cultural and political antagonism between the Sinhalese and the Tamil speaking inhabitants of Ceylon, which is also an embattled opposition between Buddhists and Hindus. Since there have been Tamils in Ceylon for 1500 years or more, the analysis entails a survey of the whole of Ceylon history. By some wizardry Mr. Farmer manages to complete his historical survey without any sense of hurry while still leaving himself a good 25 pages in which to examine the present situation in closer detail. Here he emphasizes an important detail that is commonly ignored. Sinhalese-Tamil hostility is not the only type of communal factionalism which clouds the Ceylonese political scene; caste stresses are also significant. In this context, the battles of Goigama versus Karava have a long history which overlaps at many points with that of Sinhalese versus Tamil.

It is seldom possible to describe a political conflict without taking sides and it might be argued that Mr. Farmer's argument is unduly biased on the side of the Tamil minority. Certainly the exploitation of racial prejudice by Sinhalese politicians has been utterly deplorable but more weight might have been given to the fact that actions of Tamil politicians have frequently been stupid beyond all belief. But this is a small matter, the most disappointing thing about Mr. Farmer's book is that his very special knowledge does nothing to relieve the general pessimism which he feels regarding Ceylon's political future.

EDMUND LEACH


In this book Mr. Aberle has attempted a comparative descriptive study of the bureaucratic administrations existing in two widely separated areas occupied by Mongols of very different backgrounds over a period of time which was remarkable for revolutionary change. Although he begins his study with the year 1912, i.e. with the fall of the Manchu Empire, it is clear that, as he points out himself, the fall of the Empire and rise of the Republic made comparatively little difference to Mongol administration, particularly in Chahar, and that the system continued to be similar to what it was under the Manchus until the really new formative influence, the growth of Japanese power, made itself felt in both areas. In the case of Chahar, Japanese imperialistic ambitions led to the establishment of the Mongolian Autonomous Nation in 1941, into which the eight banners and four pastures of Chahar were incorporated, and in the case of the small village communities inhabited by Dagors, to their incorporation into one or other of the four Mongol provinces, which, with fourteen non-Mongol provinces, formed the new empire of Manchukuo.

Mr. Aberle's study is based on information supplied to him by two Mongol informants, Mr. Hangin who worked as secretary to Prince Te, the head of the Autonomous Nation, and who himself came from a family with administrative experience, and Mr. Onon, a Dagar Mongol who was also a friend and subordinate of Prince Te, but who lacked experience of bureaucracy in his native area. Thus the Chahar section of the book is rather more complete than the Dagar section, although this contrast may be to some extent only an apparent one, since Chahar had a highly stratified society of Mongol officials and subjects, lamas and laymen, with a native administration under amans who were in direct touch with the provincial administration, while the Dagors were organized in small village-groups with no Mongol administration above the village level.

The book provides a useful contribution to our understanding of the development of Mongol administration during an important period of history. However, the long time which elapses between the completion of the first draft in 1952 and the revision for the present publication has led to the introduction of after-thoughts which are not always fully worked out and tend to impair the unity of the book.

C. R. BAWDEND


Amongst Middle Eastern countries, Persia has certain unique features: a traditional monarchy is still the apex of the pyramid of power and the Shah's authority is very real; family, tribal or local
influence is still the most important single factor for social success and promotion within the administration, which remains the largest single employer of labour in Persia (Mr. Binder estimates the civil servants at 200,000, over 1 per cent. of the population); Muslim religious feeling, basically a conservative force hostile to secular, rationalizing reformers, has not been so sharply provoked as in Turkey, but is not as flamboyant as in the Pakistan constitutional debates; and elements of the traditional social structure of Persia, such as the bazaar traders and the guilds of artisans and retailers, can still be influential in the capital in times of stress, as during the Musaddiq period, because they can be organized into mass protest or action groups.

Mr. Binder has already written penetratingly on religion and politics in Pakistan, and the present book merits almost unqualified praise as an analysis of political power and patronage in Persia today. The present reviewer would only cavil at the expending of nearly 60 pages on generalities of political theory, clearly aimed at political scientists rather than at students of Middle Eastern affairs, and couched in a difficult, jargon-laden style. The core of the book, however, deals in turn with the intellectual and social assumptions which validate Persia's mixed 'rational-traditional' system; the machinery of government and administration; the structures of social power; the exercise of political influence, with a universal use of patronage and bargaining; the organization of political parties and pressure groups; Persian attitudes to economic development, regarded as elsewhere in under-developed countries as a panacea for raising living standards; and external relations.

The author's on-the-spot researches into such little explored Persian institutions as the bureaucracy and the machinery of cabinet government provide us with information hitherto quite unobtainable. Equally original is his attempt to distinguish the various social groups. In the course of this he demolishes, for instance, the oft-quoted assumption that the Persian aristocracy, the 'one thousand families,' is a long established, hereditary class; he confirms what Islamic historians and sociologists can demonstrate for almost the whole of the Middle East, that the military and landed aristocracies of that region are transitory groups, which change as the ruling dynasties change.

Mr. Binder insists that the group, functional or territorial, rather than the social class, is the key to an understanding of Persia's social structure; and that the apparent chaos and irrationality of the political system is explicable as an agglomeration of power structures and interest groups who work together by bargaining and adjustment of claims. His considered view is that the present pattern of inevitable change within the present system, rather than a violent revolution, offers the best hope for the country's future. In short, the book is indispensable for an understanding of Persia today, and one hopes that it will provide a starting-point for further researches on specific topics.

C. E. BOSWORTH


This book contains descriptions of certain Japanese folk practices, based mainly on the author's observations in and around Kyoto, and partly on the writings of the late Yanagida Kunio and others. It contains much valuable material, but is not well arranged or presented. Many statements are needlessly repeated, time and time again, sometimes on successive pages. To quote two examples out of scores, the traditional origin of the Gion festival is given on pp. 21f., again on p. 36, and again on p. 85 (without any indication on the last two occasions that the subject has been mentioned before), and the belief that the tides have an influence on birth occurs on p. 30, only to be stated afresh in similar phrasing on p. 66. The English style, apart from the carefully elaborated beginnings of some chapters, is not attractive, and contains many felicities ('starting terminus,' p. 25; 'straw as the detergent,' p. 53) and obscurities ('Fire . . . is a purifier . . . The association of fire and impurity is so intimate that the two are often used as synonyms,' p. 56; 'The spear of the first celebration of the Gion ceremony is the tall tower, surmounted by its spear, of the float today,' p. 88), and at least one solecism ('the circumstances . . . was not forgotten,' p. 80).

It is not clear whether this volume is intended as a scholarly monograph or as a popular work. On the one hand, there are many Japanese words in romanization, the reader is expected to understand garyu (p. 93) without a translation, and full references
are given to the quotations from the Manyūshū. On the other hand, the absence of references to the other quotations, the complete lack of bibliography, annotation (save for one footnote on p. 30) or index, and the frequent appearances of such vague phrases as 'a woman diarist of the first years of the eleventh century' (p. 60), 'one village in southern Kyūshū' (p. 127) suggest that the author had the general reader mainly in mind. Even so, it is unwarrantable to allude to such 'traditional' etymologies as kani < kagami (p. 24) or such 'traditional' chronologies as that Emperor Sujin lived in the first century B.C. (p. 134), without stressing that they are academically untenable. The absence of documentation is a serious handicap because there are many passages which the reader would reasonably assume to be based on the author's observation that must in fact have been derived from Yanagida Kunio's writings.

E. B. CEADEL

EUROPE


Thorleif Sjøvold has as a result of his five years as curator of the Archaeological Department in Tromsø prepared an excellent survey of the Iron Age north of the Arctic Circle. In this first volume the author provides (pp. 20-135) a catalogue of finds—nearly exclusively grave finds—from the very beginning of the local Iron Age (150 A.D.) up to 600 A.D. This is extremely valuable, because the older, more fragmentary publications of the single finds are mostly more than 50 years old, and even in the unprinted catalogue the descriptions are old fashioned and nearly unusable.

The author summarizes (pp. 135-212) the types of antiquities. Considering the Iron Age as only a peripheral province of contemporary South Scandinavia, he uses the chronology from there unaltered. I should prefer a limit at 350 A.D. instead of 400 A.D., because the cultural break in Western and Northern Norway is not coincident with that of the rest of Scandinavia. 350 A.D. also marks the end of immigration; a division here would show more clearly the degree of continued cultural influences. The author proves (pp. 233-240) the Iron Age in North Norway to have been the result of an immigration from Southwestern Norway 150-350 A.D., which at the same time carried up farming and the Norse tongue to the district. Surveying the whole material the author thus solves a problem intensively discussed earlier (viz. Brogger: Nord-Norges Bosetningshistorie, 1932).

Most other problems cannot be answered before the appearance of Part II (dealing with the period 600-1000 A.D.); this will be awaited eagerly by scholars, interested not only in the sources of culture, but also with peripheral areas, where its advance is halted by too strange ecological conditions.

The book contains many good photographs, especially of antiquities, but unfortunately few showing monuments and the surrounding landscape.

P. SIMONSEN


This important work was one of the results of the Darwin Centenary meeting arranged by Section H (Anthropology) of the British Association's Glasgow meeting in August, 1958. Darwin's contribution to archaeology is perhaps less well known than the work with which his name is more usually associated. His long series of experiments on the way in which earthworms bury all manner of objects was obviously of the greatest importance in the interpretation of excavation evidence. During the meeting it was suggested that the time was ripe for a comprehensive examination of all the many factors which affect the shape and content of the earthworks which are such a prominent feature of the British landscape. Much of our information on the prehistory of these islands is preserved in such earthworks, in their structure, their stratigraphy and the smaller relics of the past (pottery, bones, etc.) which they contain.

A rising out of this suggestion the Research Committee on Archaeological Field Experiments (of the British Association for the Advancement of Science) was set up. The experimental earthwork, the first of a series, was constructed in 1960 and a detailed report (the work under review) was published in 1961. The scope of the work was, in fact, considerably wider than its sub-title suggests: An account of the construction of an earthwork to investigate by experiment the way in which archaeological structures are denuded and buried. The experiment involves the excavation of trenches across the earthwork at intervals over a period of 128 years, so that the report with its detailed information on the original size, shape, structure and content of the work will be in use for a long time. This being so it might have been better to have the report bound in hard covers, even if this added somewhat to the cost.

The first four chapters deal with the preliminary work of the committee and include the selection of the site, the principles and factors governing the design finally chosen and the survey of the area on which it was to be built. Chapter V gives a detailed account of the excavation of the ditch and the construction of the bank. In Chapter VI the materials buried as part of the experiment (textiles, bone, leather, wood, pottery, flint, etc.) are considered in equal detail. These two chapters are undoubtedly the most important in the report and will prove of immeasurable help, particularly in the later stages (64 and 128 years hence) of the experiment. The remaining chapters deal with the work study, the environment of the site, camp organization and costs, the theoretical aspects of the weathering of banks and the silting of ditches.

The eight plates in the report illustrate twenty-four separate illustrations and inevitably the effect is, in one or two cases, rather crowded. Some of them (e.g. pl. V, fig. 19b) would have been better reproduced at a larger size. Probably both of these minor deficiencies are to be explained on the grounds of economy.

The Research Committee is to be congratulated on producing this excellent report, a source of present information and future reference, the latter a fact for which archaeologists a century and more hence will undoubtedly be deeply grateful. The standards demonstrated here make the publication of the reports on the remaining earthworks of the series events to be awaited with considerable interest.

J. FORDE-JOHNSTON


In this well illustrated and handsome book, Professor Graziosi describes the prehistoric carvings and paintings at the cave of Cala Genovese, in the island of Levanzo, off the occidental shores of Sicily.

Two distinct series of figures are found in this cave. The older,
of naturalistic and sub-naturalistic carvings, includes mainly animal figures and seems to have more than one phase. Of particular interest is a group of three human figures which the author considers as a scene probably representing dancing. They show a stylistic approach rather different from that of most of the animal figures. This first series is the artistic expression of people who lived in an economy of 'hunting and gathering.' The second series is composed of painted figures, two in red, the others in black and dark grey. The red figures seem to be the oldest, the others being more schematic and probably more recent. There are anthropomorphic figures, figures of quadrupeds, of fishes, of 'idols,' and other undefined figures. This series, which shows strong resemblances to the schematic art of Southern and Central Spain, is dated by the author as 'neo-anecloitic or later.' There seem to be some figures of domestic animals, one of which is held by a human figure. Also habitation levels are found in the cave. The author's soundings were followed by a more extended excavation by Professor J. Bovio Marconi, whose results are not yet published. Professor Graziosi gives some general information on the stratigraphy found, which consisted of two main habitation levels, one pre-ceramic, and one with neolithic ware. The later levels also include both of domestic fauna and marine shells in abundance. A decorated stone with the carving of an ox was found in the pre-ceramic level. It shows stylistic similarities with the wall carvings of the first series. The importance of this discovery is complemented by the fact that the same level yielded the samples for a radiocarbon dating of 9694 ± 110 B.P. (7744 ± 110 B.C.). This seems to fix also the general chronological horizon of the first series of wall carvings.

The art of Levanzo, with its two series of figures and its archaeological and chronological context, is of considerable importance for the understanding of the evolution of prehistoric art in the Mediterranean province in one of its most problematic moments: at the end of the 'age of hunting and gathering' and at the beginning of the 'age of early farming.' The early series of Levanzo illustrates a late phase of the art of paleolithic sanctuary caves. The late series illustrates an early phase of the so-called 'rock pictures.' This kind of prehistoric art frequently appears also outside the caves, in rockshelters or in rocks in the open; it persisted and evolved in the Late Stone Age and in the metal ages.

The extended description, the well-reasoned comparisons, and the historical and political changes that took place in what is today the island of Levanzo, make of this book a major contribution of the kind which students of prehistoric art have learned to expect from Professor Graziosi.

EMMANUEL ANATI


Basing himself on a booklet he wrote to accompany a series of radio lectures, Dr. Finley has composed a series of essays rather than a methodical history. He deals with all the political, economic, and social factors, the influence of the Greek achievement in these several fields. An earlier generation attempted to understand the genesis of classical Greece in terms of history, geography and anthropology; the fashion now, if Dr. Finley is representative, appears to be to seek the aid of political theory, psychology and sociology. This approach often leads to the simple but pointed observations which are a useful antidote to the more romantic accounts of the ancient Greeks. They were, it transpires, a garrulous people (p. 90), with an unduly system of beliefs and rituals (p. 40), inconsistent in their attitude to slavery (p. 150), slow to apply scientific inventions (p. 122), and content to live in overcrowded and cluttered cities (p. 156). All this may be true, and it may also be fair to see the history of early Greece as essentially a conflict between the ideals of local autonomy and of pan-Hellenism; but this attitude misses much of the local colour of the ancient Greek world, and has little time to spare for a serious study of its historical setting. There is scant reference to the influence of contemporary civilizations in Asia and Africa, and the vital question of the significance of early systems of writing is treated too discursively and uncritically in Chapter II. This apart, the book, which is provided with some striking illustrations and a short general bibliography, can be recommended as stimulating for the beginner and provocative for the expert.

W. C. BRICE


This is Professor Williams's second community study, his previous contribution in this field being a sociological analysis of Glosford, a West Cumberland village, published in 1956. 'Ashworthy' carefully conceals the identity of a West Country district centring on a small village but relying for its livelihood on a none too prosperous agriculture. Farming, in this area of 'irregular ridges and winding narrow valleys,' is organized on a small scale and on a family basis; a third of the holdings are between 50 and 100 acres, and the population of 510 is only a half of that of a century ago. The choice of Ashworthy was deliberate and was made after a preliminary consideration of four communities, presumably all in the West Country. One of the prerequisites of forming the choice was prolonged depopulation, since it was partly the aim of the author to study the effects of this process on the structure of the community with the aid of material derived from historical sources as well as fieldwork. Most previous studies emphasize too strongly the static nature of the rural social system and view it as a traditional order in decline. Professor Williams shows that the picture is not quite so simple, that rural life is characterized by conditions of 'dynamic equilibrium': 'the social structure as a whole appears relatively unchanged and unchanging in the absence of external stimuli, within it constant and irregular changes are in fact taking place.'

Some of the changes in the rural system concern the handing on of land from generation to generation—the maintenance of a family farming pattern—under conditions of steady depopulation, and one of the most interesting sections of the book deals with the continuity of occupation. Partly because of the poverty of the land and there is considerable mobility; farmers leave the 'hard-working' farms for better ones, if they are successful; otherwise they are driven out by bankruptcy, often to be succeeded by 'Up Country Johnnies.' This is a local term for outsiders who have little experience of farming but who are tempted by the comparatively lower price of land to move in, only to sell out again after a year or two (in many cases), to cut their losses. The 'Up Country Johnnies' are a recent phenomenon and in no way account for the mobility. Professor Williams shows, by using carefully reconstructed family histories, how there has been a considerable movement from holding the land in Ashworthy and adjoining parishes, with the result that only four of the hundred or so farms have been occupied continuously by the same family since 1833. He contrasts the situation in Ashworthy with that in Co. Clare as described by Arents, and suggests that one significant difference is the lack of attachment to the land in Ashworthy and other British communities. He discerns two different systems, the Irish one, intent upon keeping the land, and the others who 'travel'; and the system found in Britain in conjunction with the 'farming ladder' whereby every son may be set up on a farm, but where the family has no compelling attachment to any one farm. The comparison is illuminating and is used to emphasize further differences: e.g. marriage in Ashworthy is not a structural 'hinge' linking family and land, and it is not necessarily associated with inheritance, as in Co. Clare. In Ashworthy transmission of control can be a protracted process taking as long as ten years.

Part II of the book deals in detail with population change in terms of the demographic differences between farmers, craftsmen and villagers. Nineteenth-century census material is skilfully employed to bring out these differences and also to give historical depth to a study of family and kinship. A final chapter discusses the place of kinship in social life, and the author notes an absence of
class distinction, an interesting contrast to Gosforth. One's only regret after reading this book is that Professor Williams did not travel eastwards to the uncharted lowlands of England to study a community more distinctively different from Gosforth, such as those described, in another manner, by George Ewart Evans in *Ask the Fellows who Cut the Hay*, or Edwin Grey in *Cottage Life in a Hertfordshire Village*. The rural descendants of Homans' thirteenth-century villagers are still unstudied.

TREFOR M. OWEN


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This is that rare occurrence—an exciting book about a British community. The excitement comes partly because of the sublery and sophistication of the author's analysis, especially of social stratification. But it is also a Parish with a difference. Although, like previous studies, it is concerned with sheep farming in a dispersed pattern of settlement, of its 14 farms only one can be described as a family farm and even this employs some hired labour. There are more employees than farmers in its 1949 population of 326.

Of its 96 households, 57 are without kinship links with others and the remainder share 23 kin connections between them. Just over half the present population have lived there less than 10 years. 'They do not live there because they expect to inherit a farm in the place'. . . There is an excess of males and the author discusses the demographic reasons for this in some detail. Farmers do not cooperate but compete in friendly rivalry. Such mutual aid as there is follows class lines. Independence is valued and esteem accorded to farmers whose prize tups provide reputation, financial reward, and photographs to hang with pride on the walls of the farmhouse. Farmers are rivals and so are shepherds among themselves—there is an agreed rank order of good shepherds. Antagonism between farmers and their labourers as categories is modified by mutual respect between efficient farmers and efficient workmen. Forestry work provides an alternative to farming.

In two chapters Littlejohn traces the history of the transformation of the rural community both for Westrigg and for Scottish Border Parishes in general; he then continues to devote about a half of the book to social class. It is here that his understanding of the nuances both of parish life and sociology comes fully into its own. An example is his description in the historical section of the Duke of Garvel's pew which sometimes was ostentatiously empty, thus even in the Duke's absence Garvel was always present. This account is also enlivened by the apt quotation 'It used to be terrible, always lifting up your bonnet, you barely had your bonnet on all bloody day.'

He used three main methods in his research on social class—(i) listening for conventional classification, (ii) noting friendships, cliques and interactions, (iii) asking informants to arrange cards containing the names of parishioners into classes. This bare description does less than justice to Littlejohn's detailed observations. Above all he sees class and status not as mere categories but as continuing processes of social interaction. This leads him *inter alia* to stress the importance of different factors at different points in the system. Further his analysis is informed throughout by sociological theory—it is however evident but not obtrusive.

The book is a pleasure for anyone to read; it is essential reading for those anthropologists who think studies in Britain have nothing to contribute to social anthropology and for those students of British society who doubt the value of training in social anthropology.

RONALD FRANKENBERG


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Prisons provide an opportunity for controlled research which few other social institutions so readily afford. The organizational structure of the prison can be laid bare, whilst behaviour in small groups can be observed in what approximates reasonably closely to a laboratory situation. The research worker has many problems to face, of course—in particular that of establishing rapport with prisoners and their rather suspicious guardians: the 'negative' atmosphere of Pentonville, which threatens to induce 'occupational morbidity' in the research worker, heightens the problem of getting on terms with the prison inmates.

The Morris' study was begun in 1958, when there were just over 1,200 prisoners, most of them recidivists, and 650 of them living three to a cell. For all Pentonville's present material deficiencies (it was a 'model' prison in 1842), the greatest lack is that of ideas about what to do with the prisoners.

The authors give a thorough account of the formal and informal social structure of the prison, dissect its social organization with precision, and discuss the substance of prison culture—the language, traditions and mythologies. Three aspects are of particular interest to social anthropologists. The first is the way in which the social structure of the prison imposes itself upon prisoner and officer alike, inducing the same sort of behaviour and attitudes in them—the cultural affinity between officers and prisoners which relates to their life experience outside are even more marked inside the prison.' Secondly, the analysis of structural/functional conflict is revealing—relationships between discipline officers and works staff, for example, and between Prison Governor and Medical Officer (the roles of the last two are 'curiously analogous to those of prince and prelate in the medieval state'). The third aspect is the connexion between the inhabitants of the prison and people outside it. Evidence from other studies supports the Morris' finding that 'a significant section of the (prison) population is integrated not merely with a criminal sub-culture outside, but in terms of blood-kinship and affinity.' The concept of 'subculture' may have its difficulties, but there is a reality underlying it.

Pentonville's prisoners are mostly professional criminals; not only do they know how to be criminals, but they have a good idea of how to behave as prisoners. Prisons with less professional inmates—those whose criminals are less prepared and less equipped to serve a sentence—would provide the opportunity for useful comparative studies. Meanwhile, the authors have made an important contribution—both to criminology and to the body of work in the field of social organization.

M. P. CARTER


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At last a satisfactory explanation has been provided for the disturbing phenomenon that a number of ancient, useful and totally different professions were treated like outcasts in medieval Europe (in some cases until the late eighteenth century). Without any moral justification, they were forced to live outside the towns and deprived of all civic and many Christian rights. Miller, shepherds and linen-weavers, for instance, had to perform degrading duties at the gallowgs. Most of the disreputable professions were closely associated with fertility and death, water and earth, plants and animals, whose magico-religious significance changed profoundly under the impact of Christianity. The sacral or magical prestige which the professions had enjoyed in pagan times, made them suspect. They were 'defamed' like the gods whom they had served. Herr Dannkert attributes their abuse to a wave of mass hysteria, religious zeal, popular phantasy and to the guild system.

The short chapters on potters, sweeps and keepers of a tower are less convincing than the long chapters on executioners, Bader, prostitutes (Freie Töchter) and Spielwürt. 'The Passion of the Flax,' which may account for the dishonest' linen-weavers (wool-weavers were regarded as honest folk), should have been discussed in detail. Too often it is left to the reader to differentiate between arguments of primary and secondary importance. Yet a wealth of information has been collected from many branches of learning; and anthropologists will be particularly interested in the last chapter about outcast professions and les races maudites (what a heinous term!) in other parts of the world.

ELLEN ETTLINGER
OCEANIA


The reader who only glances through the photographs of his volume, writes the author, "may wonder what can have induced publisher, editor and author to put forth this collection. The art products of the mountain people of north-east New Guinea certainly do not belong to those masterpieces rising above time and place which, however strange they may be, are yet to be reckoned among the great works of art of mankind. No one will be tempted to enthuse upon the aesthetic delights offered him by these paintings, woven sculptures and carvings. There is truly no occasion to do so... Yet this poverty becomes a merit, if we turn to a deeper study of the affiliations and intentions, in whose meeting-point lies the origin of these art works..."

Briefly, while Wantoat is not an attempt to penetrate very deeply into the symbolism or meanings inherent in the plastic or graphic representations, Professor Schmitz is concerned to find out what these representations are about. And, not unexpectedly, we find that the art products of this New Guinea people illustrate, or bring to mind, facets of religious belief. Further, however, Professor Schmitz also argues that the intentions of the artist and the experience of his public form a coherent 'complex' or whole. The artist is not attempting to deepen or widen the experience of his public. His is a technical rather than a creative proficiency. It is this, presumably, which accounts for the lack of aesthetic appeal. For a work of art should as it were transcend the technological competence and communicate something more than an immediate referent.

How can Professor Schmitz be so sure that unesthetic pieces (to whom?) do not also communicate something beyond the immediate referent? Despite the expert presentation of the cultural contexts of particular art products, despite the adequate summaries of social organization, agriculture and life cycle which form the background against which dances and festivals are related to myth and religious belief, one has the uneasy feeling of there being very much more besides.

The photographs are excellent, but the publishers have done a poor job with the proof reading.

K. O. L. BURRIDGE


This second volume of Cook's journals maintains the standard of excellence set by the editor in the previous volume (reviewed in MAN, 1958, 272). The introductory matter includes an account of the voyage and of the difficulties that beset Cook in the preliminary stages, especially with Banks, and a description of the MS, the printed sources and the graphic materials. The appendices include extracts from other Boa journals of the voyage, and a calendar of documents. But those of course are secondary to Cook's own journal, admirably annotated as before.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE
A SCULPTURED FIGURE WITH A MODELLLED SKULL FROM NEW IRELAND*

By Phillip H. Lewis, B.F.A., M.A., Curator of Primitive Art, Chicago Natural History Museum

176 New Ireland art objects and other objects of material culture in museum collections in the United States number approximately 3,500 pieces. Chicago Natural History Museum has the largest New Ireland collection in the United States, numbering about 2,700 pieces. An unusual specimen in this collection is a human skull with facial features modelled in wax atop a carved and painted wooden body.

The significance of this specimen lies in its rarity (the only one among the above mentioned 3,500 pieces), in certain ethnographical considerations, and in illumination of alternative choices possible to an artist in his conception and rendering of an art object.

Although modelled skulls are found in museum collections, such skulls on a carved and painted wooden body are very rare. There are several reasons for this rarity. First, the possible function of the skull figure may have been, in New Ireland culture, esoteric. Secondly, the objects were highly valued in New Ireland, probably more so than the much collected malanggan figures, of which the kind of figure in question was perhaps the rarest. Finally, contact, Christianization and other acculturation in New Ireland has resulted in changes in funeral practices so that this treatment of skulls has ceased. A modelled skull on a wooden figure is illustrated and it and others are commented upon by Krämer, and that depicts a single person, whereas the Chicago object is a double figure.

Ethnographically, the skull figure from New Ireland may be compared with similar objects from Malekula in the New Hebrides. Further afield, there were modelled skulls in the Sepik River area in New Guinea, and from New Britain are known masks made of human skulls on which features have been modelled. However, it is beyond the scope of this short paper to go into these considerations, except to touch briefly on the Malekulan figures.

The figure from Chicago Natural History Museum, catalogue number 138861/1.2, of which the modelled skull is shown in fig. 1, has been in the Museum collections since 1913, having been collected during the period 1909–13 by A. B. Lewis. No local provenience, other than New Ireland, is known. There is no question of record, but that the skull and the body are parts of the same specimen. The head comprises a human skull, over which beeswax was modelled, and partially plastered and painted. Into the wax and plaster, to depict eyes, hair and beard, were set several different kinds of shell. The eyes were made of two different shells, the whites being made from a cowrie shell Cypraea tigris, and the iris and pupil from a 'cat's eye,' the operculum of a marine snail, Turbo petholatus. The texture of the hair and the beard results from many tiny shells, of Truncatella guerini, set into the plaster and wax.


The figure is of carved wood which was painted, is 149.5 cm. tall and 21.5 cm. wide, and, as can be seen in fig. 2a, depicts two standing human figures, one over the other, totem-pole fashion, the upper one male, the lower female. The neck of the male figure terminates in a peg (see fig. 2b), upon which the skull can be placed. Elaborate fitting of the skull to the peg has not been attempted, except to allow the skull to hang loosely from the peg.

FIG. 1. MODELLLED SKULL ON CARVED WOODEN FIGURE

Detail, left side of face. Photograph: Division of Photography, Chicago Natural History Museum

However, as the assembled figure shows, the fit is not bad, the skull, its jaw resting on the shoulder band, assumes a position not unlike the head of the lower figure. Let us compare the carved wooden head and the modelled skull, as two components of the same art object. First, it should be said that the modelled skull is, to some degree, damaged. It has certainly lost some paint, and quite possibly also some plaster. On the other hand, the rest of the carved figure has also lost some paint and is weathered, and duller than it was originally. The lower face has also lost the shell which formed its right eye. When freshly painted, it is possible that the two heads looked much more alike.
There is a problem of artistic intention in the combination of a modelled skull with a carved wooden figure. *Malanggan* and *uli* memorial figures, of the north and central districts respectively, usually display considerable aesthetic harmony, in that their components seem reasonably integrated into the whole figure. This figure, it seems to me, seems not to display that kind of harmony. The lower head is more stylized, the forms are more simplified; each half of the face tends to be an almost flat plane, the two planes coming together at the centre line of the face form a straight vertical line. This is repeated in the nose.

![Fig. 2. New Ireland figure](image)

*Left, figure with modelled skull. Right, same figure without skull, showing shouldered peg. Photograph as fig. 1*

In contrast, on the upper head, the wax forming the cheeks, chin, nose and forehead of the modelled skull has been modelled to conform to the underlying bone, without flattened planes and without coming to a straight centre line. The modelled skull is more naturalistic in that it represents more realistically a real human face.

Another sculptural difference between the two faces is that the eyes of the modelled skull are made from two kinds of shells, whereas the eyes of the lower head use shell also, but set into a carved and painted wooden setting.

Then, there are some interesting similarities between the two heads. Although the modelled skull is slightly larger than the lower head—the skull being 24 cm. high and 14 cm. wide, the wooden head being 18.3 cm. high and 11.4 cm. wide—the proportions of the two heads are rather similar, especially in the enlargement of the lower jaw. In the lower head the distance from the teeth to the point of the chin is about one-third of the total height of the head. On the upper head, this proportion is about the same. Another similarity is the treatment of the teeth. On the lower head, the depiction of the teeth is very stylized, a curved plane with a zigzag incised line suggesting the gum line. The teeth of the modelled skull are also formed into a curved plane, and thus look very much like the teeth of the lower head.

It must be said that should the artist have desired to make the lower head look much more like the upper one, he had at his disposal a technique of modelling wax over wood, a technique used in some *malanggan* figures and masks (see fig. 3).

**Fig. 3. Wooden mask with face modelled in beeswax**

*Photographed near Libba, New Ireland, 1954, by P. H. Lewis*

A stylistic discontinuity or disharmony between the sculptural technique of the upper head and that of the lower can be seen. It seems as though the artist struggled to make the two heads similar in proportion and in some of the treatment, as in the teeth and jaw, but at the same time attempted to keep the heads dissimilar in the actual sculptural techniques used and in the resultant stylization of the two faces.
Let the ethnographical reports from New Ireland and New Hebrides now be considered in order to try to establish the possible uses to which such figures were put, and then let us go on to consider the problem of artist's intent just posed.

Krämer said, about modelled skulls, that bush people (of interior New Ireland) modelled skulls with beeswax, and then painted them either completely black or with white lime and red earth. Eyes were then set in them and the hair specially painted. These skulls were then set up in a small thicket of plants. Krämer illustrated such skulls showing a modelled skull, collected by Albert Hahl during the early nineteen-hundreds, from Konomin, New Ireland, which Krämer saw in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart. Hahl made mention neither of skulls nor figures. Krämer said that such skulls were named malanggan megatampiripit, i.e. a kind of memorial figure.

Then, confusingly, in writing about a wooden figure and modelled skull from the same Hahl collection in the Linden Museum, Krämer called it a wooden rainmaker's figure (Regenmachergestalt) with a skull set on it, from Lambusso, New Ireland. He said about it that wooden figures with skulls on them occasionally appear, such as the rain figures in Lambusso and Lemeris, where Hahl collected some.

So much for mention of modelled skulls by Krämer. He reported upon skulls (not modelled) in context of use in funerary and in rain-magic practices. In central New Ireland, the dead were buried, and the skull was exhumed two months later. It was then placed in a basket and hung up on the first beam of the house. Later it was burned in a pit. With respect to rain magic, in addition to calling the illustrated wooden figure a rainmaker's figure, Krämer apparently saw several instances of rain magicians' use of skulls. These involved skulls, often of former rain magicians, set out in large basin-like tridacna shells, on different kinds of platforms. The skulls were considered to be spirit skulls, and it was thought that their spirits could be asked to climb into the skies to bring clouds and rain, or to destroy clouds if rain was not wanted. Some of the skulls seen by Krämer were those of rain magicians who had been known to living persons, and whose names and descent were told to Krämer.

Another mention of modelled skulls is by Otto Schlaginhaufen who, although he worked in the area, did not report on use of the objects, but confined his report to measurement and identification of materials.

Peekel mentioned the related fact that skulls, as well as pelvis and leg bones were occasionally set into the wood carving of malanggan figures.

The ethnographical literature on New Ireland modelled skulls is poor. On the one hand, Krämer's mention of the interior people's modelled skull being called a kind of malanggan, and Peekel's mention of the incorporation of skulls and bones into carved wooden malanggan figures, suggest that the figure in question is a memorial figure for the dead. On the other hand, Krämer's labelling of Hahl's wooden figure as a rainmaker's figure, and his notes on the use of former rainmaker's skulls as rain magicians' paraphernalia, suggest that rain magic should also be considered as a context of use for the figure.

These two possible functions may be combined by guessing that the Chicago figure is a memorial figure commemorating the death of a known rain magician.

The depiction of a woman in the lower figure does not pose any special problems. Among the malanggan figures of northern New Ireland multiple figures are not uncommon, including totem-pole-like arrangements and the representation of women. The lower figure is a woman probably of the same clan as the upper male, perhaps a sister, whose death was being commemorated at the same time.

The Malekulan memorial figures with modelled skulls provide an interesting comparison, especially because the two sources used are more detailed than those from New Ireland.

Layard reported the making and use of memorial figures with modelled skull heads in Southwest Bay, Malekula.

Deacon reported that the tenth day after death was the day on which the spirit of the deceased was supposed to leave the land of the living and depart for that of the dead. On that day the head was removed from the corpse and the sculptured body was made, painted and decorated according to the graded societies to which the deceased had belonged. On the fifteenth day after death, the figure, called rambaramp, was taken from the men's house and carried to the place where the bush path entered the village, where it was set up. After rites and pig exchanges, the figure was returned to the men's house and fixed in place there, where a repository was built to receive the figure and the long bones of the deceased. Any small bones remaining from the corpse were cast away into a communal ossuary. A last public commemorative rite consisted of the rambaramp figure being brought out from the men's house, and set up so that it might watch the dancing, pig presentations and other rites of the ceremonial. Afterwards the figure was returned to the men's house where it remained until it rotted away.

According to a note in one of Deacon's letters, only a man who has purchased a certain carved image at entrance to one of Nimangki grades has a rambaramp made for him after his death, but what this carved image was like we do not know. . . . The actual size of the rambaramp itself, its decoration and the care with which this is executed depend undoubtedly upon the rank of the deceased in the Nalan and Nimangki.

The Malekulan figures look much like the New Ireland figures, except that they have skulls modelled with vegetable material rather than wax, shells are not used for the eyes, and the bodies are constructed from tree fern and bundles of plant fibres. Deacon illustrates several of these figures. Chicago Natural History Museum has one such figure, catalogue number 37720, and a number of modelled skulls.

Layard and Deacon both give considerable ethnographical detail about the making, meaning and use of these figures, called rambaramp. I have mentioned a few points culled from Deacon's material, especially in that only a man who has attained membership in one of the grades
(Nimangki) has a *rambaramp* figure made for him after death.

Deacon made reference to the incorporation of actual objects which were used in ceremonies attendant upon entering the named grades. For instance, the *rambaramp* figures illustrated in Deacon’s *Malekula*, and the one in Chicago Natural History Museum, have in one hand a shell, which the deceased person, while alive, actually used in the rite. The shell was smashed on the forehead of a sacrificed pig, and then saved for the death of the initiate, to be incorporated into his memorial figure.

Other similar objects were incorporated into the *rambaramp* figures, armlets, jaws of pigs, etc., and, in addition, the painted body insignia were reproduced on the *rambaramp* body.

Thus, the Malekulan *rambaramp* figures used a combination of actual artifacts which were used ceremonially, plus socially significant painted insignia, to say nothing of the use of part of the deceased person himself.

This specificity of detail, and determination of the composition of the Malekulan figures suggests similar specificity of determination of details of the New Ireland figure, knowledge of which are unknown to us because of the ambiguities and deficiencies of the cited New Ireland ethnographical literature.

**Conclusions**

The ethnographical literature on the New Ireland skull figures is vague. In Malekula, where graded societies were so important, such figures were apparently used only in the case of the death of persons of high rank. In New Ireland differences of rank were not important and no graded societies were present. In New Ireland, commemorative figures for the dead usually took the form of *malaggaan* figures in the north and *uli* figures in the central areas. The skull figure, it can be inferred, was a memorial figure, of a special kind, in that the deceased person whose skull was used was a rain magician.

It can be guessed that the use of skull figures as memorial figures in New Ireland and Malekula, perhaps in other parts of Melanesia, is old, and it is possible to imagine it in New Ireland as a prototype for *malaggaan* figures.

To return to the figure from New Ireland, let us look at it now with the idea that it is a kind of Rosetta Stone in that it displays as part of the same object two different memorial procedures, one using parts of the deceased person’s body as the displayed symbol, the other, symbolizing the dead person by representation in the form of a carved wooden figure.

Let us now try to consider the aesthetic question of why the differences and similarities between the skull and the carved head were incorporated in the figure. In other words, let us try to reconstruct something of the intentions of the artist in producing this figure. The intention of the artist, let us imagine, was to make a memorial figure commemorating the death of an important person. The deceased was a rain magician and for such a person, it was necessary that his skull be preserved, and, perhaps, displayed. The artist either had the skull, in modelled form, from before, or he modelled the skull, and then proceeded to carve the body. He was faced with the aesthetic problem of incorporating the two elements into one unified art object, but in such a way that the top figure’s head was still recognizable as a skull. This he did, by consciously carving the figure and by not resorting to possible modelling on the lower face. This, I believe, accounts for the similarities and differences between the modelled skull and the carved face.

We have been afforded a glimpse into a process of formation of meaningful art form in which the artist attempted synthesis of two different techniques, modelling and wood-carving, each determined by different socio-cultural memorial complexes.

**Notes**

1. A. Krämer, *Die Malanggane von Tonbar*, Munich (Georg Müller), 1925, p. 50, Plate XIII.
3. *Ibid.*, Plate XII.

**References**


Krämer, A., *Die Malanggane von Tonbar*, Munich (Georg Müller), 1925.


The Concepts of 'Field' and 'Network' in Anthropological Research. By Edward J. Jay, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Anthropology, California State College at Hayward. With a figure

Writing in 1961 about the study of evolutionary process, Lesser challenged the usefulness of the older holistic model of the 'primitive isolate' in anthropology. Whether a really isolated society has ever existed for a period of time or not is open to question, but certainly it is obvious that many types of social aggregate cannot be understood as isolates, and the relationships between them and other groups form an important area of study.

Studies of village communities in peasant societies have quickly led to a consideration of wider social ties, as it was soon found by students of such communities that they could not understand all that went on within the village without studying these wider ties. Recently Friedl has pointed out that the latest trend in the study of peasant societies seems to be an emphasis on describing internal organization 'rather than the types of relationships which the peasants have with the larger society.' Obviously neither question should be neglected if we are to develop a meaningful image of the social systems involved. In this paper I attempt to outline a method for treating both internal and external relationship systems within a single conceptual framework.

The study of relationships between groups, or between an organism and its environment has a long history in psychology and sociology. Lundberg and Lawson advocated in 1937 a study of the behaviour of individuals or groups in terms of 'the structure of the field' in which they operate. This approach was also popular with various sociologists dealing with the American rural scene at a still earlier time. It is in contrast to that of Durkheim and Cooley who were more interested in questions of internal cohesion and solidarity of groups. It lends itself well to the study of social systems comprising scattered units which display relatively little overall cohesion, such as American homesteads as opposed to village-type clustering.

The concepts of 'field' and 'network' have been given attention in recent years by such writers as Barnes, Bott, Cohn and Marriott, Hansen and Lesser. A comprehensive treatment of the ways in which these concepts may be useful to anthropologists is beyond the scope of this paper. I propose here, first, to attempt to define the concepts of field and network in a more systematic way than has hitherto been done; and secondly, to make several abbreviated suggestions as to the general usefulness of the concepts in future studies.

Barnes utilized the concept of social field in describing the relationships of people in a Norwegian parish. He delineated there a territorial social field which consists of a hierarchy of administrative units; an industrial social field which includes fishing vessels, marketing co-operatives, and herring-oil factories; and a 'class' social field which consists of a 'network' of ties among friends, neighbours and kinsmen. Every individual in Bremnes participates in slightly different aspects of each field.

Thus one man may work part-time in a herring-oil factory and part-time on the fishing boats, while his neighbour may be a farmer, active in marketing co-operatives, but he may also work part-time in the factory. Although both individuals act within the same social 'region' or 'field of activities,' they do so in different ways and sometimes in relation to different units in the field.

Hansen, drawing on the earlier work of Lewin, has dealt with the concept of social field in more abstract terms:

A social activity field comprises human beings, behaviour-products, and other environmental factors which constitute, in relation to the outer world, a relatively coherent whole by reason of mutual relationships of a certain intensity.

The study of a social field, in Hansen's view, involves delineating the compass of the field and analysing functionally the contents of the field. Hansen's conception of field rightly proceeds from the view that a 'field' consists of social or interactional space around a given individual social aggregate. This is essentially what Lewin meant by the 'life space' which includes the person and the psychological environment.

In Lewin's formulation (fig. 1a), the behaviour of C would be a function of the internal structure of C, plus the environment E1, E2, E3 and E4. It should be pointed out also that the relationship between various units in the environment tend to shape the relationship that C has with the various environmental units, and consequently the behaviour of C. Thus in the next two diagrams the behaviour of C is likely to be different in each case (fig. 1b, c).

This was demonstrated by Bott in her study of the conjugal role patterns between husband and wife in 20 London families. The totality of the relationships among the units of the environment, as well as their relationships with the particular unit under consideration she terms a 'network.' Her use of the term 'network' closely parallels that of Barnes. He applied this term to the social field which involved friends, neighbours and kinsmen in a complex set of interactions. Her 'network' consists of elementary families connected to one another through ties of kinship, friendship or neighbourhood. Barnes describes such a network thus:

The image I have is of a set of points some of which are joined by lines. The points of the image are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with each other.

Bott goes on to show that certain behavior patterns exhibited by the members of the families in her study vary depending upon the type of network within which the family is enmeshed. Barnes and Bott apparently mean by 'network' approximately the same thing that Lewin and Hansen mean by 'field,' with the added qualification in Barnes's formulation that a network is a special type of social field.

I would now like to turn to a somewhat different, though related, use of the term 'network.' In a paper published in 1958,
Cohn and Marriott utilize the term 'network' to conceptualize the vast systems of relationships which tend to integrate whole regions within Indian civilization. For instance, there are extensive trading and marriage networks. Within such networks are various 'centres,' or nucleated 'denser concatenations of relationships.' In this usage of the term network, boundaries can be demarcated by the totality of relationships of a given kind. Moreover, such networks tend to spread out around centres, complex nuclei which perform specialized functions in relation to the units of the network. A model such as fig. 1d comes to mind.

Let us call this an economic network spreading out from A, a large manufacturing city. B₁, B₂, and B₃ are smaller centres, or towns, which have large daily marketplaces. In these marketplaces goods manufactured in the city are sold, and products of the country are bought to feed the people in the city. Finally, the other dots represent smaller market towns or villages which hold weekly markets for the purchase of country produce and the sale of manufactured goods in small quantities. The lines represent economic relationships between the various units of the network. The tiny lines emanating from the smallest centres represent the connexions of these centres with the many villages of the countryside, the smallest and most basic units of the network.

There are, then, two somewhat different uses of the term 'network' in the literature. In the one case (Bott and Barnes), a network is conceived as a *piece* of a totality of relationships. It always consists of a unit looking outward at other units, some of which are also looking towards each other, some not. From the point of view of any given unit, the system is boundless, since A may have a relationship with B, and beyond that B may relate to C. But A may have no relationship with C. And C may have relationships with other units, D and E. Only if we trace out all relationships would we arrive at a definite boundary. Of course in one sense the boundary of the system from A's point of view is B; from C's point of view it is B, D, and E. These are the limits of A's and C's interactions, respectively. But these are not true boundaries, as the interaction patterns go on indefinitely in many directions.

A further consideration is that in this type of system all the units are more or less equivalent. There is no hierarchy, no nucleated denser focus of relationships or 'centre' in Cohn and Marriott's sense. The only 'centre' would be the unit from which we are looking outward in any given, arbitrary instance. Every unit is in this sense a 'centre.' We might say that such a system is always 'egocentric.' It corresponds in form to Hansen and Lewin's conception of a social field, which is the social space around each individual or social group.

I would like to reserve the term 'field' to indicate such an egocentric system. A field may be delineated by social, economic, political or other type of relationships. Hence I would prefer to speak of 'activity field' rather than 'social field' if a generic term is needed. Total, an activity field of any given individual or group consists of all the units with which that individual or group maintains a certain type of relationship. The boundaries of such a field are meaningful only with reference to the individual or group under consideration. The units of a field may be individuals, families, communities, or other social aggregates, but the field as such does not constitute a 'group' with corporate qualities and cohesiveness.

A network, on the other hand, is defined as the totality of all the units connected by a certain type of relationship. A network has definite boundaries and is not egocentric. It subsumes all the activity fields of the constituent units; or to turn this around, the activity field of each unit encompasses some portion of the total network (fig. 1c, f). The units of the network are not necessarily equivalent. Some may be larger and more complex than others.

The essential fact of this approach is the emphasis on the study of relationships. The social relationships of a person with other members of his community constitute one type of activity field. Such a field comprises the internal structure of a group, in this case the community. The community as a corporate group, acting as a person, may also have certain types of relationship with still wider units. These relationships may result in the formation of still larger groups, but not necessarily so. By focusing on relationships among units it is possible to study many types of social phenomena, whether or not they constitute 'groups' in the literal sense of the word. Tracing out all the relationships of a given type which a unit has with other units provides a holistic model for studying types of social phenomena which would be difficult to conceptualize holistically otherwise.

Foster has offered us another type of model for studying interpersonal relationships, which he terms the 'dyadic contract.' He comments that this model may serve to place the peasant village in its larger social context more precisely than the concept of social field utilized by Barnes and summarized by Redfield. However, it seems to me that the dyadic contract is too atomistic to offer possibilities for generalizations of wide scope, and it lacks potential for comparing societies of different type. It is best suited for the study of bilaterally organized communities, and perhaps does not bring out sufficiently the differences between peasant societies and other types of folk societies. Activity fields and networks as defined here, on the other hand, can include various forms of dyadic contract but are not limited to these.

Radcliffe-Brown was already aware of the potentialities of the concept of social field in 1940. In his essay 'On Social Structure' he states:

Just how structural systems are to be classified with reference to their greater or less complexity is a problem requiring investigation. But there is evidence of a fairly close correlation between complexity and another feature of structural systems, namely, the extent of the field of social relations. In a structural system with a narrow total social field, an average or typical person is brought into direct and indirect social relations with only a small number of other persons... We can contrast this with the systems of social structure that we observe today in England or the United States. Thus the process of human history to which I think the term social evolution may be appropriately applied might be defined as the process by which wide-range systems of social structure have grown out of, or replaced, narrow-range systems.

My own work on a tribal community in India has led me to the conclusion that a satisfactory way to conceptualize the difference between tribal and peasant societies in India is by describing their respective activity fields. Tribal societies characteristically display fields of narrow scope as contrasted with peasant fields, which are denser and of much wider scope. The process by which tribal groups become peasants can be understood essentially as one by which systems of narrow scope become systems of wide scope. This sort of comparison is helpful in generalizing about social systems where definitions of boundaries are difficult to establish, and where culture areas overlap greatly.

In sum, then, possible uses of the concepts of activity field and network are threefold. First, the idea of activity field is a useful way of conceptualizing holistically the relationships of a person or group to other persons or groups.

Secondly, the same type of activity field may be compared with respect to units within different social contexts, for example villages within two different civilizations, or different types of village within the same civilization. This focuses attention on the characteristic shape of all relationship patterns in the situations to be compared, and may help in the understanding of the process.
whereby a social unit increases the complexity of its ties, thus becoming a different type of unit.

Thirdly, there is the possibility of discovering certain behavioural determinants in respect to the nature of any group’s or individual’s activity fields. This last use is essentially that to which the concepts have been put by Lewin and Bott, and would probably prove most useful in the study of individuals or small groups such as families within some wider social setting.

In any case, the social anthropologist may begin his study with the traditional little community. He may be able to study entire networks of certain types, such as those based on agricultural cooperation for example, which may extend no farther than the families of his village. In other respects it may be possible to study only the fields of a family or certain selected families. Whether it will be possible and necessary to study whole networks or just individual fields will depend in each case on the nature and extent of the problem to be solved. Comparisons of various forms of networks and fields in different social contexts may be a fruitful area of research for those interested in the complexities of wide-range social systems such as those which are characteristic of peasant societies.

Notes
12 Ibid., p. 25.
16 This concept of overlapping and indefinite boundaries is occasionally given explicit recognition in an actual social system. A good example is the unit termed a shanlin in Chinese society. In Peasant Life in China, London, 1939, Hsiao-Tung Fei describes the shanlin as a neighbourhood grouping which includes the five households on each side of any given residence (p. 98). ‘. . . shanlin is a chain of overlapping units; each house taking its location as the centre of reference’ (p. 116).
17 The concept as employed here would include Parsons’s concept of an ego interacting with an alter, but differs in that it would include objects, or non-interacting alters, as well as persons (T. Parsons and E. A. Shils, Toward a General Theory of Action, Cambridge, 1954, p. 15). The concept also resembles Merton’s idea of the ‘role set’ (K. K. Merton, 'The Role-Set: Problems in Sociological Theory,' British J. Sociol., Vol. VIII, pp. 106–20).
19 R. Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture, Chicago, 1936.

A Sirikwa Pit Dwelling of Western Kenya. By D. S. Noble, Technical High School, Mombasa, With four figures

Throughout the Rift Valley in Western Kenya are found pit dwellings attributed to a now non-existent tribe, the Sirikwa. The origins of the Sirikwa are not certain, but in general local traditions aver that they were of Nilo-Hamitic stock like the present inhabitants of the area, although there is no agreement on whether they were of the Masai or Nandi-Kipsigis branch. According to local legend they were the first of the present inhabitants to arrive in the area, so must have come in about 300 years ago. They are said to have left about the end of the last century, after a big smallpox epidemic, and to have travelled westwards and, reputedly, on to Tangan-yika; though I know of no tribe there that fits their description. There was a big smallpox epidemic which ravaged the tribes of Western Kenya between 1886 and 1890 and in the Elgeyo-Marakwet District old men have told me that their ancestors met the last of the Sirikwa about that time.

The Sirikwa have left a large number of pit dwellings which vary in type from locality to locality. In parts they are large shallow circular pits of 60 to 80 feet in diameter. In the Kipsigis country they consist of an unrevetted central pit with smaller pits around it, the whole housing a family group. The later inhabitants of the region were pastoralists and never dug pit dwellings. Along the Elgeyo-Marakwet escarpment and on the edge of the Uasin-Gishu plateau in the Kaptagat area the pits are of a peculiar design. They consist of two communicating circular pits of between 15 and 25 feet in diameter. These are built usually on a sloping ground and have a curved covered passage as an entrance on the downhill side.

I have cleared out and examined one of this kind in the grounds of the training college at Tambach on the Elgeyo escarpment. Fig. 1 shows a general view. The site is a ledge ten yards wide on the escarpment which rises above it in a sheer grassy slope topped with sheer cliffs 800 feet high and falls away below in a steep slope covered with bush to the Kerio Valley 2,000 feet below. Fig. 2 shows a plan of the pits. The floors are level and because of the slope walls which reach just to ground level are of varying heights. These I have indicated in brackets round the pits.

FIG. 1. GENERAL VIEW OF SIRIKWA HOLE

The entrance is a curved passage with earth floor and rough undressed dry-stone walls. The stones throughout average about nine inches square. The passage is 10 feet long and 20 inches wide and the walls are 2 feet 1 inch high at the beginning, rising to 3 feet 10 inches high at the entrance to the outer chamber. The space between the western wall of the passage and the wall of the
inner chamber is filled with earth and on the outside of the wall on the downhill side of the passage the earth is banked up to the top of the wall. At the end of this wall is a line of tumbled stones which suggests that originally it may have been longer than it is now. No roof now exists over this passage or either of the pits. In the walls of the passage and four feet from the entrance to the first chamber are two niches four inches square facing each other half way up the walls and with their tops and bottoms formed of large slabs of rock. They appear to be sockets for some bar to close the entrance and just inside the entrance to the passage I found the rotten remains of a pole of dressed wood which would have been the right size for a door bar. This particular hole was occupied after the Sirikwa left by an Elgeyo family who left it finally in the nineteen-twenties and it had been overgrown with bush since then. The pole, if it was the door bar, would be left by the Elgeyo, but other Elgeyo told me that when Elgeyo lived in Sirikwa holes they did not alter them, so the pole would represent the Sirikwa method of closing the doorway. Whether there was a wooden door or other barrier I cannot say.

The outer chamber was roughly circular, being 15 feet 7 inches from north to south, and 17 feet from east to west. The walls were again of roughly coursed dry stone. The floor was cobbled all over with small stones about six inches long. Lying on the cobbles under the two inches of earth which covered them were two fragments of bone from either sheep or goat and two sherd which are shown in figs. 3 and 4. These are of coarse black fired clay and are most probably from a cooking pot of some 18 inches diameter. Fig. 3 shows a sherd which has a handle on it. This quite possibly dates from the Elgeyo occupation but cooking pots with handles are not made or used by the Elgeyo. On the southern side of the outer chamber a large rock protrudes into the room. Elgeyo told me that the outer chamber was used for keeping livestock, and certainly soil on its floor was considerably darker than the soil on the floor of the inner chamber and supported a much thicker growth of weeds.

Entrance to the inner chamber was through a doorway 18 inches wide which was somewhat broken down on the uphill side. No trace of a door was found. The inner chamber measured 16 feet 6 inches from north to south and 17 feet from east to west. Half of the floor was cobbled like the floor of the outer room and half was earth. In the earthy half was a square stone hearth made of four flat stones set on edge. They were blackened and one was split by heat. Outside the pit three holes were found which were 12 inches deep and 4 inches in diameter and sunk vertically into the ground. In the hole near the entrance the remains of a dressed pole were found. Elgeyo have told me that when their fathers lived in pits such as these there was a domed roof with rafters tied in the centre and thatched. I am of the opinion that these three holes are post holes for posts which were bent inwards and tied and thatched as the Elgeyo described. A disadvantage of this type of roof is that it would prevent concealment of the hole and Mr. A. T. Matson of Kapsabet, writing in *The Kenya Weekly News* in 1958, has suggested that there was in Sirikwa pits a central strut with beams radiating outwards and the whole covered with skins, dunged brushwood, thatch or even flagstones. This would give a flat roof and hide the pit, but in this one there is no sign of a central roof pole. The Elgeyo whom I consulted thought that the roof was grass, plastered with mud. The domed roof suggested by the post holes would also appear probable because the walls of the inner chamber are at most 2 feet 4 inches high and on the eastern side are at the level of the floor which is flush with the ground outside. There is no indication that the walls were ever any higher than the level of the surrounding ground; there is no rubble from demolished walls; the Elgeyo do not use stone in building so would hardly have stripped the pit for buildings elsewhere, and there is no sign that the pits have been interfered with since occupation ceased.

For much background to the Sirikwa I am indebted to Mr. P. Leonard-Johnson, one-time District Officer, Chepkorio, Elgeyo-Marakwet District, Kenya.

Rainmaking in Bunyoro. By Dr. J. H. M. Beattie, Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford

On pp. 28-34 of *The Batakara* Roscoe gives a useful account of rainmakers and their techniques. He would perhaps have been surprised to learn that more than 30 years after his visit to Bunyoro rainmaking would be just as widespread, and probably even more profitable, than it was then.

In 1955 I recorded the following text in the Bseruka area of Bunyoro. This is part of the low-rainfall escarpment region near the Lake Albert rift. Cotton does much better here than in moister inland and upland Bunyoro, and in recent years it has been
extensively and profitably grown, mostly by seasonal immigrants from the more populous inland areas. Cotton grows best in a dry warm climate, but adequate rain is essential during the crucial growing period, and local rainmakers do good business during the planting season.

There is one rainmaker who is responsible for making rain (okwiga enjera) in Biseruka and also in the Tonya area [on the Lake Albert shore]. This man lives in the Bush near Biseruka, where he has a special grove (ekivkolero) where he makes rain. Here special plants and trees are planted, such as murumura. He has a shrine there, where about ten animal horns are stuck in the ground; the most important of these is an elephant tusk, which is the master (onukuma) of all the other horns. To make rain the rainmaker collects special herbs and prepares them and puts them in the horns. Then he prays (okurama). By doing these things he can make the rain fall in any place he wants.

Here in Biseruka the rainmaker collects 20 cents [about 2d.] from everyone who cultivates a field, whether of cotton or of cassava. Even a man and his wife have to pay separately, if they have separate fields. They must pay after they have dug their fields and before they have been plowed. When he has been paid, the rainmaker says 'now I shall go and make some rain, and you will see my messenger coming.' He means that a shower will fall soon after he gets home. Everybody is willing to pay these 20 cents; they all have great faith in their rainmaker.

As well as paying 20 cents, cotton-growers at Biseruka have to pay the value of one pound of cotton out of every sack of cotton they grow and sell. This is collected by a local agent of the rainmaker, and then paid to him all at once. Nobody would refuse to pay.

While I was recording this text at Biseruka in September, 1955, a young man from Tonya intervened and said that the people of Tonya had decided some time ago to cease dealing with the Biseruka rainmaker whose activities have just been described, since his performance had not been satisfactory. Recently a man had come over from the Congo side of Lake Albert who had claimed to be a great rainmaker, and he had, for a price, instructed a man from the nearby village of Kyirambogo in the art of rain-making. He had then returned to the Congo. But the newly qualified rainmaker had become involved in a fight with some Tonya men at a beer party, and he had told them that he would pay them out by preventing any rain at all from falling at Tonya this year, although it would fall everywhere else. And in fact, my informant went on, no rain had fallen in Tonya, and it was thought that this was because the man from Kyirambogo had placed sticks of a special kind of wood in the Tonya cotton fields to drive the rain away.

At this point another man interrupted and said that in his opinion the Congo expert was really a fraud, and that perhaps the medicine which he had given to the Kyirambogo man was really for keeping rain away, not bringing it. In any case, he said, the people of Tonya were thinking of bringing a case against him in the courts for failing to make rain. They had offered him a lot of money to bring the rain, but he had refused. Now they were thinking of going back to the Biseruka rainmaker again and asking him to make rain for them. But they knew that he had been offended when they had accepted the Congo man as an expert instead of him.

Some chiefs (at least in the lower grades) as well as most peasants still take rainmaking seriously. In 1953 a sub-county chief was fined 50 shillings in his county chief’s court, and made to pay 10 shillings compensation, for maltreating a recalcitrant rainmaker. Here are some extracts from the record.

Rainmaker: I was at my home when the sub-county chief came with his clerk and arrested me for failing to make rain. He kicked me and beat me with a stick on my shoulders and back. He said that he would 'grind me like millet' ('nkukusa nk'-oburo'). But the parish chief, who was present, warned him not to kill me. Then they took me away and put me in the lock-up for two days.

First Witness: I saw Yowana (the rainmaker) sitting in the courtyard at the sub-county chief’s headquarters, and I asked him what he was doing there. The chief intervened and said 'don’t you know that his job is to make rain?' and he started beating and cuffing him. 'He’s ruining my people,' the chief said, 'by withholding the rain.'

Second Witness: I saw the chief kicking the rainmaker, and the rainmaker started to weep.

Third Witness (the local court messenger): The sub-county chief told me to put this man out in the sun to dry (okumunika omu musana). And he said to him: 'the other day I caught you and it rained, but since I let you off it’s rainless at all, although it has rained in other places.' While he was sitting in the sun the courtyard Yowana started to spit because his mouth was so dry. This annoyed the chief, who boxed his ears, and fetched a stick and hit him on the back with it. Then he picked a handful of dry grass and thrust it into Yowana’s mouth.

Accused (the sub-county chief): I arrested Yowana and charged him because he is a rainmaker and he failed to make rain. The people of Bwikeya and Haible [local villages] are being greatly tormented by him because he is their rainmaker (muwiga wabu). This is not something that he claims to do himself; he learned it from his father and his grandfather before him. And to prove that he is a professional rainmaker, he has his assistants, whom he sends around the country collecting cents from people. I arrested him because of the distress [literally ‘weeping’] of my people since last June, and because even up to now rain is not falling well in these parts. I arrested him before, on 26 August, and immediately there were three heavy showers. And at that time he solemnly promised me that the rain would not leave off falling. But when I saw that there was no more rain I arrested him again, and charged him. It was because I was so angry with him, and because of the desperation and complaints of my people, that I beat him as the witnesses have said.

Court: Have you any instructions from the county chief or from the Chief Minister of the Native Government telling you to prosecute people if it doesn’t rain?

Accused: No.

It is of interest that while among the Nilotic neighbours of the Nyoro chiefs are rainmakers, in Bunyoro rulers are not rainmakers but rather have rainmakers under their authority. This is consistent with the essentially authoritarian idiom in which Nyoro kingship is traditionally conceived. The king has his priests (medium-diviners) and other ritual experts, but he is not a priest himself, and never was. He is first and last a ruler, and he rules his priests and his lay subjects equally. Like other kingships, the Nyoro monarchy is surrounded by ritual, but as I have suggested elsewhere, this ritual symbolizes political power and authority, not any kind of special magical ability.

Notes

1 John Roscoe, The Bakita or Banyoro, Cambridge, 1923.
2 A species of Dracaena, with long narrow dark-green leaves, associated with the practice of the Nyoro spirit cult.
3 This is reasonably consistent with Roscoe’s fuller account (op. cit., p. 30).
4 Cf., for example, A. W. Southall, Aurl Society, Cambridge, 1956, p. 77: ‘to the Aurl ... rainmaking is the most vivid attribute of chiefly power.’

This paper describes and discusses certain 'hangings,' defined here as animal remains which are ritually hung up in the forest (or 'bush,' as it is referred to in the North) or within a residence. The specific examples dealt with here were hung by members of the Rupert House band of Swampy Cree Indians, James Bay, Province of Quebec, Canada. I obtained my data and photographs during a three-month preliminary field trip to Rupert House in the summer of 1963.

Similar hangings in the north-eastern Algonkian area of Canada are mentioned by Speck, Lips, Kerr, Rousseau and Rousseau, and Rogers. None of these references, however, with the exception of Rousseau's, give any detail on the hangings observed. Rousseau reports:

A la plupart des sites de campement et même dans le cimetière du poste de Mistassini, à l'ombre de l'église d'Angleterre, sont suspendus aux arbres, pour fins propitiatoires, des crânes d'ours [bear skulls], de loutres ou de huard [otters and fish hawk] skulls, des brochettes de becs de canards [strings of ducks' beaks], des squelettes de visons et d'autres petits mammifères [bones of mink and other small mammals], des têtes de truites gigantesques [heads of lake trout], des ailes d'oiseaux [wings of birds], des osselets ou des bois d'originaux [scapulate and antlers of moose]...

Rousseau also provides a photograph of a hanging, the head of a lake trout impaled on a stick, with the fish hook, line and bait draped over the fish's mouth. Speck includes photographs of bear skulls and of beaver skulls hung up "out of respect for the slain animal," or "to satisfy the spirits of the animals" or both.

Outdoor Hangings

1. Lynx paws and ears (fig. 1a), tied simply but securely with twine, and suspended from the branch of a tree at a height of about eight feet. This hanging is in plain view from a little-used path, and the estimated age, judging from general appearance, is less than one year.

2. Caribou ears (fig. 1b), hung over a branch with the ears pointing down, at a height of about eight feet. The hanging is a single piece, including both ears and a connecting portion of the scalp. This is somewhat less visible from the trail, and the estimated age is also less than one year.

3. Bear ears (fig. 1c) hung over a branch stub, in a fashion similar to the caribou ears (2, above). These ears are very much in plain view, on a main trail at the edge of the Rupert House settlement, only 30 feet from an incompletely hung up. The height is about eight feet. They were hung in the spring of 1963.

4. Can of bones and fur with bear skull on top (fig. 2a). The wire handle of the can is hooked firmly over the stub of a broken-off branch. The gallon-size can is two-thirds full of large bones and partially decomposed bear skin. The skull of a medium-sized black bear was anchored on the branch stub by poking the stub through the foramen magnum. It sits just over the open can, at a height of about eight feet. Both are very easily seen from the trail; their estimated age is one to two years.

5. Eight skulls impaled on the top of a small spruce tree (fig. 2b). The tree has had the top branches stripped off, and the skulls were put on by passing the tree top medially through the zygomatic arch. The top four skulls are otter (one of these is barely visible in the photograph), and the bottom four are beaver. There were no mandibles present. The age is difficult to estimate, but lack of weathering suggests that they have been there less than five years. The height is eight to ten feet, and the hanging is visible from a little-used trail.

6. Small triangular platform cache made at a height of about eight feet (fig. 2c). The platform is approximately 2 x 3 x 5 feet. On the platform are some burlap bags, torn and rotten, and a few bones. Many more bones are on the ground below. Some are large (probably bear) and some are small (probably goose). The age is probably less than five years. This cache is located only a few yards from the skulls described in 5 (above).

7. Box of goose bones, in a carton which originally contained canned goods. The box is tied with twine, once around each way, and tied to the branch of a tree at a height of about seven feet. The

FIG. 1. OUTDOOR HANGINGS
Photographs: R. J. Preston, 1963
carton is bulging and sagging, and will probably not last out the winter. Estimated age is less than one year. This box was barely visible from the trail. Three other similar hangings were observed.

8. Burlap bag containing goose bones, tied around the top with twine and suspended from a tree branch at a height of about seven feet. Since the bottom of the bag has not yet torn out, it is probably less than one year old. A similar bag, with the bottom missing and no bones on the ground below (dogs probably took them), was also observed.

9. Can containing pieces of bear skin in partially decomposed condition and large (probably bear) bones. Similar to hanging 4 (above) but without the skull and containing more skin. Located at the edge of a trash pile. Age estimated at one to three years. A similar can of bones, but without bear skin, was also observed.

10. Can of goose bones, on top of which is a neatly and securely tied canvas-wrapped packet about ten inches long and three to four inches in diameter. This packet contains some long bones from a bear. A reliable informant explained that 'the bear bones are wrapped to keep them from the goose bones in the can.' The height is about eight feet, and the estimated age is less than two years.

11. Burlap bag and can, both containing bones, attached to the same branch at a height of about seven feet. One other hanging of this type was observed. Unfortunately, I did not determine the kind or kinds of bones in these hangings, or whether the bags and cans held different kinds of bones.

**Indoor Hangings**

12. Bear skulls, with the mandible tied in place with twine in a neat criss-cross pattern. Three of these skulls were hung near each other on a wall of a residence. Two were quite small, probably cubs. The owner told me, with a slightly embarrassed laugh, that they were like a shaking tent. He also said that he would hang them out in the bush after they had been inside for a year.

13. Bear chins, actually a piece of skin from the point of the chin (fig. 34). Each piece of skin is folded in half, bordered with fabric and decorated along this border with beads. They are then hung by a beaded thread to a cord of braided yarn. The cord is hung on the wall as a souvenir of the bears which a man has killed. These are
not hung out in the bush after a period of time. Several of these strings of bear chins were observed. I was told of a man at another settlement who possesses over 90 chins, which he keeps in a bag.

14. Goose head, stuffed and decorated with beads (fig. 3b), hung indoors and kept as a permanent souvenir of the first goose killed by a young man. The beaded thread in the example pictured (the only one observed) is passed through the eyeballs from one side of the head to the other. The eyes have been removed. This example is a Canada goose, but informants said that it could have been a Blue goose if the Blue goose had been the first one killed.

15. Wing of a small bird, the first one that a boy killed. This was dried and kept hung indoors as a souvenir.

Discussion

The variability of the above hangings, and the large number of single examples observed, make any generalizations doubtful at this time. Further field work is planned at Rupert House, and generalizations will be made after I have more observation in hand. A few recurrent characteristics may be noted, however. In the first place, hangings are not concealed. All the outdoor hangings observed were near trails, and my search for more remote hangings, off the trails, produced no results. Location may tentatively be seen as a matter of convenience, which would account for the proximity of several hangings to trash dumps.

The outdoor hangings all stood at a height of about seven to eight feet, and this is consistent with the explanation that the bones are hung 'so the dogs won't get them.' The fact that some hangings will last only about a year apparently constitutes no problem. Several informants indicated that 'after a while it doesn't matter what happens' to the hangings. It would seem that the act of hanging is of more value to the hunter than the objects hung, although the situation is probably not as simple as that.

Some kinds of animals may not be hung at all. Examples of the available game for which I saw no hangings include some which were reported by Rousseau (Moose scalp and antlers, fish heads, and the beaks or skulls of birds). Muskrat, fox, ermine and mink were not seen, and I was told that they are not hung. I was erroneously told, however, that lynx is not hung. The informant expressed surprise when told of the lynx hanging, but later verified that it was, in fact, a lynx hanging. Again, I was told that only a small piece of skin from the chest of the caribou is hung, and that only rarely; yet I observed caribou ears (2, above). This kind of apparent conflict suggests that a degree of variability exists in what is ritually hung. On the other hand, I was told that all men who trap beaver 'are careful about the bones.' Since beaver is the primary source of income and winter meat, uniformity in this case perhaps relates to that animal's great economic importance.

Bear is too scarce to be an economically important animal, but it is valued for meat and an average hide is worth about as much as a beaver's ($10 to $12). Bear is 'special,' in the words of one informant. Another informant explained that the bear bones are put out 'so the next one won't fight you.' The 'special' nature of the bear was brought out in other contexts than hangings, but the place of the bear in Northern North American myth and ritual is not an appropriate topic for this paper. It is noteworthy that several parts of the bear are hung. Probably most, if not all, men who kill bear observe ritual behaviour of the kind noted.

The other animal of major importance is the goose. As food, it is considered very desirable, but its economic value is only a part of its importance. Beyond the enthusiasm which men show for hunting geese, anthropologists do not well understand its psychological or ideological importance, but importance is indicated by the emotion which people show when they watch or talk about geese.

It is the beaver, bear and goose that are the most regularly hung, and each of these animals has, in some sense, 'special' importance in the cultural milieu. The quality of individuality and independence (within set limits of propriety) in the way in which individuals choose their course of action, and in personal responsibility for one's actions, is appropriate to the small groups of one or two families which trap and hunt together in the winter. This characteristic individuality is manifested in the variability of the hangings of the less important animals. But hangings of the 'special' animals exhibit uniformity and regularity.

With respect to the hanging of ears, claws and perhaps skulls, the particular part of the animal which gets hung may symbolize what the hunter desires to effect in making the hanging (so that the next one won't hear, claw or bite him). How this would apply, if it does at all, to the beaver and goose hangings, is not yet evident. Speck suggests that letting dogs profane the bones insulates a generic spirit of the animal involved. I was not able to obtain such information at Rupert House, but it may be worth noting that while goose bones are kept from the dogs, the feet, gizzards and intestines are specifically fed to the dogs.

To conclude: much remains to be understood with respect to the hangings; they are, however, an important survival in a culture which, after 295 years of contact, has lost or greatly altered many of its elements.

Notes

1 The National Institute of Mental Health provided support through a training grant to the University of North Carolina.

2 Frank G. Speck, Naskapi, Norman, Oklahoma (University of Oklahoma Press), 1935. This volume is now out of print.


6 Jacques Rousseau, Persistance païenne chez les Indiens de la forêt boréale, Montréal (Les Editions des Dix), 1953.


9 Frank G. Speck, op. cit., p. 62.

10 Speck, op. cit., p. 78.

11 The Shaking Tent rite, used for obtaining magical powers, has not been used at Rupert House for 15 years, but it is still used as nearby as Nemiscau, 80 miles inland. References on the Shaking Tent rite include: Jacques Rousseau, Rites païennes de la forêt québécoise: la tente tremblante et la suerie, Montréal (Les Editions des Dix), 1955; Regina Flannery, 'The Shaking Tent Rite among the Montagnais of James Bay,' Primitive Man, Vol. XII, pp. 11-16; J. M. Cooper, 'The Shaking Tent Rite among Plains and Forest Algonquians,' Primitive Man, Vol. XVII, pp. 60-84.


13 Speck, op. cit., pp. 76ff.

On the Use of Scale Analysis in the Study of Culture. By Donald J. Tugby, Ph.D., Anthropology and Sociology Section, University of Queensland, Brisbane. With two tables

Cultural units when traced through time or space appear to undergo a process of mutation whose slowness obscures the boundaries between periods and areas. This obscurity can be dispelled if a method can be found for ordering cultural units which
have some of their content of cultural items in common into
classes, clusters or series, so that the overall arrangement of the
units provides a model of some cultural process in terms of which
the interrelationship of the items can be understood. Scale
analysis provides such a method.

In an interesting paper entitled 'Scale Analysis as an Instrument
for the Study of Cultural Evolution,' Carneiro (1962) has des-
cribed the possible use of the Guttman scaling technique for
ordering societies with respect to the number of items in their
cultural inventory. The context of Carneiro's work is unilinear
evolutionary theory. The use of the Guttman technique in
archaeology was first suggested by Brainerd (1951a, p. 118), but
this suggestion was never followed up. In archaeology the statistical
equivalent of scaling methods has been called matrix analysis and
has been developed for the ordering of collections by Brainerd
(1951b) and Robinson (1951) and for the seriation of cultural
items using trait analysis by Tugby (1958). Belous (1953) has used
matrix analysis in a re-examination of the central California
chronological sequence, Flanders for a re-examination of Mill
Creek ceramics (1960) and Clarke (1962) for an exploratory
examination of the sequence of British Beaker types. Ascher and
Ascher (1963) have provided a method for ordering a matrix by
computer.

In archaeology, matrix analysis has been tested in use with
empirical materials whose ages cover a relatively limited time
span. Carneiro proposes the use of the Guttman technique for
demonstrating long-term evolutionary sequences using materials
derived from contemporary societies of different cultural com-
plexity. This contribution examines the relationship between the
two methods.

Rationale of Scaling

The theoretical basis for the use of the Guttman technique in
the study of cultural evolution is as follows: Culture is cumulative;
as trait is added to trait the culture increases in complexity; a
trait and its following trait in a trait sequence are connected by
'functional prerequisite' (Carneiro, ibid., p. 160), i.e. a trait
cannot come into existence without the necessary prior existence
of its preceding trait. The mathematical model corresponding to
this theory is represented by a scalogram like that in Table I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
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Table I. Scalogram showing perfect scaling in accordance
with the Guttman technique except that trait 4 is absent
from societies G, H and I

(+ = Trait present. - = Trait absent)

one moves from society A to society I the traits accumulate.
Society H has all the traits of society D plus one additional trait,
trait 5; society F has all the traits of society E plus one additional
trait, trait 6. A similar accumulation of traits takes place through
societies G, H and I, but trait 4 is missing from these societies. This
is regarded as an imperfection in the scale. Trait 7 appears at the
same time as trait 4 disappears. This phenomenon Carneiro calls
'supersedence' (ibid., p. 165).

The empirical reality to which the matrix method used in
archaeology corresponds is the finding that in archaelogical
excavations the assemblage of cultural traits characteristic of a
horizon intergrades with that of the next higher (i.e. later) horizon
and is eventually displaced by the latter. The corresponding
mathematical model is represented in the matrix shown in Table II.

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<th>Traits</th>
<th>A</th>
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<th>C</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table II. Sorted matrix, a model of sequential replacement
of one assemblage by another

(+ = Trait present. - = Trait absent)

Dimensions

Cultural data demonstrate change through the bidimensional
framework of space-time. The scaling methods mentioned above,
however, assume that seriation can be accounted for by change
in one dimension. Hence if a body of data proves to be scalable
this property must be ascribed to change in time or space (Carneiro
considers only the former) and one or other of these possibilities
must therefore be eliminated.

Start of the Sequence

Furthermore, if a scalable series is established and scalability is
ascribed to one of these dimensions, there is nothing in the pro-
cedure of scaling itself to indicate at which end the series begins.
With reference to change in time, for example, the Guttman
model can represent either a tradition which is growing in com-
plexity (the elaborating tradition of Haury et al., 1956) or one
characterized by increasing simplification (the reducing tradition of Haury et al., 1956).

In the evolutionary theory to which Carneiro subscribes it is assumed that all cultural change is of the first kind but such an assumption does not accord with archaeological experience. Independent evidence is required to determine at which end a series starts. For example, with reference to Tables I and II, there is no indication from the scagogram itself that 8 is the earlier society and 1 the more recent. In archaeology, stratification in a control site can provide such evidence. It has also been shown that the start of the sequence in a contoured matrix can be determined from the form of the contours (Brainerd, 1951), a method that could be used also with other cultural materials.

Classification

The aim of matrix analysis in archaeology is frequently two-fold: to order traits, types or assemblages in a series and to provide a simple system of classification or typology. To achieve the latter aim the long-term traits which do not provide good sorting criteria are eliminated. Cutting points in the series can then be established where adjacent assemblages have only few traits in common. For example, the assemblages in Table II might be classified as follows: Class 1, assemblages with trait 1 in common, i.e. A, B and C; Class 2, assemblages with trait 4 in common, i.e. D, E and F; and Class 3, assemblages with trait 7 in common, i.e. G, H and I. Using this method, it is therefore possible to break up a cultural sequence into stages which emerge from the analysis itself and are not imposed in an a priori fashion upon the data. Carneiro, on the other hand, proposes to eliminate short-term traits which are the very traits that function as historical index or marker traits.

Types of Matrices

Use of a trait-by-trait matrix instead of a trait-by-society matrix will reveal more clearly seriation independently of association in particular societies (see Tugby, 1958, for an example). This method makes maximum use of the property of association which is the basis of scalability. The method places no restrictions on the form of the data and makes no assumptions about the way in which the data are ordered. If the data can be scaled the seriation will emerge in the course of analysis; if no seriation emerges this is an indication that the data are inherently unordered, a finding which may avoid much fruitless analysis, or that any order which there may be in the data cannot be accounted for in terms of change in one dimension only. For some purposes a type-by-type or assemblage-by-assemble analysis will yield a better classification. The task of ordering a large matrix can be made easy by using a mechanical sorting device or a computer.

Carneiro is enthusiastic about the use of the Guttman technique in the study of cultural evolution because he correctly sees the correspondence between the necessary stages of unilinear evolutionary theory and the step-by-step build up of the Guttman model, as shown in Table I. Empirical reality may yield cultural series which conform with the Guttman model but, so far, archaeological series traced through time have shown a clearer correspondence to the matrix model of Table II. However, both these models are rather simplified special cases of the general covariation matrix (i.e. a matrix in which the extent to which, say, a member of a series of societies shares a number of traits with other members of the series is shown by entering correlation coefficients of some kind in the cells of the matrix). The covariation matrix has been used for the study of social change in the United States over a relatively short time span using the sophisticated statistical technique of factor analysis (Cattell and Adelson, 1951). It is possible, therefore, to use the central notion of what goes with what, which is implicit in the idea of covariation, by simplification and adaptation of the covariation matrix, as in scale analysis and matrix analysis, or by elaboration of it, as in factor analysis.

The requirement of the Guttman technique that prior traits be retained does not accord with our general experience of the sequence of cultural events in time. The strength of matrix analysis lies in the fact that no prior assumptions are made about the order in the data. However, other methods of scaling such as multi-dimensional scaling must be used when the variation in the data cannot be accounted for in terms of change in one dimension.

References


Stone Mortars in the New Guinea Highlands: A Note on Their Manufacture and Use. By J. M. A. Chappell, Department of Geology, University of Auckland, New Zealand

Whilst engaged in a survey of places of origin of stone axes in the Eastern and Western Highlands Districts of Australian New Guinea, I frequently questioned natives about stone mortars and their uses. The first intimation that I received that these were used for anything other than magic (usually pre-battle magic) was from an old man of Minj (Kuma people). He said that, prior to the time of European contact, stone mortars had been used for crushing a certain type of leaf; the potion so prepared was then smeared on battle arrows. He denied having ever treated hunting arrows in this way.

The story was corroborated by an old Chimbu warrior,
Ongogo, at Kerowaghii. Ongogo declared that besides having made stone axes in his time, he had also made mortars. Without prompting, he described how he had shaped the bowls from sandstone boulders, which he usually obtained from the nearby Koronigil River.

The crushed leaf extract is said to enhance the killing power of the arrows, but this property may be merely magical and hence imaginary. Informants said that freshly smeared arrows were carried on the downwind side, so that the smell and juice didn’t blow back into their faces. Ongogo, however, pointed to wounds on his own person which had been inflicted by ‘poisoned’ arrows.

Leaves of the Mondo (= Kuma Mont, Dr. M. R. Ray, personal communication) were used; Mondo is a native category containing at least three different plants. Preliminary identifications of representative leaves have been made (Dr. R. A. Couper, Auckland Museum); chemical tests for alkaloids (alk.), leucoanthocyanins (LA.), saponins (sap.) and triterpenes (LB.) have been done. The results are tabulated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mondo variety</th>
<th>alk.</th>
<th>LA.</th>
<th>sap.</th>
<th>LB.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bubba sp.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monocot. (not identified)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melastone (not identified)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>±</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The absence of alkaloids makes it unlikely that any of these leaves have poisonous properties (Dr. R. C. Cambie, personal communication).

These leaves appeared to have some value, as they were described by several men as articles of trade; they were also used as tanbu emblems on houses in times of war.

Thus this note records the possible use and manufacture of stone mortars, in the New Guinea Highlands, in recent times, and comments, negatively, on the possible use of vegetable arrow poisons.

Notes
1 I spent ten weeks from December, 1963, to March, 1964, surveying axe quarries and other sources of stone implements in the Schrader and Bismarck Ranges, and Jimi, Baiyer, Wagi and middle Asaro Valleys. I am most grateful to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for the financial support which made this work possible.
3 The chemical tests were done by Dr. B. F. Cain, Cancer Unit, Auckland Hospital, following the scheme given in Cain et al., ‘A New Zealand Phytochemical Survey,’ N.Z.J. Sci. Vol. 4(1), 1961, pp. 3–12.

Edible Seeds and Prehistoric Stone Mortars in the Highlands of East New Guinea. By R. N. H. Bulmer, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, New Zealand

Summary

This note lists nuts and seeds eaten by the Karam people of the Kairon Valley region of the Bismarck and Schrader Ranges, Central New Guinea, and argues that the grinding of nuts and seeds, and particularly those of the oak-like Castanopsis acuminatissima A. Dc., may well have been a major original use for the prehistoric pestles and mortars which have been widely reported from lower montane areas of East New Guinea.

Recorded and Hypothetized Uses for Pestles and Mortars in Highland New Guinea

Contemporary uses hitherto reported for pestles and mortars in the New Guinea Highlands are in fertility and other cults and in various forms of magic; water-filled, as mirrors, and, in one locality (Lake Kutubu in the Southern Highlands), in the preparation of medicines in connexion with an initiation cult (Williams, 1940, pp. 306). However, J. M. A. Chappell (see the preceding article) was recently informed by an elderly Chimbu man that he had manufactured mortars in his lifetime; but there need be little doubt that the great majority of mortars and pestles which have been widely reported from Eastern New Guinea are genuinely prehistoric. It also seems likely that these utensils had other original practical uses even if the preparation of medicines was always one of their functions. I suggested several years ago (Bulmer, 1957) that one important use could have been in the grinding of wild nuts and other seeds for food. In many parts of the world, including nearby Aboriginal Australia, mortars have in recent times been used for this purpose (Davidson and McCarthy, 1957, pp. 436–47), and it seems plausible that seeds had an important place in New Guinea diets in pre-agricultural and early agricultural times, before the full range of modern subsistence crops was available, and before the forest had been destroyed in large areas of the country and particularly in the fertile Central Highlands region. However, although several species of trees in lowland New Guinea are known to bear edible nuts (Barrau, 1958, pp. 52–4), there is very little published information on edible nuts or seeds in Highlands areas, where the greatest number of pestles and mortars have been found.

In 1963–64 I spent five months among the Karam people of the Kairon Valley and adjacent areas of the Bismarck and Schrader Ranges. My research, which was primarily concerned with ecology and Karam perceptions of the natural environment, involved an attempt to identify as many as possible of the plants and animals, both wild and domesticated, which the Karam and their neighbours use for food. Like other Highlanders the Karam do not use pestles and mortars to prepare any of their present-day foodstuffs. However, a consideration of the seeds and nuts which they or their neighbours do eat, and of less detailed information obtained among the Kyaka Enga people of the north slopes of Mount Hagen, with whom I had previously worked, does I think support the view that wild seeds could have had considerable past importance as a foodstuff, and that these could usefully have been processed with mortars and pestles.

The Karam are horticulturists whose gardens lie for the most part between 5,000 and 7,500 feet, though small clearings in the Schrader Range forests are also cultivated to an altitude of 8,000 feet. Sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas) is the staple crop, while taro (Colocasia esculentum), which is seldom grown above 6,500 feet, is the crop of greatest ceremonial and ritual significance.

In the upper Kairon Valley all forest has been destroyed between 5,000 feet and a line which varies between 7,000 and 7,500 feet. In the Schrader Mountains on the north-western side of the Kairon Valley there are large stands of Southern Beech (Nothofagus) forest from 7,500 feet to the ridge crests at about 8,500 feet, as well as tracts of mixed (broadleaf-gymnosperm) forest between approximately 6,500 and 8,000 feet, and mixed oak forest, on the Kairon face of the Schraders only, between 7,000 and 7,500 feet. On the Bismarck Range spur on the south-eastern side of the Kairon Valley, which rises to only 7,500 feet, disturbed remnants of mixed oak forest are found between 7,000 and 7,500 feet, together with some almost pure stands of oaks or the oak-like Castanopsis on exposed ridge crests at about 7,000 feet.
Seeds Eaten by the Karam or Their Neighbours

The following nuts or seeds were recorded as eaten by the Karam, or by their immediate neighbours the Kobon (of the lower Kairon and adjacent Sal and Knenj Valleys south and west of the Karam) and Mareng (of the Bismarck Range to the north and east of the Karam). With the exception of the breadfruit (Artocarpus incisa) all are available within Karam territory. Karam informants assert that they cultivate none of these trees, but will admit under pressure that they occasionally transplant seedlings of some of them.

1. Three major categories of nut-bearing Pandanus, known in Karam as askan, gdi or gdi, and kini. These are probably three distinct species, but they have not yet been identified botanically. Askun is found in the crest forest of the Schroders, most frequently in Nothofagus forest and always above 7,500 feet. The seeds are either roasted or cooked in the earth oven. Gdi is found in the mixed oak forest and garden areas between 5,500 and 7,500 feet in the Kairon Valley and in the Bismarck Range, but not in the Schroder Range north of the Kairon watershed. The tough seed cases are roasted and then split open with axes. Kini is found in the mixed forest and newly cleared garden areas between about 6,500 and 7,500 feet on the Ramu fall (Ambang Valley) of the Schroder Range, and, in smaller numbers, in the mixed oak forest in the Kairon Valley and on the adjacent Bismarck spur. Segments of the fruit are roasted in the fire and the rather small kernels are extracted after roasting.

Although these trees provide an important supplementary source of food to the Karam, as nut-bearing Pandanus species do in very many parts of Highland New Guinea (cf. Barrau, 1958, p. 53), they need not concern us further here since, firstly, contemporary methods of processing their seeds by cooking in earth oven or fire, without pounding, seems sufficiently efficient, and, secondly, their latitudinal distribution makes it unlikely that they can be considered relevant to the problem of the pestles and mortars, very few of which have been recorded above 6,000 feet.

2. At least three species of the tree genus Elaeocarpus, which has altogether well over a hundred species present in the New Guinea region.

(a) A tree known to Karam as kudoj and present in small numbers in mixed forest between 6,000 and 8,000 feet in the Schroder Mountains. The large round brownish fruit contains a nut which is smashed with a stone or with the butt of a steel axe to extract the single almond-like kernel. This kernel, which may be eaten raw or roasted, is considered a delicacy by the Karam. On one occasion I watched a man scale a tree and shake or knock about 40 fruit down for his seven companions to collect from the ground. This took about 20 minutes. It took another five to ten minutes for each man to open up his share of the fruit and extract the kernels, and the total weight of edible kernels harvested from the tree was probably less than six ounces.

(b) Kodlap. Grows in small numbers in the Schroders up to about 7,000 feet. The round fruit is similar to that of the kudoj but somewhat smaller and the nut contains two kernels. It is processed in the same way as the kudoj nut.

(c) Yunges. This category covers one or more Elaeocarpus species with plum-shaped blue or green fruit. Trees are found up to 8,000 feet in mixed forest in the Schroders, and are also present in the mixed oak forest. I did not see the rather small kernels being eaten by Karam, though informants told me that they could be eaten. However, I have seen Kyaka Enga boys eating seeds from blue Elaeocarpus fruit from trees growing at 5,000 feet on the north slope of Mount Hagen. They were processed like the larger nuts already described and also eaten either raw or roasted (R. & S. Bulmer, 1952, p. 194).

Blue or green-fruit Elaeocarpus trees are very common in lower montane forest in many parts of New Guinea, between about 3,000 and 6,000 feet, and often bear prolific quantities of fruit. Thus although the kernels are small and tedious to extract, they could be considered as a possible prehistoric foodstuff of some significance.

3. Sloanea archboldi A.C. Smith (Karam, thim). This tree, a genus closely related to Elaeocarpus, was found in the Schroder Range forest between 3,000 and 8,000 feet. My Karam informants did not consider the seed to be edible, but my Mareng cook told me that he sometimes ate them. The whole near-ripe fruit (2½ inches long by 1½ inches diameter) is roasted in the fire and splits open longitudinally in the process so that the yellow maize-like seeds can be extracted and eaten.

4. Castanopsis acauminatissima A. Dc. (Karam, kahi wusii or kahi aeng). This tree of a genus closely allied to the true oaks (Quercus s.l.) is found in the disturbed forest of the Bismarck Range up to 7,000 feet and is also the only surviving large forest tree growing in any numbers in garden areas in the Kairon and adjacent Simbai Valleys up to 6,500 feet. I did not record it in the Schroder forests. The acorns are very small (approximately one-quarter to one-third of an inch long) grow in prolific quantities, and are eaten by Karam both raw and roasted, the cup and shell being removed with the fingers. I have also observed Kyaka Enga eating nuts from trees of this species growing at about 5,000 feet on the north slopes of Mount Hagen.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. J. S. Womersley, Dr. L. J. Brass and Mr. R. G. Robbins for further information about Castanopsis. Dr. Brass tells me that he knows of two species of this genus present in New Guinea, but that the second species has very small nuts indeed. C. acauminatissima is found widely between 2,000 and 6,000 feet, and has also been recorded on New Britain, this being the only positive record of any member of the Fagaceae from the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago. Oaks or oaklike trees were noted by Dr. Brass on the D’Entrecasteaux and Louisiade Islands, but he was unable to confirm the presence of C. acauminatissima there. Mr. Womersley adds that the nuts appear to be eaten in many areas, including New Britain, where a medical report from Pomio refers to the nuts causing mouth ulcers in children.

Outside New Guinea, other species of the same genus have been recorded as providing edible nuts in the Himalayas, East and Central China, Indochina, the Malay Archipelago, the Philippines and California (Burkhill, 1935, Vol. I, pp. 486-9). One Chinese species (C. sclerophylla) provides nuts which are made into an edible paste by peasants (Uphoff, 1949, p. 79).

5. Artocarpus spp.

(a) The breadfruit (Artocarpus incisa L.f. or communis Forst.) does not grow in Karam territory but occurs in the territory of the Kobon people of the Sal and Knenj Valleys of the Bismarks, below approximately 4,000 feet, and, as in New Guinea generally at similar altitudes, the nuts are a valued food (cf. Barrau, 1958, p. 53: 59). I have seen Kam hunters gather the fruit while in Karam territory, remove the endosperm or tests of the one-inch-diameter seeds from the raw fruit, and then roast and eat these. Among the Kyaka of the Baiyer Valley, who cultivate this tree up to 4,500 feet, the whole fruit less the rind is sometimes roasted, before seeds are removed and eaten.

(b) Another semi-cultivated species of Artocarpus (Karam, abok) was noted in disturbed mixed oak forest and garden areas in the Schroders between 6,000 and 7,000 feet. Informants said that the ripe fruit, which I did not see, were squashed and the seeds extracted with the fingers, roasted and eaten.

6. Finschia? chloroxanthaca Diels (Karam, seng). This tree was noted between 6,000 and 7,000 feet on the Schroder side of the Kairon Valley, but does not seem to be common. The round fibrous fruit, about one-and-three-quarter inches in diameter, contains a nut, the kernel or kernels of which are eaten. The fruit is roasted in the fire and then smashed with a stone to extract the kernel.

7. Sterculia sp. (Karam, dhok). Tree found in forest and bush fallow on the Schroder side of the Kairon Valley between 6,000 and 7,000 feet. The seeds are extracted by hand from the bean-like pods, roasted and eaten.

The seeds of many other species of this genus contain oil and are used as food in South-East Asia, while those of one species, S. fatidla are also eaten by Australian Aborigines (Burkhill, 1935, Vol. II, pp. 207-81; Uphoff, 1959, p. 347).

8. Pittosporum pullifilium Burkill (Karam, skow). Shrubs found in Schroder forests at about 7,500 feet. The small seeds may be extracted from the beanlike pods and eaten raw, or the whole pod is

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may be roasted before the seeds are removed and eaten. The seeds are bitter, hence the name which apparently means 'bitter food,' and are said to be the favoured food of the forest bird *Iriti kowaldi*, which is also alleged by Karam to have a bitter-tasting skin.

**Other Plants with Potentially Edible Seeds**

The 13 plants discussed above most certainly do not constitute an exhaustive list of Highlands trees bearing edible seeds, or even, probably, an exhaustive list for those parts of the Bismarck and Schrader ranges adjacent to the Kaironk Valley. In particular, it is most likely that there are other unrecorded trees with utilized nuts growing at altitudes below 6,000 feet.

It is also possible that the seeds of certain plants which I did record would provide food if techniques of processing these were understood. In the mixed oak forest below 7,500 feet true oaks (*e.g.* *Pasania* sp. or spp.) are present in fair numbers. Acorns of a large number of oak species are known to have provided human food in other parts of the world, although in some cases fairly elaborate leaching processes were employed to remove acids.6

The seeds of wild grasses should also be considered. Job's Tears (*Coix lachryma-jobi*) L., which are widely harvested in both lowland and highland New Guinea for beads, grow by stream sides and in damp garden fallow areas in the Schraders up to at least 6,500 feet. Although there appears to be only one undocument record of the use of the seeds of this plant for food in New Guinea (Barrau, 1958, p. 49), it has been widely reported as a food plant in Southern and South-Eastern Asia (Burkill, 1935, Vol. I, pp. 629–31; Brown, 1951, pp. 139–41).

Many smaller-seeded grasses have been recorded as foodstuffs among Australian Aborigines, a number of these being of genera (*e.g.* *Themeda*, *Sectaria*) also well represented in the Kaironk Valley as in other parts of the Highlands. However, since the extensive mid-mountain grasslands of the Highlands are, with the exception of swamp areas, now attributed to human destruction of forest in garden activities, and thought to consist of lowland invader species (Robbins, 1953), it is perhaps unlikely that man would have used these sorts of grass seeds for food at a time when, putatively, his economy was largely forest-oriented.

**Discussion**

In assessing the possible relevance of this botanical information to the problem of the original uses of the pestles and mortars two main considerations must be kept in mind. The first is the distribution, both regional and altitudinal, of finds of these implements in New Guinea. The second is their character and dimensions. Both of these topics are discussed in a current paper in the *American Anthropologist* by S. and R. Bulmer (1964), where bibliographical references to some of the data now to be discussed are cited.

Pestles and mortars have been found in many places on the East New Guinea mainland, as far west as the middle Sepik and upper Kikori Rivers, as well as on the Schouten Islands and the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago. They are particularly numerous in the three Central Highlands Administrative Districts, while there is also a fair number of records from montane areas to the east of the Highlands proper.7 Within the Highlands, the largest numbers of records are from the Wahgi, Jimi and Baiser Valleys in the Western Highlands, and from the Kainantu region of the Eastern Highlands. Since the *American Anthropologist* paper went to press we have additional records from the Bismarck and Schrader Ranges between the Ramu and Jimi Valleys, within the territories of the Mareng, Karam and Arami peoples, where no mortars had previously been reported, though there is no evidence that these objects are present in any great number in these areas.8

We have also been informed that many mortars, pestles and figurines have recently come to light in the Tari region of the Southern Highlands District.9

The overwhelming majority of Highlands records are from localities below 6,000 feet in altitude (we know of only four mortars from above 6,000 feet out of a total of about 130), although there are dense present-day populations living at altitudes above 6,000 feet in the upper Lai and upper Chimbu Valleys and on the slopes of Mount Hagen and Mount Giliwe.

As we have argued elsewhere, the regional distribution of records of pestles and mortars suggests a local centre of diffusion on the north-east coast of New Guinea. The western limits of distribution presumably reflect the ecological discontinuities created by the lowland valleys of the Sepik, Strickland and Fly together with the discontinuity in population and communication along the mountain chain in the centre of the island. The altitudinal distribution of pestles and mortars within Eastern New Guinea suggests that populations originally manufacturing and using them were probably not cultivating sweet potato and therefore not living at altitudes where sweet potato alone of staple crops will really flourish. It also suggests that the crop most widely processed in the mortars must have been readily available below 6,000 feet. The general congruence in altitudinal distribution of mortars and of the acorn-bearing *Castanopsis acuminatissima* is one reason for suspecting that this tree may have been particularly important.10

The size of Highland mortars (ranging between 28 cm. and 10 cm. diameter, internal measurement of bowl) and their relative shallowness (depth of cup being half or less of diameter in the great majority of specimens) is also consistent with their use in preparing a seed the size of *Castanopsis*—or for that matter of the kernels of the *Elaterocarpus* nuts. We ourselves have found a Highlands mortar with a bowl about 24 cm. in internal diameter very suitable for grinding roasted coffee beans.

**Conclusion**

There is no reason to suppose that all prehistoric mortars and pestles in New Guinea had one single original use. They may from the start have had diverse uses including possibly grinding of pigments, preparation of medicines and poisons, and pulping of wild or domesticated root crops, and may also in some cases have had cult functions. However, the pounding and grinding of tree nuts would seem to be a most likely function if the mortars are assumed to date from a period when forests were more extensive and horticulture less rewarding than they are at present. Further, one may suggest that particular importance could have been attached to *Castanopsis acuminatissima*, on account of its altitudinal distribution, its overall abundance, its plentiful cropping, the size of its seeds, and the demonstrated edibility of these, both raw and cooked.

**Notes**

1. More than 20 years ago Dr. L. J. Brass of the American Museum of Natural History noted the concentration of human population in the New Guinea Highlands in the altitudinal zone where oak—*Castanopsis* forest would be the natural vegetation (Brass, 1941, p. 537). Through correspondence with Dr. Brass regarding records of pestles and mortars which he had made I learned that my friend Dr. P. L. Newman of the University of California, Los Angeles, had independently arrived at the opinion that New Guinea mortars could well have been used for processing acorns, and had discussed this hypothesis with Dr. Brass. Neither Dr. Brass nor Dr. Newman had then seen my 1957 paper. I am most grateful to Dr. Brass for a number of very helpful suggestions, and for most useful information regarding the distribution of oaks and oaklike trees in New Guinea and elsewhere.
Field research was supported by grants from the U.S. National Institute of Mental Health and from the New Zealand Universities Research Grants Committee, to both of which grateful acknowledgments are made.

I follow the classification of low montane forests adopted by Robbins (1966), but my application of this in the Karonok Valley region must remain provisional until such time as this area is surveyed by professional botanists.

Mr. J. S. Womersley, Chief, Division of Botany, Department of Forests, Lae, T.P.N.G., was most helpful in identifying herbarium specimens which I sent to him. I am also indebted to Dr. J. A. Rattenbury and Dr. R. C. Cooper of Auckland, and Dr. R. G. Robbins of Canberra for information and advice on a number of botanical points.

Spelling of Karam terms follows the phonemic orthography of Biggs (1963), with the exception, introduced in conformity with the policy of MAN in regard to use of phonetic symbols, that $q$ is here used for the dorso-velar nasal sometimes written ng in English.

Cf. Burkhill, 1935, Vol. II, pp. 1849-50. Following correspondence with Dr. Brass I had hoped to experiment with acorns in the Schraders, to see if these were edible either unbleached and merely ground into meal, or leached by soaking either before or after grinding. However, merely leached acorns of the local Pasania oaks were not available in sufficient quantity in the months when I was present to make these experiments possible.

From publications and from unpublished collections which Susan Bulmer and I have examined or have had described to us, we have recorded 127 mortars from the three Highlands Districts and the immediate fringes, 35 from other parts of mainland New Guinea (of which at least 20 appear to come from altitudes above 3,000 feet), and 21 from the Bismarck Archipelago and Schouten Islands.

I am grateful to the Rev. Peter Robin of the Anglican Mission, Simbai, Mr. R. A. Rappaport of Columbia University, and Mr. Lyle Scholz of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, for information on mortars which they have recovered.

Information from Mr. T. B. Buckle of the Methodist Overseas Mission and from Mr. Fred Riley of the Public Works Department, both of Tari.

In fact the only mortars which to our certain knowledge have been recovered from Highland areas where Castanopsis is at present positively absent are those obtained in 1964 by J. M. A. Chappell and myself in the upper Aunjang Valley of the Schrader Mountains. These had been dug up by natives in a garden recently cleared from forest at 7,000 feet at a place where there were no oaks or Castanopsis for several miles. However, Eucalyptus species were plentiful in the immediate locality.

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The following comments are based upon notes recorded during a brief stay in August, 1962, on the Lesser Antilles island of Antigua, British West Indies. The general similarities of pottery techniques found here with those of West Africa might afford an interesting example of an African 'survival' on this island. However, despite the known connexion between Antigua and West Africa I have no historical information about the island's pottery industry, so whatever presumed connexions exist with respect to this industry must at present remain speculative.

Pottery-making was observed in the small village of Seaview Farm which is at the approximate centre of the island about 31 miles south-east of St. Johns, Antigua's capital. According to informants, Seaview Farm is the only village on the island where pottery is made on a cottage basis. At the time of my visit there were approximately 20 potters in the village, all of whom were females. Although children from a potter's household might aid in various phases of production such as clay-collccting and firing, adult males apparently have little to do with either production or distribution. The central position of women is not an unusual feature where the potter's wheel is absent, and in rural Antigua cottage potters do not use the wheel.

Clay is collected from pits located within relatively easy walking distances from the village. After having been excavated the clay is 'headed' to the potter's house where it is doused with water, broken up and kept damp. When wares are to be made a lump of clay is extracted from this damp pile and placed upon a wooden board which measures roughly between 12 and 18 inches wide, and between 18 and 20 inches long, and is about 1 inch thick. In order to increase its plasticity, the moistened clay lump is rapidly pounded with a small wooden pestle. Informants agree that clay is neither hand-kneaded nor trampled in bare feet, activities which are performed by the technologically more sophisticated cottage potters in, for example, Barbados (Handler, 'Pottery-Making in Rural Barbados,' Southw. J. Anthrop., Vol. XIX, No. 3, 1963). When these methods were described to the female potters of Seaview Farm they seemed unfamiliar with them.

The prepared clay is set aside and a small ball is extracted from it. This ball is then placed on the working board which rests upon the ground. Primarily using her thumbs and index fingers, which are kept moistened, the potter begins to model the clay by creating a depression in the ball and forming the sides with her hands. As the sides are built up, the vessel is rotated on the board, which is kept stationary. No moulds are used nor are coils prepared. As the walls emerge out of the first clay ball, another small lump is taken out of the prepared clay and shaped on to the emerging vessel. This process is repeated using the same techniques with fingers and hands until the sides are completed. The sides are then patted smooth and further shaped with the hands. To smooth and scrape rough edges the potter then employs a piece of a broken calabash. After

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being planed with this tool the vessel is further smoothed by wiping with a damp piece of rag.

There is no glazing, the main form of decoration apparently being a red clay slip which is applied before firing.

Although I did not have the opportunity to observe a firing, I was shown some firing spots. The Antigua potters do not use kilns. Firing takes place in the open on a level and circular clearing of about 10 to 15 feet in diameter adjacent to the potter's house. The ash of former fires is left in this clearing which is covered with wood. Wares are placed on top of the wood layer, and are then covered with layers of green grass. Informants say that firing usually commences in the late afternoon and is completed within an hour or so.

Pottery is made for a local cash market. The female potter usually transports her wares to the St. Johns marketplace on Saturday, the island's main marketing day. Sometimes she will go into town on a week day, but rarely every day. Potters usually remain in the marketplace, but occasionally, I was told, they will walk about hawking their wares.

Wares are usually household utilitarian ones, the most common type being the 'coal pot,' a tall wide-mouthed pot with a narrow cylindrical base which is used as a charcoal-burning cooking brazier. Also made are globular teapot-shaped water jars which are called 'monkeys' in other areas of the British Caribbean such as Nevis and Barbados. Undecorated shallow bowls and plates are also manufactured.

In a number of significant details, e.g. firing procedures and lack of kiln, absence of the wheel and modelling techniques, ware types and the prominent role of women in both production and distribution, the Antigua pottery industry closely resembles that found in the neighboring island of Nevis. The origin of these two rural industries is apparently obscure, but if they were derived from Africa their perpetuation through the days of slavery poses an interesting problem which can be contrasted with the small cottage pottery industry in Barbados whose historical roots lie in that island's plantation-slave economy, but whose wheel and kiln technology apparently derive, with some modifications, from England (Handler, 'A Historical Sketch of Pottery Manufacture in Barbados,' J. Barbados Mus. and Hist. Soc., Vol. XXX, No. 3, 1963).

Notes

1 There is a privately owned pottery works elsewhere on the island. This employs modern production techniques and local and imported clay for the manufacture of moulded decorative items and modelled figurines. These are sold in local shops and are oriented towards the tourist trade and exported to other West Indian islands, Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom.

2 The Nevis industry was described to me by Mr. Richard Frucht in a personal communication. Also W. Grigsby ('The Potters of Nevis,' Craft Horizons, March–April, Vol. XXII, No. 2, 1962) has published some clear and illuminating photographs of the Nevisian industry. These show pot-coat-making and firing techniques and with these photos the similarities between Nevis and Antigua potters are even more apparent.

The Le Moustier Mandible: An Explanation for the Deformation of the Bone and Failure of Eruption of a Permanent Canine Tooth. By Alexander B. MacGregor, M.A., M.D.Cantab, F.D.S.R.C.S.(Eng.), Professor of Dental Surgery and Director of Dental Studies, University of Birmingham. With four figures

In 1909 Hauser described the skeletal remains found by him in a cave near Le Moustier in the Dordogne on 10 August, 1908. These remains are now referred to as 'Homo neanderthalensis (H. mousteriensis, Hauser et Klaatsch).' Unfortunately, during the last war in 1944 the collection housed in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin was destroyed by a bomb, but plaster casts of some of the original bones are still extant.

While sorting through some specimens of mandibles of types of ancient man most kindly provided by Dr. Eric Ashton, Reader in Comparative Anatomy in the University of Birmingham, I could not help but be struck by the very curious shape of the Le Moustier mandible. On turning to Hauser's original publication, I found that his remarks on the mandible (in translation from the original journal) were as follows:

"The Le Moustier mandible is remarkable for its extraordinary asymmetry, which is partly the result of pressure differences in the different soil layers and represents only part of the whole cranial skeleton. Apart from this, there are certain inequalities which occurred during life. The left canine has not erupted; it is fully developed in the jaw deep to a small and markedly worn milk canine. The remarkable differences in the rami, of which the left is higher than the right, and of the condyles is possibly due to an intra vitam disturbance."

From this description it is not quite clear whether he has assumed that the distortion of the mandible was mainly due to earth pressure or if he felt that this could not account entirely for the deformity. (Keith 1925), describing the skeleton later, stated: 'The skeleton was that of a lad of perhaps 16 years of age; his canine teeth and third molars were not fully erupted; the growth lines of the long bones were unclosed; there could be no question: he had been deliberately buried.'

These remarks of Keith were somewhat inaccurate as the right lower canine tooth is fully erupted but the left lower canine tooth is not, though part of the crown is visible on the buccal side of the mandible approximately half-way down. The left lower deciduous canine is still present, though at a lower level than the other teeth (fig. 1). From the state of eruption of the teeth, though this cannot be gauged with accuracy owing to the impossibility now of getting radiographs of the roots of the teeth, I would assess the age of the individual at approximately 18, though when comparing the state of eruption to African mouths, where the third molars appear to erupt rather earlier than in the European, the age might be a few years less.

The really striking point about this mandible, however, is the deformation of the mandible in the area of the lower left canine tooth and the raised level of the premolar and molar teeth on the left side compared to those on the right. This most strongly suggests that the individual sustained a fracture of the jaw in this area during life before the age of approximately 12 years (fig. 2). This fracture later healed in a bad position, with the left side on a higher plane than the right and would also account for the subsequent failure of eruption of the lower left canine and the failure of absorption and extrusion of the lower left temporary canine. It is also quite clear on looking at the inside of the mandible on the left side that there...
is a stepped ridge where the posterior fragment meets the anterior, typical of a malpositioned fracture in this area (Fig. 3). There is, however, still further evidence of a fracture having occurred and for the fact that it must have occurred at least a year or so before the individual died. The left condyle is distorted and blunted and the left coronoid process is elongated compared to the right with a deeper sigmoid notch (Fig. 4). There is also some eversion of the ascending ramus on the left side. This appearance is quite typical of that found with a malpositioned fracture of the body of the mandible since the condyle has to adjust itself to a new position and range of movement. The different direction of force applied by the temporo- ralis muscle in addition always causes an alteration in shape of the coronoid process. Fig. 4 shows for comparison in a modern mandible the much altered shape of the coronoid process and condyle on the right-hand side where a fracture had occurred, compared to the left, which is normal.

It is a great pity that the original specimen is not available, as radiographic examination would put the matter beyond all doubt, but even on the evidence of what is assumed to be a reasonably accurate plaster cast, it can be stated, with virtual certainty, that this must be one of the earliest examples known of a fracture having occurred during the lifetime of the individual, this fracture having healed in a relatively poor position at least some years before the individual’s death at a comparatively youthful age.

References


New Evidence Concerning Early Man in North America. By Dr. Alan Lyle Bryan, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada

Two widely separated sites in the Southwestern United States have been generally recognized as yielding the best evidence for man in America prior to the conventional Paleo-Indian complexes containing distinctive projectile points such as Clovis and Folsom. Further work at the Tule Springs site in southern Nevada has cast serious doubts upon previous claims for extreme antiquity, but further evidence from the Lewisville site, near Dallas, Texas, reconfirms the belief held by some experts that this site contains the best documented evidence for really early man in America.

The Nevada State Museum undertook extensive excavations under the direction of Dr. Richard Shutler, Jr., at the Tule Springs site, work which necessitates revision of the previous report (Tule Springs, Nevada, with other Evidences of Pleistocene Man in North America, by M. R. Harrington and Ruth D. Simpson) and of my review of the monograph in MAN (1965, 31). Whereas the amount of previous work had been severely limited by the lack of funds, the report stimulated sufficient interest in the problem of early American man to allow of four months of intensive work with the help of funds made available from private sources and the National Science Foundation. The previously worked areas were explored and numerous new ones excavated with the aid of a team of experts, including palynologists and a sedimentologist. The new excavations demonstrated that five periods of deposition separated by erosional intervals had occurred at the site, largely because of climatic changes which controlled the flow of now dry springs. Radiocarbon samples from the deposits dated an old spring channel at more than 40,000 years old, a playa lake between about 30,000 and 15,000 years old and a more recent spring-fed channel which was formed and filled about 10,500 to 13,000 years ago. Pollen-analysis revealed a picture of gradual desiccation of the area during the Late Wisconsin after an earlier climax of pine parkland. Definite evidence for the presence
of man, in the form of artifacts, charcoal, ash and burned bone, occurred no earlier than 13,000 years ago. Laboratory analysis demonstrated that the carbonaceous materials which had yielded two previous dates greater than 30,000 years may not be entirely charred.

The importance of the thorough reexamination of the Tule Springs site must not be underestimated simply because conclusive evidence was not found for really early man. A significant paleoclimatological and geochronological sequence has been established which will be of invaluable assistance to the archaeologists who continue the search for early man in southern Nevada. Other promising sites will be discovered which will demand equally exacting excavation techniques and the rigorous analysis of data pertaining to several complementary disciplines.

The complete report on the Lewisville site (Crook and Harris, 1957) details the most promising geological evidence for considerable antiquity of associated cultural remains yet found in America. As Alex Krieger (1964, p. 45) has recently pointed out, the geology and paleontology of the site are in full accord with the series of minimal radiocarbon dates of greater than 37,000 years. The site was discovered by a paleontologist when more than 20 feet of overburden was removed for materials used in construction of an earth dam, which has now flooded the area. A number of hearths of varying size were excavated; and a quartzite pebble chopper, a quartzite hammerstone, a flake scraper and a few flakes were found in the area of the hearths. The culture-bearing deposits, which form part of the Upper Shuler member of the T2 terrace of the Trinity River, were yellow sandy clays, overlying laminated yellow sand (the Lower Shuler member) and capped by grey alluvium (the Richards member). Field evidence indicates that the yellow sandy clays were deposited gradually by periodic flooding of the river; the hearths occur at several levels which were clearly land surfaces at the time of occupation. The sandy clay contains much caliche: at Lewisville artifacts and bones are encrusted with it. Fossil bones found in the deposit were localized within the area of the hearths; many were split and charred, as were numerous hackberry seeds, mussel shells and small stone tools. Among the extinct forms Glyptodon sp., Elephas columbi, Platymus sp. (a suid), Camelops sp., Bison sp. (giant bison, probably B. alleni), Equus (cf. E. caballus) and Terrapene enactilinata and Geochelone sp. (extinct Testudinata), indicates that at the time of occupation there was a climate with warmer winters than now, presumably during a long interval between glacial advances (Slaughter et al., 1962), as freezing temperatures would have killed the glyptodonts and the testudinates (Krieger, 1962, p. 141).

Radiocarbon dates of more than 37,000 years ago (0-235, 0-248) were obtained from charcoal samples collected and examined by the paleobotanist Professor Eso S. Barghoorn of Harvard University from two separate hearths. The material from Hearth 1 was composed of charred fibrous vegetal material, probably grasses or sedges, while the contents of Hearth 8 were wood charcoal so decomposed that it was not possible to identify the cellular structure, although cedar is guessed (Slaughter et al., 1962, p. 52). Another date from another laboratory of more than 38,000 years ago (UCLA-110) was obtained on charcoal from Hearth 8. Recently another cross check on Hearth 8 charcoal has been obtained by Dr. Hans Müller-Beck of the Bern Museum (personal communication, 1964, W. W. Cushing Jr.). It was in excellent condition and was obtained from this laboratory, but another minimum date of greater than 40,000 years ago was obtained. On the basis of these minimum radiocarbon dates, the faunal assemblage, and a study of the Trinity River terrace sequence, the Upper Shuler member, as well as the other members of the T2 terrace, has been assigned to the Sangamon Interglacial or at the latest the first interstadial of the Wisconsin glacial age (Slaughter et al., 1962, p. 9).

The Lewisville site has caused considerable controversy because a Clovis fluted point was found in one of the dated hearths. Krieger (1962, p. 141) is convinced that a bystander at the excavations 'planted' the point. The evidence for man's presence, in the form of other artifacts, the definite hearths and the cracked and charred bones, mussel shells, snail shells and hackberry seeds localized within the area of the hearths, in this ancient geological deposit is unequivocal.

Evidence of man's presence at the time of deposition of the Upper Shuler member of the T2 terrace has also been found in a borrow pit on Hickory Creek, 10 miles upstream from Lewisville (Slaughter et al., 1962, p. 52). A large collection of faunal material, including split and burnt fragments of bone, teeth and mussel shell, was found on an one restricted area of the borrow pit; and two flint flakes were reported to be in association. The excavators noted that a skull with tusks of Elephas columbi was lying upside down although the remainder of the skeleton was lying on its side. No definite hearths were found at this site. The reporters comment that more evidence of man in the Upper Shuler member might come to light if more extensive areas of this deeply buried deposit were exposed.

References

Reorganization of Anthropology at Oxford. By Dr. Rodney Needham, lately Diploma Secretary for Anthropology, University of Oxford.

It may be of general interest to report certain changes which have recently been effected in the teaching of anthropology at Oxford.

Anthropology, in the broadest sense, has been taught at Oxford since 1883, and the Diploma in Anthropology was inaugurated in 1905. There has been a general tendency towards specialization and more technical instruction; the Department of Social Anthropology was established in 1914, and since 1940 candidates for the Diploma have been required to specialize in physical anthropology, or ethnology and prehistory, or social anthropology. With the advance of knowledge the intellectual demands of each diploma subject have intensified, and the proportion of candidates specializing in social anthropology has in addition risen at an increasing rate. The numbers of diplomas and certificates awarded in the period 1940-64 are distributed as follows among the diploma subjects: physical anthropology, 7; ethnology and prehistory, 15; social anthropology, 170.

A further step towards professional concentration has now been taken, therefore, and enacted by statute, so that each of the four departments which have so far taught different branches of anthropology for a single Diploma in Anthropology shall henceforth examine in its own subject and offer a separate diploma. The four diplomas (and the departments concerned with their respective subjects) will be: Diploma in Human Biology (Anthropology Laboratory, Department of Human Anatomy); Diploma in Ethnology (Department of Ethnology and Prehistory, Pitt Rivers Museum); Diploma in Prehistoric Archaeology (Institute of Archaeology and Department of Ethnology and Prehistory); and Diploma in Social Anthropology (Institute of Social Anthropology). The Certificates in Cultural (Social) Anthropology have been abolished.

This reorganization will not reduce the opportunities for a student to acquire some knowledge of anthropological subjects other than that of the diploma for which he is working. There will continue to be introductory lectures and other forms of instruction, probably indeed of an augmented nature, in the four subjects, and these will of course be open to any student. Moreover, one of the papers in each of the diploma examinations is to permit options so that a
In Praise of Famous Men. Cf. MAN, 1964, 69

Sr,—In Dr. E. R. Leach's cogent and generous review of my edition of Durkheim and Mauss's essay on primitive classification there is an expression which leads me to wonder desperately how I could have made clearer my admiration for them and for their work. He objects, namely, to a passage in the introduction in which I have to conclude that their argument is 'logically fallacious and . . . methodologically un sound. There are grave reasons indeed to deny it any validity whatever' (p. xxix). Dr. Leach writes that such a comment from an editor is 'brutal'—a word which means: inhuman, coarsely cruel, savage (S.O.E.D.).

I am puzzled to see wherein I have sunk so low, and I hope that this is not what Dr. Leach really meant to say. Since, after all, he writes that I have 'no difficulty' in showing that these are the facts of the matter, I can only infer that it is not the criticism that he disapproves so forcefully but the words in which it is couched. May I urge upon him, therefore, and upon those who have not read the book for themselves, that the words 'fallacious' and 'unsound' are perfectly neutral technical terms, relating solely to logic and method, and that they imply no contumely on the part of the editor towards his deceased subjects? As in a certain other case, difficulty seems to have arisen from a neglect to consider what exactly the words mean, and then to determine calmly whether or not they are appropriate to the matter at issue. For my part, if I had pusillanimously tried to shield the clarity and precision, I could of course have resorted to a name-by-name, mealy-mouthed, evasive, euphemistic or merely circumlocutory assessment of the argument, but I should not have expected to be prompted to such a contemptible course by Dr. Leach.

He reminds me, in 'excommunication' of Durkheim and Mauss, that 'similar naive ideas about a social cause and effect are deeply rooted in all nineteenth-century positive thought'; but perhaps I may recall to his attention that at one place I conjecture the effect of nineteenth-century physics in contributing to the causal mode of French sociological thought (p. xxiv), and that in another I myself defend the authors specifically on the ground that scholars of the day 'were powerfully constrained by the prevailing style of thought to analyse human affairs causally and historically, and it would be unreasonable to expect Durkheim and Mauss . . . to have departed widely from such aims' (p. xxxiii). The whole of section III of the Introduction, which is in fact based expressly on the premise that 'the intellectual value of an argument does not depend solely on its validity' (p. xxiv), is moreover a sustained encomium on the importance of their essay, and the edition was intended to be not only a scholarly service but also a tribute. I should have thought that all this was obvious, and I am perplexed and concerned, therefore, to have been thought bestial in the execution of what was meant, with grateful respect, as a recognition of lasting indebtedness to our illustrious (if fallible) predecessors.

RODNEY NEEDHAM

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CORRESPONDENCE

Vedda and Sinhalese Kinship. Cf. MAN, 1964, 139

Sr,—The exact purpose of Professor Pieris's recent spolitical assault upon the combined heresies of Dr. Yalman, Dr. Tambiah and myself is not clear to me. An uninformed reader of his letter would suppose that the three authors whom he attacks have been maintaining that the kinship organization of the peoples of Ceylon is deducible from a study of the structure of Ceylonese kinship terminologies, whereas the fact is that, since the days of Rivers, the only professional writer to adopt anything even approaching this position is Professor Pieris himself (See Part VI, Ch. 2, of his Sinhalese Social Organization, 1956.).

By any mode of anthropological reckoning, the kin-term systems of the Tamils, the Sinhalese and the Veddas all have the same structure, which is that of the classical Dravidian type ('Turanian' in Morgan's terminology). This statement does not imply that all Sinhalese use the same kin terms nor does it imply that a study of kin-term usage is of paramount significance for an understanding of kinship behaviour in general. The use of kinship terminology is just one aspect of such behaviour. The three authors in question have drawn particular attention to the wide variety of terms which are in use and to the contextual factors which are associated with the choice of one word rather than another. Professor Pieris's letter contains no detail of ethnographic fact of which I was not aware and I am under the impression that, with one exception, all these details have previously been reported in print by one or other of the three authors whom Professor Pieris attacks. The exception is the fact that the word 'puta' ('son') can carry the connotation 'child,' and hence include 'daughters.'

It still seems to me quite certain that the Seligmans were in error when they recorded that the Vedda used the same term for 'father' and for 'grandfather' and the same term for 'mother' and for 'grandmother,' and I am also quite certain that, in the Seligman system of orthography, the Vedda term for 'father' would be spelled 'appu' and that for 'mother' 'appa.' Whether the terms in question correspond to the English distinction between 'father' and 'grandfather' or that between 'dad' and 'grandad' or any other possible combination of opposites is quite irrelevant. In these systems the 'father' and the 'grandfather' are in radically different statuses. If Professor Pieris believes that the Vedda place these two relatives in the same terminological category he must clearly demonstrate that this is the case, for it is intrinsically improbable and there is no evidence, apart from the isolated Seligman reference, to suggest that it is in the least likely.

May I add two final points? (i) This issue has no bearing upon the argument which I have put forward in my contribution to the Seligman Festschrift. That article was concerned only to show that the Vedda social category which the Seligmans interpreted as meaning 'matrilateral clan' does not correspond to what anthropologists ordinarily understand by 'matrilateral clan.' (ii) Dr. Yalman's account of an isolated Kandyan community was based, as Professor Pieris knows, on 15 months of very intimate study. Dr. Yalman was not dependent upon an 'interpreter,' low-country
Proverb Research. Cf. MAN, 1964, 1

190 Str.—Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard's comment that anthropological treatment of proverbs has been unsatisfactory appears far more applicable to Oxbridge social anthropologists than to anthropologists trained in the U.S.A. where articles on the cultural functions of proverbs frequently appear in the Journal of American Folklore and where remarks similar to his 'few general observations' have for at least a generation been included in elementary courses. Possibly this new interest in an old subject reflects a coming merger of 'social anthropology' with 'ethnology'—to form, mayhap, 'social ethnology'? Professor Evans-Pritchard's additional remarks on the need for a general study of the African proverb are quite apposite, but as regards a comprehensive study for a specific African people, I think that the late Professor George Herzog's Jabo Proverbs from Liberia (London, 1936) should receive mention.

DONALD C. SIMMONS

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Kola Hospitality. Cf. MAN, 1964, 53

191 Str.—In his very interesting article on 'Kola Hospitality' and Igbo Lineage Structure,' Victor C. Uchendu does not comment on a point which is puzzling, to me at least. Why in Table I do lineages 3, 4 and 5 present kola to lineage 2 before the senior lineage 1? This is most curious with respect to lineage 5 which is allied to lineages 1 and 2, as both lineage 1 and 2 present kola to each other before lineage 5. Discussion of this interesting question would add to this excellent and well-documented article.

WILLIAM BASCOM

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Corrections: MAN, 1910, 67 (Nisibidi Writing)

192 Str.—In May, 1928, MAN of August, 1910, was sent to me by the Nigerian Government for comments on Mr. Dayrell's article on Nisibidi or a local sign writing. I now copy from my reply, 'Itok Ekpe, 3 June, 1928, M.P., 707/2. In 1919 I came across Nisibidi signs on the eastern side of the Ikot Ekpene. This sign writing originated, so far as can be ascertained, among the Aros (on the Cross River) who call it Nsigidzi and state that this was the name of a club that organized the writing and perpetrated it.

'Mr. Dayrell's No. 6. Ekpat, "stick," should be Ekpat. This is the name given to the long log of wood found in many towns squares, etc., on which the young braves sit in the evening and gossip. The sign TTITIT is descriptive.

'No. 12. Mbualeke should be Mhume Ekpe which is the name given to the herald who goes in advance, boasting and bragging of Ekpe (from bure, to boast). He carries a double-mouthe wooden gong which is called Ekpat and the sign # represents this gong.

'No. 13. Ekara Nkando is a large circular ring or annulus about four feet in diameter made of cane and wrapped round with a native cloth, called an Ukara cloth. This cloth, made by the lboos, was a white one spotted with blue and was the uniform of the Ekpo society. The man who carries this ring continually passes his body through it like any clown at a circus.

'No. 18. Nkanya Ibuo is the name given to the palm leaf shelters erected on canoes; it is also the same name given to the roof shelter under which a fattened bride sits when making her dibit. Nkanya is the local name for the Pandanus candelabrum. The Nisibidi sign for No. 18 bears no resemblance to the native words. The sign is a clear pictograph of the large umbrella-shaped hat made of pandanus leaves and used by market women to keep the rain off. The name for this type of hat is ijam nkanya.

'No. 29. Anan Inan refers to a large square bowl holding half a demijohn of fluid.'

M. D. W. JEFFREYS
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Hon. Editor's Note

Much further information about nisibidi writing, especially among the Ekois, may be found in P. A. Talbot, In the Shadow of the Bush, London, 1912. A number of objects bearing these signs are in the collection of the British Museum.—En.

REVIEWS


Evans-Pritchard is always stimulating reading. In 1961, he published a lecture advocating social anthropology for historians; in the present piece he commends ethnology to social anthropologists. After a masterly survey of large-scale comparative studies from McLennan (1865) to Murdock (1949), he concludes that 'very little has emerged which is both reliable and significant' out of 'almost a hundred years of endeavour to formulate general laws in social anthropology by comparison of institutions on a world-wide scale and more particularly by using statistics.' He leans towards the view that 'intensive comparative investigations on a limited scale' would be more profitable, but even here his conclusion is pessimistic, that not much has come out of this ("unexceptionable") method beyond a rather elementary classification of types. So he turns to the method that he himself has pursued with such distinction, the intensive study of a single society, which he sees as a means of testing sociological propositions, of solving small-scale problems firmly grounded in ethnographic fact.

But even this seemingly innocuous use of comparison turns out to be not entirely to the author's liking. And the reason we are not allowed this crumb of comfort is because the author feels that social facts may be so totally different from those studied by the natural sciences that neither the comparative method nor any other is likely to lead to 'the formulation of generalizations comparable to the laws of those sciences.' For as social scientists we have to deal with 'values, sentiments, purpose, will, reason, choice, as well as with historical circumstances'; we have to make a jump 'from the realm of natural law to the realm of positive law.'

Here we are on familiar ground, where the battle has flowed between rival schools of philosophy; indeed, accept this argument and you must agree (with Winch and others) that philosophers are the true sociologists. But other not unimportant thinkers, such as Durkheim and Nagel, have taken a different, less self-defeating line, the line implicitly adopted by economists, psychologists and others who welcome the challenge to bring choice and values within the framework of their studies. And indeed whatever theoretical position they may adopt in formal addresses, in their work anthropologists are bound to take a similar stand.

Part of the difficulty has to do with the rather abrupt separation of the world into two cultures, the one dealing in 'general laws,' the other with individuals. But like 'structure,' 'function,' 'principle,' and the rest of the gamut, 'general law' has a distinctly old-fashioned ring about it. There are better ways of dealing with the search for knowledge about the universe (whether human or non-human) that avoid the creation of a Great Divide, which so often turns out to be a defensive ditch to keep the enemy at bay.
We need read no further. The Sinhalese and the Kachins, to take two examples, both have a prescriptive marriage system in the sense employed by Dr. Needham. The prescriptive marriage is not merely ‘ideal type’ but actual. Neither society conforms to either of Dr. White’s Axioms 1 and 2. Dr. Needham and Dr. White are not talking about the same thing and Dr. White’s book is wholly irrelevant to the Schneider-Needham debate.

1. The entire population of the society is divided into mutually exclusive groups, which we call clans. The identification of a person with a clan is permanent. Hereafter n denotes the number of clans.

2. There is a permanent rule fixing the single clan among whose women the men of a given clan must marry their wives.


A characteristic passage from this book reads as follows:

‘29. Patrilateral Marriage Systems:
Assume WC = CW’ and equivalently CW = W’C, but WC ≠ CW and thus W' ≠ 1. It follows that . . .

The fact that the author is a mathematician turned sociologist and not an anthropologist dabbling in mathematics suggests that he should be taken seriously. Can his sophisticated apparatus tell us anything that we did not know before? There is nothing new about the assumption that the categories of kinship language are amenable to algebraic transformations. Galton played with this idea as long ago as 1889 and many much more sophisticated versions of the argument have been perpetrated since then. This however is the first time, so far as I am aware, that social anthropologists have been faced with passages in matrix algebra.

It is not hard to see, explicitly addressed to anthropologists (Preface), 99.9 per cent, of whom could not read it even if they wanted to. As the odd 0.1 per cent, who has to review the beastly thing it seems worth enquiring why it should have found its way into print. One possible answer to this is that Dr. White’s anthropological readings has been guided by Professor David Schneider who in his spare time sustains a guerrilla warfare campaign against Dr. Rodney Needham over the issue of whether prescriptive and preferential marriage systems can usefully be distinguished. In the last paragraph of the main text of this book (p. 148) Dr. White produces the ex cathedra pronouncement that ‘it should be evident that unambiguous prescriptive marriage is a limiting case, an ideal type. One should not ask whether a tribe has a prescriptive as opposed to a preferential marriage system, but rather to what extent the tribe conforms to one or to some mixture of ideal types of prescribed marriage systems, either as an isolated unit or as part of an interacting network of tribes.’ This simple statement suggests immediately that Dr. White does not mean by ‘prescriptive marriage’ what Dr. Needham means and this inference is confirmed when we find that Dr. White’s prescriptive marriage means ‘marriage in a kinship system which satisfies the eight axioms of Chapter 2’ (p. 145). The ‘eight axioms’ will be found at p. 34. The first two axioms read:

1. The entire population of the society is divided into mutually exclusive groups, which we call clans. The identification of a person with a clan is permanent. Hereafter n denotes the number of clans.

2. There is a permanent rule fixing the single clan among whose women the men of a given clan must marry their wives.

Notes
2. A. Goldenweiser, Early Civilization (1921), p. 112.

This is a serious and scholarly attempt to develop conceptual and technical tools for the analysis of human values ('configurations,' 'unconscious canons of choice,' unconscious systems of meaning'). As such this study follows in a long tradition of work on the ways in which ideas and ideals direct behaviour. While the sociologists and social psychologists have focused on the study of norms as they characterize particular groups and roles, some cultural anthropologists have looked for broader conceptual themes which could help to explain both the striking unities within cultures and the divergences between them. Benedict's analysis of Zuñi culture as Apol- lonian and of the Kwakiutl as Dionysian was an early effort of this kind. Some later writers have stressed the mechanisms by which systems of meaning come to be recreated in each new generation; national character studies follow in this tradition. Alternatively, others have emphasized the conceptual as opposed to developmental dynamics of value orientations, as in Clyde Kluckhohn's paper on 'Values and Value Orientations in the Theory of Action.' It is in the latter tradition that the present theory of variations in value orientation is cast. This is the work of Florence Kluckhohn, and it serves as the basis of the research instrument and the source of hypotheses tested in the study of values in five cultures which is reported in this volume.

Five 'basic values,' time, activity, man-nature, man-man and human-nature, are designated by F. Kluckhohn's theory as both universal among human cultures and central to the ordering of social life. She postulates for each of these a limited number of alternative positions ranked in order of preference. Thus for the basic value of time, there are possible orientations of 'past,' 'present' and 'future'; and in every culture there will be a discernible order of preference for these three alternatives. The cultural and social differences between peoples which have for so long fascinated students of human society are in part expressions of the fact that the way in which value-orientation alternatives are ranked differs from one society to another.

The variations in value orientations referred to in the title are not only postulated to occur between cultures. The major types of human activity are grouped into four areas—economic-occupational, religious, aesthetic-intellectual and recreational. For individuals within a culture the ranking of alternatives to each of the basic values is likely to vary between these four behaviour spheres. Further, every society contains sub-divisions, whether ethnic enclaves, caste or class divisions, or age/sex categories and the ranking of alternatives on the basic values is also held to vary for the members of such sub-groups within a culture. Another dimension of variation which cuts across these social changes is the possibility that what F. Kluckhohn calls agreement on ranking 'doing' over 'being' in the activity orientation, may be no more than consensus as to what kind of a work situation is most congenial. It is true that there were between five and seven items for each of the four basic values, covering the four behaviour spheres. But here is one instance among several where the very elaboration of the theory defeats its own purpose. For variations are postulated as occurring on a given basic value in different behaviour spheres within the same culture. Thus if some of the items are answered by most subjects in a 'doing'—'being' order, while others are ranked in the opposite fashion, this only confirms the postulated variations in value orientations between behaviour spheres. And in so doing it renders impossible any check on the validity of the conceptual categories themselves.

An even more serious instance of the difficulty in experimentally validating a theory of variations in value orientation occurs in testing the major hypothesis of the entire study. This is the apparently straightforward proposition that all cultures will have significant preferences for ranking alternatives to each of the four values tested. The theory holds that the rare case where no significant pattern of rankings is apparent will be due to an unusually rapid and widespread change. The hypothesis is that value orientations are likely to be expected for a culture in a state of flux. Of the five cultures in which the questionnaire was used, four showed the expected regularities of ranking in an appreciable number of cases. In the fifth, the Zuñi, some subjects gave one order of preference, while others gave another; and this scatter occurs throughout the data except on the one basic value of activity. Yet the comment of Roberts, the expert on this society, is that this is an excellent instance of 'controlled variation.' The Zuñi, he says, are not in a state of flux. On the contrary they are tightly integrated and have maintained their cultural identity to an unusual degree. There are a number of cutting ties which bind the society together, and he suggests that individuals who occupy different positions in this web simply have different value-orientation profiles. This suggestion is directly in keeping with the expected pattern of variations within a culture as this is elaborated in F. Kluckhohn's theoretical writings. It and does in fact sound reasonable for the Zuñi as they are described. But if the problem is empirical validation of the hypothesis of universal ranking of value-orientation alternatives, except under conditions of rapid social change, it is not at all satisfactory. The authors do not appear concerned by this apparent contradiction. No mention is made of it as seriously challenging the validity of the hypothesis in question. Instead they point out the usefulness of the notion of controlled variation. It is difficult to say what would

The comparative study of religions is beset with peculiar difficulties. It is essential to be accurate, desirable to be impartial and if one expects the work to be read by members of the religions in question it is useful to avoid giving offence. Unfortunately the symposium under review fails in places on all these counts, particularly in the contributions from the editor. Debatable or incorrect are statements that 'Mahomet chose for himself the names of Muhammad and Ahmad in the place of that by which he had been designated by his family' (p. 99 note), that Hinayana Buddhism 'seeks salvation in another life' (p. 205), and that Mahayana Buddhism is not 'orthodox' (p. 206). To speak of the 'pride' of Islam is hardly inoffensive (p. 12). But the most violent attacks are reserved for Christianity: 'the 4th Gospel affirms the efficacy of ritual cannibalism' (p. 13). This is in the introduction, and the editor is so obsessed with it that he returns inapropos to it in his own chapter on African religions. The universal Christian attitude towards the supernatural world is said to be 'steeped in masochism' (p. 128). Mystics are said to be stragglers to Christianity, despite their great numbers, and 'penetrate into the zone of shamanism' (p. 129). 'Ritual cannibalism' is repeated, and reinforced by saying that 'God is digested by the stomach, he is never fixed in the head and the heart' (p. 166). This is offensive nonsense. No informed Christian could think this. M. de Heusch seems to have no knowledge of other Christians than Roman Catholic and appears to take his opinions from the assumed views of the most vulgar. It is a relief to turn from here to comparatively detached and interesting chapters on classical Greece and Rome, and a pleasant chapter on the American Indians. The theme throughout is that of salvation, and it is sometimes forced. The editor's chapter adds nothing to what authorities have written on this subject in Africa. The best chapter of all is an appreciative and informed study of the Hindu concept of deliverance. If all the contributions were on this level we could give the book a better recommendation.

E. G. PARRINDER


The foreword to this book notes the dichotomy between philosophy and science. A philosophic note is sustained throughout the first four chapters by quotations from Kierkegaard, Aldous Huxley and the Bhagavad-Gita. 'There are things which are said only for disciples,' wrote Gardjief, a philosopher not quoted, in introduction to his own difficult book, and an uninitiated reader may well consider Mr. Bick's book to be a difficult one from which only prolonged meditation by a disciple could extract a meaning. For example, from p. 103: 'Although—or perhaps because—the results' (not specified) 'are in themselves limited, they are within their limits conclusive.'

Given this title it would be unimaginative to expect a book dealing with both archeology and the microscope. There is certainly no dearth of archeological material: the author has professional experience at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory of the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works and he quotes some 295 archeological references in the bibliography. The text, however, has a way of leading the disciple on to expect an illumination that never comes.

The microscope has not provided much illumination because only about 15 per cent. of the illustrations come from this source. Indeed, the author actually states: 'this book is not about microscopic techniques applied to archeology, nor is archeology as such under the microscope.' Instead, it is said to be 'about the changing boundaries of imagination.'

There are eight chapters. The first, entitled 'What it is all about—Background,' is truly about the ground: about digging and bulldozing and aerial photography and parcelling up pottery—'But sometimes even common-sense is not enough and one must consult the Printing, Packaging and Allied Trades Research Association.'

The last and longest chapter, entitled 'Scientific Research for Archeology—Consolidation,' is the most substantial, deriving largely from a conference held in 1954. Here are noted some techniques that can be applied during various stages of an excavation and others suited to later examination of artifacts. The chapter also contains a tabular 'Comparative analysis of scientific investigations' set across eight pages. Like all the other original tables and diagrams this is barely intelligible even upon prolonged meditation. In this chapter also imagination unbounded supplies a dream of the excavation of the future. It would be directed by an archeological supervisor aided on the site by a scientific director with his scientific staff of twelve.

Chapter eight also contains a table of standard methods in use at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory ('bulk of treatment and treatment in bulk') that contains no cautions against improper use and presents some methods that can leave an object in an unstable condition. In this same connexion it is devoutly to be hoped that Mr. Bick will never solve the single problem noted on p. 202 which alone prevents him from treating a whole basketful of corroded bronzes in bulk, untouched by hand. Automatic treatment would inevitably lead to the loss of important information and to disfigured antiquities, a possibility that he himself recognizes on p. 73.

The imagination of the publishers has clearly been bounded by their usual standards of clear production: the appearance of the book belies its content.

R. M. ORGAN

AFRICA


This is an ethnographical account of the Zulu of the Nyuswa and Qadi tribes who live in the Valley of the Thousand Hills, near Durban. As such, it contains interesting information on the life of rural Africans who have been affected by varying degrees by the advent of Western culture, but who are compelled by law and circumstances to live a confused existence between the extremes of the traditional peasant and modern industrial economics.

The author, however, sees the changes in terms of ideologies rather than economics, and on p. 27 advances the thesis, reminiscent of Weber, that Christianity and education have been more effective than economics in causing change. The fact that the author writes 'from the inside,' as the cover blurb claims, does not necessarily support his thesis, because there are several passages which suggest that he, as an educated Zulu Christian, is somewhat biased in his assessment of the situation. For instance, on p. 103, he writes: 'The Separatist Churches have never given social prestige to people. They are regarded as catering to the uneducated people and as being led by illiterate men.' As far as one can judge from the occasional figures given (e.g. on p. 130), this is a view that must be held by only a minority of the population, probably much less than one-third.

Whatever his personal convictions may be, the author does not
advance evidence to support his thesis, and on a number of occasions he even contradicts it. For instance, on p. 98 he writes that 'For the Zulu, as indeed for most Africans, Christianity and Western secular culture were synonymous'; and on p. 100, that for the Protestant groups 'education and Christianity ... meant westernization.' Moreover Christian ideology hardly emerges as a significant factor of change in the observation that 'many of [the teachers], professing Christianity, still believe in ancestor worship' (p. 133); and it is clear that other 'ideological' changes have not been very far-reaching. For instance, in considering the new status of women, the author notes on p. 34 that 'she is regarded, among Christians, as an equal and treated with respect ... Among Christians, there has come in the gallant attitude of "ladies first" in most things'; but on the following page he says, 'many Christian men even father one or two children outside matrimony ... marital unfaithfulness is very high among Christian men.'

The thesis might have been better supported and a clearer picture of the reality of the situation emerged, if the theoretical issues and the ethnographical material had been more vigorously handled. The theoretical references, especially on culture change, are rather thin, and are dated for a book written in 1961. The author appears to hold that societies go through alternating periods of equilibrium and change, instead of changing constantly, and he does not present adequate quantitative evidence of the degrees and rates of change in the different sections of the population. He uses the method of apt illustration which, though sometimes fascinating, can be frustratingly incomplete: a peak of irrelevance is reached on p. 40, when, after a statement of the norm, he writes, 'again X's daughter, Gladys, is a good example of this,' and both Mrs. X and Gladys are completely unknown to the reader. He also criticizes, rather unfairly, material that he has seen in an unpublished and unreviewed manuscript.

There are a number of repetitions and tautologies whose omission would have improved the book: on p. 146f. for instance, we are told twice that Zulu 'city girls are referred to as isifele,' and the final paragraph of the book contains the most unfortunate tautology, which sums up what has been said, but what was presumably not exactly intended, namely that Christianity and education have been more effective than economics in causing change amongst educated Christians!

It can be seen, therefore, that the Zulu society has not really been studied as a whole, and that the true significance of the changes has been overlooked. The author makes it clear (p. 110) that the Nyuwsu are much more Christianized than the Qadi, but although he gives two maps (one geological), he does not test for possible relationships between culture change, the availability of natural resources, communications, and proximity to the industrial area of Pinetown.

Even if Christianity and education have been more effective than economic factors, is their 'power' not tempered by sociological considerations? Why should some people have espoused Christianity and others rejected it? What is the background of the Christian families, especially of the early converts? It is said that Christianity took root amongst the Qadi more easily because two of their chiefs became Christians (p. 13), and because a Methodist evangelist received special encouragement (p. 14). But the Qadi had broken away as a junior branch of the same clan as the Nyuwsu; they had been persecuted by Dingane in the eighteen-thirties, and were subsequently received back by the Nyuwsu, who, however, refused to incorporate them (p. 9). The acceptance of Christianity might therefore have been seen as an excellent way of redressing the balance of power. Furthermore, it is surely not due to some special power of Christianity or education that most of the early Christians were women (p. 11); in a society in which women had little status in their husbands' lineages.

An opportunity for an exciting analysis of some excellent field material has been missed, and not enough exact data have been presented to allow someone else to work it out. It is to be hoped that the author may be able to produce a further study of socio-economic factors underlying change in the Nyuwsu reserve. In the meantime the present book is worth reading for the information it contains on Zulu rural life today, and especially on kinship and lineage organization.

JOHN BLACKING


For some reason, anthropological as distinct from historical knowledge of Zanzibar, and indeed the whole Swahili coastal region, is very scarce. There is no major work of modern research and scholarship on any aspect of social life. Therefore a warm welcome must be given to this modest little book, the aim of which, says the author, is 'to present an overall picture of various systems of land tenure, which are all variants of a traditional tenure based upon subsistence farming and which has been adapted to changes in a social and economic situation brought about by Arab colonization and clove-growing.' This report is based on a three-month visit to Zanzibar and Pemba, and therefore can be no more than a preliminary study; but as far as it goes it is a most useful, if tantalizing, book. In the main body of the work Dr. Middleton describes land tenure in both the Hadimu south and Tumbatu north, in the plantation region and in the areas marginal to that region; and for Pemba he describes similar categories.

Dr. Middleton assumes axiomatically and rightly that a study of land tenure cannot be made or written up on its own, but must be placed firmly in the social system within which it operates. Therefore we are given a brief analysis of the basic (Hadimu) kinship system, with its characteristic four-generational, bi-lateral group ( ukoo), which, because of a high degree of cousin marriage, tends to be exogamous. Elsewhere in Zanzibar Island, where the clove-plantation economy has long been influential, the kinship system (and the associated land tenure) has been markedly affected. It is to be hoped that, following Dr. Middleton's start, some social anthropologist will be able to make a more thorough study of this interesting indigenous system before it is changed out of all recognition everywhere.

P. H. GULLIVER


The Ambo people are Bantu-speaking subsistence cultivators who live in dispersed groups of matrilineal kinsfolk in the Central and Eastern Provinces of what the editor, in anticipation of forthcoming political events, calls Zambia. Dr. Stefaniszyn, who for many years worked as a missionary in the area, is the recognized authority on the Ambo and has written a number of minor papers on various aspects of their culture. This present work is a consideration of the social and ritual life of the people and is drawn from the more extensive manuscript that formed the dissertation for the author's doctorate at the University of the Witwatersrand.

After a brief inquiry into the country and on the history and demography of the Ambo, the author considers various aspects in turn of their social and ritual life: clanship and the matrilineage; the village; chieftainship; childhood and puberty; marriage; death; succession and inheritance; and finally religion and divination.

In view of Dr. Stefaniszyn's unique and considerable knowledge of Ambo culture this, his first major work, has been eagerly awaited. It contains a rich quantity of ethnographical data and forms a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the peoples of southwestern Africa. One could wish, however, that the author had pursued a little further his analysis of these data and had taken into more account the work of his colleagues in neighbouring areas, particularly that of Audrey Richards on Chiwongo initiation among the Bemba.

There are a number of small errors, notably in the spelling of botanical terms and also in the figures which sometimes do not agree with the text. The conclusion drawn from Table VII that 189 per cent, of all marriages end in divorce is also fallacious.

To conclude, this book contains much important and formerly unpublished material on the Ambo and as such will be of considerable value to those interested in the ethnography of southwestern Africa. It is a readable book, though there is a tendency to catalogue data in some places.

BARRIE REYNOLDS

This unusual book falls between so many stools that it would be uncharitable to judge it by the more conventional standards. Mr. Leslie, apparently a member of the Tanganika administration (though he nowhere explains his personal position or the circumstances under which he collected much of the data), was commissioned in 1956 to carry out a social survey of Dar es Salaam 'to obtain sufficient factual information and sufficient insight into its significance, to enable all those with an interest in improving the life of the town to see the best ways of doing so.' The government, obviously, had little idea about the contribution and utilization of social research, and Mr. Leslie displays a blithe disregard of the customary pattern of presentation. The statistical tables are not published with the book though some use is made of the material obtained. The survey is presented as one long narrative of 240 pages broken up into short sections in curious sequence, e.g., 'tribe, kinship, suburbs, the Swahili house, Quarters, corruption, hunger' interspersed with 'interludes' consisting of anecdotes about individuals and their everyday life.

In some ways, Dar es Salaam is more like a West African city than are other towns of East and Central Africa, and while the academic reader may be tempted to regard the survey as a wasted opportunity, Mr. Leslie's report was worth publishing for its value to the comparative study of African urbanization. It fills a gap in our information and raises questions about why some of the institutions reported from other cities are not present in Dar. Mr. Leslie's judgements of African behaviour tend to be rather Olympian and he pays no attention to the higher-income African sections of the population, but his description of life and sentiment among the unskilled sections show insight and sympathy. There are excellent passages on such topics as pawnshops, slums, housing, the appeal of Islam, etc., which are perhaps the prizes in the lucky dip. It is also a more readable volume than most social surveys.

MICHAEL BANTON


This is a study in social anthropology arising from a consideration of drumming and its social setting. The book is part of a research programme being undertaken by the Department of Sociology of the University of Ghana, and is itself only the first of three monographs which Professor Nketia intends to write on Akan drumming. The musical and poetic aspects of drumming are to follow: the present volume is restricted to a survey of its social implications, though the reader is first given a general description of the types of drum used and the basic musical characteristics of the drumming.

Professor Nketia surveys the whole field of Akan drumming with his eye fixed constantly on the place which it occupies in society, as a focus for its idea of kingship and of its religious, aesthetic and recreational attitudes.

Dealing with the various styles of performance and the composition of the various drum orchestras, he indicates how these and their associated customs differ with the particular social events in which drumming occurs. Of these, he considers in detail the five which have the greatest impact on social behaviour—are the State Functions, Warrior Associations, Religious Cults, Hunters' Associations—all of which are specific, and then the popular bands which are far less tied to ceremony and tradition.

There is frequent citation of texts associated with drum signals and drum rhythms, both the vernacular and an English translation being provided.

From the anthropologist's standpoint there is a particular value in a study such as this, for a musical African must inevitably know far more about what his own music means for society than can be perceived by the outside observer. Backed by a wealth of detail, the book certainly succeeds in emphasizing the very vital place occupied by drumming among the Akan both as an expression of that society's concepts and of its urges and its needs.

A. M. JONES


The Igbo people of the Niger Delta were primarily fisherfolk who exchanged fish and salt for yams with the hinterland Ibo. As a result of contact with European traders there developed a number of small 'city states' based upon the slave, and later palm-oil, trade. Mr. Jones has chronicled the changing social and political structure of some of these communities.

Traditional Igbo social groupings, based mainly on descent and age, gave way to the 'canoe house'—a group economically dependent on the canoe owner, including kin and slaves. Leadership in the canoe house was largely elective and was achieved by the most able man, whether freeborn or slave. New canoe houses segmented from the older ones as young men rose to wealth.

Kingship developed as the growing 'states' endeavoured to control their hinterland. Initially the kings seem to have been important traders whose power rested largely on their wealth. Conflicts arose over the constitutional position of the king vis-à-vis the heads of the non-royal canoe houses and over intersegmental rivalry in the royal houses.

In depicting the social, political and economic changes of a century and a half, Mr. Jones has produced a notable work, valuable to both the historian and the social anthropologist. P. C. LLOYD


This study of a well-known West Cameroon Chiefdom is based upon five months in the Bamenda Grasslands. There are two statements in the introduction which, taken together, raise important questions of principle: (1) 'Much of the information was obtained from one informant. I realize there is some danger in this but also there advantages in terms of speed and efficiency.' (2) 'We had neither time nor inclination to learn the language, and so worked entirely in English.'

A few years ago such statements would have been thought enough in themselves to preclude this work from serious review in an anthropological journal. Socio-ethnological method is not, however, in such an advanced state that the undoubted gap between the Ritzenthaler's work and the best anthropological fieldwork now matters as much as the gap between the best socio-ethnological method and the highest pretensions of its theory. The Ritzenthaler's subjective judgments are always clearly recognizable as such. To know that there was only one informant is at least a change from our more usual ignorance of how many there were and how distributed in time and space. We are told that the language was not learnt. We are released from wondering how well it was learnt, and how many elements of importance were missed by their falling into that blanket zone of 'rapid general conversation' with which even anthropologists are permitted at times to admit some difficulty. We may perhaps regret that the Ritzenthaler's lack an inclination to learn the language. Perhaps their criteria of what is meant by 'learning' a language were too strict for them to consider their own linguistic abilities as anything but amateurish in a highly professional field? In any event, we are enabled to give rest for a while to the assumption that all social anthropologists have a flair for non-European languages, which is not always equally evident for European languages (including in some cases their own).

For the specialist on Cameroon there are inaccuracies of fact and interpretation in this monograph. We would, however, be prepared to expect them, since by convention the period for ethnographic omniscience is rarely set at less than one year. No sophisticated analysis would be possible on this as on much other loosely organized fieldwork. Here none is attempted. The Ritzenthaler's study is a lively, well illustrated ethnographical gazetteer of
Bafut. It is popular anthropology, not scholarly, often naive, but is not without honour as a sympathetic introduction to the people of Bafut. Looked at from the new skyscrapers of neighbouring dis-
ciplines, the Ritzenthals' gay little thatched cottage and the sober old curiosity shop of serious social anthropology may indeed soon be indistinguishable.

EIDWIN ARDENER

AMERICA


Aritama is a pseudonym for a village of 1,400 people located in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta at the most northerly corner of Colombia. It engaged the interest of the Reichel-Dolmatoffs because they had already done archeological and ethnographical work on the Indians of the region and wanted to follow this up with a study of a community which was in the process of adjusting its Indian traditions to the influence of lowland Creole culture. Aritama possessed the required characteristics. It was regarded as an Indian village by the lowlanders and thought of as a Creole town by the tribal Indians. Besides, the authors were already known there and could hope to break down the barriers of mistrust and misrepresentation which might have foiled less experienced investigators. In this they were remarkably successful. After 14 months spent in the village they have produced a book which can match some of the best of the old ethnographies for detail. Their account may be long and at times repetitive but it is a mine of fascinating information. Unfortunately, it also embodies the principal defect of traditional ethnography, that of trying to be exclusively descriptive. They give us a natural history of Aritama which tantalizes the reader because the authors are either reluctant to embark on analysis of their material or are perhaps unaware of the analytical interest of the data which they present.

For example, they describe a community riven with dissensions, envy and witchcraft, yet do not discuss the related problems of power and authority within the village. The only section on local government discusses the finances of the corregimiento and here we learn curiously that local officials draw monthly salaries totalling 270 pesos, whereas the average monthly income of the corregimiento is 136 pesos.

Similarly, the most common explanatory concept in the book is that of 'prestige.' We are told repeatedly that those attributes and activities which are classed by Aritamans as 'indian' detract from prestige, while those considered 'civilized' enhance it. Yet, there is no specific discussion of exactly what is meant by prestige, how it is acquired, who enjoys it and the ways in which it is manifest.

In the area of descent, inheritance and the relations between kin, there appear to be some interesting problems. Aritamans are said to be passionately interested in genealogies, which have a direct bearing on their competition for prestige. At the same time they believe that immovable property is held in trust for departed ancestors by their living descendants. When they propitiate these ancestors they invoke 12 of them in particular, all eight great-grandparents plus all four grandparents. How is this ostensibly cognate system manipulated to make distinctions between status-holding and property-owning groups? In the kin group there is a tendency for matrilines of women to 'keep together' and we are told that class status is transmitted from mother to daughter and that 'law and tradition always favour the maternal line in all cases of inheritance' (p. 168). Furthermore, 'it is the girl's mother who accepts or rejects her daughter's suitors' (p. 168), which would seem to conflict with the emphasis on male dominance in the household, a dominance which extends to a general acceptance of a man's right to beat up his wife and children. When we also learn that Aritamans believe that the father is the sole procreator of his children and the mother only their receptacle during gestation, the complexities of the data seem to call for some unifying explanation which is never offered.

The same criticism could be made with reference to other topics. A sociologically oriented reader will want to know more about the symbolic significance of food-exchanges and about the elaborate schemes of classification involving not only foods but also diseases, colours, points of the compass, and even right and left with their male and female connotations. A psychologically oriented reader is unlikely to be content with the two psychological hypotheses which the authors do present.

They point to the striking analogies between the elements of the hallucinations which adult Aritamans commonly experience and the circumstances of parental coitus which children in Aritama inevitably witness at an early age, and conclude that the childhood trauma is responsible for the content of the adult vision. Similarly, they argue that Aritaman beliefs about the paraphernalia and behaviour of witches duplicate the antics of the midwife whose sadistic performance in a bloodstained setting, to the accompaniment of shrieks and injuries, is watched wide-eyed by every child in the neighbourhood. There are obvious objections to the partial nature of these explanations. It is not only in Aritama that children have the opportunity to observe their parents during sexual intercourse and this happens in other societies without resulting in a conventional series of hallucinations to which adults are subject. Similarly, the general aspects of witchcraft far transcend the specific symbolism which Aritamans are supposed to derive from the activities of the midwife. In any case, these particular horrific practices have been recently introduced, but it does not appear that the fear of witches is concomitantly a recent phenomenon.

The overall impression given by this book is that of an ethnography written in a vacuum. There are few references to other people's work and there is no bibliography. I have criticized it here in some detail, however, because the quality of the information provided warrants more than perfunctory mention. This is without doubt the most detailed source book on a South American community which has appeared in recent years and as such represents a valuable addition to the literature. It also serves as a further demonstration that even the most descriptive ethnography cannot be written without some theoretical preoccupation.

DAVID MAYBURY-LEWIS


The snake is an ever-present symbol in the South. Because of its ambiguous nature it is an ideal target for projection, and therefore an ideal subject for contemporary symbolic analysis because it is fashionably anomalous. But by tenaciously holding to the orthodox Freudian viewpoint, Weston LaBarre's presentation of his material follows, for the most part, predictably obvious lines, although the predictability is relieved here and there by some very interesting, and perhaps original, interpretations. The relatively universal symbolic equation Snake = Phallus has led the author to look just sufficiently beyond the Snake-Handling Cult's conscious equation of the Snake with Evil to reveal not only the inevitable acting-out of repressed sexuality, but another implicit equation of the snake with immortality.

The author deals with his subject under three headings: the cult —its origins and present ethos; the symbolism—its affinities with classic Near East cults and with snake cults in Africa; and the people—viewed against their ethnic background and brought to life with a biographical close-up of a cult-leader.

The cult takes its cue from a literal interpretation of Mark xvi, 17 and 18. Its creed affirms that the Holy Spirit bestows supernatural gifts on its followers. They are able to heal, to speak in tongues, to handle serpents and to drink strychnine—colourfully designated 'salvation cocktail.' These spectacular aspects are nicely set against a militantly preserved informal rustic atmosphere. Casual dress and a lack of regularity with regard to fixed meeting times is the rule. Following the Backwoods pattern, individualism is encouraged with the result that the preacher's role is reduced by extreme audience participation, and this is matched on another level by extreme local autonomy of individual cult groups. The fanaticism and the puri-
The Drum and the Hoe: Life and Lore of the Haitian People.


This excellent book by the well-known American folklorist is the result of prolonged study extending over a period of some 18 years and more than nine trips. The author has spent varying periods of time in all parts of Haiti and collected a rich treasury of observations, songs, musical recordings, tales, proverbs, etc., examples of all of which are richly represented in this volume. The book contains much documentary material in the form of texts, translations, musical transcriptions by M. Kolinski and photographs. The recordings themselves are on file in the musico-logical archives of Indiana University and Northwestern University.

Courlander is well acquainted with the work of other scholars relating to Haiti and is interested in the African antecedents of much of the material which he has collected. Because of his extensive knowledge of many regions of Haiti, he does not fall prey to the temptation to which some other observers have succumbed: he does not attempt to create a standardized version of Haitian belief and practice whether in the realm of vodoun, the Afro-Catholic folk religion of Haiti, or in the secular aspects of the people's lives. Indeed, he insists on the lack of standardization and points to regional variety as a reason for conflicting reports by observers, who worked in different locales.

This book is in the best tradition of folklore research, with its emphasis on folk customs, Mardi Gras and the much neglected Rara bands of Holy Week, children's games and songs, non-rivial songs and dances, etc. The report on vodoun is balanced and a background is sketched out in the brief chapter 'Land and Work' which indicates graphically the disastrous economic situation of the Haitian peasant and urban worker.

Those unacquainted with Haiti might be surprised to find the total absence of mythology in a volume much of which is dedicated to the recording of oral tradition. The fact is that there is no corpus of oral mythology in Haiti and the stories of the vodoun deities are preserved and modified by being acted out in the dance drama of ritual, in the personalities of the gods, in the ritual songs. The folk tales do not deal with the gods, but are secular animal fables, stories of kings and wizards, etc.

This handsome, well presented volume also contains a series of excellent photographs, including some that illustrate the variety of musical instruments and of arts in wood, iron, and flour which the author discusses. This is the fullest presentation and documentation of Haitian folklore available in English and is to be highly recommended to the student of folklore, the sociologist, the anthropologist and the layman.

ERIKA BOURGUIGNON


In this special issue of 76 pages, Dr. Trimborn sets forth his views on archaeological sites in the Andean region as a result of his visit to the Bolivian highlands in the middle nineteen-fifties. His records for the ruins on Thuanancae, the so-called 'Horca del Inca' near Copacabana, the 'Icara' in the mountains above Sipe-Sipe in the province of Quillacollo, and the 'Piedra pintada' near the town of Tarija, Dr. Trimborn, in the first chapter, compares the culture of Scasahumán, which he accepts as being a real fortress, with that of Machu Picchu, Ollantaytambo and Pisac. In his opinion, these three lacked the character of a true fortress. They are just 'towns,' in an advanced position near enemy country; the inhabitants behaved like normal agriculturists, but constantly on the alert and ready to drive off an enemy attack. Though built on strategically important sites, these towns lacked the appropriate defence structures; also they could be controlled from higher places in the neighbourhood and were therefore in danger of having their water supply cut off.

The second chapter is devoted to the subject of chullpas, Trimborn
accepts Stig Rydén’s admirable survey of these burial structures, adding his own observations on the chullpas which he visited, especially those of Sica-Sica in the province of Aroma, remarkable because of their cubical aspect. Trimborn describes these remains in some detail and compares their form and structure with those of Sibaya in the province of Carangas, those on the Río Tagarete and at other places. He explicitly rejects Posansky’s view as to the chullpas having been dwellings.

In the third chapter Trimborn tells us of the so-called ‘Cerro del Inca,’ on the top of a mountain near Samajpa, about 7,000 feet above sea level, showing a number of carvings, forming an asymmetrical pattern and covering an area of 1,000 metres square, according to Erland Nordenskiöld, but Trimborn considers this to be an under-estimation. These carvings (in red sandstone) are said to have been made during temporary Inca occupation. Trimborn is convinced that they served religious purposes, supporting his views with photographs (alas! not too well reproduced) and a few additional sketches. Some earlier reports on the carvings seem to have been incomplete or were published in practically inaccessible periodicals. As the carvings have visibly suffered from erosion, it is a matter of salvage to have a complete survey made without delay, while the results should be published in easily accessible form.

J. VICTOR JANSEN


This study of Papago pottery is divided into five sections, which are shared between the authors. The first is a summary of previous work. The second is an account of modern Papago pottery, the pots, methods of manufacture, the forms, their uses and the function of pottery in the culture. The third is called Time and Space Perspective; it outlines the theories about the origins of the Papago, defines the various wares which have been made by them from the early eighteenth century onwards, and gives a brief account of the pottery of neighboring tribes. The fourth section is called Implications from Papago Pottery Design, but it is in fact a brief analysis of painted decorative designs, followed by a comparison with those of the Desert Branch of the Hohokam. Finally there are four pages of conclusions.

Of these sections, the best is the second, and I was particularly struck by its excellent account of the method of manufacture of the pottery, with its clear description of the ways in which the paddle and anvil are used. It is a pity that it was not found possible to observe the shaping process (p. 67), because this is likely to become more difficult as time passes and the opportunity may have gone for ever. The main question in Section 3 is the possible relationship between the Papago and the ancient Hohokam, and the hiatus between the end of the known Hohokam culture, about 1450, and the earliest reference to the Papago, about 1700, makes this a matter for inconclusive speculation. As stated in the conclusions, nothing but excavation on sites of the critical period can give much information about it, and the only attempt to do this so far has been stopped by objections from the Indians. The section includes an attempt to compare two sets of very generalized vessel shapes, which could not have been expected to throw any light on the problem. Perhaps the most satisfactory feature of this section is the description of the work and products of an atypical potter, who learnt her craft from a white man while retaining some native characteristics. Some lessons which this may have for the archaeologist are pointed out.

Section 4 like Section 3 is inconclusive as regards Papago origins, and it may perhaps be suggested by an outsider that the use of the paddle-and-anvil technique is a stronger pointer to a connexion between them than anything else which the authors have been able to discover. This section would have been easier to follow if the various design elements, figs. 95-129, had carried labels indicating their origin, to save the reader from having to hunt through the text.

An interesting feature of the conclusions is that tempering materials and rim forms do not appear to have much significance in the modern culture, although less generalized rim forms made by potters who were more careful about them may be more useful in indicating origins and culture contacts. The authors point out how difficult it is to reconstruct the history of pottery about which so much is known at first hand. This shows how easy it is for archaeologists to go wrong, and we can be grateful for the warning.

Some of the photographs have a woolly texture, a defect not confined to those taken from old negatives of 1894.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL


Between the two Great Wars, Thomas Gann issued several delightful books on what he called ‘exploration and adventure in Maya Lands.’ His books still fascinate me for they were written in such a happy style by a man who obviously enjoyed what he was doing in conditions that were, in those days, far more trying than those met by today’s visitors to the jungles between Palauque and Copan on the Yucatán peninsula.

Since Gann’s last book, there have been an ever increasing number of publications claimed to be ‘of equal interest to the expert and the layman.’ The same sales talk appears on the cover flaps of Cordan’s book. It is labelled ‘an explosive mixture of science, high adventure and mystically impassioned archaeology.’

But how different from my delightful Thomas Gann’s adventures. Throughout this book Cordan is in the jungle frustrated and angry with gringo, Mexican officials, North Americans and most other archaeologists. He jibes at ‘official’ expeditions, sponsored expeditions, large expeditions and some other sorts of expeditions. However, he is always sensitive and tender in his relations with the Lacandon and claims to have discovered several hitherto unknown sites. Later he claims to have discovered the secret of the non-calendric glyphs.

This is a very interesting book—for laymen to read. There are some fine photographs for experts.

DOUGLAS H. CARPENTER


The territory whereof the prehistory is so well surveyed in these two memoirs lies between the rivers Bhima-Krishna and the Tunga-bhadra. The area is culturally important as the meeting ground for three linguistic areas, Kanarese, Telugu and the slightly more distant Marathi. The megaliths of Brahmagiri lie a bit further to the south and have archaeological contacts in prehistory with the present work.

Three Asokan edicts (Maski, Gavimath, Palkigund) in this region show continuity from prehistory into the full current of Indian history; the transition was undoubtedly hastened by the proximity of important south Indian gold-bearing areas. This continuity from prehistory into modern times is perhaps the most striking feature of Dr. Allichkeit’s studies. It is shown that the skull forms in his excavations belong to the same type of human beings that now inhabit the district; the pottery would not be scorned by the poorer peasants, who still eke a painful living by very primitive tillage out of the same prehistoric terraces. Stone tools have gone out of fashion, but the transition in the same deposits is clear, without any significant interruption. The bones of the prehistoric skeletons were

ASIA
The second book suffers more from this defect in relating documentary evidence to the testimony of the spade. The fault is not primarily Alchin's, as Indian documents are of little use for the purpose. But he is definitely to be blamed for taking them so seriously, and losing himself in the rather dismal byways of philology when field archaeology (as distinguished from site archaeology) would have served the purpose better. The Bhājajā-śālaponishad says nothing relevant about the ash mounds. If vihāt is to be taken as a loan from the Kanarese vihā, or a ghost word, it has also to be noted that the Sanskrit is specifically related to the worship of Śiva. Alchin’s work (and any anthropological analysis) would make it clear that the bull, as the sacred animal of the great god and must have been his totemic representation. In that case, the vihāt derivation is related to the Siva cult rather than to prehistory. Similarly, the holī festival involves a great bonfire, generally in the same place year after year. But it is by no means a cattle festival, being rather a great Saturnalia with a certain amount of obscenity and (in outlying places) promiscuity. As such, it is much nearer to the Asokan samāja and the Pali nakkhata-kaḷīṭ than to the ash mounds. The polā is a cattle procession, and the pa-ha equivalence in Tamil makes it tempting to see the holī here; but the time of the year is distinctly different. It is possible that the dung would be difficult if not impossible. The main feature of the polā is a cattle procession, without a bonfire. This sort of criticism is easy to extend (say to Kon), and could have been obviated had Alchin paid some more attention to the actual conditions of life among the people observing the customs cited. For example, the ‘dung cones’ have no ceremonial or prehistoric connotation in spite of their striking appearance and the photographs shown. They are simply fuel stores for the monsoon in a land where dried cattle-dung cakes are the cheapest type of fuel; the average peasant rarely gets any food to burn. The store is plastered over with a dung-clay mixture because the contents must be kept dry throughout the monsoon, and there is not enough room in any peasant hut. Similarly, the Lamans who follow their cattle herds over the country do not fit into the neolithic context. They are the sad remnants of a great transport service that was the mainstay of feudal logistics, and can be documented from the seventh century A.D. onwards. Most Lamans (and the Lambadi, etc.) originally come from Rajasthan, though now settled for generations in their present homes.

Rather than go into such details, it might be as well to note a few possibilities for further work. Up the Malaprabhā, there are heavy deposits of trash generally fall in the late monsoon. Backini, with its sixth-century temples and modern fairs undoubtedly has origins in prehistory which would be well worth the investigation. If the ash-mound people baled every year with their cattle (as they must have done, going west in the dry season), what was their normal range? If they went up the Bhima river, they are surely connected with the rock engravings and pre-pottery microlithic deposits on the upper reaches of that river. In that case, the Iranian contacts of the culture need not imply migration, but a diffusion without the corresponding movement of human beings. Secondly, there still exists a small group of cattlemen who travel up and down the river valley under discussion, season after season. They no longer drive great herds, but a few sacred cattle which give the name Nandi to their keepers also. The bulls are trained to give some sort of performance, and perhaps to do a little simple divination as well. The rage of this trancehmmance is definitely from deep into Kanarese territory to Poona and Ahmadnagar.

This can be followed up in historic times. The principle deities and places of pilgrimage in Maharashtra (e.g. Pandharpur) have well defined Kanarese associations, so that the constant movement up and down the river valley, with cycles longer than the annual booly, is well attested. This would have corresponded better to the continuity of pottery and tools than anything in the carelessly written and badly edited (or with Kane, often unedited) texts which show how—but not where or when—Brahmins were influenced by local custom. Field work in ethology may give the correct answer to some of the problems raised; it is to be hoped that such work will be done before the peasant and low-caste traditions vanish from the Indian countryside.

D. D. KOSAMBI
NETWORKS IN INDIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By Professor M. N. Srinivas and André Béteille, Department of Sociology, University of Delhi

I

212 Much has been written on the concept of social structure since Radcliffe-Brown first started making systematic use of it more than 30 years ago. Apart from writing about it in abstract and general terms, most British anthropologists have used it as a central concept in presenting their field material.

Evans-Pritchard's use of the concept in The Nuer remains as a model of its kind. There the concept was used to mean 'relations between groups of persons within a system of groups,' such groups, further, having 'a high degree of consistency and constancy.' This way of viewing social structure has enabled the fieldworker to present his data in an economical manner. The concept is also relatively easy to handle. One begins by locating the enduring groups in a society, then proceeds to define their boundaries, and finally one specifies their mutual positions, or their inter-relations in terms of a series of rights, duties and obligations.

The approach outlined above has been widely used by social anthropologists (particularly British anthropologists or those trained in Britain) in the study of Indian village communities. The papers by Srinivas and Kathleen Gough in Marriott's collection may be taken as illustrations. The village is viewed there principally in terms of a set of enduring groups and categories such as castes, sub-castes and economic classes.

A model of society which is conceived in terms of enduring groups and categories has also to deal with the problem of interpersonal relations. It has, in addition, to devise ways of depicting the relations between groups and categories which form parts of different systems, e.g., between lineages, territorial segments and age sets, or between castes, classes and power blocks.

The distinction between a system of groups and a system of interpersonal relations has been nicely posed by Evans-Pritchard. This distinction, it appears, is a part of Nuer kinship terminology. The Nuer use the word *buth* to refer to relations between lineages viewed as groups. The word *mar* is, by contrast, used to refer to kinship relations between persons belonging either to the same agnatic lineage or to different ones.

It should be recognized in this connexion that when one talks of the 'relations between groups in a system of groups,' one is representing things at a certain level of abstraction. Representation of the relations between castes in a system of castes involves one level of abstraction. On the other hand, a representation of the relations between the system of castes and the system of classes involves an abstraction at a higher level. Evans-Pritchard shows a clear awareness of the problem which this raises, and its difficulties. 'Not only can we speak of the relations between territorial groups as a political system, the relations between lineages as a lineage system, the relations between age-sets as an age-set system and so forth, but also in a society there is always some relationship between these systems in the whole social structure, though it is not easy to determine what this relationship is.'

It may be pointed out that the abstract relations between groups and systems of groups can be better understood by mapping out the concrete relations between individuals in their diverse roles. This may be achieved by making a shift from a study of groups within a system of groups to a study of social networks. What are the concrete relations which an individual has in his capacity as Brahmin, landowner and panchayat member with other individuals? The concept of social network paves the way to an understanding of the linkage existing between different institutional spheres and between different systems of groups and categories.

II

It is necessary to point out that the model of social structure which bases itself on enduring groups and categories, and their interrelations, has been developed largely by social anthropologists engaged in the study of primitive societies. Such a model does, indeed, take one a long way in the description and analysis of societies which are small, homogeneous and relatively static. In the study of large, complex and changing societies, however, this approach is faced with certain limitations.

In a complex society such as India the number of enduring groups, classes and categories is very large, and they present a bewildering variety of types. It may be difficult within the compass of a single study even to enumerate such units, not to speak of providing a coherent account of their complex interrelations. Evans-Pritchard has been able to provide a fairly comprehensive account of Nuer social structure while confining himself almost wholly to three systems of groups. Clearly, it is impossible to analyse in such an economical manner the social structure of even a single district in India.

There is another factor which imposes limitations on the approach which confines itself to the study of enduring groups and systems of groups. In traditional India groups such as village communities, sub-castes and lineages had sharply defined outlines. It was relatively easy to delimit their boundaries. Today the situation is somewhat different. Boundaries between groups tend to be blurred or broken down, there is greater circulation of personnel, and an increasing degree of interpenetration between different systems of groups, classes and categories. This process makes it increasingly difficult to locate and define the boundaries of groups, and hence to talk meaningfully of groups of persons within a system of groups.

In India this partial dissolution of a rigid, segmental and hierarchical social structure is associated with increasing social mobility, both horizontal and vertical. It is also
associated with the transition from a status-bound ascriptive social order to one which gives greater scope to contractual relations based on personal choice. The allegiance of the individual to his village, his sub-caste and his lineage has, to some extent, loosened. Along with this, the individual is being progressively drawn into networks of interpersonal relations which cut right across the boundaries of village, sub-caste and lineage.¹⁸

The process outlined above may be illustrated with a concrete example. Let us consider the case of Sripuram, a multi-caste village in Tanjore district which has been exposed to the forces of change since the end of the nineteenth century. Sixty years ago one’s social position in Sripuram was defined largely in terms of one’s membership of the village, of a particular territorial segment of it, of a sub-caste, a lineage and a household. Much of the social life of the villagers could be understood in terms of the relations between these diverse groups, each of which had fairly easily determinable boundaries. Today the social contours of the village are becoming blurred, its population has acquired a shifting character, and lineages and families have become greatly dispersed.

Many of the former residents of Sripuram have left the village and gone to Tanjore, Madras, Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta. In each of these centres they have developed new relations, while retaining many old ones with people who still live in the village. Many of those who have left the village continue to influence its social life in a number of ways. Often they return at harvest time to receive rents, and renew leases with their tenants. Several of them send remittances to relatives in the village every month. On occasions of birth, marriage and death they revisit the village.

The concept of social network makes for an effective representation of the links radiating from the village to the outside world. These links sometimes stretch across wide territorial gaps, and often they are made up of strands of diverse kinds. One of the Brahmin landowners of Sripuram wanted to get a seat for his son in an engineering college at Madras. He approached an influential Non-Brahmin friend at Tanjore who was also his father’s client, the father of the Brahmin landowner being a lawyer in a nearby town. The Non-Brahmin friend, who is chairman of a transport undertaking at Tanjore, had influential business associates at Madras. Some of these persons were able to put the landowner from Sripuram into touch with a member of the committee of the college to which he was seeking admission for his son. In the contemporary world of Sripuram the individual finds it increasingly necessary to become a part of the kind of network described above. Sixty years ago, when the social horizons were narrower, this necessity was far less keen.

III

Having sketched the conditions under which networks emerge and become increasingly important in social life, let us consider the distinctive features of networks as opposed to groups, classes and categories. The distinction between groups and networks is primarily one of boundaries. A group is a bounded unit. A network, on the other hand, ramifies in every direction, and, for all practical purposes, stretches out indefinitely. Further, a group such as a lineage or a sub-caste has an ‘objective’ existence: its boundaries are the same for the ‘insider’ as well as the ‘outsider.’ The character of a network, on the other hand, varies from one individual to another.¹⁰

This distinction between groups and networks, which was first elaborated by Barnes,¹¹ should not, however, be pressed too far. Networks can be either close-knit or loose-knit. In other words, the chain of relations emanating from a person may either lead back to him, or it may not. In traditional India, particularly in the South, the network of kinship and affinal relations was a close-knit one. In fact, this network had, inevitably, to stop short at the boundary of the sub-caste, and therefore to form a closed circuit. Mrs. Karve¹² has shown how, in many cases, an entire sub-caste can be placed on a single genealogy. Here we have an instance where the kinship network is, in reality, coeterinisuous with a bounded group, namely, the sub-caste. Thus, in the limiting case, a close-knit network becomes a group (or a category).

A social network can be viewed as a set of concrete interpersonal relations linking the individual to other individuals who are members of diverse systems of enduring groups and categories. Here we represent the network from the viewpoint of the actor, and there are as many networks as there are actors in a social system. Before we pass on to a consideration of the network from the viewpoint of the ‘observer’ (i.e. the anthropologist), let us examine a little further the implications of the subjective definition of a network.

The anthropologist as fieldworker begins to learn about the way in which a society works precisely by following concrete networks of interpersonal relations with the individual actor as his point of departure. He sees how individuals cut through the boundaries of household, lineage, sub-caste, village, district, party and class so as to form interpersonal relations in the pursuit of interests of diverse kinds. He learns to differentiate one individual from another in terms of the range and variety of interpersonal relations, and tries to relate these differences to factors such as generation, education, occupation and so on.

A network, even when viewed from the standpoint of a single individual, has a dynamic character. New relations are forged, and old ones are discarded or modified. This is particularly true of rapidly changing societies in which individual choice plays an important role. However, extensions of the individual’s social network may also be studied in relatively static societies. Thus, in the field of kinship we may observe how the individual’s network of effective interpersonal relations is extended as he passes from birth through initiation and marriage to death.

Although the anthropologist may begin by mapping out the concrete networks of interpersonal relations of individual actors, this mapping, in itself, does not fully meet the needs of his analysis. At best it can provide him with a broad idea of the linkage between the groups and systems
of groups in a society. For a deeper understanding it is necessary not only to chart the concrete networks of different individuals, but to relate these different networks to one another, to draw up, so to say, a master chart, in a coherent and systematic manner. This involves abstraction and synthesis.

It is easy to see what one means by an individual's network of interpersonal relations, for this has a concrete character. But can one speak, for instance, of the social network of a village? What would such a statement mean? The village comprises a diversity of individuals, each with his own network of concrete interpersonal relations. These partly overlap, and partly cut across, and are, in fact, related to one another in very complex ways. In some spheres, the separation of one individual's network from that of another is quite clear. Thus, the network of kinship and affinal relations of a Brahmīn will not at any point meet that of a Non-Brahmin, even though they be of the same village. In the economic sphere, on the other hand, these networks are likely to meet at a number of points. Can one distinguish in a systematic way between different institutional areas in which networks are relatively close-knit or loose-knit?

It seems evident that the kinship network in India is relatively close-knit as compared, let us say, to the economic or political network. It may be that the same forces which lead to the extension and loosening of the economic and political networks also lead to the shrinkage and tightening of kinship networks in contemporary India. Territorial dispersal and mobility lead to the extension of economic and political ties; they often also lead to a shrinkage of the network of effective kinship relations based upon reciprocal obligations.¹³

We have now been led to a point at which it is necessary to talk in somewhat more abstract terms. From viewing the concrete networks of interpersonal relations of a number of individual actors we have been led to talk about networks pertaining to different institutional areas. We can now speak about economic networks, political networks, ritual networks, and so on. It is evident that when we speak, say, of an economic network, we are making an abstraction. A concrete network of interpersonal relations cannot be wholly economic in its constitution, except in the limiting case. Generally such relations have economic components which have to be abstracted from their concrete matrix, and then put together.

The economic system may be viewed as a network of relations regulating the flow of goods and services. The political system may, likewise, be viewed as a network of relations regulating the flow of command and decision. It must be pointed out that the links in networks of this kind are unitary in character, as opposed to concrete networks of interpersonal relations where the links are usually composite or multi-bonded.

Economic, political and ritual networks of the kind described above would correspond to what Marion Levy¹⁴ characterizes as 'analytic,' as opposed to 'concrete' structures. Thus, a network of economic relations provides an understanding of the organization of production in a society, and a network of political relations provides an understanding of the distribution of power. Such networks in a complex society cut across the boundaries of communities and corporate groups and, in fact, serve to articulate them to wider social systems. And, once we shift from the individual actor and his network of concrete interpersonal relations to the productive system and its corresponding network, we move from the 'subjective' network of the actor to the 'objective' one of the observer.

IV

We have seen earlier that a crucial distinction in the study of networks is that between close-knit and loose-knit networks. It may be urged that one way of understanding social change in India would be to analyse the manner in which close-knit networks are being transformed into loose-knit ones. Traditionally the villager lived in a narrow world where the ties of locality, caste, kinship and hereditary service led back and forth between the same sets of persons. Relations were multiplex in character, and the circuit of relations had a tendency to become closed.

The situation is changing in contemporary India. New interests tend to create relationships which cut right across the boundaries of the old established groups. Increased mobility has led to the physical dispersal of castes, lineages and families. The individual cannot any longer afford to confine his relations within a village, a caste or a kin group. He has to develop relations with people who are spread far and wide and who have diverse social, economic and political positions and interests. The network of social relations emanating from the individual does not as easily lead back to him. The closed circuit tends to become more and more open.

The phenomenon sketched above can perhaps be best illustrated from the field of politics. To take once again the instance of Sripuram, one can get only an imperfect understanding of its political life by confining oneself to groups such as the panchayat, the party or the sub-caste. What appear to be of greater importance are the networks which link the village leaders to politicians and influential people outside, and which cut right across the boundaries of parties, panchayats and sub-castes. Bailey¹⁵ has spoken of 'brokerage networks' in the context of Orissa. Such networks are of great importance to the working of the political process throughout the country. In and around Sripuram they link the village leader with the district leader, the patron with the client, the M.L.A. with the 'vote-bank,' the party boss with the financier, and the panchayat president with the contractor.

It is evident that some of the most radical changes taking place in Indian society today are in the field of politics. A rigidly hierarchical and segmental social structure is being transformed into one which seeks to bring about political articulation between people at all levels of society. The peasant in a Tanjore village is linked directly with the Member of Parliament at Delhi. To what extent can such a linkage be effective or successful? It is in this context that the problem of communication acquires central importance.
to both the politician and the political sociologist in India. How does the system of political communication actually operate? How does it affect the existing systems of groups and categories in Indian society, and how is it, in turn, affected by them? A study of the concrete links between villagers, local leaders, party bosses, M.L.A.s, and M.P.s is indispensable to an understanding of the channels along which communications flow, and the barriers at which they are blocked.

In a recent paper Ithiel Pool has emphasized the importance of informal social channels of communication in providing necessary support to the mass media in traditional societies. Political events in the state capital are interpreted and transmitted along social networks of various kinds whose nature requires to be investigated. There is little doubt that such networks today link individuals not simply on the basis of caste or occupation or locality, but on the basis of a complex combination of these and numerous other factors.

India has embarked on a course of planned social change and economic development. This involves, among other things, the transmission of certain key ideas, principles and values from the highest to the lowest levels of society. What are the social networks along which such ideas are transmitted? What kind of refraction do they undergo as they pass from one level to another? How is this refraction conditioned by the nature of the social network along which the ideas flow?

The entire process of political mobilization in a country such as India highlights the importance of networks of interpersonal relations. How does the politician reach down to the voter, and how does the latter, in turn, articulate with the former? In a country where literacy is low and where the mass media are new and limited in scope, networks of interpersonal relations are of primary importance to the mobilization process.

The process of political modernization has many immediate and far-reaching consequences for the structure of traditional society. It breaks down the barriers between groups which had crystallized over centuries. It gives a new amplitude to individual choice in severing old relations and forging new ones. All this leads to the development of networks on the basis of new interests which criss-cross the entire social fabric.

V

In conclusion, we have to consider briefly the existence of social networks and the part played by them in traditional Indian society. It would, of course, be far from correct to say that networks had no existence in traditional society, or that the social life of the individual was completely contained within systems of enduring groups. Even in the past the village was never entirely a closed or self-sufficient unit. Links of various kinds radiated from it, connecting its individual members to other individuals outside. Such links, however, played a far less important part in the past than they do today. Even the extra-village ties of the individual often articulated him with other groups such as lineages or sub-castes which were themselves closed in character.

A village community which forms part of a wider civilization can never be entirely a closed unit. In fact, articulation of a particular kind is a basic characteristic of a civilization as distinguished from a primitive society. The manner in which little and great traditions are articulated through social networks in a primary civilization has been discussed by Redfield, Singer and others. But it cannot be denied that the nature of articulation in a relatively static and compartmentalized social order is different from one which is fluid and changing in character.

Notes
2 Ibid., p. 262.
3 This procedure, it may be noted, delimits only the 'formal' structure. The understanding of the 'informal' or operative structure requires additional tools. The delimitation of the formal structure is, however, an essential preliminary to the delineation of the informal structure.
6 Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 264 (our italics).
7 This process was grasped, with rare perception, by Émile Durkheim in The Division of Labour in Society (translated by George Simpson, 1933). Durkheim showed how the segmental structure with its sharply defined outlines gave place to the organized structure with its interpenetration of groups with the change from mechanical to organic solidarity (pp. 174-90, 256-75).
8 This is not to deny that networks existed in traditional society also. Their role in contemporary India has, however, become more important. For a brief discussion on networks in traditional India see section V below.
9 The village was (and still is) clearly divided into three territorial segments: the agraharam (where Brahmins live), the Non-Brahmin streets and the cheri (inhabited by Untouchables).
11 Ibid.
13 This is not contradicted by the fact that the network of formal kinship relations (based upon genealogical ties rather than effective exchange of obligations) expands with an expansion of the limits of endogamy.

New Guinea Highland Models and Descent Theory. By Richard F. Salisbury, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, McGill University, Montreal. With a figure

In 1956 I described the existence of an obligatory patrilateral cross-cousin-marriage rule among the patrilinial Siane of the New Guinea Highlands (Salisbury, 1956b). In view of some theorists' failure to consider the ethnographical evidence when they assert
that an obligatory patrilateral cross-cousin-marriage rule is impossible, it is perhaps appropriate to restate the ethnography in model form. I hope to show that this model is one variant of a general model of corporate descent groups, and to assist in explaining why African models are inadequate for the understanding of New Guinea society (cf. Barnes, 1962).

The Siane group of tribes number some 15,000 individuals; the group has no boundaries beyond those assigned to it by administrators and ethnographers using geographical and linguistic criteria. It is an aggregate of numbers of independent clans of about 250 individuals, and similar clans exist on all sides of the Siane. Clans are grouped into phratries and tribes, the term 'phratri' applying when the clans may not intermarry, and the term 'tribe' indicating only that the grouping of clans has a defined territory and that it is named. A tribe may consist of only one phratri, or of several unnamed phratries. Clans are segmented into varying numbers of wards (sub-clans) and lineages.

It is, however, the relations between clans that will concern us first. The few non-intermarrying clans of a phratri consider themselves as nenta wemen ('close people') or kunarofo ('brothers'). Towards all other clans there is a multiple and distributive opposition. This takes the form of marriage, of formal presentations of valuables, and of warfare with other clans. The shifting empirical pattern of alliances, wars and neutrality with specific other clans merely accentuates the continuity of the opposition, which is predicated on an equality of prestige and power between clans (cf. Salisbury, 1960), when in fact there are constant but varying inequalities. In one sense, then, all marriages occur between clans which are already in a state of corporate affinity with all other marriageable clans; reciprocity by clan B giving a 'sister' to clan A should follow within a year or so after clan A gives a 'sister' to clan B.

When a particular marriage is due to take place between a man of clan A and a girl of clan B, however, the bride is not viewed as an affine whose status is being reaffirmed, but as a komorofo ('sister's child') or a hovorofo ('cross-cousin'). This may be because the girl's own mother was of clan A, but it may equally well be because a woman of A married a man of clan B in the distant past. In short, the ideology of the relationship between clans at the time when the marriage occurs is that clan B are corporately fa-sis-children to clan A. Ideologically it is appropriate that fa-sis-da should marry into the clan of her mo-br, as this produces reciprocity over the generations; in practice the reciprocity is an almost immediate exchange of 'sisters'. The marriage rule is obligatory as all men, when they marry, must be and are (with modern exceptions of those marrying foreign women) marrying a 'father's sister's daughter.' The rule should not be called 'prescriptive', as nothing is 'prescribed.' A young man does not have to search for a girl who falls into a specific kinship category, but when he has found an attractive girl, he sees how she fits into the category which all brides fit into. Alternatively, and this is common in Siane, a girl decides which clan she can most appropriately claim 'mother's-brothers' in, and then chooses a particular husband who is not a son of one of her true 'mother's brothers.' Patrilateral cross-cousin marriage does not produce a lasting structural arrangement between (specific) clans, but constitutes an excellent ideology for expressing relations of reciprocity in total prestations between large numbers of distributively opposed and politically equal clans.

After the marriage has taken place the relationship between clans A and B reverts to its normal state of corporate affinity, of polite antagonisms and suspicion alternating with overt hostility. But for the principals to the marriage and their immediate kin (and offspring) the fields of personal ego-centred kinship are changed. The bride from clan B, after a period of marginality, takes over her husband's viewpoint towards his clan, clan A. He now treats her parents exclusively as nimafo ('close affines') and her clan as nitofo ('distant affines'). The parents-in-law (and possibly also siblings of the spouse) call each other emonaue ('sister-men'), thereby further emphasizing the aspect of reciprocity. For the children of the marriage, all the men of clan B become either monorofa ('mother's brothers') or hovorofo ('cross-cousins'). A male child may not marry into clan B, though a female child may, and I have no cases in my genealogies of transgressions against this rule. Thus both the positive and negative aspects of an obligatory rule of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage exist.

Let us now turn to the formal model of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (fig. 1), and its implications. Bilateral cross-cousin marriage involves only two types of intermarrying groups, type A and type B, although as Romney and Epling (1958) have pointed out, each type of group may comprise numerous separate local populations within a tribal 'universe.' The formal model in which only two groups are shown on a single genealogy is an adequate representation if it is understood that type A includes specific populations A1, A2, A3, ... Specific populations A1 and A2 are related to each other as identical or as 'siblings'; this relationship is assumed and need not be indicated. In the formal model of patrilateral cross-cousin-marriage systems three types of intermarrying groups are indicated—Ego's own group A, and other groups B and C. The relation between groups B and C is necessarily one of non-identity; symmetry would lead one to expect that the relation should be one of possible intermarriage, of the same nature as that between A and B. When one interprets the formal model in terms of specific populations, it is important to note that the tribal 'universe' is not necessarily split into only three types of groups, but into many types, B, C, D, ... which share the properties of being distinct from A and also distinct from one another. Indicating only three types in the formal model is conventional. Type A groups may indeed comprise more than one local population, as may each other Type, and these populations may stand in a relation of identity to each other. This does not affect their opposition to populations of other Types.

The conventional formal model in fact illustrates the orthodox marriage patterns within one lineage of a local population of type A, in which marriages are alternately with local populations of type B and type C. By extension it implies that some other lineages of the same local population will marry alternately wives from groups B and D; other lineages will marry alternately wives from groups C and D; yet others will marry wives from...
groups b and e, and so on. The absence of any clear-cut generation divisions within the various lineages of the local population of type a will mean that at any one time some lineages are giving wives to a particular local population of type b, while other lineages are receiving wives from that population. The small size of individual lineages, and the consequent unpredictability of sex balance within them, means that lineages cannot be the units for exact reciprocity. Larger populations can be, and can balance exchanges in the short term, rather than in delayed exchange as predicted by Lévi-Strauss (1951).

The preceding analysis concerns the relations between numbers of independent types of groups. Let us now return to considering the internal organization of groups, and of local populations. First the empirical Siane ethnography must be cited. I have previously (1956a) described their organization as being one of 'unilinear descent groups.' In terms of the cohesion and opposition between segments and the use of genealogies as a charter for the organization of lineages, Siane clans fit the analytical model of 'corporate unilinear descent group' (Fortes, 1953). In terms of the more recent discussion of 'filiation' and 'descent,' Siane clans are neither unilinear, nor are they organized in terms of descent, though they are corporate groups possessing a stock of land and of ancestral spirit. Except in degree they closely resemble the neighbouring Chimbu, where non-agnates form a large part of any local population (Brown, 1962). Most Siane non-agnates are, however, regarded as members of the clan with which they are living and have rights to demand land for their own use. Non-agnatic clan members include sons of sisters of the clan (and any men, whether kinsmen or not, brought up in the clan village) who have eaten the food of the clan, had their initiation financed by the clan or had their bride price paid by the clan. No discrimination is made between these clan members and agnatic clan members. By contrast, men who are living visorically, are treated as temporary visitors, allowed to live as a special favour, even though their children (as sons of clan sisters) may be clan members, and they themselves may have lived in the village since marriage.

In most cases, it is true, a child is a member of the same clan as is its father, and the majority of the exceptional cases are of children who are members of the clan of their mothers. But it is not the fact of parenthood that establishes a claim on the allegiance of the child—filiation is not the relationship which establishes clan membership. This can be seen in those few cases where there are conflicting claims on the allegiance of a child. Thus Antomona clan of Emenyo tribe claimed as a member a man who in 1952 was living in Aranko tribe. His mother from Komunku tribe had borne him in Emenyo shortly before her Emenyo husband and the child's father was killed in warfare. She returned home to Komunku rather than remarry levirically. She took the child with her when she remarried an Aranko man. Antomona said he was an Antomona man because Antomona had paid the mother's bride price, and because it had paid for the child's hair-cutting ceremonies at age 3. Aranko claimed him because they had paid for his initiation and for his bride price. In 1952 he visited Antomona periodically; by 1961 he had planted several acres of coffee in Antomona (Aranko is land-short) and lived most of his time there, but visited in Aranko frequently. The ceremonies are the crucial symbolic statement of group membership, and it is the payment for the ceremonies which determines clan membership.

In religious terms what occurs at each of the ceremonies is that more ancestral korora or 'spirit' of the clan giving the ceremony is infused into the child, to replace spirit already there. This spirit may come from the blood or milk of the mother, the father's semen, food eaten during childhood which contains spirit from the land on which it is grown, from pork, from a name, or from proximity to objects such as sacred flutes which symbolize korora. Korora may be lost in the form of bodily secretions or blood, through excoriation, or through sorcery, and such loss is a permanent loss to the whole clan, depleting the stock of korora which can be periodically reincarnated. The individual has a direct relationship with the original clan ancestors, sharing their material essence, some of which he may have acquired through his genitors, but most of which is acquired through ceremonial and growth. It is not acquired by 'cumulative filiation' or descent in the usual definition of the term.

I feel, however, that it is appropriate to call such a relationship with the ancestors one of descent, and that if existing definitions of 'descent' do not fit the Siane case, then the definitions should be modified. In fact, if one goes back to River's (1914, Vol. 1, p. 15) original formulation no modification is needed. Rivers arrived at his definition of descent, not in order to contrast it with either filiation or affinity, but from a consideration of Melanesian ethnography. Group membership in Melanesia, as among the Siane, is a clearly evident phenomenon with the groups being named and being corporate with respect to some property rights. The titles and rights of particular individuals are obtained through different mechanisms. Inheritance and succession for Rivers were two such mechanisms, while descent was the acquisition of rights through membership in social groups defined in terms of kinship.

Rivers also attempted to spell out what is meant by 'kinship' in terms of 'genealogical demonstration,' but I submit, neither nor subsequent butterfly-collectors have succeeded in doing so. On the one hand there is an assumption that everyone knows what kinship is, and that this knowledge is similar for all peoples of the world; secondly there is the assumption that it is related to the process of procreation, and that there is such a thing as 'real kinship,' which can be contrasted with 'fictive or conventional kinship'; finally there is the recognition that what anthropologists study is actually 'socially recognized kinship' and that peoples differ widely in what they recognize as 'kin' relationships. With Leach (1962), I feel that the third position should be taken more seriously and that there should be an examination of different peoples' conceptions of the category 'kinship.' The Siane concepts outlined above fit closely with what Leach analyses for Kachin and Trobriands as belief in a 'relationship of common substance.' I would reverse Leach's phrasing of the nature of this relationship, when he says that such a relationship is commonly felt to exist among kinsmen, and say that 'when people define the relations between individuals a and b as being one where they share some common substance,' then we can call such a relation one of kinship.' Descent then refers to the transmission of group membership through kinship, or the way in which an individual is categorized as a member of a group because he is felt to have within him some substance which previously existed in another member of that group.

What the Siane case (and, I believe, the full analysis of other New Guinea Highland ethnographies) indicates is that formal models, based on the general theory of corporate descent groups, are indeed relevant. African models are special cases where intergroup relations are phrased in the same terms (agniation) as are intra-group relations; the Siane and other Pacific and South-east Asian people conceptualize inter-group relations in terms of corporate affinity. The Siane model shows how a model of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, held by the people themselves, conceptualizes an organization of numerous sovereign egalitarian but opposed local groups. This model is only an ideal one; it needs different transformation rules from a matrilateral-cross-
cousin marriage rule, in order to apply it to concrete groupings of individuals; it also demands the existence among the people of another model of relationships based not on corporate kinship and corporate affinity (or 'clanship') but on ego-centric network relationships. A treatment of ego-centric relationship models needs concepts other than those provided by descent theory, and is beyond the scope of the present note.

Notes
1 Salisbury (1962) expands the ethnography, citing the cultural rules as these are given by the Siane, rather than citing statistics on residence, etc. The model here given is a formal abstraction from the rules. With Leach and Lévi-Strauss, I feel that the empirical reality is best understood in the light of a model so derived, rather than vice versa. The 1952–53 fieldwork on which this analysis is based was supported by the Australian National University. Discussions with David M. Schneider have greatly influenced the formulation.
2 Such marriages occur at a rate statistically significantly greater than chance but still represent only 23 per cent. of all marriages (Salisbury, 1956b, p. 646).
3 The fact that persistent economic inequality results in an asymmetry in the system of marriages actually occurring and that such asymmetry need not be reflected in the marriage rule was the central topic of discussion in Salisbury (1956a).
4 The Siane thus constitute a negative case for the theory of Homans and Schneider (1955). This may well be explained by the fact that Homans and Schneider, insofar as they treat personal choice as influential in selecting marriage partners, always consider that it is the choice of the prospective groom that is crucial. In Siane girls are 'forward' and 'elope' to boys; boys are 'moral' and would not choose a mo-br-da as a sweetheart as they would feel she was like a mother' to them.
5 For a fuller treatment of the religious involvements see Salisbury (forthcoming).
6 Livingstone's (1964) insightful analysis of the generality of such social organizations is the stimulus for publication of this paper, which was originally written in response to Barnes (1962).

References

The Incidence of Sickle-Cell Trait in Bastar, III. By R. S. Negi, Anthropological Survey of India, Nagpur. With two tables

The very wide distribution of sickle-cell trait in the primarily tribal district of Bastar is becoming evident with more and more studies. The trait is not confined to the tribal population only; on the contrary, the highest frequency of the trait so far detected in Bastar (c. 38 per cent.) was found in the Mahra, a non-tribal, low-caste population (Negi, 1963). Additional data relating to the incidence of the trait in some more Bastar populations, both tribal and non-tribal, are presented in the present communication.

Material and Method

Investigations for the presence or absence of the trait were carried out among various groups (viz. Bizon-horn Maria, Raj Gond, Gond, Dorla, Halba, Mahra and Telanga) in the Bijapur and Dantewada Tahsils of Bastar during November and December, 1960. The tract lies in the south-west of Bastar. Besides the above-mentioned groups a few Raut and Janjara individuals, and one Sonar individual was also tested.

Bizon-horn Maria. Grigson (1938) has divided the Maria population of Bastar into two divisions, the Hill Maria of Abujmarah mountain and the Bison-horn Maria. The Bison-horn Maria, who live on the high edges of Jagdalpur and Dantewada tahsil, are so called after the characteristic peculiarity of the wearing of bison-horns by their male dancers. They are also called Dandami Koitor, but this name is not universal in Bastar. The Maria are an extensive group also inhabiting the lower lands or the plains region of Dantewada and Konta tahsil, but the Maria of these areas prefer to call themselves 'Muria', a term which is taken to signify some social advancement. This tendency of the tribal people to claim social advancement by calling themselves by different names has created a confusing situation in Bastar. In order to avoid the confusion, I have used the name Bizon-horn Maria after Grigson (1938), to describe the population which comprises one of the groups of the present study. All the Bizon-horn Maria subjects were tested in villages of Dantewada tahsil. The total number of subjects tested is 185 which includes both male and female.

Gond. A large number of people spread over a large area extending from the 'Godavari gorges in the south to the Vindhyar mountain in the north' are called by the generic term Gond. This area which is the heart of India once comprised the powerful Gond kingdoms and was known as Gondwana. The main population of the region must have been the 'Gondi-speaking people'; but they could hardly be expected to have been racially homogeneous. Today the people in this extensive area who are called Gond or call themselves Gond or Koitor in Gondi, present a stupendous problem to the anthropologist. They are neither racially, nor culturally, nor linguistically a homogeneous population (Führer-Haimendorf, 1948). In Bastar so many variant groups (e.g. Maria, Muria, Dorla) are loosely called Gond, which has created a confusing situation (Grigson, 1938).

The very small Gond sample, of 19 individuals only, of the present study is drawn from the north-west of Bhopalpatnam. The group has been treated separately as merging with any other group could not be justified. Most probably these people were once Hill Maria living in the Kutrū region and now have descended to the plains. The practice of calling themselves Gond may be due to the influence of the neighbouring Chanda district where the term Gond is in common use.

Raj Gond. The usage of the epithet Raj does not seem to be governed by any unifform principle (Führer-Haimendorf, 1948) as
it may be used for different regions in different areas. In Chhattisgarh the members of the ruling family describe themselves as Raj Gond, in other areas the land-holding Gond aspire to this denomination, so that they may pass as one of the Hindu subcastes. The process of ‘Hinduization’ which underlies this tendency among the tribal people to use such epithets is favoured by Grigson (1938). Fürier-Haimendorf (1948) while speaking of Raj Gonds of Adilabad rather lays emphasis on historical causes and agrees with the second suggestion of Lucie-Smith (1960) that the people may be the descendants of ‘leading Gond tribes which in the past were the rulers of the land.’

The Raj Gond of the present study are drawn from the Bhopalpatnam area. Lately Bhopalpatnam Zamindari was ruled by a Zamindar, and the people calling themselves Raj Gond claim to be the kith and kin of the ruling family. The total number of subjects tested is 68 which includes both male and female.

**Dorla.** The Dorla sample of the present study is drawn from western Dorla living in the riverain tract of Bijapur tahsil, in the vicinity of Bijapur. The Dorla extend up to the riverain tract of Konta tahsil in the east (Negi, 1962), but the two sections are more or less isolated from each other. On the whole the Bastar Dorla (both eastern and western) are but a section of a larger population which extends into Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, and are known in those regions as Koya. Grigson (1938) is of opinion that the Bastar Dorla or the Koya are but Bison-horn Maria who have descended to these lower lands. Most probably the Raj Gond of the Bhopalpatnam area are Dorla or Koya, who now style themselves Raj Gond to signify social advancement, in addition to their affinity with the ruling family. The total number of persons tested, both male and female, is 27 only.

**Mahra.** The Mahra sample of present study was drawn from Bhopalpatnam area. They seem to be nearer to the Mahra of Chanda and Andhra Pradesh rather than to the Mahra of Jagdalpur area. They also speak Gondi which is the language spoken in the area, unlike the Mahra of Jagdalpur area who speak Halbi and Bhatri. Only 30 individuals including both male and female have been tested.

**Halba.** The Halba are the descendants of old militia garrisons. Their concentration is chiefly in the headquarter villages of old Garhs. The present-day population of Halba is most probably the product of a migratory element from Warangal, and the aboriginal population of Bastar. Culturally the Halba appear to be the dominant group as their language Halbi is the lingua franca of Bastar (Grigson, 1938; Majumdar, 1941). All the 14 Halba individuals, both male and female, included in the present study were drawn from the village of Barsur, the old capital of Bastar, and one of the strongholds of Halba.

**Telanga.** The Telanga sub-caste as they are known now, are the descendants of an old Telugu population that once held sway over the region. A few Telanga villages still survive like islands in the heart of Bison-horn Maria country, chiefly around the old administrative and religious centres, when the Telugu kingdoms were in existence. They speak Gondi or Halbi and observe most of Maria customs and festivals; and still provide priests and servitors of tutelary deities of old dynasties at Barsur and Dantewada (Grigson, 1938). The total number of persons tested is 19 which includes both the sexes.

**Raut.** The Raut are a cattle-tending caste. Throughout Bastar, except in the mountainous tract, almost every village has one or two Raut households. They are in large number in the northeastern Bastar and extend into the Koraput district of Orissa. The Raut also serves as a water-carrier to the visiting official. The few Raut individuals which are included in this study were drawn from Bison-horn Maria villages.

Banjara or Vanjara. The Banjara are a semi-nomad group. They are spread over a large area; from Rajasthan in the north to Andhra Pradesh and Mysore in the south, where they are known as Lambadi. In Bastar one can find Banjara settlements along the old trade routes.

The Sonar or Goldsmiths are an occupational caste and are found all over India.

In all cases, in addition to sex, the age of the subject was also recorded. The frequency of sickle-cell trait as reported includes the heterozygotes and any living homozygote. Inclusion of near relatives in the samples was avoided. Testing for sickling was done on the spot by using freshly prepared 2 per cent. solution of sodium-meta-bisulphite.

### Results and Discussion

Table I shows the frequency of sickle-cell trait in the Bisonhorn Maria, Raj Gond, Dorla, Halba and Mahra.

**Table I. Frequency of Sickle-Cell Trait with Respective Standard Error in Some Bastar Groups**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>No. of persons tested</th>
<th>No. of persons affected</th>
<th>Frequency of sickle-cell trait</th>
<th>Standard error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bison-Horn Maria</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0.1568</td>
<td>0.0267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raj Gond</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.1176</td>
<td>0.0391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorla (Western)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.1111</td>
<td>0.0605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halba</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.2647</td>
<td>0.0757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahra</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.4000</td>
<td>0.0894</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again the Mahra who are a non-tribal group show a marked difference from all other groups, including Halba, in having a very high frequency of the trait. The frequency of the trait in the south-western Mahra of the present study is nearly the same as in the north-eastern Mahra of Jagdalpur region, where it is circa 38 per cent. (Negi, 1963). It is of interest to note that though the Mahra of the two regions are isolated from each other they maintain the similar frequency of the trait. The Halba have the next higher frequency, which is comparatively higher than the three tribal groups. This difference is of interest in view of the fact that the Halba in spite of the aboriginal admixture have a different racial strain from that of the so-called ‘Gonds’ of Bastar. However, in view of the inadequate sample it is not possible to make any conclusive statement in this respect. The Raj Gond and Dorla have a similar frequency, which may be taken as an indication of the affinity between the two groups, in spite of the social advancement claimed by the Raj Gond. It may also be mentioned that the Dorla and Raj Gond frequency is almost the same as reported in the eastern Dorla of the riverain tract of Konta tahsil (Negi, 1962). The Bison-horn Maria show a slightly higher frequency than the Raj Gond and Dorla.

The inter-group homogeneity tests reveal that so far as the distribution of sickle-cell trait is concerned the Bison-horn Maria, Raj Gond, Dorla and Halba are homogeneous ($\chi^2 = 3.700$, d.f. = 2, $P > 0.10$); but the Mahra are heterogeneous to all the other groups taken together ($\chi^2 = 8.506$, d.f. = 1, $P < 0.05$).

Table II shows some other groups from which very small numbers of individuals were tested, but which are included in the present study just to indicate the presence or absence of the trait.

It is true that no far-reaching conclusions can be drawn from the results in Table II, but still some general remarks will be not altogether out of place. Out of the five groups no individual with sickle-cell trait was detected in the Telanga and Gond. As far as the Telanga are concerned, they are the descendants of Telugu people who were the migrants in the area and hence it is not
altogether surprising if they do not possess the trait. They may, however, be supposed to have acquired the trait through admixture, if any, with the tribal people, but in that case the incidence will be small, and may not be detected in such a small sample. But the absence of the trait in the Gond, even in the present small sample, is somewhat surprising, and can only be explained as due to chance.

| TABLE II. PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF THE TRAIT IN SOME OTHER BASTAR GROUPS |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Group          | No. of persons tested | No. of persons affected |
| Raut           | 9                        | 4                        |
| Banjara        | 5                        | 1                        |
| Sonar          | 1                        | 1                        |
| Telanga        | 19                       | —                       |
| Gond           | 19                       | —                       |

One Sonar sickler individual, recorded in Table II, was first tested as a member of another group, but was later discovered to be Sonar. The accidental detection of this one case is indicative of the miscegenation that is taking place in Bastar. The case was detected in the village of Bastar during work among the San Bhatra.

The detection of the trait in a Banjara woman gives rise to some interesting possibilities. It may be that this particular case was the result of miscegenation, but if that be not the case and the Banjara do have the trait, then we may find a continuous distribution of the trait spread in a wide area from Rajasthan to Mysore. The nomadic way of life of the Banjara in the past made them suitable agents for the dispersion of the sickle-cell trait. Further studies among the Banjara may be expected to throw some light on the undercurrent of the trait, which must exist in view of the occurrence of the trait in tribal and other low-caste populations of the Indian sub-continent in widely separated areas (Lehmann and Curtbush, 1952a, b; Dunlop and Majumdar, 1952; Bäch, 1955; Bhut et al., 1955; Sukumaran et al., 1956; Foy et al., 1956; Shukla and Solanki, 1958; Shukla et al., 1958; Lehmann, 1961; Das et al., 1961; Negi, 1962).

The few Raut individuals who are included in this study are from an area where they are in very small numbers. It is yet to be seen whether the trait is present among them in the north-east of Bastar, where their main concentration lies.

One significant fact that emerges out of the present as well as out of previous studies (Negi, 1962, and 1963) in Bastar is that all the tribal groups except the Dharwa have a similar incidence of this trait. This is especially true of all the groups which are classified by the generic term of 'Gond' in Bastar. The so-called Bastar 'Gonds' show a close affinity to each other with respect to the distribution of the sickle-cell trait. This observation is of considerable significance, in view of the 'cultural affinity' observed by Briggan (1938) and the 'racial affinity' pointed out by Majumdar (1941). The fact that the trait has comparatively a lower frequency than 'the equilibrium value of 40 per cent. postulated by Allinson' (Livingstone, 1958) suggests that the Bastar 'Gonds' may have acquired the trait through inflow from some outside elements in the recent past. Could it then be the Mahra or Mahar who are responsible for introducing the trait to the Bastar populations? One objection to such a hypothesis is that the Mahar or the Mahar have the lowest social status, which is true even in the tribal set-up of Bastar. Their social status bars them from having marriage relations with other groups. However, a certain degree of miscegenation cannot be ruled out; and in view of the established fact that in the case of the sickle-cell trait, even with the introduction of a very small magnitude in a people living in a highly malnourished region with high infant mortality, the gene can spread rapidly in a few generations to give rise to a moderate incidence in the population (Allison, 1954; Maynard Smith, 1954; Lehmann, 1956–7), it can be said that to a certain extent the Mahar, or Mahra may have been responsible for the introduction of the gene in Bastar, partially if not wholly.

Mahra of Bastar are, probably, but an extension of the Mahar of Maharashtra, among whom also comparatively high frequency of the trait has been detected (Shukla and Solanki, 1958; Das et al., 1961). The difference between the frequencies of the gene in Mahra of Bastar, which is almost equal to the equilibrium frequency of 40 per cent., and the Mahra of Nagpur region (c. 20 per cent.), can well be explained as due to the operation of selection in favour of heterozygote in the newly highly malnourished habitat of Bastar. The Mahra are a very widespread group of mixed origin. They are not tribal but some degree of tribal mixture must have taken place in ancient times to give rise to the present population (Karve and Dandekar, 1951). It remains to be seen how the trait is distributed among the Mahra in various regions of their habitat in Maharashtra and parts of Mysore. The sickle-cell trait most probably originated in the aboriginal component which went into the composition of present-day Mahra. The same component could also have been the dispersal agent of the trait in the various populations of the Indian region. The vital question now is who the component were. An extensive study of the trait, with other studies, may in future lead us to the solution. It is also my belief that such studies may also help to solve the tangle of the 'Gond problem—one of the cardinal problems of Deccan ethnology' (Führ-Haimendorf, 1948).

Summary

It seems permissible to draw the following conclusions from the preceding results and discussion:

1. All the groups which are classified under the generic term Gond have a moderate frequency of sickle-cell trait ranging from c. 11 per cent. to c. 15 per cent. All the groups are homogeneous with respect to the trait.

2. The Halba who are not strictly a tribal group, but may have undergone admixture after they migrated into Bastar, have a higher frequency (c. 26 per cent.) of the trait. However, the inadequacy of sample size is noted as a limitation upon further suggestions.

3. In the Mahra, a non-tribal group, the sickle-cell trait approaches the 'equilibrium frequency of 40 per cent.' The present sample although seems to be representative as the frequency is similar to that found in a larger sample in a previous study.

4. A few individuals of some other groups have been found to possess the trait, which indicates that the trait is widely spread in Bastar.

5. The possibilities of finding the trait distributed in a continuous area from Rajasthan to Mysore are discussed, as indicated by the detection of the trait in a Banjara woman.

6. The possibilities of the introduction of the trait by Mahar or Mahra in Bastar are discussed. The 'aboriginal component' that went into the composition of present-day Mahra might have been the source of dispersion of the trait in various populations of the Indian region.

Acknowledgment

I wish to thank Shri S. H. Ahmad for his valuable help in collection of data during the field work.

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**Iron-Smelting in the Hill Village of Sukur, North-Eastern Nigeria.** By Hano Sasso, Conservator of Antiquities, Tanganyika, formerly Deputy Director, Department of Antiquities, Nigeria. With six figures

**Introduction**

In the course of investigations carried out during 1961 into the local methods of smelting iron in Nigeria I visited some of the hill villages in the area formerly known as the Northern Cameroons, but now forming part of the Sardauna Province in Northern Nigeria. Two points of especial interest drew my attention to Sukur, a village about 2,000 feet above the Madagali plains and about 30 miles south of Gwoza. The first point was that the people of Sukur had decided that the iron imported from Europe and available in markets made such poor-quality tools that it would pay them to revive the smelting of their locally produced ores. The extent of this revival may be gathered from the following approximate figures:

- Number of smelters working in 1954: 50
- Number of smelters working in 1961: 15
- Number of smelters working in 1962: 19
- Number preparing to smelt in 1963: 30

Smelting in Sukur is therefore very much a living trade.

The second point of interest was that the ore which was being smelted was said to be the black sands collected from the sandy beds of streams after rainstorms. Several authorities have come to the conclusion that black river sands could not be smelted by primitive smelters without some form of crucible process. The following quotation from Richardson (1934) indicates the importance of this point in the study of the origins of iron-smelting:

A series of preliminary experiments made by the author with black river sands, collected from various arroyos in southern Arizona, show that repeated washings are necessary to remove objectionable amounts of silica and gangue. This carefully done, a fine crystalline ore may be obtained with free iron running between sixty and eighty per cent. The ore particles after washing are so fine, however, that smelting in an open-fired furnace could never be carried out, no matter how carefully the drafts were controlled; hence the deduction that if the Chalybes smelted river sand, as Aristotle asserts, they must have evolved some form of crucible process. But smelting carefully done in sealed crucibles with the addition of coal, or other carbonaceous material, would yield steel of varying hardness at will of the operator. It is suggested that possibly herein lies a solution of the traditional mystery of the excellence of Chalybean iron.

Przeworski (1939) also does not consider that magnetic iron ore would be a suitable source of iron for the early smelters. On the other hand, David Livingstone (1874), describing iron-smelting about 80 miles west of the southern end of Lake Nyasa, wrote that 'the ore (probably the black oxide) was like sand, and put in at the top of the furnace, mixed with charcoal.' Cline (1936) records more than half a dozen instances of magnetite being used as an iron ore. There is no mention of any crucible process for the reduction of magnetite, but the accounts consulted by Cline were possibly not very detailed.

The views quoted above indicate the extent to which investigators into the origins of iron-smelting have rejected magnetite as a possible source of iron. Its metallic lustre, however, would seem to make it very probable that the earliest experimenters in metal smelting would have tried to use magnetite rather than the much more stone-like and less promising hematite and limonite. In view of the bearing which the question has upon the original discovery of the art of smelting iron, it was considered worth trying to establish whether the black river sands really were being smelted, and if so, exactly what the process was.

I therefore made plans to visit the Sukur smelters during April, 1962, to record their smelting process as thoroughly as possible. I reached Sukur on 23 April and spent three days there. At the time of my arrival one or two smelters had already been at work for a few days, but most of the furnaces were in the final stages of reconstruction and preparation.

**Preparation of the Ore and the Fuel**

Women are entirely responsible for the collection and preparation of the ore. During the later part of the rainy season, July—September, they go to the sandy stream beds in between heavy storms and wash and collect the black sands which, being heavier than the quartz sand, have been left behind on the surface by the storm water. These sands, which are principally composed of magnetite, are stored in a large pot, sealed with clay, until the next smelting season, April—May. A sloping trough is then dug inside the threshing area and enough magnetite sand for a day's smelting is washed repeatedly to purify and concentrate it and get rid of the quartz sand and other impurities. After washing, the black sand is spread in the sun to dry. Later it is taken to the smelting furnace and stored in a heap near the furnace. During
the course of the day's smelting, whenever the burning charcoal is taken out of the furnace it is put on to the heap of ore to warm it and dry it. (See fig. 1.)

**Fig. 1. Preparing Iron Ore**

The woman is washing the black magnetite sands to get rid of quartz sand and other impurities. This is done in a shallow trench dug in the enclosed area used as a threshing floor. Photographs: H. Sassoon, 1961

The supply of charcoal is the responsibility of the men. Charcoal is burned wherever there are suitable trees, which nowadays may be up to 20 miles away from Sukur, down in the plains. The trees used most are those with hard wood; genera mentioned included *Acacia*, *Khaya* and *Pterocarpus*.

**The Furnace**

In principle, the furnace is of the type which is common throughout the hill areas of Northern Nigeria but which, so far as I know, has never been adequately described in English. The furnace itself is a cylindrical construction of clay or earth, built into a natural earth bank (see fig. 2). The draft is forced, and is provided by a pair of drum bellows operated by a man sitting above and behind the furnace at the level of the top of the earth bank. He is protected from the heat and the fumes from the furnace by a thin guard wall of building earth about three feet high. The draught from the bellows is directed downwards into a large earthen pipe which occupies the centre of the furnace shaft. The lower end of the pipe is somewhere near the middle of the furnace. The effect of this design is that the bellows deliver a stream of pre-heated air into the centre of the charge of ore and charcoal inside the furnace. (See fig. 3.)

At Sukur, the furnaces and the open working spaces in front of them are covered with a temporary shelter of woven grass mats and leafy branches to provide protection from the sun. The furnace itself is three feet high. At its base there is a large opening one and a half feet high. Six inches above this is a small round opening eight inches in diameter into which are tipped the charcoal and the ore. This is referred to as the mouth of the furnace. The internal width of the furnace at ground level is about 16 inches, and the average depth from front to back slightly over a foot. The guard wall is roughly three feet square. Behind the guard wall is a small bank of building earth which holds the two bellows bowls, and which is extended backwards to provide a seat for the bellows operator. The bellows bowls are made of pottery and have an internal diameter of about six inches, and are three or four inches deep. At the bottom and to one side of each bowl is a one-inch outlet hole. This leads to a ten-inch pottery pipe with an

**Fig. 2. The Furnace**

(Left) A furnace almost ready for firing. The plants considered essential for a satisfactory smelt have not yet been sealed into the ten holes. Nine of these can be seen in the inner furnace wall, and the tenth is underneath the thorny twig which serves to keep evil spirits out of the furnace. The hammerstone and knife used for making the holes can be seen in front of the furnace. (Centre) The pottery bellows bowls installed behind the guard wall. The central tuyère has not yet been put into position. (Right) The smelter preparing the fire for another charge. The ore is on the right of the furnace. Behind the guard wall the bellows-operator's head can be seen. On top of the guard wall are some clay models of animals and a man. These did not appear to have any significance.
internal diameter of one inch. The two pipes are also set into the bank of building earth in such a way that their two lower ends come out together immediately above the single central pipe. They are not joined to this pipe, so that it is at this point that air is drawn in when the bellows are being worked. The bellows bowls are covered with goat skin, and each skin has tied to it a small piece of wood and this is held by the bellows operator between the forefinger and thumb of each hand. As he lowers each hand to force the air down the pipe, the extended fingers hold the skin down and control the pressure.

**Fig. 3. THE BELLOWS-OPERATOR AT WORK**

The central pipe or tuyère is made by the smelter or his assistants from specially selected clay moulded around a stick and formed into a massive tube with an internal diameter of two inches, an external diameter of five inches and a total length of two and a half feet. The top of the pipe is fixed into a hole immediately behind the base of the guard wall with stones and building earth. The pipe hangs down into the centre of the furnace; its lower end is not secured in any way. After a day's smelting the end of the pipe is usually so much reduced and deformed that the pipe itself has to be replaced by a spare pipe, one or two of which are always kept at hand. The fused end of the old pipe is broken off, and a new end is moulded onto it with clay.

In the working space in front of the furnace and usually about eight feet from it, a large earthenware pot is sunk in the ground. This contains water for dousing the fire and the 'core' of iron, charcoal and slag when it is extracted from the furnace. Near the pot there is a pillar of earth about three feet high. The top is often bowl-shaped and used for collecting pieces of metal which have broken away from the main core. But the main purpose of this pillar is said to be to provide some protection for the smelter from the heat when the furnace is opened. In some convenient corner of the working area, a low bench is made with a flat slab of rock. Under this bench is a storage hole where the iron cores are put away as they are completed. At the end of the day's work, they are all taken home.

The front of the furnace is made smooth and strong by the application of a mixture of earth and the juice extracted from the bark of the tree *Grewia mollis*, *Juss* (called *lehua* in Sukur). Inside the furnace, when it is being prepared for the season's firing, ten holes are made, one in the floor of the furnace and the others in vertical rows of three on either side and at the back of the inside of the furnace. Into these holes are put slices of the tuber of an aroid lily which in Sukur is called *yiurum ghila* (meaning 'furnace medicine') and which has been provisionally identified as *Amor-

*phallus draconitoides* N.E.Br. With the pieces of tuber are mixed pieces of bark from the tree known in Sukur as *mazalu*, which is a *Ficus* sp. Before firing the furnace, the holes are sealed off with clay. It is said that it is not until the third or fourth day of smelting that the iron begins to form really well, because the juices from the vegetable matter in these holes are not drawn out until the fire has been burning for some time.

**Smelting Practice**

Charcoal is pushed into and piled up in the front hole of the furnace and this opening is then closed with several old tuyère pipes placed horizontally and secured in position with a rock; any remaining gaps are filled in with bits of rock and broken pipe. Embers from the cooking fire in the smelter's house are put in through the mouth of the furnace and more charcoal is added, and the blow begins. When the charcoal has caught fire thoroughly a little more charcoal is added, a charge of ore is tipped from a shallow wooden scoop and more charcoal is added on top of the ore. At one furnace, the practice was to put in five such charges and complete the smelt in about 40 minutes. I gathered that this was the usual practice. But at the furnace which I studied in detail, the practice was to charge seven times and complete the smelt in about one hour. (Figs. 4 and 5.)

When the smelter considered the smelt complete, the rock and the old tuyère pipes were quickly dragged away by the two assistants using long sticks, and the red-hot charcoal fell out onto the ground in a brilliant cascade. Water was scooped onto it so that the smelters' assistants could get at the core of iron and charcoal which was loosened up onto the end of the central pipe. The core was levered down and out of the furnace with sticks, care being taken not to jog or dislodge the central pipe. The core was pushed over to and into the sunken pot of water and left there to cool. As soon as the core was out, the assistants pushed the hot charcoal back into the furnace, blocked up the opening and the bellows-operator began to work at full pressure again for the next smelt. He had in fact continued to blow gently whilst the core was being removed to prevent the fire going up the central pipe and burning the bellows.

At the base of the core when it comes out of the furnace there is a conglomerate of slag and charcoal, and most of this is struck off with a stick before the core is dropped into the water pot. As soon as it has cooled a little, the smelter raises the core from the water with a stick and chips away as much as he can of the adhering slag and the enclosed pieces of charcoal. For this work he uses a small iron pick.

**The Smith's Duties**

When the smelting season is finished the cores which have been made are broken into fragments by hammering them in an old, deep grinding hole. The charcoal and slag are separated from the iron, which is stored in a pot. When the owner of the iron wants a new hoe or axe, he takes enough iron ('about a handful') to the blacksmith, who heats the iron in his forge for about half-an-hour. When it has become tacky at the edges and begun to adhere together it is lifted out with a pair of iron tongs and held on a rock whilst the smith's two assistants strike it in rapid succession with great stone hammers. In between blows the smith deftly turns the mass of iron so that it is beaten together. With this treatment, the iron coalesces into a lump and the slag and other impurities become detached. The bar is then returned to the fire and forged to whatever shape is required.

If currency bars are needed, a special arrangement has to be made with the smith so that he can give the whole day to the work. A potful of the broken iron fragments is taken to the
Fig. 4. Smelting and After

(Left) Smelting in progress; the bellows-operator is hidden behind the guard wall. (Centre) Smelting in progress. (Right) The furnace cleaned out at the end of a day's work. The central pipe can be seen clearly, the lower end fused where it has been in the hottest part of the fire.

smithy and the smith undertakes the wholesale production of the bars. Whatever type of work is required of the smith, payment is made with food and drink. For a day's work making currency bars, the smith will receive a basketful of guineacorn, and plenty of beer and guineacorn porridge for himself and for his assistants.

Fig. 5. Opening the Furnace

The old tuyère pipes have just been pulled away from the furnace opening with long sticks and the burning charcoal is falling out.

Fig. 6. Diagrammatic Section through the Furnace and Bellows


Economics

Unfortunately, before I had completed trials to see what quantities of ore and charcoal were being used, a heavy storm
occurred and smelting was abandoned for a few days in favour of the more urgent task of planting guineacorn. The following figures are therefore based on the smelter's estimates. Using five baskets of charcoal (containing 45 lb. each), and four calabashes of ore (containing 50 lb. each), he estimated that he could produce nine cores in a good day's work. Sample dry cores made in the previous year were found to weigh about 5 lb. each, and it was said that from a core two iron currency bars could be made, or three if it happened to be a particularly rich core. Currency bars weigh about 13 oz. each. These figures indicate that it takes about 225 lb. of charcoal and 200 lb. of ore to make 16 lb. of forged iron.

In terms of cash and bride price, a currency bar may be worth 10d. or 1s., and one hundred or more bars are needed to pay the bride price.

A smelter has a strong obligation towards the community and provided that he has finished smelting for himself, may not refuse to smelt a neighbour's ore if asked to do so. In 1962, the smelter recorded was working in conjunction with his two sons. They had burned the charcoal and their wives had collected the ore. Between them they expected to produce about one hundred cores which would be shared between them. After they had finished that work they would start on their neighbours' ore. Both ore and charcoal would be supplied by the client, who would also provide food and drink for the smelter and his sons so long as they were working on his ore.

Conclusion

Sukur is a village with a history. For centuries it has held spiritual leadership amongst the surrounding hill villages and, like them, it owes its origins to Gudur, half-way between Madagali and Marua. The chief of Sukur still preserves the remoteness of divinity, and it was the necessity for the people of Sukur to give up whatever they were doing and go and plant the guineacorn on the chief's farmland which deprived me of the opportunity of recording the smelting process more thoroughly. This was especially regrettable in that a much fuller photographic record of each stage of the process is required, as well as accurate details of the quantities of ore and charcoal used and the iron produced. However, perhaps in the future other investigators may be able to visit Sukur during the smelting season. It should not be left too long: inevitably the present revival will be defeated by the influx of mass-produced iron, poor though its quality may be in comparison with the Sukur iron. But the point is now established that the Chalybes, smelting their excellent iron over three thousand years ago, could have made their iron in shaft furnaces from the river sands, just as Aristotle recorded.

Appendix: Sukur Words Connected with Smelting

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ghilia} & \quad \text{The furnace, and also the place where smelting is done.} \\
\text{Kakulum ghilia} & \quad \text{The guard wall protecting the bellows man (fig. 6a).} \\
\text{Ngu ghilia} & \quad \text{The mouth of the furnace through which charcoal and ore are charged (fig. 6f).} \\
\text{Shin ghilia} & \quad \text{The nose of the furnace, just below the mouth of the furnace.} \\
\text{Maparam ghilia} & \quad \text{The face of the furnace; the large opening at the bottom from which the core and charcoal are removed.} \\
\text{Whud ghilia} & \quad \text{The inside of the furnace.} \\
\text{Vut yiwin} & \quad \text{Hole for medicine, where the lily tuber and tree bark are put.} \\
\text{Dogurik} & \quad \text{The sitting place for the bellows operator.} \\
\text{Yiu ghilia} & \quad \text{The eyes of the furnace, i.e. the bottoms of the two pipes below the bellows, above the top of the central pipe (fig. 6d).}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{Pottery bellows bowl (fig. 6b).} \]
\[\text{Bellows.} \]
\[\text{The main pipe in the centre of the furnace (fig. 6d).} \]
\[\text{The area in front of the furnace.} \]
\[\text{The column-like guard for the smelter when throwing water onto the burning charcoal.} \]
\[\text{The place where the smelted iron is stowed away till the end of the day.} \]
\[\text{Iron.} \]
\[\text{Iron sand.} \]
\[\text{Slag (lit. iron excrement).} \]
\[\text{Charcoal.} \]
\[\text{Blacksmith.} \]
\[\text{The water pot in which the iron is doused.} \]
\[\text{Iron-smelter.} \]
\[\text{Iron pick for taking charcoal out of the core.} \]
\[\text{Core from furnace.} \]
\[\text{Iron bar made from dimbile and used for bride price. Value about 1s.; 100 (or more) required for a wife.} \]

References


With three figures

The furnace here described is situated on Mr. Strydom's farm, some eight miles north-east of Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia (lat. 17° 50' S., long. 25° 53' E.). Excavation was carried out in August, 1961, under the auspices of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, as part of the practical training provided for students of the Museum's Fifth Winter School of Prehistoric Archaeology.1

A low hill rises some 100 yards south-west of the site and ferricrete is exposed over much of its surface. Siting of smelting furnaces close to a source of raw material is a not uncommon feature (e.g. Inskeep, 1959).

The Furnace

The structure stood on the north-west side of a flattened ant hill, material from which had apparently been used in its construction. The top of the ant hill itself was covered by a slag heap some 15–20 feet in diameter and one foot high, which, apart from a small sector of the top of the furnace wall, was the only surface feature of the site prior to excavation. A five-foot square of the slag heap was excavated down to the ancient ground surface and was found to consist, apart from slight admixture of earth and broken tuyères, almost entirely of slag, 380 lb. being recovered from the one square. From this figure a total of 3.2 tons for the whole heap can be calculated.

The external dimensions of the furnace itself were five feet five inches by four feet ten inches, and the dagga walls, the outsides of which were almost vertical, survived to a maximum height.
of one foot six inches, with an average thickness of 10–11 inches at the base and 3–4 inches at the top. The stoke hole (No. 1 on the plan, fig. 1), positioned on the long axis of the furnace, facing the slag heap, rose from ancient ground level to a height of one foot and measured one foot one inch across at the base. Diagonically opposite this was another hole, 10 inches wide, and round the walls 11 apertures for ventilation, ranging in width from four to 6½ inches. Of these four retained tuyères in situ (Nos. 3, 4, 13 with two tuyères each and No. 2 with five tuyères). These ventilation holes were piriform in outline with a projecting external flange at the bottom. The level of their bases above the ancient ground surface increased steadily round the furnace from three inches at hole No. 5 to one foot at No. 12. Those nearer the ant hill and slag heap sloped downwards through the walls at an angle of c. 45°, and appeared to have been placed higher so that their leeward position did not reduce their efficiency in providing draught. The level of one hole (No. 12) had in fact been raised some four inches during the life of the furnace, presumably to counteract the sheltering effect of the rising slag heap. No platforms or other pieces of evidence for the use of bellows were observed.

Inside the walls a hollow some three feet six inches in diameter and six inches deep had been dug, with a pit some six inches deeper and one foot six inches across just inside the stoke hole for the reception of the products of smelting.

Description of Finds and General Discussion

The fill of the Strydom’s Farm furnace consisted of fragments of horizontal sheets of consolidated slag and layers of ash and charcoal. As it is recorded (Chaplin, 1961) that the Lungu, for instance, filled their furnaces before firing with alternate layers of ore and charcoal, it would appear that this example had not been cleared out after its last, perhaps unsuccessful, firing.

Small finds from the excavation were limited to a fragment of a large grindstone found high in the furnace fill and 76 burnt clay plugs (fig. 2), oval in outline, flat on one side, convex on the other, and often vitrified by exposure to intense heat. Their average dimensions were c. five inches by 3½ inches by two inches thick. In ventilation hole No. 13 one of these plugs was found in situ as a wedge to hold the tuyères in place, but it is more probable that their usual function was to act as temporary stoppers for the outer ends of the tuyères, to regulate the draught. The tuyères found in situ are inset by about 1½ inches at the outside and the curvature of the bottom of the ventilation holes in the furnace walls corresponds to that of the plugs. Control of draught by opening and closing tuyères was recorded by Mungo Park (1799, p. 284) in West Africa.

The number of holes (13) round the base of the Strydom’s Farm furnace is exceptionally large, eight being the usual maximum (Cline, 1937, passim).

The small quantity (some 150 lb.) of daga fragments recovered suggests that the original height of the furnace walls was no greater than the present maximum. This view is confirmed by the rounded and finished top of the surviving walls on the east side and by their inclination and thinness. It would clearly have been impossible for these walls to have formed the base of a tall, tapering structure of the type usual in Northern Rhodesian natural-draught furnaces as described, for example, by Fagan (1962). Cline (1937) suggests that height increases efficiency as the carbon monoxide thus has a greater chance of acting on the ore. However, a furnace at Sinde River, some 10 miles from Strydom’s Farm (Inskipp, 1959), measured some four feet in diameter with an estimated height of two feet six inches and very little taper. Perhaps the production of draught in furnaces of this type was assisted by sealing their tops, before firing, with a thin skin of daga which could be replaced each time the furnace was used.
No diagnostic cultural material was recovered during the
evacuation and there is thus, with our present knowledge of
furnace typology, no archaeological evidence of date. Inskemp's
(1959) argument for a pre-mid-nineteenth-century date for the
Sinde furnaces, based on Livingston's record of the scarcity of
iron among the Toka of the Victoria Falls area, could also,
preumably, be applied to Strydom's farm, but it should be noted
that there are also records (D. and C. Livingston, 1864, p. 314)
of nineteenth-century iron-working in the area immediately to
the east.

A sample of charcoal from inside the furnace has been submitted
to the Gulbenkian Radio-Carbon Dating Laboratory at the
University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury, but
no result is yet available.

Notes
1 Thanks are due to Mr. Strydom for permission to excavate
and to the staff of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum and the Northern
Rhodesia Monuments Commission for their assistance. I must
also thank especially Dr. B. M. Fagan and Mr. C. K. Cooke for
much help and encouragement during the excavation and the
preparation of this report.
2 I am grateful to Mr. C. K. Cooke for this suggestion.

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The Nature of Kinship. By Professor David M. Schneider,
University of Chicago

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The question of just what kinship is and how it is
best studied has been discussed at length by Geinlner,
with comments by Needham and Barnes. Now Beattie has added
his voice to this discussion.

Where Geilner bases his definition of kinship on physical,
biological facts, Beattie rejects this view. In the course of critici-
zng Geilner, Beattie states his own view of the nature of
kinship. I confine myself to this part of Beattie's paper. The simple
fact of the matter seems to be that where Geilner says that social
kinship is and should be defined in part in terms of physical
kinship, Beattie comes very close to saying that there is no such
thing as kinship at all. It is not necessary to agree with Geilner to
appreciate his well formulated and well developed argument.

Beattie's basic position is stated on p. 102 in the paragraph
which begins 'Geilner's lumping together of ...' I quote here
what I take to be the heart of Beattie's view.

1 The whole point about kinship relations for the social anthropologis-
it is that they must be something else, for example
political, jural, economic or ritual. Kinship is the idiom in
which certain kinds of political, jural, economic, etc., relations
are talked and thought about in certain societies. It is not a
further category of social relationships, which can be set beside
political relationships, economic relationships and so on, as
though it were commensurate with them. To suppose that it
can be is to misunderstand the whole nature of kinship as social
anthropologists study it' (p. 102).

Kinship is an 'idiom,' in terms of which economic and political,
etc., relations are expressed. It is something, it has a name, but its
content is not kinship at all, but instead is economic or political or
whatever. A kinship relationship must be something else because
there is no such thing as a kinship relationship except as an idiom.

Beattie says:
'To say that a relationship is a political one or an economic
one at once gives us some idea of what kind of relationship it is
(e.g. that it is concerned with maintenance of territorial
order, or with the production and distribution of resources).
To say, on the other hand, that a social relationship is a kinship
one is to tell us nothing at all of its content' (p. 102).

Because it has no content, and because it is an idiom, 'It is not
a further category of social relationships, which can be set beside
political relationships, economic relationships, and so on' (p. 102).
Just what is 'content' that kinship has none? What is an
'idiom'?

The fact that kinship is used as symbol and idiom does not in
itself mean that kinship has no content. Economics and politics
also can be used symbolically, and Beattie has already assured us
that they have content. When, for instance, a son gardens and
shares his crop with his father, father and son have an economic
relationship (among others). The bringing of the garden produce
to the father, by the son, 'because he is my father' may express
their economic relationship in kinship terms.

This is, of course, equally true the other way around. The
relationship between father and son is symbolized by and expressed
through the idiom of economic relationship. Beattie seems to say,
therefore, that the father-son relationship, as a kinship relation-
ship, has no content other than economic. He has not expressed
himself on whether a kinship relationship can be stated in the
idiom of economics, but it would seem self-evident that it can.
Bridewealth and marriage prestations are perhaps good examples of
the expression of kinship relationship in economic terms.

But if we accept the fact that a kinship relationship can be
symbolized by an economic relationship, and an economic
relationship can be expressed in the idiom of kinship, it immedi-
ately becomes apparent that this is true for everything—politics,
economics, ritual, religion, magic, law and the like. And even for
language, of course.

If kinship is symbol and idiom, and if everything else has its
symbolic and idiomatic aspect, this hardly distinguishes kinship
from anything else. To say, therefore, that kinship is the idiom
in terms of which other relationships are expressed is to say
nothing at all.

If one is to understand Beattie, then, one must understand what
'content' means according to Beattie's view. Economic relation-
ship has content, he says, and he exemplifies an economic relation-
ship as one having to do with the production and distribution of
resources. When a man brings the product of his garden to his
Church, the product of his garden having to do with produc-
tion and distribution of resources, he has undertaken a relationship
which has content—an economic relationship in this case. When
a man brings the product of his garden to his father, this is also
an economic relationship. Beattie's view is that these are the same.
The content of both relationships is exhausted by their
economic character. And, of course, if a man brings the product
of his garden and places it on a shrine where his ancestors can
partake of its essence, this too is an economic relationship. The
only difference between these three relationships, Beattie seems
to be saying, is that one is with a Church, one with a father, and

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one with ancestral spirits. Since in each case these are merely the idiom of the relationship, then there is no significant difference between them except the idiom in terms of which the economic relationship is expressed.

But if Beattie now should argue that there is a difference between an economic relationship between a man and his father, a man and his Church and a man and his ancestral spirits, then the question raises of what this difference consists in. If the difference is anything more than of merely equivalent modes of expression, it follows logically that there is other content than only economic to each of these three relationships. And if there is other content to them, then there is content to the kinship relationship, as well as to the religious and the ritual relationship.

I repeat this point for the sake of clarity and so that it should not be misunderstood. If the relationship between a man and his father, his church and his ancestors is different in any significant way other than in its economic aspects, then the economic aspects of the relationship do not exhaust that relationship and it follows that there is a difference in content as well as in idiom between those three relationships.

Let us turn for a moment to the problem of Beattie’s use of the notion of idiom. If kinship is idiom and symbol, this is as much as to say that kinship is a form of social language within which other relationships are expressed. Kinship as a social language functions, of course, as a form of communication. This position is not unfamiliar. Lévi-Strauss has put the matter in similar terms. If kinship is symbol and idiom, then perhaps it is in the nature of the symbols and the idioms used that the difference between kinship and other things is to be found. A language is a system of symbols and contains idioms. Language as a symbol system is built on phonetic and phonemic elements; kinship as a symbol system is built on consanguineal and affinal elements.

But here again, what has been said for language and for kinship applies equally well for politics, economics, religion, law, ritual and all the rest of the ‘institutions’ of society. The argument that the circulation of goods and services or money functions as an ‘idiom’ is by no means new or ingenious. Relationship expressed in the idiom of money may be, in certain formal characteristics, identical with relationship expressed in the idiom of kinship. Yet I do not even think that Beattie would argue that money and kinship are identical. There is a quality to a relationship marked by money that is different in important respects from relationship marked by the circulation of women as wives. The relationship of the money which is ‘made by’ a first investment to the money of the first investment is not the same as that of the children which are ‘made by’ a wife to their mother, first given in an affinal exchange. This is not because women have children and money cannot bear money, for the fact is that by cultural definition meaning can be given to money which is identical in this respect to the meaning attributed to women. By its cultural definition (not by its inherent nature) kinship means something, has content, has socio-cultural implications, which money, by its cultural meaning, does not.

Yet if kinship is distinguished by the nature of its symbols and these are the symbols of consanguinity and affinity, we must be careful about how we proceed, for with almost no difficulty at all we can find ourselves back in Gellner’s position. The symbols of affinity are well known from their nature, which Fortes, Gough, Malinowski and Marion J. Levy Jr. have described to us at length. From them we know what marriage is ‘is’. One way or another it turns on the facts of sexual intercourse, undeniably a biological activity. For the meaning of consanguinity we can go to any dictionary or to these same theorists. It means a blood relationship, and this is only an idiom for a bio-genetic, physical relationship which is a not unusual outcome of that biological activity, sexual intercourse, just as Gellner has said all along.

But this is clearly not the path which either Beattie or I want to take. If we agree that the nature of the symbols and the idiom is of some consequence, it is precisely not the biological, physical aspects of its nature which we take to be significant.

In dismissing the biological definition of kinship, Beattie can see nothing left, nothing to take the place of such a biological definition. Therefore he sees kinship as empty of content. And this may be because he has not yet discovered the true content of kinship. It may well lie beyond his ken because he does not have a good theory to guide him. Or it may be that he has not looked for it in the right place. He may have only looked for it in those so-called ‘primitive societies’ in which it is hardly possible to see the kinship for the economics or politics which obscure it. Perhaps if he had looked for it in England or America or France he might have found a society where kinship is laid bare to analytical inspection by virtue of the fact that it has been refracted from the economic and political and ritual and religious functions with which it is so closely associated elsewhere. Beattie should know that just because the relationship between a father and son contains economic content, this does not mean that it lacks all other content, or that it lacks kinship content.1

Notes

2 I have developed some parts of this argument in a paper which will shortly appear in a book edited by M. J. Levy, Jr., The nature of kinship is defined and discussed more fully in my article ‘Kinship’ in the Encyclopedia Hebraica, Vol. XVIII, in press.

OBITUARY

Lord Raglan: 1885-1964. With a portrait

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Lord Raglan: 1885-1964. With a portrait

With the death of Lord Raglan in his eightieth year on 14 September, the Institute has lost the services and support of one of its best-known Fellows. He had been closely connected with many of its activities for over 40 years and was President from 1955 to 1957.

Fitzroy Richard Somerset, fourth Baron Raglan, was born on 10 June, 1885. He was a distinguished member of an earlier generation of scholars whose contributions to anthropology had been stimulated by a considerable period of service overseas. Embarking on a military career, he passed out from Sandhurst to a commission in the Grenadier Guards in 1905, went to Hong Kong in 1911 and in 1913 volunteered for service in the Sudan on secondment to the Egyptian Army, where he was posted as District Commissioner, Mongalla Province, until 1919. A paper on the Lotuko which he contributed to the first volume of Sudan Notes and Records in 1918 brought him in touch with Professor C. G. Seligman, who was actively concerned in promoting ethnographical research in the Sudan and encouraged him to extend his studies which included work on the Lotuko language, published in the second volume of the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, 1921–3. After two years as a Political Officer attached to the
Egyptian Expeditionary Force in Palestine, during which he interested himself in marriage and domestic customs among the Druses and other communities, he returned to England in 1921 on succeeding to the title.

Devoting most of his leisure from then on to anthropological reading, he found in the Institute, of which he became a Fellow in 1921, a valuable and congenial means of pursuing these interests. At this time, when anthropological studies were less developed, the Institute played a large part through its meetings and publications in bringing together scholars both from within and outside the universities and provided a meeting ground for different disciplines which he greatly valued. He became a familiar figure on the council, to which he was first elected in 1930, and his outspoken but constructive views and pithy comments were much appreciated. He regularly attended Institute meetings when he was in London and contributed to MAN many reviews which often strongly reflected his personal views. During the last war he gave the Institute valuable assistance in providing storage for its records and a part of its library. For a number of years he made arrangements for the Institute's annual dinner to be held at the House of Lords.

Lord Raglan was mainly concerned with problems of the origins, survival and diffusion of religious observances and ritual symbols. Convinced that effective invention and cultural elaboration occurred only rarely and in centres of high civilization, he documented from very wide reading his view of the inertia and degradation of custom and the widespread diffusion which had perpetuated early doctrines and ritual forms. This led him to some extreme assertions that overlooked evidence for innovation and stressed similarities of form at the expense of differences in context and meaning. But he was able to point to many examples of elements in later European ceremonials and custom which had remote origins. And he had a keen eye for unsupported assumptions and dubious analogies which he saw in some ad hoc explanations of custom and attacked with pungency and humour in his writings on such topics as the historicity of tradition and pedigrees or psychological explanations of ritual observances.

In his first book, Jocasta's Crime (1933), a study of the Oedipus myth and a critique of current theories concerning incest prohibitions, he did something to have proved his own speculations which attributed incest prohibitions to the empirical and cost of rules adopted to establish exogamous relations between moieties in a primaeval community. But he made some sound criticisms of other views then current and stressed the error of regarding familial incest prohibitions in isolation and the need to consider them in connexion with other observances between the sexes and to relations within and between kin groups. In a later essay, The Hero, published in 1936, some part of which had been presented as a Presidential Address to the Anthropology Section of the British Association in 1933, he found a subject very appropriate to his interests and approach. Demonstrating similarities in thematic elements among Classical and later European heroic myths and internal evidence for a continuity of tradition in them, he sought a connexion between these myths and early rituals of kingship. He criticized very effectively some of the assumptions then current in attempts by various scholars to euhemerize these myths as distorted records of historic events. He was President of the Folklore Society from 1945 to 1947, and contributed to its journal a number of papers concerning survivals in folklore of themes derived from early mythology and ritual. This year he published in The Temple and the House a study of household and marriage observances to show their derivation from early cosmological and other rituals associated with temples and palaces, and he was actively engaged at the time of his death on a book which dealt with ceremonial aspects and ritual sources of class differences in early societies.

Since his outlook stemmed from the concern of earlier anthropologists in the origins of elements of ritual and belief and the evidence for the wide diffusion and survival of early forms among later peoples, he paid less attention to the concern of later field research with the functions and meanings of myth and rite in contemporary societies or with particular processes of cultural and social change. While this led him to some assumptions and conclusions which were not generally accepted, his lively and trenchant style secured considerable attention to his views. His approach to the interpretation of mythical elements in ancient literature contributed valuable criticism and ideas to these studies. Here he found much in common with Dr. A. M. Hocart with whom he established close relations and he collected and edited a number of Hocart's articles and manuscripts for posthumous publication.

Lord Raglan took an active interest in historical and archaeological studies in Wales and the Welsh Border. He collaborated with Sir Cyril Fox in a detailed and comprehensive study of the medieval and renaissance houses of Monmouthshire which was published by the National Museum of Wales. He served on the Council of the Museum for many years and was its President from 1957 to 1962. He welcomed visits to his home in Monmouthshire by scholars who shared his interests and, although sometimes laconic and seemingly reserved, quickly established friendly personal relations. As many Fellows of the Institute will know, he was never put off by opposition to his views, and his forthrightness was much appreciated, not least by those with whom he disagreed. He gave valuable advice on many aspects of the Institute's activities, being always ready to give practical help and generous in his appreciation of the work of others.

The lecturer said that, in his experience of learning music from four Burmese masters, he had encountered two outstanding difficulties: first, in the absence of a traditional musical notation, the difficulty of memorizing. The method of teaching was for the teacher to play a passage which the student imitated, but as the passage played was often quite long, it was impossible to take it all in at one or even several hearings. Subsequent experiments revealed that this was not just a failing of foreigners: Burmans too were unable to reproduce these long passages at once. The practice was for a pupil not to attempt to learn a tune until he had heard it played, on different occasions and often by different players, so many times that he almost knew it by heart. Only then did he go to his teacher for the finishing touches and for help over any awkward passages.

The second difficulty was variation. Owing to a misunderstanding, Mr. Okell had been taught at first a rather advanced version of the tune, which contained a considerable amount of rapid figuration. This was often not played in exactly the same way again when the master played the same passage twice: it was therefore not easy to take down the tune in staff notation which demands a precise set of notes that can be repeated exactly. The solution to this second problem, which emerged later, was that different versions of the same tune were graded in speed and difficulty. The three grades were known in Burmese as 'closely packed,' 'middling' and 'widely spaced' (aeri, ala, ace;—W. S. Cornyn's Burmese transcription). Mr. Okell illustrated the difference between them from his collection of tape recordings. He should, as a beginner, have been taught the 'widely spaced' version. Once the essence of the tune had been grasped in this way it was considerably easier to follow the slightly more elaborate figuration of the 'middling' version, and to proceed from there, as one's technique improved, to a more spectacular 'closely packed' rendering.

Once it was established that no players were likely to play a given tune in exactly the same way, and that even two performances by the same man were rarely identical, Mr. Okell was encouraged to attempt his own variations of a tune, after having mastered the 'widely spaced' version. These always proved unacceptable, either because the style of his figuration was inappropriate at that point in the tune, or because he inadvertently made use of notes which had no real place in that key;—'key,' in the context of Burmese music, being an elusive concept associated with pentatonic scales, i.e. avoiding two of the seven notes available in the Burmese octave, so that different pairs of avoided notes established different 'keys.' This consideration seemed to explain why the masters usually taught at the very beginning one or more pieces called 'try-outs' (asam): short warming-up pieces, usually without a regular beat, each associated with a particular key which they established by emphasizing the important notes. These were evidently designed to help the student acquire a feeling for key, with the result that he could eventually improvise acceptable versions of the tunes in his repertoire.

Mr. Okell had begun to learn on the bamboo flute (palwe) and later the Burmese oboe (hne), which has the same pitch and fingering—, as their comparatively simple technique appears to promise smoother progress than other instruments. After some time, however, it became clear that they were not the most powerful instruments for an outsider trying to understand Burmese music. Their very simplicity allowed them to play extreme variations of the tunes, and the fact that (unlike such instruments as the bamboo xylophone pa'tala, gong-circle chi:nam-wain, drum-chime pa' hsain, and harp sa:m:gan) they could not play two notes simultaneously meant that it was not so easy to establish keys unequivocally.

Most Burmans begin to learn with the bamboo xylophone and Mr. Okell consequently turned his attention to this. Here the start was much easier. After learning a 'try-out,' there was—instead of the 'widely spaced' version of any suitable tune—a set of 13 pieces, all belonging to the class called cou: (or 'kyo'), which the beginner had to learn. These seemed to have fairly standardized versions, the first three being in a 'widely spaced' style, while the rest were normally taught in a 'middling' style. Some of the phrases of the first three appeared in the later pieces in variant form, of which some tape-recorded examples were played. When the beginning student had completed his course of the 13 cou:, he was equipped not only with some experience of acceptable variations but also with a kind of basic vocabulary of musical phrases, many of which occurred in other pieces, both cou: and other types. This would be the greatest assistance in both playing and memorizing new tunes. The initial training of the 13 cou: was therefore extremely valuable and Mr. Okell regretted that he had turned to the xylophone too late to complete the course. To show how the figures of the cou: could lead to more elaborate pieces, he played recordings of three versions of the cou: introduction, two played on the xylophone and the third by an orchestra with the large Burmese oboe (hne:j:ji) and the gong-circle as the chief melody instruments.

Two teaching aids were mentioned in passing: first, the use of certain syllables to convey particular figures (e.g. staccato sixth byo-, falling third dyan,) on the xylophone without having to demonstrate them on the instrument. Secondly, the informal names of the classical tunes were associated with the words of a song, and if one knew the text by heart it not only helped as an aide-memoire to remember how the tune went but also, perhaps, on account of the speech tones in Burmese, gave an indication of what the tune actually was. The correlation between speech tone and musical tune was far from exact in the passages that Mr. Okell had examined so far, but he was encouraged to believe that a correlation existed by the fact that songs written to the tune of another song reproduced the tune pattern of the original, syllable for syllable, throughout the piece.

In conclusion, Mr. Okell said that the best approach to learning Burmese music was of course the customary practice of the Burmese themselves. The young Burman aspiring to a musical career would go and live for two or three years with an established master, usually the leader and manager of an orchestra. Here he would do odd jobs about the house (sun ikan-de,) accompany the orchestra to performances and receive occasional lessons. This gave him the listening experience which would enable him to memorize tunes when he came to learn them formally; and through this and learning 'try-outs' and the 13 cou: he acquired a basic musical vocabulary together with a feeling for 'key' and a knowledge of what was permissible in variations. With this essential background he could go on to bring within his repertoire as many tunes as he could remember. The foreigner attempting to learn Burmese music needed a good memory, and, unlike Mr. Okell, a start in the right place.

A Stone Figure of a Crested Cockatoo from Melanesia. By Graeme L. Pretty, South Australian Museum, Adelaide.

With two figures

I am indebted to Mr. W. F. Ellis, Director of the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston (Tasmania), for bringing to my attention this interesting specimen (fig. 1). It was part of a collection from New Guinea and the Solomon Islands gathered by the late Colonel R. M. W. Thirkell and is registered as No. 1961/49/1 in the Queen Victoria Museum. The precise locality is unknown.

Measuring 9.5 centimetres length, 8.5 centimetres maximum width and four centimetres maximum thickness, it appears to have been initially pecked out of green-grey andesite, then finished by polishing. Pecking marks are still visible. Secondary battering, no
doubt from use other than that originally intended, appears to have broken away the tip of the beak and the end of the crest. Despite the indeterminate provenance, its bird motif, the broken stem, the rock type, even the bulging eyes, would place it in a category similar to the archeological stone pestles and mortars from Melanesia, which have been described in several past issues of MAN (Barton, 1908; Strong, 1924; Sherwin and Haddon, 1933; Miles, 1935; Sherwin, 1938; Miles, 1938; Riesenfeld, 1955), and discussed at length by Bühler (1946–49), Hölker (1951) and Bulmer (1962). Similar sub-cylindrically fashioned eyes, projecting at an angle, are found on the bird-shaped lugs of an axe blade from Bougainville Island, described by Casey (1939, p. 144, fig. 3, and Plate VI, 2).

The most remarkable feature of the Launceston Museum specimen is the comparative naturalism in the treatment of its features. Dr. R. H. Tedford (University of California, Los Angeles), who chanced to see it, has suggested that it might represent a cockatoo, which suggestion was borne out after comparison with mounted specimens in our ornithological collection. From the curve of the beak, the bulging eyes, and the downward turn of the crest, one can reasonably conjecture that it represents a member of the genus Probosciger (Palm Cockatoo). On this basis a drawing was prepared (fig. 2) and the battered ends restored, as shown by the broken line. It is of interest to note that a somewhat different specimen, also described as a cockatoo by Sherwin (1938, fig. 3), was dredged from the Upper Watut River, near Wau, Territory of New Guinea.

On checking the known distribution of the Palm Cockatoo, however, one finds that they are confined to New Guinea and occur no further east than Milne Bay (Peters, 1937, p. 170). They are not recorded from Bougainville or any other of the Solomon Islands (Mayr, 1945). This again poses the problem of provenance, since the only known typological parallel for this specimen is the blade from Bougainville described by Casey. The evidence for its identity as a Palm Cockatoo being strong, only the sub-cylindrical eyes link it with Casey’s Bougainville specimen. Should we incline to the view that we have here another stone bird figure from New Guinea?

References


Haddon, A. C., ‘Notes on Mr. Sherwin’s Paper,’ MAN, 1938, 70.

Riesenfeld, A., ‘Prehistoric Stone Objects from New Britain,’ MAN, 1935, 64.
Sherwin, V. H., and A. C. Haddon, ‘A Stone Bowl from New Britain,’ MAN, 1933, 166.

Note

† See also MAN, 1964, 182 and 183, received shortly before this note.—ED.

An Ethnopsychiatric Note on Property-Destruction in Cargo Cults. By George Deveux, Ph.D., Temple University School of Medicine, Philadelphia

The basic position taken in this note is that, whereas societies and cultures cannot be ‘diagnosed’ in psychiatric terms, it is possible to interpret psychodynamically certain social processes, and especially those which—representing mass eruptions flying in
the face of cultural traditions—are not readily susceptible of being channelled into traditional types of activity.

The primary purpose of this note is to shed light upon the well-known fact—too well-known to require special documentation—that in many Cargo Cults, and certain related movements, the expected period of happiness and plenty is anticipated by a wholesale destruction of existing resources. Similar phenomena have also been observed in historical societies. Thus, when the false messiah Sabbatai Zevi (called Shabbethai Zevi by Sir Paul Rycart) stirred up the Jewish communities in the "Turkish Empire, 'All business was laid aside. Neither worked or opened shop, unless to clear his warehouse of merchandise at any price. Who had superfluity in household stuff sold it for what he could.' It is suggested that this manoeuvre—hastening the coming of plenty by self-inflicted impoverishment—is psychologically quite comparable to, e.g., the Crow Indian practice of pretending impoverishment and loneliness in the vision quest, whose purpose is to extort compassion from a potential supernatural protector, by an ostentatious display of one's helplessness. I have discussed this technique of masochistic extortion elsewhere, in some detail.  

I now propose to cite a clinical example, obtained in the course of a psycho-analytic treatment, whose psychodynamics are essentially comparable to the technique of masochistic extortion.

A young man, in psycho-analysis for a totally incapacitating agoraphobia—as well as a number of other related phobias and compulsions—, which prevented him from earning a living and forced him to remain as dependent as a child upon his aging parents, had, in his childhood, been often frightened by his parents, who enforced their commands by saying: 'Just wait until we are dead! You will break your nails and scar your hands, trying to dig us out from our graves.' They also did many other things to keep him in a position of infantile, passive dependence in childhood and in adolescence, but were, of course, disappointed when, in adulthood, despite considerable intellectual potentialities, he remained essentially a child. In the course of his analysis the patient spontaneously gained insight into his inexplicable infantilism: 'If I remain a child forever, if my very existence continues to depend on the presence of my parents, I can arrest the progress of time. By staying a child, I prevent my parents from becoming old and dying. If I am a dependent child, they simply have neither the right, nor even the possibility, of deserting me by dying.' (It will be noted that the parents themselves inculcated in this patient the notion of equating their death with a punitive desertion.)

An almost identical story is recorded in Chinese sources, in the form of a moralizing account of exemplarily filial conduct, compatible with the extreme reverence that Chinese children owe their parents: 'Lao Lai-tsu was a man of the country of Ch'iu. When he was 70 years old, his parents were still alive. His filial piety was very strong. Constantly clothed in a medley of garments [like children], when he carried drink to his parents, he pretended to stumble on arriving at the hall, then remained lying on the ground, uttering cries after the manner of little children. Or else, with the object of rejuvenating his old parents, he remained before them playing with his long sleeves, or amusing himself with chickens.'

Needless to say, the real problem is not whether Lao Lai-tsu really existed, or behaved in an infantile manner for the purpose of 'rejuvenating' his parents. The point is solely that this anecdote was recorded (or invented) in China, and was circulated there—eliciting belief, admiration and therefore (inevitability) an echo in the minds of those who heard or read this story. In other words, the popularity of this 'edifying' tale is conclusive evidence that the fantasy, that one can postpone one's parents' death by pretending to remain a child, is a product of the unconscious mind and also appeals to it as a 'proof' that its fantasies are defensible and, possibly, correspond to the operations of reality. Otherwise expressed, many neurotic symptoms have a distinctly 'magical' aspect, just as much magic has distinctly neurotic aspects. The practical problem is simply whether a particular fantasy appears on the individual level, or else belongs to the realm of culture, and, within the realm of culture, to its mainstream, or its backwaters. A concrete fantasy—corresponding to the 'koro' syndrome of the Chinese of South-east Asia—was shown elsewhere: to occur, despite its outlandishness, in a great variety of contexts: Culturally it can appear as an Eskimo alibi, as a Zoroastrian myth, as a South American Indian practice, as a Chinese-Indonesian neurosis, as a Mohave Indian (improved?) sarcasm, etc. On the individual level it was recorded as the act of a German psychotic, the attempt of a Central European adolescent, the dream of an American housewife in psycho-analysis, the remark attributed to a French nobleman in an 'histoire galante' etc.

Cultural anthropology has much to gain by the study of the various contexts, both cultural and individual, in which a given cultural trait, reflecting a fantasy, may manifest itself.

Notes (References in alphabetical order)

A Note on the Conus Shell Disc Ornament in Swaziland. By J. R. Harding, Johannesburg, With a figure
222 This ornament occurs in Swaziland at the present time in the form of the manufactured porcelain copy. During my 14 months' stay in the country I did not see the original shell, though it is possible that this occurs in remote districts.

I first noticed the porcelain version in Mbabane at the centre of

FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP OF SWAZILAND

a bead necklace worn by a Swazi woman in the usual tribal dress. I next saw it at Tshenui in north-eastern Swaziland, where it was shown to me by the servant of the house in which I was staying. This man was a native of Mozambique and he at once recognized my description and hastily drawn sketch of the article. The one which he produced for my inspection belonged to his wife, who was at that time in hospital. He told me that she had obtained it from the local store and that such objects came from Lourenço
Marques. I subsequently called at the store but found, though the assistants knew of the discs, that they were out of stock. The European woman assistant present had no idea, when I asked her, what they were used for, but a coloured woman assistant, after questioning, said, rather reluctantly, 'they are worn by witch-doctors.' She was unwilling to discuss the matter any further.

Just before leaving Swaziland, I stayed for a few days at Piggs Peak in the north-western area and there again I came across the porcelain copy of the shell disc. It was round the neck of a Swazi woman (in tribal dress) in the middle of a string of beads. I was able to photograph it, but only with the help of a sophisticated Swazi man standing near, who persuaded her to pose for me. He told me that this woman was a witch-doctor, and after questioning her on my behalf informed me that she had bought it in the store near which we stood. She presently disappeared within it and I followed her. However, I again drew a blank when I asked if I could buy an example of the ornament. With the help of the Swazi assistant behind the counter I asked the witchdoctor (who was then looking at some cottons) if she would sell me hers. She was very emphatic in her refusal, though I offered her several times its value. In this same store I was told (by Swazi assistants) that the objects are (in Swaziland) worn only by witchdoctors—male or female. In my stay in the country, however, I never saw a man wearing one. A Swazi woman assistant in the store asserted that the disc is only worn by women training to be witchdoctors.

In the last store which I visited (there are four in Piggs Peak), I was able to buy the last two of these ornaments in stock at ten cents (equivalent to one shilling) each. I asked the Swazi (a man) who served me what they were, and he replied 'they are witchdoctor things.'

It is of interest to note that before my enquiries, none of the Europeans—storekeepers and others—who met knew that there was any significance attached to the disc ornament, or, even, in most cases, that they existed at all. The European owner of the store where I bought the examples mentioned to me when I asked him that he had no idea where they came from, that no commercial traveller had offered them in his time, and that the two now in my possession were the last of an old stock which he had taken over with the store a few years ago. Even so, they give the impression of being of very recent manufacture and are coarser and thicker than those which I have seen elsewhere in Africa and which are known to have been manufactured in Europe during the last century for trade purposes.

Reference

Horniman Museum Lectures, January—March, 1965

223 Among illustrated lectures of anthropological interest to be held on Saturday afternoons at 3.30 at the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, London, S.E.23, in the first quarter of 1965 are the following: 16 January, Dr. R. D. Barnett on 'Ancient Transport'; 23 January, Professor W. F. Grimes on 'The Temple of Mithras in Walbrook'; 30 January, Mr. Norman Cook on 'Unearthing London's History'; 2 February, Dr. A. E. Mounant on 'Blood Groups, Race and Evolution'; 27 February, Dr. J. F. Potter on '300 Million Years of London's Past'; 6 March, Dr. J. D. Carthy on 'Animal Communication'; 13 March, N. A. Jairazbey on 'Instruments Played in the Classical Music of Northern India.'

CORRESPONDENCE

Malinowski and 'the Chief.' Cf. MAN, 1964, 102

224 Srm.—On the number of wives of the chiefs of Oamarakana in the nineteenth century:

1. Dr. Fortune appears to have missed Malinowski's last and most fully considered statement on the matter, on Coral Gardens and their Magic (1932), Vol. I, p. 191, where he writes (discussing the urigubu contributions to the chief at the harvest of 1918):

'These thirteen contrivers are the remnant of what was the most important body of notables in the whole area of the Northern Massai. In those days the chief had one wife from each of the tributary communities, rising, as already said, perhaps to fourscore or so. But as some communities died out, others were merged, others ceased to provide wives, and finally the joint influence of Christianity and Government made the last two or three chief's afraid to marry new wives, the number shrank gradually to forty (Bugwabwaga), thirty (at the beginning of Numakala's reign), twenty-four (the number with which To'lulwa started), and twelve in 1918.'

To which he adds the following footnote:

'My reconstructive attempts at establishing the real average number of wives in the past, as well as the maximum, lead me to the following results: in pre-European days, that is, some hundred years ago, the average number was probably sixty; the maximum might have reached eighty. The immediate predecessors of To'lulwa had probably as many as thirty wives and not more than forty. The contact with Europeans soon led to a reduction of numbers, mainly through epidemics in most of the communities.'

2. There is no way now of knowing for certain how many wives the chiefs had in pre-European days. For various internal reasons (e.g. the size of Tribrovid villages, the design of storehouses, the difficulty of transporting the urigubu more than six to eight miles), the fact that neighbouring districts were frequently at war with each other, the relative status of chiefs and sub-chiefs), I doubt myself whether the number ever exceeded by much the two dozen with which To'lulwa started. To that extent, I agree with Dr. Fortune: Malinowski put the number too high.

3. Where, then, did he get his figures from? There is a source much nearer home than the Annual Report for 1895-6: namely, the Kirkiwinkins themselves. Anyone who is acquainted with the literature (e.g. Seligman, Malinowski, Austen, Powell), will be aware of the Trobrianders' habit of boasting over anything that touches their own credit (butuna), that of their sub-clan or of their chiefs; it is one of their salient characteristics. Such boasting should never be taken at its face value. It seems that, for once, Malinowski nodded—probably because the boasting figures fitted in with the over-high standing which he attributed, on other grounds, to the Tabalhu chiefs.

R. M. BRADBIE
Yarmouth, Oxon.

Note

1 A chief of the rank of the Tabalhu chief of Oamarakan expects to receive, as urigubu on behalf of any one wife, between 150 and 600 baskets of tayfu from her veyolu (matrilinial kin), i.e. taking one basket as 15 lb., between one and four tons of yams.

225 Srnr.—R. M. Bradfield [see the preceding letter] is mistaken about the source of Malinowski's figures. It is Malinowski, and not the Annual Report in British New Guinea for 1895-6, but that for 1893-4 for the basic figure of 19. The solution of the source is given in the equation x(19 + 1) = 40, 60, 80 where x = 2, 3 and 4, and where 40, 60 and 80 are Malinowski's figures. It should not be forgotten that Malinowski took a Ph.D. degree in mathematics.

R. F. FORTUNE

Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology,
University of Cambridge
A Stone Bowl from West Africa. Cf. MAN, 1964, 88. With a figure

226

Sir,—I read with interest Professor Desmond Clark’s article on Stone Vessels from Northern Rhodesia and wish to report the discovery in Northern Nigeria of a stone bowl (approximate dimensions: maximum external diameter 22 cm., minimum 18 cm.; height 12 cm., thickness of rim 2½ cm.) with a spherical stone. They were found close together about 30 feet deep in the basal tin-bearing gravels of a mine 18 miles south of Jos, in the Plateau Province of Nigeria, and were presented to the Jos Museum (catalogue No. 62.J.159) late in 1962 by Mr. J. Bartnik of Bischi Tin Mining Company.

This is the only true stone bowl reported so far from Nigeria, if not from the whole of West Africa. It is well made and smooth inside and, as is to be expected since it derives from coarse gravels, it shows no trace of burning or discolouration. The presence of the spherical stone would in any case seem to indicate its probable use as a mortar. The squared rim is reminiscent of a single fragmentary bowl unique in the East African series of more than 150 specimens studied by my wife in 1943 and catalogued in the Coryndon Museum. It had been ‘found in Kikuyu country in 1919.’ Like so many of the East African bowls the Nigerian specimen is made of a vesicular volcanic rock, in this case probably weathered basalt. The spherical stone is of leucocratic granite.

BERNARD FAGG
Curator
Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford

‘Structure and Sentiment.’ Cf. MAN, 1964, 71

227

Sir,—I read your reviewer’s comments on Rodney Needham’s volume Structure and Sentiment with dismay. For what it is worth, my own impression is that your reviewer sadly missed the significance of an important book under review; certainly, his final comment does not inspire much confidence concerning his own grasp of: (a) the relevant methodological issues involved in such cross-cultural surveys; (b) the economic, political and cosmological implications involved in the study of kinship systems. The subtitle of Needham’s book clearly indicates that the author is deeply concerned with methodology and the relative values of psychological and sociological explanations of certain phenomena. Your reviewer himself notes this although he hardly discusses the implications of these very serious issues; it seems strange then that, in view of the great number of current publications in the social sciences directly concerned with these issues, your reviewer can imply that the topic under consideration does not merit sustained critical attention—or has he utterly missed the point of Needham’s work?

Your reviewer asserts that Needham is ‘rather generous to Lévi-Strauss and occasionally unfair to Homans and Schneider’; I think that he is wrong in this evaluation, but he might expand this assertion and thereby clarify his own theoretical position and evaluation of the issues involved, for these are not at all clear from his review and this might serve as an enlightenment to those readers who, as myself, may not be convinced by his previous very brief remarks and may be unfamiliar with his own views on this topic.

THOMAS O. BEIDELMAN
Assistant Professor of Social Anthropology
Department of Social Relations, Harvard University

‘Classics in Anthropology’

228

Sir,—I see that Classics in Anthropology are announced to be published under the editorship of Professor Paul Bohannan and myself. I wish it to be known that I resigned from the position of editor in May of this year and am not responsible for what will be published in this series. (Professor Bohannan was in no way connected with my decision.)

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD
Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford

REVIEWS

AFRICA


This is a very useful work and one that is likely to find its way into many lists of recommended books for university courses. The editors’ introduction is in effect a history of the functional approach to the study of witchcraft and sorcery—for which two practises they use the joint term of ‘wizardry.’ Starting with Malinowski’s first tentative steps to suggest that witchcraft might be ‘useful’ in Trobriand society (1922) and the similar work of Fortune (1931), they proceed to ‘the significant date of 1937’ when Evans-Pritchard published his ‘Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande.’ This work and that of Kluckhohn (1944) they
The writers seem to have tested Marwick's suggestion that the incidence of 'wizardry' reflects the presence or absence of institutional means of settling cases although Douglas gives an interesting account of divination as a method of social control. La Fontaine points out that wizardry beliefs tend to express individual indignation or dissatisfaction and not those of a group. She also shows how such beliefs provide an ideal excuse for individual failure since they enable a man to blame the hatred of others for his lack of success and not his own laziness or stupidity. This is another point made clearly by Field in her Search for Security (1960).

Some of the editors' own hypotheses are stimulating. They suggest, for instance, that witchcraft is in the predominance when unusual kinship structure is the basis of the local group and sorcery where there is not such a basis; that witchcraft results be used against equals and sorcery by the oppressed against their superiors, or by the young against the old in positions of power. They suggest even more specifically that sorcery by women is common where there is a 'house-property complex,' that is to say a polygamous family system in which there is a division of property, and particularly cattle, between the wives of a man and their respective children. The authors also try to correlate the existence of beliefs in male as against female witches with types of uxorilocal and virilocal marriage.

These are all fascinating subjects of inquiry, although I find some difficulty over this sorcerer-versus-witchcraft index since, in any particular case I have studied in the field, different accusations have been made by the different parties to a dispute and often by the same individual on consecutive occasions. Divination always provides an answer which is temporarily satisfactory, but it is not always the same answer on a series of occasions. It is therefore necessary to study not only witchcraft and sorcery beliefs but also other supernatural causes of misfortune such as the anger of the ancestors or the breaking of taboos and this is in fact what one or two of the essays, notably La Fontaine, tries to do.

It is clear that the study of witchcraft beliefs and cases has become one of the growing points of the comparative study of social structure and this book gives the student a good idea of the type of work that is current. More systematic co-operation with psychologists now seems to me to be necessary. The editors confidently remark that 'witchcraft beliefs are social, not psychological phenomena' and this has been accepted doctrine among British social anthropologists for some time. But the material in the book seems to contradict the editors' view, as does the work of Kluckhohn himself. The image of the witch has been described as similar in all these ten societies and this fact reflects universal fantasies and not cultural. The contributors, one and all, explain 'wizardry' in terms of tension and conflict and these are subjects on which the psychologist has surely something to say. I continue to fight the psychology taboo still observed by so many British anthropologists.

AUDREY I. RICHARDS


This book must have been a difficult one to write for the complex material on which it is based cannot be treated by orthodox methods: it is certainly not an easy book to read. The Lakeside Tonga of Nyasaland have what the author calls an 'unstructured society... where the agents in the system are not so much corporate groups as individuals interlinked through continually changing alignments in small and often ephemeral groups.' Whether the term 'unstructured' is useful can be questioned, but Dr. van Velsen's point is clear. He could not attempt a straightforward morphology of Tonga society in the older, orthodox way. He uses the technique of 'situational analysis'— records of actual situations and particular behaviour—not as 'apt illustrations' but as a constituent part of the analysis; and the situations chosen are ones in which many of the actors appear again and again, often in different roles and with different interests.
With this procedure, the author deals first with matrilineally biased kinship and, at great length, with marriage—basically virilocal among the Tonga. Here especially can be seen the characteristic discrepancies between formal values and actual practice, where the precise status of marital partners and the state of marital debts are confused and shifting. In this account, then, we are given the basis, in rich detail, of Tonga interpersonal relations. This leads logically to a close examination of village life, the notion and substance of the dominant lineage in a village, the role of headman and the status of patrilocal residents. Here is the justification of the title of the book, for politics (‘activities which . . . result in leadership within and control over particular groups . . . or of one group over another’) are pursued fundamentally through the kinship network. The final chapter of the book examines village structure, including land control and the developing position of headmen and chiefs.

Although there is no known connexion between these Tonga and the Tonga in Northern Rhodesia, yet sociologically one is reminded of much of Dr. Colson’s writing on the latter people. Theoretically, however, the unavoidable comparison must be with the work of Dr. Turner on the Ndembu. Some anthropologists have found Schism and Continuity (1958) difficult going; but they must expect to have to work hard and not to find everything as easy as the account of Nuer social structure. Dr. van Velsen’s book will be found rather more difficult—the continuity of situational analysis is less clear, and the cross-referring to other situations and other actions of the same actors is sometimes formidable. A single reading is quite insufficient; and probably the full significance of this new book, and both its power and limitations, will take some time to become evident. Anyone who feels frustrated by structural-functionalism (a large class of anthropologists nowadays) should not miss van Velsen’s ’experiment.’

P. H. GULLIVER


The book starts with a sketch of the history of Egyptology, with special mention of Champollion, Mariette and Petrie. The author then takes us for a voyage down the Nile, pointing out the important sites on the way. After a description of Egypt’s natural resources he embarks on an outline of her history. Chapters on the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms, and the breakdowns between them, are preceded and followed by chapters on the Rise and the Decline. He concludes with accounts of social organization and way of life. There are 82 photographs and 50 drawings; these are admirably selected and reproduced. There are hardly any references, but this is not the fault of the author, who is to be congratulated on a book which can be strongly recommended to those interested in but without special knowledge of Ancient Egypt.

He points out the difficulties of attaining certainty in matters of history, especially because, as he says citing Glanville, it is doubtful whether the Egyptians had any idea of it. Recent discoveries have upset what were established views of the Amarna period: the Hyksos, it seems, were not barbarian conquerors, but civilized infiltrators who acquired power during a period of anarchy (pp. 62, 63, 124).

The author, while holding that certain features of Egyptian culture are of African origin, says—’The isolation of Egypt in the Near East during ancient times has been much exaggerated. She shared a common trade, technology and material culture with her neighbours and, while strongly influenced, influenced them in turn’ (p. 71).

There are, however, some more questionable statements. ‘The Predynastic Egyptian,’ we are told, ’camping out under his brilliant night sky could hardly fail to observe recurring celestial phenomena such as the heliacal rising of stars’ (p. 81), but very few in any age are so observant. And of religion the author says that to the coherent religious theory of the Greeks ‘the Egyptians opposed a number of mixed metaphors arising from an exuberance of images perceived through the imagination’ (p. 186). But incoherence of thought has nothing to do with imagination; it results from failure to synthesize ideas derived from different sources.

RAGLAN


Though bearing the same title and having several chapter headings and figures in common with her 1954 Pelican, this new version of Sonia Cole’s now classic prehistory is a much improved and more useful work. It contains the results of new research undertaken since 1953 and has an extra 28 figures, maps and plates. The emphasis is changed from a work primarily concerned with the human paleontology and earliest stone age cultures, which comprised 47 per cent. of the contents in the old edition to a more balanced account of the prehistory as a whole in which the same descriptions comprise only 35 per cent. Although there is an enlarged and invaluable section on Olduvai discussing in detail the new hominid finds. It is significant of the revolution in thought that her second chapter, originally named the Climatic Background, with an emphasis on the glacial sequence is now renamed the Geological Background and great use is made of the newly available Potassium Argon and Carbon 14 dates for correlation purposes.

The various new diagrams explaining the Olduvai sequence will be particularly valuable to the vast majority of readers who will find the research reports hard reading and inaccessible. It is a pity that the Pleistocene is still inferred as ending when the glacial epoch in Europe ceased.

Whereas in 1954 the book had a great emphasis on sites in Kenya, particularly in the Rift Valley, a large number of new sites like Isimila, Ishango, Bigo and Kiwia have filled out the map. Nevertheless the small number of sites is an indication of the pioneer nature still of much of the prehistory.

The book is weakest on those portions which have links with the traditional history of East Africa. There is a certain confusion about the Hamites who it is to be regretted are still mentioned in connexion with the Iron Age in Uganda though Mrs. Cole rightly stresses that their influence has been exaggerated. The recent work of Guthrie and Greenberg on the linguistic prehistory and by various scholars on paleobotany of cultivated crops deserves greater mention and integration into the prehistoric picture than has been attempted. It is perhaps misleading to stress (p. 329) the material dearth of the East African Iron Age without mentioning the comparative richness of the traditional sources which indicate, particularly in the west in the hereditary kingdoms, the elaborate social organization. In Uganda the majority of the rock paintings are in red and not white (p. 246) whilst Kiwia archaeologically dates from the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. and not the fifteenth (p. 331). There is a tendency, strongly marked in the 1954 edition, to describe in detail single sites rather than to provide a synthesis.

But these are minor criticisms and a vast number of readers will be grateful for this up-to-date account of East African prehistory particularly at a time when the first University courses in prehistory are beginning in East Africa. The glossary, bibliography and very full index are especially valuable. There is little doubt that this book will be a standard work for a long time and deservedly stimulate an already growing interest in the archaeology of this part of Africa. MERRICK POSNANSKY


This monumental, magnificently produced, and finely illustrated study is an important contribution to the ethno-}

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illustrations of their elegant reed craft. This formidable corpus (which is particularly full on the Gall, but sometimes less informative on the smaller groups) is buttressed by a long general essay on Galla religion and time-reckoning, and a workmanlike, though eclectic, collection of Galla myths and folk tales. There is also an interesting twenty-page essay on Borana music by Kurt Reinhardt, and a useful list of Galla plant names. Finally, for the English reader this massive work is accompanied by a short but helpful English summary by Peter Wingard.

Although most of this work seems to have been carried out through interpreters, since Dr. Haberland is clearly a careful and accurate observer, and, however, it is evident that this exhaustive compilation provides an invaluable and much needed source of first-hand information on traditional Galla society and culture. As a member of the Frobenius School, and as a disciple and colleague of Prof. Jensen, the author’s emphasis and bias of interest is of course history and Kulturkreis. This approach dominates the whole book and has both advantages and disadvantages. Its main utility is in disentangling some of the more complex threads of Galla history. Thus Dr. Haberland shows fairly convincingly, I think, despite at times some rather far-fetched reasoning, that the historical homelands of the main bulk of the Galla nation probably lie in the highlands of the South-East Ethiopian plateau, and not, as has so often been suggested, in what is today the north-eastern part of the Somali Republic. This, it must at once be added, as the author recognizes, is not to deny that outlying Galla groups formerly occupied parts of northern and central Somaliland prior to, and to some extent contemporaneously with the Somali. Part of the difficulty, of course, is that previous writers on these topics have all too readily assumed (myself included) that the ‘Galla’ constitute and have always constituted a single entity. It now seems quite possible that different Galla groups have had quite different local histories and sequences of movement and migration. It is more difficult, however, to accept Dr. Haberland’s contention that the southern expansion of the Somali was completely without effect on the massive sixteenth-century Galla thrust into Ethiopia. It seems more likely that while these two great series of migrations were probably not connected as cause and effect, the Somali movement helped at least to sustain the Galla migrations towards the west. However, Dr. Haberland rightly points out that the motive forces impelling the remarkable Galla expansion are still very far from being elucidated.

This reassessment of Galla movements and migrations, and the contention that the Galla should not be thought of as ‘originally’ being exclusively pastoral nomads, are timely. Elsewhere Dr. Haberland’s pre-occupation with the quest for origins sometimes leads him to curious conclusions. The gada age-set organization which the Galla seem not to find too difficult to work (and on whose working Dr. Haberland throws new light) is, he argues, too complicated and involves too much abstract enumeration for the Galla themselves to have invented! Similarly, Dr. Haberland’s discussion of Galla cosmology and social categories in terms of ‘dualism’—between Heaven and Earth, and ‘male’ and ‘female’ moieties associated with the numbers four and three—is altogether too simplistic. Indeed repeatedly in this long book one wishes that space which is given over to asserting hypothetical relationships were instead devoted to detailed accounts, illustrated by reference to social situations, of how the Galla themselves see their world. The truth is, of course, that Dr. Haberland’s account does not penetrate sufficiently deeply into Galla culture and values to discuss these issues adequately. Nor, although many of the concepts of their trade have been employed, does it offer a sufficiently integrated analysis of Galla society to satisfy social anthropologists. Nevertheless, Dr. Haberland has produced a notable work which social anthropologists specializing in North-East Africa will not be able to do without, though they will often find it tantalizingly incomplete. And anthropologists in other branches of the subject will be grateful for this careful and painstaking record of Galla life and work.

I. M. LEWIS

AMERICA


Venezuela is a large place, covering many different types of country, and much of it is not very accessible. The archaeology is complicated and very variable. The authors tell us that they have been collaborating in its study for 16 years, and they have already published a detailed and important report on their work (An Archaeological Chronology of Venezuela, Pan American Union, 1958). Feeling, with them, that this was for specialists, they have put us greatly in their debt by producing an abridgement, including some recent revision, which they intend for the ‘non-specialist and the layman interested in Venezuelan archaeology.’ It is fair to comment that a good many specialists in the wider field of American archaeology will find the abridgement quite sufficient for their needs, although it is useful to have the fuller work at hand for occasional reference.

Venezuela covers a long span in time as well as in space. Cruceñ’s discovery of stone points at El Jobo, Falcón, in 1956 showed that hunters were already there in the Paleolithic Epoch, which is now given a provisional end date of 5000 B.C. When it began is uncertain; some burnt bone from extinct animals, thought to have been butchered, at Muaco has given a date of about 15,000 B.C., but it is not absolutely clear to me that this dates an occupation. The subsequent succession has been divided into a Meso-Indian Epoch with emphasis on fishing and gathering (Period I), followed about 1000 B.C. by a long Neo-Indian Epoch (Periods II—IV) with dependence on intensive agriculture, giving place to the Indo-Hispanic Epoch in A.D. 1500 (Period V). The breaks between Periods II, III and IV at A.D. 100 and 1000 were chosen for convenience because there were breaks in the written records and radiocarbon sequences. Some areas always lagged behind the more advanced ones, an extreme example being the Warrao of the Orinoco Delta, who maintained a Meso-Indian way of life until the European contact.

The local variations and complexities are to some extent overcome by establishing about a dozen series or related families of artifacts, chiefly ceramics, each of which the authors are inclined to ascribe to an ethnic group. They take each epoch in turn and describe its manifestations in western, central and eastern Venezuela, taking note of the movements of series from place to place by diffusion or migration.

Venezuela is a country which lacks the outstanding features of the great civilizations of Mesoamerica and Peru. There are no great ruins or ceremonial centres, and what structures and ceremonial features there are, such as shaft graves, shrine caves, earth causeways and mounds, are absent from the east. Similarly figurines, stone pendants and incense burners are found chiefly in the west and centre. There is, indeed, a dichotomy between the east and the rest, which is confirmed by some fairly constant differences in pottery form and decoration between these areas, and this is tentatively connected by the authors with a major difference in subsistence pattern. In the early stages of the Neo-Indian Epoch pottery griddles, used for roasting manioc cakes, are found everywhere, but in the west these were progressively replaced by the metates and manos used for grinding maize. Manioc survived and still does as the staple crop in the east.

It is obvious that there must still be an immense amount to do in Venezuela, but we must be very grateful to the authors for the great amount of work they have done and for establishing a framework which is unlikely to be seriously altered. For the first time they have made sense of Venezuelan archaeology. They have, as they hoped, made it possible for writers of general works on American archaeology to pay due attention to it, but I doubt if even their admirable series of plates can succeed in producing the same effect on writers on aboriginal art. The pottery is shown to include
many interesting forms and the curious broad-headed figurines and stone bat-wing pendants are already familiar, but Venezuela remains artistically a marginal area and its products cannot compete with the finer works of Mexico and Peru. 

G. H. S. BUSHNELL


This ethnographic bibliography of continental South America is the companion volume to G. P. Murdock’s Ethnographic Bibliography of North America, being of similar scope, format and size.

The text begins with a short section on ‘Bibliographic Aids’ which contains useful references to other bibliographies and guides to related subjects: a selection of general South American works follows. The bulk of the publication is arranged in sections approximating to culture areas and each one is illustrated by a tribal map. Tribal classification, as the preface states, does not closely reflect the ethnographical situation, so that the result is distinctly unfamiliar and sometimes puzzling. A tribal index with references to the appropriate area section and a general South American section map, which is the key to the regional maps, complete the work.

Omissions and errors will inevitably present themselves to regional specialists. The multitude of nicknames which many of the tribes possess is a source of difficulty in identification and classification which only further research may remove. In such a vast undertaking, based necessarily on a great deal of old and indifferent literature, such faults are not surprising. Meanwhile this bibliography meets a very real need and will prove an invaluable work of reference for South Americans. The compiler and those who advised him are to be congratulated on having produced an important aid to future research workers.

AUDREY J. BUTT


Old Order Amish society consists of about 43,000 persons grouped into farming settlements in North America. Their economy, dress, rules of conduct and attitudes to the rest of the American population are determined by the religious sentiments they inherited and developed from the sixteenth-century Anabaptist movement. From Europe they emigrated to the U.S.A. early in the eighteenth century. An Amish settlement is divided into church districts which are controlled by bishops, preachers and deacons. Adult baptism is practised and baptized persons have to make public confession if a rule of the church is broken. Should a transgressor not confess, he or she is shunned and eventually will leave the community, usually becoming a member of the less strict Mennonite sect. The Amish are distinctive in dress and men wear long hair and grow beards. As far as possible the Amish avoid using tractors, cars, electricity and other parts of the material culture of American society. Their religion sanctions hard manual work, and their farms are among the most productive in the U.S. Hostetler is at his best when presenting factual information. He often makes general theoretical remarks as if they were established fact—for instance, the statement that ceremonial participation ‘gives the members of the society confidence; it dispels their anxiety; it disciplines the social organization’ (p. 101). His use of the term ‘model’ on p. 6 is somewhat pretentious and his definition of the term ‘clan’ an ad hoc one (pp. 76f). A lack of precision is often to be noted. Thus, we are told that ‘custom tends to become sacred’ (p. 6). What exactly does this mean? Maps and diagrams are numerous and these are clear and informative.

DAVID HICKS


For Professor Dorson’s latest book, a sea tradition, collected in Maine (pp. 328f.), provided the title. His short and unassuming introduction is written with that facility which stems from complete command of the subject. The advice on how to gain the informants’ confidence is shrewd and competent. Years ago, a most successful Irish collector frankly admitted to me that even he had ‘to act,’ though working in his native country. There is, however, another method to keep the talk going: to tell in return relevant stories. Unfailingly, the informant will either cap the story, or contradict it, or pass on to yet another subject. Is such an exchange, which is sometimes still practised with regard to jokes, the survival of an ancient and once widespread custom? Doubtless it stimulates story-telling and might well account for the distribution of motifs which still puzzles us.

The oral American traditions in Professor Dorson’s book are arranged according to the seven regions in which they were collected. Each section is headed by a few pages on the origin of the settlers, their main occupations, the characteristics of their traditional lore and the regional folklore literature. The recorded material is remarkably diverse and entertaining; it contributes to almost all branches of folklore.

I approve, in particular, of the indexes of informants and collectors. Which Institute, Commission or University Department will, at long last, publish a book on their achievements? Papers in learned journals are not accessible enough! Even if the book should turn out commercially a failure, public recognition of informants and collectors is overdue.

ELLEN ETTLINGER

ASIA


It is a difficult task to translate into readable prose the elaborately rhymed tales of the Bengali court poets with their wealth of metaphor and hyperbole, but Professor Dimock has been remarkably successful.

The first and longest tale is of a princess who will marry only a man who conquers her in learned argument. An accomplished prince, guided by the goddess Kali, gains access to her and becomes her lover. The intrigue is discovered when she becomes pregnant and the prince, whose identity is unknown to her parents, is about to be executed. The goddess Kali appears and the lovers are reunited. There are two features which strike one as incongruous. To gain access to the princess the prince, with the aid of a pickaxe sent down by Kali from heaven, had dug a tunnel from his lodging to the innmost part of the palace; and when Kali appeared as the goddess of love, "corpses of children swung like earrings from her ears, and on her breast there hung a string of severed heads with wild and awful faces."

The second tale is of a king who unwittingly offends a Brahman. He has to sell his wife and son, and himself become a burner of corpses and live in the frightful surroundings of the burning ground. But all comes right in the end.

The third story is of a rich merchant who refuses to worship the snake-goddess Manasa, who in consequence inflicts upon him a series of calamities and finally causes a snake to kill his son on his wedding night. The son’s bride takes his body onto a raft, and there is a gruesome description of its decomposition as the raft drifts for six months down the river. At last it reaches the dwelling place of the gods, and the heroine charms them and induces them to order Manasa to restore her husband to life.

There are also some short humorous tales which the editor claims to be of village origin; as the principal characters are royalties no doubt they too originated at courts.

RAGLAN
Religion and Politics in Rural Central Java. By Robert R. Jay,
Cultural Report Series No. 12, Southeast Asia Studies.
Dr. Jay was a member of the team which studied the
area of ‘Modjokuto’ in eastern Java in 1953–54. His book deals
with the same general topic as Clifford Geertz’s The Religion of Java,
but concentrates on the schism between ‘orthodox’ (santri) and
‘syncretist’ (abangan) as it appears in a village environment. For
this reason the third variant discussed by Geertz, the aristocratic or
priyayi, remains in the background, being an urban phenomenon.
After a historical introduction, the author describes the easy-
going good relations before the war between the more religiously
and the more traditionally inclined; the consolidation of the
Islamic group during the Japanese occupation; the cleavage between
the orthodox on the one hand, and ‘syncretist’ and left-wing
secular groups on the other, since the war; and the schism which
came to a head in the Madiun coup, and by 1953 was penetrating
into ever wider areas of everyday life.
The theme is clearly and penetratingly worked out, although
many questions still remain. Foremost is the one raised by Professor
Benda in his Preface: ‘Why did some communities go santri
while others remained syncretist . . .? ’ Geertz looks for an answer
primarily in the region whence the villagers of the Modjokuto area
originally emigrated. Wertheim points out in his Indonesian Society in Transition
that at least during the war the Masjumi had its supporters chiefly among the wealthier peasants.
Jay’s data only partly support these lines of thought, and although he adds other
factors, both political and personal, the matter is still far from clear.
One also wonders whether the author may unintentionally have
overstressed the un-Islamic character of the abangan variant, for he
himself notes that the village who denied being a wong Islam
was an exception. Can the term santri have caused misunderstanding,
when informants contrasted santri and tani? Is the term pathan
never used around Modjokuto?
However this may be, and however much one hopes Dr. Jay will
return to the subject with a fuller account, his book is already an
excellent contribution to the growing literature on Java, and on
schismatic factionalism in general. The author refers briefly to a
parallel situation in Mexico; one might also mention one nearer
Java, viz. the tension between the adat and the sharak factions
in Negri Sembilan, Malaya, which has the added interest that the
third component, ‘well integrated modernist secularism’, has not
(yet) emerged.

P. E. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG

Nepal: A Monograph on Nepalese Culture. Kathmandu (His
Price 10 Nepalese rupees

Although this monograph was produced with the assistance of U.N.E.S.C.O. in order to ‘provide a proper and correct
view of the land, people, life and culture of Nepal’ it lacks any
coherent framework on which the nine essays, all by teachers in
Nepal or state servants, may be hung. It has no map pinpointing
the various place names in the text nor has it any references nor
a bibliography nor even a guide to further reading. Although this
book is nationalist in outlook, it is clear that there is not yet sufficient
information for even nationalist Nepalese scholars to be consistent in
their approach to the history and culture of their own country.
WILLIAM H. NEWELL

Price £1 10s.
The stimulus to this study of child-rearing methods in the
Lebanon arose from a dawning awareness of the sanitiness of
the material available, either in Western or non-Western cultures, for
task required of the child has its basis in certain hypotheses current in American psychology which contain a curious contradiction in their formulation. 'Many psychologists,' Prothro writes, 'are today approaching the problem of achievement ... from the point of view of a need for achievement, a spirit of enterprise [the italics are mine] rather than from the viewpoints of ability or opportunity. Their emphasis is less on resources than on the desire to utilize them. Such interpretations of human achievement ... are not unique to contemporary psychology, but the identification of the "achievement need" in children and the description of the child-achievement conditions which bring it into being [the italics mine] are new and important.'

However, a need and the actions taken to supply that need, or to relieve the tensions caused by the need, are a phenomenon caused by a sense of something missing and therefore of discomfort, mild or intense. A spirit of enterprise on the other hand (although the term is ambiguous and capable of several definitions) arises directly from within the individual and is not necessarily connected with any sense of need. Similarly in relation to the desire to utilize resources. As can be seen with any group of healthy small children in the presence of substances which can be exploited, examined and enjoyed, the impulse to do so arises from within the child and is an expression of the vitality of living interests, within him, that has no necessary connexion with a sense of need. In the statement quoted above these two, in my view essentially different, phenomena are combined in a single description. The same comment applies to the Aronson test, described as 'graphic expression' which is expected to bring into operation 'need for achievement.' The procedure has no connexion whatever with expression (my italics) but is a patient copying of presented stimuli, as asked for by the experimenter.

Summing up, the author states: 'to the extent that the six communities studied are typical of Lebanon as a whole, it can be stated with assurance that there are indeed patterns of child-achievement which are widespread in the Lebanon and that many of them can be differentiated readily from patterns in such countries as the United States.'

The book is pleasantly presented and has the great advantage that its pages lie flat on the table at any point of opening.

MARGARET LOWENFELD


These are the fourth and fifth parts of Commandant L. Aude- mard's survey of Chinese junks, all of which have been published by the Ethnological and Maritime Museums of Rotterdam. Part I details the history of the Chinese junk, both commercial and naval, Part II describes the building of junks in some detail, and Part III their distinctive regional ornamentation.

Part IV, under review, is a catalogue of junk types, compiled geographically by port. Under the heading of each port is a numerical list of the junks which operate from it, these are briefly described, with average dimensions and capacity measured in piculs (there are about 15 piculs to a gross ton).

All this information is based on the Reports of the Chinese Imperial Customs for the years 1892-1901, when the sailing junk was at the zenith of its development, and the river and coastal steamers had made but a slender impression on the pattern of Chinese commerce. At the back of Part IV are two clear maps, essential to this catalogue of confusingly named ports. One map covers the whole of China, while the other, to a much larger scale, covers the lower Yang Tse Kiang. Part IV also contains the index to Parts I-IV.

Part V describes the junks of the Upper Yangtze and is strikingly well illustrated by line drawings incorporated in the text, and by line and halftone blocks on art paper. All the pictures are the work of Commandant Audemard. He graphically portrays the efforts of the trackers hauling a junk over the rapids and his detailed pictures show how each tracker was attached to the long tracking rope, what sort of sandals the trackers wore, and how the rice was prepared aboard the river junk.
From describing, by text and illustration, the passage of junkies up and down the river, Commandant Audemard continues his examination of the variety of craft of the Upper Yangtze. These descriptions go into considerable detail and are supported by line and half-tone drawings. Passenger vessels are well documented, especially those well appointed craft for the conveyance of mandarins, which bear banners and signs listing the titles and duties of these officials. Departing from the main stream of the Yangtze, the types of junk which operate on the tributaries are detailed, including the famous crooked stern junk from the Wu river port of Fu-chow in Szechuan Province. She has a long sweep in place of a rudder to give sufficient control in the swift currents of the Wu river, and the stern has been built up in a curious lop-sided fashion to give the steersman a good point of leverage. This at any rate is the explanation given by Audemard, and it seems reasonable.

Towards the end of Part V, rafts and dug-outs are described, in addition to some primitive planked boats which are held together by iron staples. Some of the rafts are very large, up to 120 feet long. Finally come the Upper Yangtze lifeboats, which were established in 1854. They are called 'red boats,' and their crews wear red smocks, embroidered at back and front with characters indicating the region to which the men belong.

Audemard's examination of junk is thorough, and his descriptions of how the junkmen ate and slept, how the tracking ropes were made, and how the cargo was carried to the cargo were carried overland to allow the junk to negotiate shallow waters. He also describes in detail the construction of the vessels themselves. The books are well designed and clearly printed, while the illustrations are first class. It is a pity that a similar series of books could not be produced on British coastal, river and fishing craft types.

E. W. PAGET-TOMLINSON


This book consists of nine papers presented in a seminar on Indian politics that met at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in 1959-60. The papers, as edited by Professor C. H. Philips, now constitute an excellent manual of the chess game of Indian politics, the strategies for which are shown to be derivative from models, notably caste models, laid down by ancient traditions for the regulation of familial and societal behaviour. A type of broad picture of politics and society in India does emerge from the inclusion, of papers by anthropologists, political scientists and historians. On the other hand, though the anthropologists and the political scientists here pose as their main problem the essentially general question of the extent to which indigenous structures change, in order to accommodate to, as well as to engulf, the parliamentary governments in this Asian subregion, there is not often systematic comparison going beyond the Indian subcontinent and Ceylon.

Professor C. von Furer-Haimendorf, in his paper on 'Caste and Politics in South Asia,' calls attention to the phenomena of Indian elections according to which the caste affiliation of participants comprises the most relevant information. He describes, too, the pivotal role of 'dominant' castes—a concept borrowed previously by very many analysts of Indian politics from Professor M. N. Srinivas's analysis of the social structure of a Mysore village (cf. Village India, ed. McKim Marriott, Chicago, 1955, p. 18)—and explains that dominance in regional politics is gained by a caste 'thanks to their large land-holdings and economic power' (p. 57).

Dr. F. G. Bailey's paper, 'Politics and Society in Contemporary Orissa,' focuses on the politician-voter relationship, which has yet to develop as an independent axis for the communication of issues and for the organization of co-operation to meet those issues. He predicts that the role of politician, now an extended arm of the special concerns of a localized constituency, may some day widen to represent clearly social class cleavages, and thereafter crosscut areal barriers. Dr. Bailey cites in evidence the formation of a 'middle class' coalition government in Orissa in 1959, which was the first political group to cut across this plains-hill cleavage (p. 100).

Dr. A. C. Mayer shows, in his 'Municipal Elections: A Central Indian Case Study,' that in this somewhat distinctive urban context for this is an analytical study of Indian politics—contrasted with the village and regional contexts more usually studied—there was a practice of party leaders raising issues to reach voters, but that 'general campaign issues are not more important than personal loyalties' (p. 112). In addition, as regards tapping the personal interests of the electorate, success in the election process necessitates a multiplicity of strategies in that 'a candidate cannot win through the manipulation of any single relationship; he must fight on several fronts and through workers having qualifications all of which he cannot himself possess' (p. 123).

The paper by political scientists, 'India's Political Idioms' by Professor W. H. Morris-Jones and 'Tradition and Experiment in Forms of Government' by Dr. Hugh Tinker, discuss in terms of national, regional, and local politics as a whole the tensions that obtain between parliamentary systems and the systems which traditionally have served to allocate power in South Asia. Two especially interesting themes emerge. Professor Morris-Jones discusses factionalism, as 'the resistance to unification on the part of political groups with almost identical policies and the readiness ... to split and break away' (p. 144). Dr. Tinker discusses the neutralization of new political forms by traditional leadership, pointing out that institutional assertion, Professor W. Cantwell Smith's 'The 'ulama in Indian Politics' is similarly insidious for those who may wish to apply Robert Redfield's concepts of moral order and the social organization of tradition to this account of 'the emergence of an 'ulama class whose function in [Muslim] society is that of custodian of a cherished, idealized tradition, enshrined as a static essence in their books' (p. 43).

By contrast, Dr. P. Hardy's 'Traditional Muslim Views of the Nature of Politics' closes to Islamic texts for its conclusion that Islam sees politics as non-existent apart from Koran-sanctioned patterns of administration. Dr. S. R. Mehrotra's 'The Politics behind the Montagu Declaration of 1917' is traditional historiography, being an analysis of top-level documents, from both Britain and India, dating in the decade preceding Britain's first explicit commitment to introduce parliamentary self-government into India on the English model.

WILLIAM MccCORMACK


This is the second book to come from a French expedition to the Apo Kayan area of central Bornéo (cf. MAN, 1961, 78), but this time of an entirely more estimable kind. The author is a naturalist, and his main concern was animals, not people; but he has a sharp and sympathetic eye, and he reports a great deal which, though not always novel, is exact and interesting.
The main ethnographical value lies in an account of two months which he spent in a camp of 'Punan' in the upper Bahau region. (The publishers, naturally, claim that he was the first ever to do so.) These people are actually Western Penan, specifically Penan Mentalin (or Penan Luda), quite closely related to the Penan Silat just over the border in Sarawak; some of them can be located on genealogies of the latter, and it is remarkable to see from the excellent photographs what a physical and cultural resemblance there is. To judge by the few words which the author reproduces, he gained practically no knowledge of the language, but on matters demanding only direct observation, such as the sharing of game or the demeanour of the Penan, he is thoroughly reliable and conveys a good impression of forest life.

M. Pfeffer also made a long journey to the Beranu, and then to a group of six dolmens in a vast plain near the confluence of the Mepun and the Bahau. The scattered references to such megaliths in the literature on central Borneo are fascinating, and it is a severe disappointment that the author had no camera with him; but it is to be hoped that he may be persuaded to publish a more exact account of their location and appearance, with perhaps sketches drawn from memory.

The whole work is well and honestly written, in an unpretentious and engaging style, and inspires an admiration for M. Pfeffer's fortitude and resolute curiosity. It is pleasant, too, to read of the Penan that, when asked to make a blowpipe for a film, they demanded a recompense worthy of 'B.B.'—and the author does not mean Bernard Berenson.

RODNEY NEEDHAM

OCEANIA


The best study in Pacific Port Cities and Towns is Edward Bruner's careful empirical demonstration that among the Toba Batak of Medan, Sumatra, 'kinship has not been superseded or lost in an urban environment.' The second best is Paul Kay's short paper on the composition and organization of households in Manuohoe, a small face-to-face urban neighbourhood in Papeete, Tahiti: Kay brings some carefully defined concepts and a statistical sophistication unusual among anthropologists to the study of those genealogical and domestic matters that customarily interest ethnographers working in small communities.

A more ambitious paper—Pacific Island Towns and the Theory of Growth, by Cyril Belshaw—brings together some useful descriptive generalizations, asks several relevant questions, and advances, as a generalization, what we may regard at least as an interesting hypothesis, i.e., 'changes . . . . are traceable as much to the goals and values of inhabitants drawn from the hinterland as they are to the dictates of overseas-oriented administration and commerce.' Belshaw concludes with some practical advice that administrators will ignore at their peril: 'Foresighted policy would pay less attention to keeping down prices than to the preservation of the trade and employment confined to rural areas, and would permit maximum mobility between town and country.'

The other papers in the symposium are insignificant. Agaton P. Pal's four-page study of Dumaguet City, Central Philippines, reads like a Baedeker entry: 'There are four movie theatres in Dumaguet, two of which are patronized by the upper class.' Jean Guirard's impressionistic description of ethnic components and socio-economic 'layers' in the population of Noumea concludes rather lamely that the Melanesian residents of the town need more technical training and more jobs. Nayacakalou's description of urban Fijians in Suva utilizes a so-called 'random sample' of 100 households in town (did every Suva household really have an equal chance of inclusion in the sample?) and a similar number in the country, to establish that 77 per cent. of Suva households 'had relatives living with them' ('relatives' presumably means kin of the household other than members of his or her elementary family) as against 72 per cent. of rural households, a difference which he seems to consider statistically significant. Nayacakalou's impressions of the diverse social ties uniting and dividing the Fijian population of Suva are interesting, but in the uses and abuses of statistics he could profitably take some lessons from Dr. Kay! Michel Jullien's conscientious demographic analysis of Papeete contains the kind of data that any official census should provide as part of the routine job of the government. Richard Moch's study of Chinese in the Society Islands has no particularly urban reference, despite the claim that its data are 'pertinent to commercial relations by which Papeete, the port town, is linked with its hinterland.' Moch's reasons for interrogating a sample of 106 'Chinese school-children over 15 years of age' elude this reviewer.

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RODNEY NEEDHAM


In 1879 there were no Indians in Fiji; in 1964 there are some 220,000. The foundation of this vital Pacific fact was provided by nearly 61,000 migrating from India in the space of 40 years up to 1916. This considerable movement, some of it in sailing ships, took 87 voyages. As a planned operation from beginning to end, the detail of these voyages was carefully kept. It is by no means commonly ethnographically that for migration on such a scale there could be so much documentation.

At the end of the indentured system there was a number of returns to India. By now, as many as 30,000, of whom 24,000 had been born in India, have been repatriated: a high percentage, at least in relation to the original immigrants. But, by and large, Fiji's demographically dominant race, the Indians, are these recorded immigrants or their descendants.

Dr. Adrian Mayer has recently dealt very capably with the sociological results of Indian settlement in Fiji. Dr. Gillion now as capably shows the reasons for the methods and the historical consequences of, the Indian migration. Not the least interesting of many absorbing aspects of his history is the account of what happened to the many repatriates to India, their reception or lack of it, their vicissitudes in cultural reorientation, and the re-emigration of some.

The responsibility for the decision to invite Indians to Fiji and therefore for the present swamping of Fiji by Indians numerically and economically, if not culturally and politically (as yet), lies with Sir Arthur Gordon, the first Governor. His motive was to help Fijians in the development of their country, one which has certainly been achieved; he believed that the structure of Fijian society would have been fundamentally and perhaps fatally upset if they had had to work on sugar plantations, a reason no less sound in 1875--79 than now.

The decision taken, the bringing over of so much labour to establish the basis of Fiji's relative prosperity was efficiently done, apart in relation to this until recently: no one has put it in better light than Dr. Gillion. In all 87 voyages there was less than 1 per cent. mortality, a remarkable fact considering the length of voyage (over 70 days in sailing ships) and the standard of medicine for the period. On the other hand, the Indians were not initially as feebly and poor as had been widely believed. Dr. Gillion states: 'The typical Indian emigrant to Fiji was, then, a physically fit young man of a middle agricultural caste who, having left his village in a densely populated district of the United Provinces or

MURRAY GROVES
the Madras Presidency, after a family quarrel perhaps or when times were hard, was recruited in or near a town by a "sharp" who held out to him the prospect of easy work for a few years for high wages in a place not too far distant; or a desperate young girl or widow who had left home or lost her way. These were not the enterprising peasant family the officials hoped would emigrate, nor were they the riff-raff that some uninformed persons in Fiji have supposed. As colonists they compared favourably with contemporary emigrants from Europe.

Among these sizable human transplantations, the opportunity was taken to introduce the mango tree and the mongoose, both of which also found in Fiji an extremely congenial habitat.

Dr. Gillian is very graphic in his description of plantation life, the state of the labour lines and the hours and nature of the work: a large section of his study is devoted to the setting, physically and politically, of the immigrants. In the present delicate state of balance between the Indians and Fijians, it is cause for mild irony that when Fijians asked in 1888 (as soon as they could begin to sense the impact) what the Indian introduction and growth might mean, Sir John Thurston as Governor justified it to them on the grounds that there was surplus land and insufficient labour and that it was unlikely that the immigrants would increase rapidly even if they did manage to settle down.

Dr. Gillion's is a full and fair analysis of the whole history. It is clearly expressed and contains all the intrinsic drama building up to the present position in Fiji which will be demanding the attention of that country's statesmen and those of this country at next year's constitutional talks in London. PHILIP SNOW


In 1888, at the meeting of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, a committee was appointed to draw up a Bibliography of the Australian and Polynesian Races, with special Reference to Philology. Two years later a bibliography was published containing about a hundred Australian items (1890 Rep. Aust. Ass. Adv. Sci., II, pp. 296-311). This was soon followed by Etheridge's 'Contributions to a catalogue of works, reports, and papers on the anthropology, ethnology and geological history of the Australian and Tasmanian Aborigines' (1890-1895 Mem. geol. Surv. N.S.W. Palaent., 8) containing about 1300 items. Yet despite this promising early start Australian ethnography still waits for the substantial comprehensive aids to library research provided for other fields by the Geographic Survey of Africa, the Handbook of South American Indians and similar publications. Further empirical research among living Australian Aborigines can throw only slight fresh light on conditions prior to contact with Europeans. The production of authoritative summaries of all that we can ever expect to know and guides to original sources is long overdue. It is to be hoped that the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, now being established, will undertake this important task with due speed.

Meanwhile a few aids to research are available. For example, Radcliffe-Brown's survey of Australian social organization (Oceania, 1, 1910-1911, pp. 34-63, 205-46, 222-41, 426-95) included a distribution map of fifty tribes and listed the more important sources. In 1940 Tindale published a detailed map showing the boundaries of over 500 tribal territories, together with a bibliography of about 200 items (Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Aust., 64, pp. 140-231). The recently published symposium, Australian Aboriginal Studies, edited by Helen Shiels (Melbourne, O.U.P., 1963), is mainly a survey of past work and present problems.

Greenway's book is a substantial addition to these research aids. Trained in English and anthropology, he lived in Australia in 1936. After completing a study of the folklore of White Australian sailors, he turned his attention to Aborigines. He assembled lists of newspaper articles, government documents and unpublished manuscripts, containing a total of 12,356 items. Copies of these lists are now being deposited in 'all important libraries in the English-speaking world at least.' In addition he collected details of 10,283 items, mainly books and articles in periodicals other than newspapers, plus some significant items from the other categories, and these are now set out in the book under review. The items are numbered consecutively and arranged alphabetically by author and, for each author, alphabetically by title. There is an index of subjects (topics, tribes, places) and a simplified version of Tindale's map.

It seems that Greenway did most of the compilation single-handed and although he 'pretends to a reasonable completeness' it is scarcely surprising that there are some important omissions. Even though he could not read all the items he lists, he put a great deal of effort into compiling a work that will remain useful for many years. If the entries beginning with 'A' are typical, from a comparison with the bibliography being prepared by the Institute, it seems that Greenway includes about nine-tenths of all that had been written about Aborigines by 1959. Unfortunately many of the entries are inaccurate, so that none can be used without checking, and the reader can waste much time in the unsuccessful pursuit of erroneous references. The entries are neither annotated nor evaluated and at many points in the index far too many items are put together under a single undifferentiated rubric (e.g. about 240 items under 'Mistreatment of Aborigines,' about 540 under 'Explorers and early observers, accounts of,' and some 900 'General works on Aborigines').

Greenway annoyed many Australian scholars by his account of past and present ethnographical studies in Australia (J. Amer. Folkl. 74, 1961: pp. 440-48) and it is likely that despite its size his bibliography will remain anathema to the experts. For the non-specialist unfamiliar with the literature of Aboriginal studies and with plenty of time to spare for wandering through the library stacks, Greenway provides a valuable and almost inexhaustible hunting ground. For the specialist, it should be a challenge to produce something better. J. A. BARNES


The author was a member of the Harvard–Peabody Expedition to New Guinea in 1961, which spent some months with a previously unknown tribe of Dani in the Balam valley. Matthiessen appears to be a professional writer and traveller to unknown places; his special qualifications are unstated, but he was assisted in various ways by the photographers, ethnologists, botanist, medical student and interpreter of the expedition. The book's interest is greatly enhanced by 85 photographs of the Kurelu—portraits, community scenes and battle pictures—some by Michael Rockefeller, by illustrations of artifacts drawn by Otto van Eersel and by sketch maps by Daniel Brownstein, which combine to show dramatically the people and their culture.

The text is personal and anecdotal—a 'chronicle' of a visitor's stay in a foreign land which he observed acutely, being unacquainted with the language and culture. Aside from the illustrations, the whole volume is pictorial in tone: 'The men moved covertly, in small bands, so as not to alert the Witaia sentries on the hills across the swamps.'

But the book need not be dismissed for its superficiality; it is an extraordinary traveler's account. The expedition went to the Kurelu Dani before government patrols, missionaries and traders reached them and began the usual process of technological change, repression of warfare and modification of ritual. Intersitial warfare dominates the interests and activities. Matthiessen reports a great many skirmishes, raids, battles, injuries, war deaths and victory dances in the months he spent there. These give credibility to the stories of fighting which others studying the New Guinea highlands hear so frequently, but, working in areas which have been under government influence for some years, can rarely witness.

The book has, I think, further value for the anthropologist. Dani ethnography has yet to be published; the pictorial description of Under the Mountain Wall will gain significance when it can be tied to social and cultural analysis. For example, the actions of persons and groups may become meaningful alignments and conflicts when seen in terms of the pairs of intertwining clans and attached segments which make up Dani political units. PAULA BROWN

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RAYMOND FIRTH and JAMES SPILLIUS

Raymond Firth returned to Tikopia in 1952, accompanied by James Spillius. Between them they were able to study again the cyclical religious rites which Firth first studied in 1928–29 and called 'The Work of the Gods.'

The present publication is an expanded, illustrated version of the paper presented by Firth to the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, 1956.

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Notes on Occupational Castes among the Gurage of South-West Ethiopia (with two figures)
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PUBLICATION DATES OF MAN

When the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute decided last year that MAN should, for the three-year period 1964–66, be published in double issues six times a year, it was intended, and announced in MAN, that the publication dates would be 1 January, 1 March, 1 May, etc. However, further consideration in the light of the fact that renewal of subscriptions normally takes place on or soon after 1 January disclosed certain administrative advantages in publication on the alternative dates 1 February, 1 April, 1 June, etc.; a decision in favour of this was taken early in December (unfortunately just too late for prior notification in the December issue), and the January–February issue, though prepared for publication early in January, was delayed until processing of the new subscriptions in the Institute's office was complete. The official publication date is now (beginning with the January–February issue) printed at the head of the Contents on page 2 of the cover, and every effort will be made to adhere to it in practice.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MAN: IMPORTANT NOTICE

Contributors and others are asked to note the following revised arrangements for correspondence relating to MAN: (1) articles submitted for publication and all other editorial correspondence, except that dealing with book reviews and offprints, should be addressed to the Hon. Editor as follows: W. B. Fagg, Hon. Editor of MAN, British Museum, London, W.C.1; (2) book reviews should be sent as before to Miss B. J. Kirkpatrick, Royal Anthropological Institute, 21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1, who will continue to handle correspondence on this subject on behalf of the Hon. Editor; (3) subscriptions and all correspondence relating to the distribution of MAN, including orders for offprints, should continue to be sent to the Hon. Secretary at the Institute, and it is particularly requested that such correspondence be not addressed to the Hon. Editor at the British Museum.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN MEMORIAL PUBLICATIONS FUND

In 1960 the Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth opened a fund in memory of the late Professor Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, who was its first Chairman and later its Life President. Since Radcliffe-Brown was associated with specific universities only for short periods, the Association seemed to be the most appropriate body to commemorate his work. It was felt inappropriate to establish a memorial lectureship, for this might be unduly associated with Great Britain, whereas Radcliffe-Brown taught in many diverse countries. It was decided, therefore, that a Fund to assist the publication of work by social anthropologists, especially younger scholars, would best reflect Radcliffe-Brown's great interest in teaching and in helping young anthropologists. The Fund is unlikely to be large enough to subsidize the publication of books but there are many occasions when a small grant may make possible the inclusion in a book or article of tabular material, charts, genealogies or illustrations. Radcliffe-Brown always stressed the importance of publishing facts in detail, which makes this form of memorial the more appropriate.

A committee to administer the Fund has now been established jointly by the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Association of Social Anthropologists. The first grants have been made to Dr. Emrys Peters of Manchester University and Professor Max Marwick of Monash University. The more senior recipients are being asked to return the grant under a seven-year covenant while junior recipients will be asked to bear in mind the possibility of making some return later so that the work of the Fund may be continued. Income from a series of monographs being published by the Association will aid the Fund, which is open to receive subscriptions from anyone wishing to be associated with the memorial.

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Japanese Rainmaking
and other folk practices

The ritual of rainmaking is one of half a dozen Japanese folk practices or festivals described. As with most of his practices examined, the story of rainmaking ceremonies begins with personal experience and then uses the writings of Japanese folklorists to record significant local variations and to construct a general account of the history and the purpose of the ceremony.

The chapter order follows the year cycle, starting with the New Year and proceeding by way of early summer purificatory festivals and rainmaking ceremonial to the feast of Bon, which, with the New Year ceremonies, divides the year. Alongside these community or public rites are described private or family rituals, such as those concerned with birth, marriage and death. The last chapter, "The Village Year," examines the history and the year round ceremonies of an isolated and inward- looking island fishing community.

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Information is available from the Executive Director, Australian Institute of Studies, Box 553, City P.O. Canberra, A.C.T. Applications, supported by the names of three referees, should be received by the Executive Director by 30th April 1964.

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The attention of Africanists is drawn to an Annual Prize being offered by the Amaury Talbot Fund.

The Trustees invite applications for the Prize being the income on £4,447 2s. od. 4% Consolidated Stock less expenses (approximately £120 net) to be awarded to the person performing the most valuable anthropological research work published during 1964 with reference to the people inhabiting the continent of Africa, preference being given in the first place to Nigeria, and in the second place to West Africa.

All applications, together with two copies of the book, article or work in question, to be received by the 31st December 1964 by the Trustees, Barclays Bank Limited, Trustee Department, P.O. Box 207, 40 Corn Street, Bristol 1.

Entries will not be returned to candidates but will be at the disposal of the judges.
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Application forms and further particulars are available from the University or from the Secretary, The Association of Commonwealth Universities, Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1. Applications should reach the University by 30th April or 31st October in any year, although special consideration may be given to applications at other times. Scholarships may be taken up at any time after award, subject to agreement of the Head of Department.

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CANBERRA, A.C.T., AUSTRALIA

D. K. R. HODGKIN
Registrar
Institute of Advanced Studies

Fellowship or Senior Fellowship in Pre-History

Applications are invited for a new post of Fellow or Senior Fellow in pre-History in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Research School of Pacific Studies.

Research in pre-History in this Department is being carried out under the supervision of Mr. J. Golson. At present there are four doctoral students in Archaeology, two doing field work in New Guinea and Western Polynesia and two making museum studies of material from S.E. Asia and Australia. The new Fellow or Senior Fellow will be primarily concerned with research into the older stone age of this region and his duties will include supervision of students and carrying out field work.

The Department of Anthropology and Sociology has research interests in Social Anthropology, Linguistics and Archaeology with reference to Australia, Oceania, and S. and S.E. Asia.

The salary and range of a Senior Fellow are determined within the limits £3,300–3,850 and of a Fellow within the limits £2,400–3,300. Appointment is made for an initial period of five years; thereafter it may be permanent. A Senior Fellow is entitled to one year's study leave on full pay, plus a contribution towards travel and other expenses, in every six years, and a Fellow, in every seven years.

Superannuation is on the F.S.S.U. pattern. Reasonable travel expenses are paid and assistance with housing is provided.

Further details should be obtained from the Secretary, Association of Universities (Branch Office), Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.

Applications close in London and Australia on 7 September 1964.
MAN
A Record of Anthropological Science

Kinship and Social Anthropology
Dr. J. H. M. Beattie
A Carved Stone Figure of Eshu from Igbajo, Western Nigeria (with two figures)
Philip Allison

Two Zande Tales
Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, F.B.A.

A Note on Enggano (with two figures and two tables)
M. A. Jaspan

Abnormal Haemoglobins in a Small Group of Tribesmen from North-West Pakistan (with a figure)
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Obituary
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Professor C. von Furer-Haimendorf

Shorter Notes

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CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

Any person interested in the sciences of anthropology and archaeology may apply for membership either through a Fellow or directly to the Hon. Secretary at 21 Bedford Square, W.C.1 (tel. Museum 2980), who will gladly supply full details of the Institute's activities and of the rights and obligations of Fellows. Forms of proposal should, in general, be signed by a Fellow who has personal knowledge of the applicant; but when an applicant does not already know a Fellow, the Hon. Secretary may be able to assist by listing Fellows resident near the applicant.

Fellows receive the Journal free, and may subscribe to Man at thirty (instead of thirty-six) shillings a year; they may borrow up to ten books at a time from the Library (by post, if desired) for a period of a month, or longer by arrangement; and, among other facilities, they may bring guests to lecture meetings.

The annual subscription of three guineas becomes due on election (unless this takes place in November or December), and on the first of every January thereafter. There is an entrance fee of one guinea: payment of fifty guineas entitles a Fellow to membership for life. Associate Membership, including most of the advantages of Fellowship, is open to persons under 26 at a subscription of two guineas, without entrance fee.

THE SWANSCOMBE SKULL

A Survey of Research on a Pleistocene Site

Edited by CAMERON D. OVEY

This monograph, which includes results of the most recent research as well as reprints of earlier fundamental papers, presents for the first time a detailed and comprehensive survey of this most important site. Fully illustrated with a comprehensive bibliography. £6. 6s. od. To Fellows of the Institute £4. 15s. od. Available early in September.
African Ecology and Human Evolution

General Editors:
Clark Howell
François Bourliere

This pioneering volume grows out of a conference which drew together eminent specialists from many fields—physical anthropologists, zoologists, geologists, paleontologists, and prehistorians—who summarize here the results of their diverse researches on Pleistocene environments and the cultural and biological evolution of man in Africa.

Classification and Human Evolution

General Editor:
Sherwood L. Washburn

It is the special purpose of this book to clarify the present state of knowledge regarding the main lines of human evolution by expressing what is known (and what is surmised about them) in appropriate taxonomic language.

METHUEN

Horniman Museum

Appointment of Curator

The Post of Curator at the Horniman Museum, London Road, Forest Hill, S.E.23, will become vacant in March 1965 with the retirement of Dr. O. W. Samson.

Applications are invited from candidates who will combine scholarship with organising ability, administrative skill, and museum experience.

The main collection is Ethnographical and there is a unique collection of Musical Instruments. Another important section is devoted to Natural History. The reference library includes some 35,000 volumes.

Salary scale: £2,610 x £90 to £3,240
Appointment in accordance with qualifications and experience above the minimum of the scale if appropriate.

Application forms, with further particulars, from the Education Officer (Estab. 2/2523/K), County Hall, London, S.E.1, returnable by 22nd September 1964.

Index to Current Periodicals

The increase in size of the Index and rise in costs of printing have made it necessary to increase the cost of the Index to £3. 3s. 0d. from January 1965 (Vol. III, Part 1). Existing subscriptions will be continued in effect unless we are advised by subscribers that they wish to cancel their standing instructions.
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Phillip H. Lewis

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Dr. E. J. Jay

A Sirikwa Pit Dwelling of Western Kenya (with four figures)
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J. M. A. Chappell

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HORNIMAN SCHOLARSHIP — REVISED SCHEME

A revised scheme for applications to the Emslie Horniman Anthropological Scholarship Fund will operate from 1965 onwards.

The closing date for applications will be 31 July in each year.

The Trustees will interview short-listed candidates during the month of October. Grants to successful candidates will become effective on 1 January of the following year.

The Fund was established to promote the scientific study of the growth of the civilisation, habits, customs, religious and physical characteristics of the non-European races and of prehistoric man in Europe. Such study includes anthropology in the wider sense, ethnology, ethnography and all other branches of science relating to the physical and natural development of man.

Applicants must be of British nationality. Those already in possession of a doctorate in anthropology will not normally be eligible but there are no restrictions as to age, sex, race or religion. Candidates who are not graduates will be required to satisfy the Trustees of their suitability for the study which they propose. Preference will be given to applicants whose proposals include work outside the United Kingdom.

Revised application forms may be obtained from

Honorary Secretary,
Emslie Horniman Anthropological Scholarship Fund,
21 Bedford Square, London W.C.1

to whom all enquiries and correspondence should be addressed.
ARTHUR MAURICE HOCART
MEMORIAL PRIZE

The attention of teachers and students of anthropology is drawn to the Hocart Prize, which is awarded annually for an essay on an anthropological subject.

Undergraduates and registered students working for a first degree or diploma or a first postgraduate degree (for those who have not had an undergraduate training in anthropology) are eligible to compete.

Essays, in English and not more than 10,000 words, must be submitted through the head of a department teaching anthropology in a university in the United Kingdom.

There will be a prize of 20 guineas.

Entries must reach the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Anthropological Institute by 30th April 1965.

THE WELLCOME MEDAL FOR ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Entrants are reminded that essays or published work, which should not exceed 10,000 words, for the Wellcome Medal 1964 should reach the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Anthropological Institute by 1 January 1965.

Any work submitted should deal with the application of anthropological methods in the study of problems arising from contact of native peoples with each other, or with higher civilizations. Entries should be submitted in triplicate.

In addition to the Wellcome Medal there will be a prize of £50.

Just Published

Frameworks for Dating Fossil Man
KENNETH OAKLEY

This is the first book to appear which correlates within a single volume the relevant data for both archaeological and geological dating of human fossil remains. The author was trained both as a geologist and a prehistorian, and has written the book first to meet the needs of archaeologists wishing to learn the stratigraphical frameworks now applied to Quaternary deposits, and second to meet the needs of geologists requiring to know the terminology of Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cultures.

This book makes use of the results of the latest dating techniques, both relative and absolute. Charts give the latest radiocarbon datings of Middle and Upper Palaeolithic sites and cultures in Europe, the Near East and Africa. In an appendix all the most important fossil remains are listed by name, with date of discovery, stratigraphical and cultural datings, and absolute age when known.

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MAN
A Record of Anthropological Science

Networks in Indian Social Structure
Professor M. N. Srinivas and André Béteille

New Guinea Highland Models and Descent Theory (with a figure)
Dr. R. F. Salisbury

The Incidence of Sickle-Cell Trait in Bastar, III (with two tables)
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