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Late Stone Age Tools from Kondapur; Middle Stone Age Tools from Kondapur

Rock Quarries at Shaki

Edwin Williams Smith

The Shrine for Taiwo; Charms and Offerings on the Shrine to Taiwo

Hunter's Memorial at Ogebe near Gbongan; Two Hunters' Memorials at Efion-Alaye; One of the Efion Memorials
DRAWINGS NEWLY DISCOVERED AT NIAH, SARAWAK, 1958

Executed in red hematite, from a narrow ledge, on the cave wall about 15 feet above the cave floor, which is strewn with early-metal-age remains and funerary 'boats' (see text). The designs, some of which are repeated in varying forms, extend for nearly 200 feet in one place, and include what appear to be a series of crude 'ships of the dead,' up to three feet long.
NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL RESULTS FROM NIAH CAVES, SARAWAK*

by

TOM HARRISON
Curator, Sarawak Museum

1. Background, 1958

I

Last year I reported in MAN on preliminary results of excavations made by the Sarawak Museum in the 26-acre floor of the Great Cave, Niah, Sarawak, West Borneo. Since then, thanks especially to a generous grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation of Lisbon and continued support from the Sarawak Government and the Shell Company (Sarawak Shell Oilfields, Ltd., and Brunei Shell Petroleum through the help of the Managing Director, Mr. R. E. Hales, C.B.E.), the work there has been considerably extended. At the same time, exploration of the whole Niah area and over into the Baram River basin (five days’ jungle journey) has widened the Niah context. It now emerges that previous visitors have long been misled (deliberately) by local informants; and that the Great Cave is only one—tremendous in itself—in an elaborate complex of caves and related places. Unfortunately, in recent years administration has been based on a specialist report which quite understandably accepted previous assumptions and did not detect this significant error. As a result, government policy for the large-scale extraction of guano—a significant source of local fertilizer—at Niah has in the past decade worked on the false assumption that the Great Cave is the only one that counts. In consequence, other caves of archeological importance have been gutted pretty well down to bedrock without control; in some cases nothing remains of the original deposit. However, the situation has now been put under this Museum’s charge; a permanent staff is stationed to preserve the good deal that has by good fortune survived—largely, naturally, in the more inaccessible and difficult places.

The prehistoric picture at Niah is now broadly as shown below.

PRELIMINARY PHASEOLOGY (AS DUG SO FAR)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Approx. Niah Start Date</th>
<th>Method of Dating</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Middle</td>
<td>'Mid Sohan'</td>
<td>40-50,000 B.C.</td>
<td>Flake below C14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paleolithic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Upper</td>
<td>Chopping</td>
<td>35,000 B.C.</td>
<td>Strata with C14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paleolithic</td>
<td>tools and large flakes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Upper</td>
<td>Smaller</td>
<td>25-10,000 B.C.</td>
<td>C14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paleolithic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Upper</td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>10,000 B.C.</td>
<td>C14 and stratification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesolithic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Mesolithic</td>
<td>Edgeground tools, Melano-</td>
<td>7,000 B.C.</td>
<td>Stratification</td>
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<td>noid dentitions</td>
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6. Neolithic    | 'Round axe'             | c. 4,000 B.C. (or later)| Stratification and doubtful comparison |

7. Neolithic    | Quadrangular adzes, Mongoloid dentitions, pottery, mats, nets, etc. | c. 1,000 B.C. | Stratification; area and contemporary comparisons |

8. Chalcolithic | 'Soft tools' in stone, slight bronze, elaborated pottery, beads | c. A.D. 0 | Associations and 'Dong's culture' traces |

9. Early Iron   | Iron tools, imported ceramics, glass beads, etc. | A.D. 700 (until A.D. 1300) | Dated T'ang coins and ceramics |

Professor H.L. de Vries of Groningen University, Holland, is kindly continuing a series of C14 tests in association with the Shell Companies. Results will be published when completed. See also separate note (24) below.

2. Summary of Work to Date

I previously mentioned that Alfred Russel Wallace, co-founder of evolutionary theory, a century ago drew T. H. Huxley's attention to Niah and Bau Caves as possible archeological sites of importance. It now transpires that subsequently the Royal Society with the British Association for the Advancement of Science jointly sponsored an investigation of these caves. This was carried out by A. H. Everett, who spent nine months in the field (1878-9). His report and expert opinion thereon were presented to the Royal Society by the then Vice-President and the Treasurer (the great John Evans) of that body in 1880. Their conclusions were strictly negative. All remains were found to be recent, the caves undeserving of further outside study. Thus it rested.

Since Everett, a series of Europeans have visited and reported on the Great Cave at Niah—including its potentials for contained gold, gypsum, guano, oil-drilling and capitalized birds—nesting—without anyone noting archeological traces other than 'recent.' Indeed, there has been nothing to suggest to the eye that there is likely to be anything other than latter-day Chinese, Melanaui (distorted skull) and Puman burials, continuing into modern times. These superficial remains have often been noted (from Everett on) in a westerly mouth of the Great Cave (Lobang Tolang = Bone Hole) and in small rock shelters along the Niah and Subis streams, from which places I collected surface skeletal material and pottery on my own first reconnaissance back in 1947.

In the extending of our understanding during 1958, special
mention must be made of the energetic sorties made by
Lord Medway, Zoological Assistant on the Sarawak
Museum staff during the 1957 season, but working whole-
time on archaeology this year (thanks to the Gulbenkian
Foundation); and of Mr. C. B. Murray, Mr. K. F. Michnie-
wicz and the staff of the Lands and Survey Department,
Miri (particularly Mr. Jee Chin Luke), who provided two
units to make detailed surveys of river lines, cave forma-
tions and exact levels. Mr. K. F. Wong, F.R.P.S., whose colour
photo is Plate A, with my wife made a 30-minute colour
Resident, Miri, gave great help in all arrangements; while
the District Officer, Mr. Peter Scanlon, the project owes
thanks for constant cooperation in 1958 as in 1957. Thanks
also to Mr. Francis Drake, M.B.E., N. O. Abang Arni and
Captain J. R. Blease, and to Captain T. Robertson of
Borneo Airways who flew me in and out of Niah’s tortuous
gorges spotting new caves (February, 1958). Shell geologists
Dr. F. van Veen and Dr. H. Wright helped both in the
field and laboratory. Once again I am indebted to Dr. Kenneth
Oakley, F.B.A., of the British Museum (Natural History),
for comparisons, references and encouragement, as also
to Dr. T. T. Paterson of Glasgow University (see below).
Professor G. H. R. von Koenigswald visited Sarawak as our
guest and spent a week at Niah, with very helpful results;
two papers on his examination of bone material will be
published shortly. Mr. Alistair Morrison, the Hon. Ong
Kee Hui and Mr. R. F. Fletcher kindly served as Trustees to
supervise the considerable non-governmental funds ex-
pended; Mr. Fletcher visited the excavations in person.
Mr. H. J. Gowers of the British Museum kindly drew
Figs. 1 and 2, Miss Ewa Krzasewska of the Sarawak
Museum Fig. 3.

The 1958 advance party, with Lord Medway, started
preparations at Niah in mid January. The main party,
under Mr. Geoffrey Barnes, left Kuching for Niah on
29 January; full work commenced when Professor von
Koenigswald and I arrived (by Shell helicopter) on 12
February. We remained, a party of 60 and over—Malay,
Sea and Land Dayak, Melanau, Punan, Chinese, German
and English—mainly living inside the caves, until the first
withdrawal on 28 April, with special studies continuing
until 3 June.

In 1957 we had proved archaeological traces below
100 inches in the main deposit so far studied. Our chief concern
in 1958 was to study fully the upper 72 inches, including the
uppermost palaeolithic level on to late neolithic. At about
72 inches in our medium section (now correlated in all
dimensions by survey), Professor Hl. de Vries’ C14 result
is 32,630 B.C. ± 700 years. About half an acre has now been
dug to 72 inches or equivalent, with sections for comparison
in three other mouths of the Great Cave, not previously
studied. In addition, deeper tests have been extended by
two trial pits to 144 inches, both amply confirming the
continuation of remains to this level (and lower). Outside
the Great Cave, other sites of significance have been dis-
covered and preliminarily examined (see below), preparatory
to fuller study in 1959. Some main 1958 results will now be
detailed.

3. Food Fauna of the Main Site Deposit at Niah
Hitherto, it has generally been assumed—mainly from
European and non-tropical Asian data—that the whole
vertebrate ‘palaeolithic’ (Pleistocene) fauna of South-East
Asia largely consisted of forms now extinct. The Niah
results to date do not really confirm this. They rather
suggest that in Borneo the contemporary fauna was
broadly similar at least back towards the mid Paleolithic,
perhaps further.

A detailed study has been made this year of the good bone
materials excavated to date. It seems clear that whereas in
the Neolithic the cave was only visited sporadically, largely
for funerary and other specific purposes, earlier than this
there was some extensive frequetation, involving the
consumption both of the cave’s endemic fauna of bats
(seven species) and swiftlets (three)—totalling today well
over two million animals—and of meals from extraneous
protein.

Extraneous bone material is found in all layers below the
neolithic. The following species (identified by Professor
von Koenigswald) no longer occur within 300 miles of
Niah: orang-utan—numerous, including some enormous
specimens; two-horned rhinoceros—including teeth asso-
ciated with early burials; elephant—previously regarded
as introduced and feral (only in North Borneo); wild
buffalo—also previously regarded as feral from quite
recent introduction; giant pig (Sus gargantua)—hitherto
only known by a single, non-fossil item from South
Borneo. Remains of wild ox (banteng), a bearded pig,
three species of deer and other game still present in the
vicinity also occur in the food deposit.

With few exceptions, strictly arboreal mammals do not
occur. Similarly, extraneous bird remains are infrequent
and are probably attributable to ground pheasants, or to
the several species of hornbill in which the male walls the
female into the nest hole. This is quite a different pattern
from that found in excavating abundant long houses and
nomad camps of iron age. No arrowheads or related
weapons of stone age have so far been found in Niah, or
elsewhere in Borneo.

As well as snake and frog fragments (possibly self-
introduced), there is plenty of river turtle, while riverine
fish continued below the middle level also. No decisive
fishhooks have been found, but numerous broken pieces
of the food shell Ellobium would adequately serve. A
clumsy bone ‘harpoon,’ from 24 inches, is perhaps an
eyear’s specimen of the detachable spearheads now used by
Kelabs and other inland peoples to spear fish.

Food shell continues significant. Shell counts provide a
ready way of rough-mapping focal upper points and periods
of frequentation. But below 36 inches shell begins to dis-
integrate; below 60 inches is seldom in identifiable form.
The list of molluscan species has been increased to 31, not
all necessarily introduced as food. In the higher levels
occur cut cowries, pieces of ‘mother-of-pearl,’ and other
seashells bored as pendants, beads, buttons or toggles.

The repeated occurrence of large pieces of hard marine
oyster shell deep into the deposit (a puzzle of 1957) was
clarified by the discovery—in two newly found caves—of
thick deposits of oysters and other marine forms high above the valley floor, exposed and evidently exploited in the past.

4. 'Mid Sohan,' Deep?

Prior to 1957, no palaeolithic materials had been found in stratified association in South-East Asia, and few anywhere in the east. Last year, we established provisional upper palaeolithic associations roughly from about 42 to 72 inches (medium section) at Niah. Since then, a deeper (100-inch) C14 sample has been dated by Professor de Vries at c. 39,600 B.C. ± 1,000 years. Now, in the new trial pit 'EE,' ten inches below this c. 40,000-year C14 sample, and directly underlying a well preserved human skull, we were fortunate—in view of the tiny section taken downward—to find a single and distinctive flake (fig. 1a).

![Image of stone implements from Niah Great Cave]

**FIG. 1. STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM NIAH GREAT CAVE**

(a) Flake from 110 inches, apparently of 'Mid Sohan' type. (b, c) Large rough primary flakes from 60-72 inches. Scale: $\frac{1}{2}$

This flake is rough and crude, but notably thin, wide and sharp, with a coarsely faceted butt. It is the flattest in cross section (though irregular in outline) of all Niah artifacts; of a quartzite. It does not closely resemble any others known from South-East Asia.

Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1958. Dr. T. T. Paterson, who pioneered research on the Sohan paleolithic culture of north-west India, examined the tool with Dr. Kenneth Oakley and gave as his considered opinion that it appeared equivalent to the 'Mid Sohan'—that is, 'middle palaeolithic'—of his Indian experience. This, if further confirmed by other artifacts as we proceed downward, links to the determination of the chopping tools from a higher level, which, supported by the authority of Dr. Oakley, I have already related to 'Upper Sohan.'

5. A 'Sterile' Pink-and-White Band; and a Cave 'Pit Dwelling'

Last year we encountered a sterile band which I only mentioned in passing. With the assistance of the Shell geologists, this has been more thoroughly studied now. Broadly, between the deeper stuff (such as the 'Mid Sohan' flake) and the main quartzite, smaller flake levels higher up (determined by C14 as generally upper palaeolithic) there is an intervening band of fine pink earth with many soft white nodules, through the main frequentation deposit.

This Pink-and-White is almost devoid of extraneous food and human bone or any form of artifact, although cave bat and swiftlet bones occur. It seems plausible that it represents a period of high pluvial activity, during which the caves were not frequented by man—and during which, perhaps, the area was uninhabitable. Work now in hand at each edge of this band should therefore prove of interest.

One striking disturbance has, however, occurred; this at one place perplexingly presented us with the Pink-and-White lying higher than adjacent post-palaeolithic materials. This was under what had earlier appeared to be a rock shelf a few inches high, at the northern edge of the main mouth deposit. Excavation in 1958 has shown that this is actually a complete sub-cave, filled up with deposit. A trial trench 20 feet back under the newly revealed sloping roof again gave positive remains down to 144 inches.

But in this case the whole Pink-and-White band appears to have been moved to one side (which would not be difficult) between the Upper Palaeolithic and the Neolithic. This produced a rough bowl, a sort of pit dwelling, with Pink-and-White piled high on the inner, slightly upsloping side into the cave; on the other sides the cave wall or the mouth rockfall complete an encircling line of shelter from wind, rain and enemy. Overhead, there is, here, a double roof: the immediate, low ceiling of the rock shelf; and far overhead the main ceiling of the Great Cave. Thus only in this sanctuary is there complete protection from the droppings and death falls of swiftlets and bats; and from the erratically incessant water drips and sporadic stalactite falls common to the rest of this great cavern. Digging in this sector is not yet complete, but a particularly rich collection of artifacts, mainly flakes and edge-ground tools, runs much deeper here than anywhere else. (The 1958 film clearly records this part of the excavation.)
6. The Upper Paleolithic: Flake Typology

Further hand choppers of 'late Sohan' type have been found this year; all are uniface (fig. 2), and with hammer marks on the butt end. I have already discussed the implications of these elsewhere, but must here emphasize that, in view of the Niah material, it may be wise to reconsider the dating of somewhat similar tools from Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia and elsewhere—which have almost invariably been regarded as very early, largely because they do indeed appear so massive, rough and crude. If this suggestion proves justified, wholesale revision of the hominin situation for the southern mainland might be involved, since there are no fossil remains of human type surely correlated with these tools. Thus, in the case of the Malay Peninsula, if Mr. H. D. Collings's important down slowly at Niah, one finds oneself in the somewhat embarrassing position of growing increasingly out of tune with much of Asian paleolithic literature; for instance, with the latest general exposition of zonal prehistory by that talented fieldworker, Dr. H. von Heekeren, based mainly on Indonesian evidence of unco-ordinated finds, but including premature statements covering Borneo and much else. The Niah core chopping tools raise a case in point.

The flake material from Niah raises the same sort of problem. The position is still far from clear, as this appears to be the only site with different so-called 'flake cultures' at all stratified in situ and also with other kinds of artifact. For lack of any better framework to go on, and in view of the additional 1958 material, I propose to add to the

'Tampan Culture' (based on rough tools found abundantly in terraces) really proves to relate to this 'Niah-Sohan,' Malaya is left without any good material, human or otherwise, of necessarily early, pre-Homo, paleolithic origin.

In this connexion, it is important that we avoid assuming for Asia the sequences of Europe, naturally indoctrinated into most archaeologists. It is possible, for instance, that a major discontinuity may exist between the early hominids of *Pithecanthropus* type and the appearance of advanced *Homo* forms—at least in parts of Asia. Moreover, the connexion between tools and specific early hominids in Southeast Asia is much less secure than has often been assumed. It is by no means sure who really made (or used) any of the early crude tools found irregularly throughout the zone. And this would apply equally to Niah until we can (as I hope) obtain fuller skeletal material below 72 inches. Meanwhile, it is possible that the development both of man and his techniques in Borneo differed and became complicated as much in the past, both generally and locally, as it does today.

The above qualification must be made because, working

1957 classification and now distinguish, very provisionally, four main 'sorts' of flake which occur in the same deposit in the Great Cave:

(i) 'Mid Sohan' (see above).
(ii) Big, rough primary flakes, very variable, and nearly always fairly well shaped and bladed. A few are dressed, but there is no secondary working. Found extensively this year about 60 inches (fig. 1b, c). One of these is an almost identical tool to Dr. von Heekeren's fig. 8b, found unassociated in Java and there regarded as lower paleolithic.
(iii) Smaller, usually less crude flakes, nearly always of quartzite, found extensively around 48 inches and below; discussed in the previous paper (1957, fig. 2a).
(iv) Flakes which have been carefully reworked, sometimes to a fine finish. These are less common, mostly occurring between 24 and 40 inches. I previously illustrated three of these (1957, fig. 1) in the hope that a parallel might be found, particularly with tools recently discovered in Japan and discussed in MAN, by John Maringer, as probably mesolithic. I have since been able to show Father Maringer and Japanese archaeologists this and other Niah tools in the hand; all agree that there is no resemblance to anything known from Japan.

Bone tools occur throughout the stone-age levels, but remain to be studied in detail. Used antlers are rare (and
tend to be rather 'early')—although food remains of horned deer occur well into the deposit.

7. 'Mesolithic'

The Mesolithic in South-East Asia is still not well defined and is based too largely on early French excavations in Indo-China, dependent on certain kinds of stone tools without positive dating. The most widespread of these are the 'Hoabinhian' core tools, well illustrated and discussed by M. W. F. Tweedie.13 No tools of this or any other recognized Asian mesolithic type have been found at Niah; and further research and dating may necessitate revision of middle-stone-age boundaries. However, between the clearly paleolithic rough flakes and quite 'sophisticated' polished neolithic tools, there is rather a dense band of intermediate material which reasonably can, for the time being, be treated as mesolithic and paleo-mesolithic (transitional) in a broad sense, at Niah. Good new material in 1958 requires an extension of the previous classification for this phase, into:

(i) Worked flakes of advanced kind; varieties of flake type (ii) in the previous section.

(ii) Edge-ground axes, sometimes massive, always carefully and symmetrically worked along a natural curve on a pebble surface; the butt end commonly struck and flaked bifacially to a rough point.

(iii) Edge-ground adzes, usually smaller pebbles; sometimes ground all over to shape, almost to the extent of polishing.

No such artifacts have yet been found specifically associated with human remains. But we now have a series of skeletons in this band, which confirm the 1957 view (Plate Pb) that this is a different type of burial, always in some way 'distorted,' and often accompanied by teeth of rhinoceros or other large mammals. We now have bodies which are spread-eagled, flat but decapitated, bent over with head to knees, on one side with arms over face, face downwards; and two partial burials (one of legs and some small bones only). These are scattered about at the edges of the main frequentation deposit, and especially along the fringes of the newly opened-up rock shelf to one side of the main mouth. In all cases where dentitions have been good enough for identification, these appear distinctly 'Melanoid' in character.

8. Evolution of the 'Round Axe'

The round axe has been theorized by Professor R. Heine-Geldern16 as an earlier phase in the late stone age, which came through South-East Asia into the Pacific prior to the quadrangular stone tool so well established in Malay a and adjacent lands. At Niah, for the first time, both quadrangular and round tools have been found clearly together. Results in 1958 elaborate those of 1957. And it is a pleasure to say that at this late level, at last, new field material does give considerable support to previous purely theoretical sequence. There is virtually no overlap between the square tools—with a rich related ceramic and other artifact activity—in the sub-surface layers, and the well defined underlying band in which no tools have flattened faces, but characteristically they are round in median cross-section. Moreover, the round tools have not been found connected with the many extended burials of men with pronouncedly shovel-shaped incisors of 'Mongolid type,' who continue on from later Neolithic. Skeletal material associated with the earlier, 'round-axe Neolithic,' is still somewhat ambiguous; but body structure is distinctly slighter, possibly 'Negrito.'

The round axes vary widely and the term is here used very loosely. Although not overlapping upward with the later Neolithic, they do merge downwards into and intermingle with the less securely defined mesoliths. We now have a fine series of transitional pieces, including three big round axes found together, almost polished at the cutting edge, partially edge-ground in adjacent parts, and heavily flaked off in crude manner towards the butt. The material used for these tools varies, as usual at Niah—where one of our main puzzles remains to discover the sources of much of the hard stone employed.1 But in only one 'round axe' is the stone the same as that used for any of the later, quadrangular tools.

9. Quadrangular Axes and 'Ulu'

In the upper few inches of the main mouth of the Great Cave at Niah we come on to ground upon which all students have agreed, the general pattern being thoroughly described by M. W. F. Tweedie.15 The quadrangular tools from Niah are of kinds common through the islands and on the mainland far north into China. All are made of similar black stone (hornblende, basalt, etc.), common also in Malaya.

These tools are associated with a variety of earthenware pottery, now the subject of an intensive study in cooperation with Dr. W. Solheim at the Sarawak Museum. Some of this pottery was made in the cave 1—perhaps from clay beds underlying surface guano deposits, discovered this year. One of these beds, a mile away through the labyrinth of cave darkness, has been mined.

Not much work has been done on late stone age associations this year, but one 1958 item of special interest should be mentioned: a large piece of basalt, bored with two holes, which must fall within the category of Prince John Löwenstein's 'ulu,' lately discussed in MAN.17 Near the butt end of what was once a quadrangular tool, two holes have been bored, asymmetrically, an inch apart—from the same flat side of the wide face through to the slightly curved back of the adze—by the bamboo-with-sand-and-water method, after (perhaps long after) the tool was broken. A small chip, which puzzled us when found sub-surface in 1957, exactly fits the irregular broken face found 100 feet away this year (as shown in fig. 3).

It is almost impossible to suppose that this object was bored for strictly functional purposes. It is not a practical—or even an impractical—knife; or other tool to haft. Surely it was intended for suspension, probably either on a belt or a body. Indeed, found in another context, this piece could readily be accepted as a specialized form of Chinese kuei. This strange attribution in a Borneo cave gains strength from the fact that in the same mouth we have found three pieces of rough jade (one bored), immediately sub-surface.
Jade is not found wild in Borneo; and this is the first 'ulu'-like stone object in the island. But in ranging the rest of South-East Asia—indeed, the world—to support his Malay-Eskimo knife parallels, Prince John has overlooked alternative implications in favour of a purely functional approach. In this connexion, Mr. W. Willetts has lately discussed the material with a wider view and linked the Eskimo knives with perforated Chinese jades of the pre-Christian Chou, of which he writes that 'they were imitations first made in jade only to be buried with the dead.' This could be applied, modified, to Niah. But I would venture further—to postulate an earlier, even more varied and wider ritual use than has been allowed. (Several Chinese bored stones of non-functional type in the British Museum collections should be re-examined in this connexion.)

10. The Cemetery: Later Human Remains

The main 1958 work on the striking assemblage of human burials uphill behind the main frequented site in the Great Cave was to map its full extent; fully to expose selected examples for closer study; and to examine denticles during the period of Professor von Koenigswald's stay. Findings sufficiently secure to be published at this stage may be summarized:

(i) All extended burials are flat on back, late neolithic or later, with Mongolid-type dentitions.
(ii) All burials appear to have been very shallow; some surface.

(iii) Several bodies are laid out on wood or in hollowed-out logs; one inside a whole log, buried.
(iv) Three sorts of matting and netting survive under or round neolithic skeletons and may be closely dated later.
(v) Whereas all extended burials are of adults or late adolescents, the accumulations of broken bone vividly coloured with hæmatite powder are found to include in one case teeth of four infants, and in all others infants—once with a young female (?) mother.
(vi) Skulls may be buried separately, sometimes with elaborate associated pottery, such as a double-spouted ewer, over the cranium.
(vii) Evidence of cannibalism is sparse in the cemetery, though quite abundant through the frequented section.
(viii) Beads occur sparsely but in wide variety: avian bone, pig and bear and porcupine teeth; jade, calcite and clay; shells, seeds, and hard berries. (Cornelian and glass beads arrived at Niah after the last burials in the main mouth cemetery; see below.)
(ix) Extraneous soft stones, shaped as if to imitate functional tools, are common with burials. These are apparently funeral furniture, related to others previously collected.

11. Later Phases in General

Although the main mouth of the Great Cave seems to cease prehistorically near the start of the Christian era, this year's search has produced rich later stuff from grottos in the adjacent cliffs of the limestone massif, overlooking the South China Sea. This largely consists of funerary objects with Mongolid burials, at least some of which are probably Chinese. Along with T'ang and Sung ceramics—
of types already found in great quantity in earlier Museum excavations at Santubong 400 miles to the south-west—there are carvings in wood, bone and stone; more than 1,000 glass and cornelian beads; metal tools and ornaments of bronze, iron and gold; and identifiable coins (seventh to eleventh centuries).

The presence of tools for scraping edible birds’ nests off the cave walls confirms the probability that birds’ nest soup was then, as now, a major business as between the mainland and West Borneo. A single piece of hornbill ivory, Chinese ho-ting, once worth more than jade and only won from one species (the Helmeted Hornbill, Rhinoplax vigilis, mainly found in Borneo), further confirms that this was a second important avian item of barter, exchanged for continental metal and stoneware, superior to anything that could be found locally. So that, while parts of interior New Guinea are still in the stone age, fine tools and durable utensils penetrated up the great rivers far into the uplands of the island of Borneo in bulk a thousand and more years ago—a fact of importance in interpreting the living culture of today, too. At the same time, the rapid advance of iron helped shorten and submerge the ‘bronze age,’ which even Niah has not been able to show as a major technological phase in Borneo.

Students of Asia have long pondered the paradox whereby the well recognized bronze-age culture, widely terms Doug’s on after a classic site in Indo-China, tends to fade in the islands, but to reappear with some remarkable parallels in the contemporary life of the Ngadju Dayaks studied by Scharer in the interior of South-East Borneo. Niah may, perhaps, help fill this long missing link. This year, at two places where the river disappears underground—an intrinsic idea in the Ngadju journey of the dead‘ from overworld to underworld—we have located cliff caves containing small wooden dug-out boats, placed, lidded, on posts, to receive human remains.

These boats are less than utility size; and the bow is depressed to take the enclosing upper section, fitted on to pegs. The bow end is carved with naga monster, crocodile or similar motif. These ‘boats of the dead’ could be regarded as developments from the buried log pieces in the main cemetery, already mentioned. They gain meaning, too, from the presence, at the larger boat site, of an impressive line of crude paintings, in the ubiquitous red haematite, along the cave wall behind and overhead.

These wall drawings require—and are receiving—fuller study. There can be little doubt, though, that they partly have to do with some sort of a ‘ship-of-the-dead’ approach. Curious vessels, closely similar to some in Ngadju drawings and Doug’s on themes, are a feature of the tangled designs. To augment a black-and-white plate already reproduced in the Archaeological Newsletter, it has proved possible to publish, with the present paper, a coloured photograph of a small section from the main set of drawings (Plate A). This is intended to provoke suggestions and comment, while study of the originals is still in progress. I should be most grateful for all such views or opinions (in care of the Sarawak Museum, Kuching, Borneo).

12. Conclusions

The preliminary results of further archaeological research in Sarawak during 1958 have been indicated. Much of this material is already presented above in highly condensed form and need not be restated. A forthcoming issue of the Sarawak Museum Journal will be devoted to elaborating some of the points discussed. The following broader aspects may usefully be stressed in conclusion:

(i) Newly found caves, 100-200 feet up in the cliffs, contain extensive wall drawings, model boats used as coffins and other indications of a possible missing link between the classic Doug’s-on-type bronze-age culture of the Asian mainland and the hitherto isolated living Ngadju Dayaks of South-East Borneo (who have no known connexion with any West Borneo groups or traditions).

(ii) A rich Chinese traffic with Borneo, especially in the T'ang (A.D. 671-907), traded ceramics, beads and metal for Niah birds’ nests, hornbill ivory, etc.

(iii) Niah was linked to trade centres in the Sarawak River delta, 400 miles to the south-west, for six centuries or more.

(iv) Before the advent of metal, the Late Neolithic was characterized by quadrangular tools, associated with Mongoldoid peoples and quite a rich material culture.

(v) A broken and bored quadrangular tool is related to jade and other ornaments and funerary objects, as a branch of the ‘uña-knife’ complex.

(vi) An earlier Neolithic, merging downward into ‘Meso-

litic,’ is characterized by round axes, distinctly stratified at Niah.

(vii) A transitional Meso-lithic is complicated; and only provisionally classified with three main tool types. All artifacts of this period at Niah are dissimilar from the usual Asian forms.

(viii) A good deal of fresh information on paleolithic levels, already broadly identified by C14 samples, has been obtained this year and is discussed in some detail in the text.

(ix) Flake typologies are discussed; and the relationship between Niah chopping tools and the Sohan of north-west India is further confirmed and elaborated—with implications possibly affecting the classification of such tools widely in Asia.

(x) Tests to levels below the 1958 dig (0-72 inches) indicate that much worthwhile material continues down to 144 inches and below, probably beyond the present limits of C14 sampling (c. 50,000 years). The only stone tool so far at a deeper level is a large flake provisionally regarded as related to the ‘mid Sohan,’ at 110 inches.

(xi) The imported food and endemic cave fauna in the Upper Paleolithic resembles that of today, but includes large mammals no longer found anywhere near Niah. It is suggested that it may be necessary to reconsider the dating of major faunal changes in the Upper Pleistocene of South-East Asia, hitherto largely assumed from western parallels.

(xii) Comment is specifically asked for on the newly found cave drawings, a few of which are illustrated in colour (Plate A).

Some other interesting new items from 1958 have not been discussed here, because the material is as yet insufficient, these including: tools made of quartz crystal; sets of long ‘phallic’ stones found together (?mesolithic); bone tools in general; a tremendous variety of pounders, mortars and scrapers (particularly early neolithic); fishing weights, bark-beaters, pot stones, etc. It is hoped to get fuller material on these and other matters in 1959, including an intensified study at the deeper paleolithic levels on downwards.

Notes

1 Last year’s Niah report may be treated as background to this; see MAN, 1957, 211. Points made there are only mentioned here if
TOWARDS A CLASSIFICATION OF CULT MOVEMENTS

by

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The Shaker Church adds an interesting chapter to the history of cult movements. It has always been interpreted as a response to a culture-contact situation in which the Indians suffered from Western dominance. Barnett (p. 3) repeats this interpretation and refers to the Church as a 'messianic cult' in which the need for 'security' is given by 'messiahs or prophets who cry out against the afflictions of their people ...'. In Innovation, published in 1953 although written after the manuscript for the Indian Shakers, Barnett tends to equate (p. 317) 'messianic cult' with Linton's 'nativistic movement.' There is no doubt of course that the founder of the Shaker Church acted as a messiah, but Barnett takes pains to point out (Indian Shakers, p. 142) that the religion 'lacked two common features of messianic cults elsewhere: the urge to preserve or revive aboriginal distinctness and the militant denunciation of the whites as the cause of native distress.'

It was particularly to the first of these features that I
referred when I noted that Linton’s overall discussion of nativistic movements could not be accurately applied to the Shakers. As a necessary addition to his definition of a nativistic movement as ‘any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society’s members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture,’ I proposed to distinguish another type of movement as ‘any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society’s members to incorporate in its culture selected aspects of another culture in contact with it.’ For such movements I suggested the term ‘vitalistic.’

It could be argued that the Shakers were nativistic because they retained native aspects of the old life, such as shamanism, in the new religion. Such an argument would discount, however, the emphasis placed on the words ‘conscious, organized attempt’ in both definitions. All acculturative involvement involves a retention or continuity of some culture traits as well as adoption or borrowing of others, and Linton seems to have been right in separating off from this general acculturative situation movements which are conscious and organized. So long as we recognize this aspect of the culture we must further take their avowed purposes into consideration. Whatever the actual amalgam of traits represented in the Shaker Church, its avowed doctrine is Christian and anti-shamanistic, in direct contrast with that of such truly nativistic movements as the Ghost Dance of 1890.

If we are to broaden the base of our analysis and include data on all cult movements, then Wallace seems well advised to point out (p. 269) that the situation involved is not always acculturative. Cults have often arisen during conditions of stress not immediately triggered off by contacts with a foreign culture. All of these movements are, however, portents of, or vehicles for, culture change and they involve the society in a choice between widely accepted or strongly supported values or practices, or both, and newly phrased or validated ones. Thinking of them in this way, one is less apt to accept ‘nativistic’ as either the only one or the most inclusive of cult categories. As Worsley has said (p. 242) it lays too much emphasis ‘on the regressive, backwards-looking aspects of the movements.’

Wallace also thinks of such movements positively, using ‘revitalization’ as the most inclusive term in his typology, the term describing the ‘species.’ He defines (p. 265) a revitalization movement as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture. He contrasts this with ‘chain-effects’ which include ‘evolution, drift, diffusion, historical change, acculturation’ and which do not ‘depend on deliberate intent.’ Whether or not one wishes to accept the full implications of his word ‘species,’ this is a major distinction. The processes of culture change which are thus brought together as chain effects are those to which anthropologists have given the greater part of their attention: they are neither intentionally organized nor necessarily preceded by social and economic dissatisfaction. Wallace (p. 277) tentatively includes certain political movements under the revitalization process, pointing out that ‘the obvious distinction between religious and secular movements may conceal fundamental similarities . . .’ Linton covered the same breadth of material by his introduction of the concepts ‘rational’ and ‘magical,’ and Worsley points out (p. 236) that the deliverance to be effected through millenarian cults may be by human action as well as by supernatural intervention. Many political movements have cultist features and the great value of Wallace’s major categories seems to lie in the fact that they embrace all phenomena of culture change without reference to such debatable questions as the meaning of ‘religion’ and the ‘supernatural.’

According to Wallace, revitalization ‘denotes a very large class of phenomena. Other terms are employed in the existing literature to denote . . . subclasses’ (p. 267). The subclasses are given as nativistic movements, revitalistic movements, Cargo cults, vitalistic movements, millenarian and messianic movements. These subclasses seem less satisfactory than his major divisions. By their criteria vitalistic movements become ‘nonnativistic revitalization movements with importation’ (p. 280) and are similar to Cargo cults except that they ‘do not necessarily invoke ship and cargo’ (p. 267). Importation aptly describes the attitude expressed in the Cargo cults towards the desired elements of Western civilization, but it is a less happy choice for the Shakers. To use ship and cargo as the distinguishing criterion is to turn to a lower level of abstraction, drawing upon a peculiar feature present only in this set of phenomena. The acceptance of traits is the important element, emphasized by reference to ‘non-nativistic.’ Vogel, speaking of the ‘critical eye’ with which the Shaker Church views the past, employs ‘anti-nativism’ (p. 252) with much the same meaning. Worsley makes it clear that the millenarian Cargo cults are oriented to the future and are thus also non-nativistic. Since all vitalistic movements involve ‘importation’ it seems simpler, and nearer to the facts, to call both the Cargo cults and the Shaker Church vitalistic (although I hold no brief for the word itself).

This arrangement adds a more comprehensive level to Wallace’s subclasses. Vitalism and nativism become parallel terms, emphasizing whether or not the changes proposed are in the direction of the acceptance and reorientation of traits or their continuance. Vitalistic movements tend to be productive in a positive sense and pave the way for new developments and growth, whereas nativistic ones are often, to use Worsley’s term, regressive.

Nativism as defined by Wallace (p. 267) agrees with such a construction since it involves the ‘elimination of alien’ elements and is hence negative in tone, but his ‘revivalism’ calls for further discussion. Linton used the term, with its companion ‘perpetuative,’ to distinguish those cultural aspects which according to his definition of nativism (see above) were to be ‘revived.’ It thus indicated a particular form of nativism. Wallace also retains the concept’s derivation from traits which are to be revived, i.e., elements which belonged to ‘previous generations but are not now present’ (p. 267). Considered from its usual background among religious phenomena, however, ‘revivalism’ refers less to such situations than to those to which Wallace refers in his discussion of personality-transformation (pp. 270–272). It
derives from the revival meeting which was intended to bring about spiritual regeneration. It has a highly personal flavour and is associated with certain excesses of individual behaviour. The Shaker Church has strong elements of revivalism in this sense. A typical church service involves dancing, seizures of shaking, and states of semi-trance. The present importance of such examples of abandon is that they, and similarly exaggerated expressions of personal participation, occur widely over the world. Like messianic and millenarian features, they are recurrent in various cultural settings. Revivalism in this sense is present in Cargo cults as well as among Shakers. Since it was strong in the Ghost Dance of 1890 (to mention only one other possible example which has already been referred to), it is also clear that it may accompany either vitalistic or nativistic movements.

In the remainder of this discussion, ‘revivalism’ will refer to these excessive exhibitions of personal behaviour. Traits can then be spoken of as either revived or perpetuated by nativistic movements if the distinction made by Linton and Wallace in their reference to ‘revivalism’ is to be singled out for attention.

The second common feature of messianic cults which Barnett (p. 142) finds to be lacking in the Shaker Church is the ‘militant denunciation of the whites as the cause of native distress.’ Is this the same feature cited by Worsley and Voget? Worsley concludes (p. 235) that there is ‘no sharp dividing line between the millenarian cult and other related movements,’ and (p. 236) that there are ‘many variations of form,’ and the ‘basic division’ is not between millenarian and non-millenarian movements, but between ‘activist and passivist movements.’ All the activist movements ‘ultimately result either in the emergence of secular political organization or turn into cults of passive resignation’ (ibid.). Voget (p. 249) draws a somewhat similar distinction between dynamic nativism and passive or adjunctive nativism and likewise (p. 259) makes the point that there is normally a progression towards ‘more secular, pragmatic and accommodative adjustment’ in what he calls reformation movements among American Indians. To take this latter point first, it might also be noted that progression from a more active to more passive state has often an almost cyclical character. Whatever efforts at conversion show a new burst of enthusiasm, or when proselytizers reach a new region, a movement takes on renewed activity.

These active phases may not, however, involve elements of militancy. The Shaker Church has had recurrent phases of greater or less activity, yet all of them have been strikingly deficient in aggression towards whites. Although shamanism is specifically singled out as contrary to Shaker belief, shamanism are also often welcomed at Shaker meetings. It is the source of their power from another force than God that is frowned upon and it is hoped that they will, by conversion, continue in the use of their powers while recognizing a different supernatural derivation for them. The curative aims and techniques of shamans and Shakers are recognized as similar. When Shakers say that they have ‘beaten’ a shaman, they do not mean that they have directed aggression against him personally but that they have obtained more positive results with a patient than he was able to—they have succeeded where he has failed.

Militancy is, on the other hand, an element in many movements. In Cargo cults and other millenarian movements certain aspects of the old regime are destroyed in order to pave the way for the new. Militancy may thus be either typically absent or present in non-nativistic or vitalistic movements. It should be remembered also that in the nativistic Ghost Dance of 1890 militancy actually became a focal point, one of the main avowed purposes, of the cult. Not only, therefore, may militancy occur as an important element in different cultural settings but it may also, like revivalism, appear in either nativistic or vitalistic movements.

One more sect remains to be considered before returning to the distinction between activist and passivist movements. Wallace (p. 264) has introduced Sikhism into the discussion of cult movements, yet if this sect is discussed in relation to the general background of culture change, neither nativism nor vitalism gives an adequate picture of the situation involved. Sikhism began under Guru Nanak as a conscious effort to bring Islam and Hinduism into some sort of working agreement. By his time, in the sixteenth century, the two religions had already had some eight centuries of contact in the Indian sub-continent. The position of dominance had first shifted from one to the other, the intrusive forces of Islam gained ascendency and by Guru Nanak's time Muslim rulers were firm in the political and economic saddle. The position of the non-Muslim or non-co-operating segments of the population was not a pleasant one. Guru Nanak's synthesis was not passive, it was pacific, but actively conciliatory. Nor, as I have shown elsewhere, are all of its features to be derived from synthesis alone. Nevertheless, one of its avowed purposes was to demonstrate the feasibility and positive value of a combination of Muslim and Hindu ideas, a combination, in culture-change terms, of both old and new traits. When, under Guru Govind Singh, the religion was transformed into a thorough-going militarism, this character of its early doctrines was not lost. Sikhism is still in part a self-consciously buffer sect between what it regards as the extreme positions of Islam and Hinduism. Neither of our categories, nativism or vitalism, really fits this situation. Not only from the view of logical necessity but also out of regard to fact, a third category thus seems called for.

In agreement with the definitions of nativism and vitalism, synthetism may be defined as 'any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to combine selected aspects of two cultures.'

Again it should be pointed out that, although every instance of acculturation does in fact give evidence of such combinations of traits, only some cult movements make this a part of their conscious intent. Use of Wallace's word 'deliberate' would help to underline this and perhaps it should be added to all three definitions. With such sects as Sikhism in mind, it may be well to note that in each of the definitions 'a society's members' may refer to all or any part of its members. Again, also, Wallace's caution that the situation involved need not always be acculturative is well
worth repeating. The combination may be one of newly placed emphasis and of realignment without any immediate and obvious culture contact being involved. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the two sets or syndromes of traits from which the combination is to be drawn must be clearly distinguished and identified as units of belief and action.

In the case of Sikhism, the unrest which prepared the ground for the movement was plainly due to the open antagonism of two recognizable units, Islam and Hinduism. To what extent early converts to Sikhism identified the first of these as intrusive is problematical. But there is no doubt that Guru Nanak was well aware of the historical facts. Because of Guru Nanak’s insistence on the general, all-encompassing character of his synthesis and his references to other religions, it might be asked whether allowance should be made for combinations from more than two cultural syndromes. Actually, it was the conflict between the two major religions which gave the impetus to his teaching and it was with that conflict that he was mainly concerned. The essential validity of each, which he proclaimed, was only bolstered by his further acceptance of other creeds. An intellectual synthesis of aspects of more than two cultural units is theoretically possible, but in practice I can think of no instance in which it has not been the direct conflict between two such entities that worsened social and economic conditions and led to an attempt at synthesis.

In citing the lack of ‘militant denunciation’ among Shakers, Barnett seems not to have had in mind the ‘resignation’ or ‘accommodative adjustment’ referred to by Worsley and Voget. Militancy as discussed above is also somewhat different from the ‘activist’ or ‘dynamic’ movements to which they respectively refer. If I understand them correctly, both Shakerism and early Sikhism despite being quite pacific would be thought of as activist or dynamic. Many of the early converts to Sikhism seem indeed to have been recruited from segments of the population which had resigned themselves to a difficult situation or were making what adjustments they could. In some instances, Sikhism seems to have recommended courses which they had already adopted, but it did so by rallying them to a positive cause. From the beginning, Sikhism was against caste. By seizing on an aspect of the old culture under which many had suffered and which was present to the minds of all, Guru Nanak could draw attention to the Islamic and Hindu elements which he thought could exist in combination. Sikhism therefore not only emphasized synthesis but also acted as a reform sect of Hinduism, especially in regard to caste. In the same way, the Shakers seized on shamanism. By 1881, with white law firmly established, the old sanctions against the abuse of shamanistic power were no longer operative. Shamans overplayed their hand and considerable negative reaction to them is reported. Shakerism therefore not only accepted large sections of Christian belief but, like Sikhism, also acted as a reform movement. It does not press the analogy too far to describe Shakerism as a reformed shamanism.

Voget has already applied the word ‘reformation’ to Shakerism and two other American Indian religious movements, but he means by it something more comprehensive than is implied above, equating it with dynamism and the whole ‘creative effort aimed at achieving a new life-meaning and realization of self’ (p. 230). This is implied in the concepts already described as activist or dynamic and there seems some descriptive value in retaining ‘reformative’ for a more restricted meaning than Voget gives it. Movements would then be reformative in respect to those particular aspects of culture which they single out and concerning which they make specific recommendations.

This emphasis serves also to throw light on Barnett’s ‘militant denunciation’. The shortened form of this, ‘militancy,’ adequately suggests the aggressive elements of the behaviour and that the aggression is directed against particular targets. The fact that this element is lacking in the Shaker Church does not, however, indicate that the Shakers adopt the resignation or accommodative adjustment the importance of which Worsley and Voget have stressed. The opposite of accommodation is not militancy but, as Voget has already said, reformation, and this remains true for the narrower frame of reference.

When I first chose the designation ‘vitalistic,’ I clearly had in mind something akin to Worsley’s ‘activist’ and Voget’s ‘dynamic’ movements. Yet this is descriptive rather of the outcome of movements than their position in a culture-change classification. Actually, emphasis on activism seems to have appeared in discussions which were trying to free the data of the repressive stamp placed on them by the way in which nativism had been accepted and interpreted in the decade following the publication of Linton’s paper. Looked at afresh, one realizes that activism is functionally descriptive but that it says little about culture change per se. Distinctions between activism and passivism are important, but they say something else about the data than is necessarily implied in the definitions describing features of cult movements.

Summary. Although there is every reason for agreeing with Worsley’s plea (p. 236) for ‘some delimitation’ of the material to be selected for analysis, anthropologists really cannot shrink the responsibility of viewing culture change in its entirety. No formula may prove universally acceptable, but it is striking that the most recent papers dealing with the classification of cult movements as initiated by Linton have shown areas of marked convergence, despite differences of subject matter and general theoretical orientation. A general typology emerges from the selection and co-ordination of some of these areas of agreement.

In the first place, we have followed Wallace in distinguishing cult movements from other phenomena of culture change because they are (a) deliberate, conscious and organized and (b) responses to social and economic dissatisfaction. It may be that later analyses will elaborate on this distinction. Nevertheless, the criteria point to certain essential features which set the movements off from other situations involving culture change. Whether the movements are called ‘cult’ or ‘revitalization’ or ‘x’ seems less important than recognition of these features.

In the second place, since culture change is taken to involve the old and the new (that which is to change and
that which it is to change into) movements may be
differentiated on this basis. Nativism stresses revived or
perpetuated aspects of culture, vitalism stresses newly
perceived aspects of culture, and syntheism stresses new
combinations. None of these are ideal systems. If they
represent what seem to be logical necessities this is because
movements have in fact made choices between them as
possibilities. Like all the categories with which we are
concerned they are descriptive. Two or all of them may,
indeed generally do, appear in the same movement; and they
likewise always combine with processes of culture change
which are not deliberate, conscious and organized nor
necessarily related to deprivation.

Thirdly, movements may be characterized by certain
contextual features. There are messianic, millenarian,
revivalistic, militant and reformatory movements. These
aspects, which are either self-explanatory or have been
discussed above, may also appear in various combinations.
Terms such as the Shaker Church and Cargo cults had best be
retained for particular movements or groups of movements
identified by their idiosyncratic elements. The contextual
features cited are useful just because they have occurred in
many places and at different times.

Finally, it should be added that I see little value in clas-

cification for its own sake. The one tentatively offered here

is meant to clarify process and aid in analysis. Perhaps, as I
have said, the most striking thing about it is that it seems a
natural development out of the thought of several people
working independently and on somewhat different

materials.

Notes

1 H. G. Barnett, Indian Shakers: A Messianic Cult of the Pacific
Northwest, Carbondale (Southern Illinois University Press), 1957,
pp. 378, price $5.75.

2 It is obvious that the bibliography given here is skeletal. Since
space is limited, the argument presupposes knowledge of the few
papers analysed (i.e. Linton, Wallace, Worsley and Vogel), and I
only hope that this fact may not make the present one incompre-

hensible.

3 Ralph Linton, 'Nativistic Movements,' Amer. Anthrop., Vol.
XLV (1943), pp. 230-240.


5 Marian W. Smith, 'Shamanism in the Shaker Religion of

6 Anthony F. C. Wallace, 'Revitalization Movements,' Amer.

7 Peter Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of Cargo Cults
in Melanesia, 1957.

8 Fred W. Voget, 'The American Indian in Transition: Reforma-

249-263.

9 Marian W. Smith, 'Synthesis and other Processes in Sikhism,

SHORTER NOTES

New Dates for Polynesian Prehistory. By Harry L. Shapiro
and Robert C. Suggs, American Museum of Natural
History, New York.

In the last decade or so Polynesia has become an
area of heightened archaeological interest and, more significantly,
of increased archaeological activity. Previously, systematic
knowledge of the prehistory of this region was virtually non-existent
except for a few chance discoveries and some promising but
tentative excavations in the Hawaiian Islands and in New Zealand.
Although Emory, Linton, Skinner, and others had already in the
nineteen-twenties and thirties mapped considerable numbers of
surface structures, identified ruins and established useful typologies
of existing artifacts, little or no spade archaeology had ever been
attempted. Indeed, many influential students of the area were
even sceptical that 'dirt' archaeology of the familiar type existed
in many of the islands, since it was held that their human occupa-
tion was so recent there would scarcely have been sufficient time
for an adequate accumulation of cultural debris for profitable
exploration. Estimates of the dates when the Polynesian islands
were settled were generally based, therefore, on genealogical
records surviving in the oral traditions of the various archipelagos
rather than on archaeological evidence. One widely held inter-
pretation of such records suggested the arrival of the first immi-
grants to the area sometime in the middle of the first millennium
A.D. in western Polynesia, and consequently much later in the
islands to the east and marginal to Samoa and Tonga. In New
Zealand, for example, Kupe, a partly mythical ancestor of the
hypothetized 'early' population, was traditionally dated around
A.D. 950, with the main stream of the late Moai invasion as late
as A.D. 1350. For such remote islands as the Marquesas, Easter
and other fringe groups, settlements were generally dated in the
second millennium A.D.

After the Second World War, this extraordinary paucity of
documented archeological excavation for so widespread and
important an area began to stimulate systematic excavation. By
1956 extensive digging had been carried out in at least two places
—New Zealand and Hawaii. Duff and his collaborators in New
Zealand had discovered there an early population which they
called the Moa-Hunters. The name was derived from the fact
that these people hunted and apparently utilized for food the Moa,
which later became extinct during classic Maori times. The
Moa-Hunters were found on the east coast of the South Island.
Although their material culture contained some points of difference
from the well-known Maori, the two can be connected in a
developmental way, and there is no reason to suppose that the
Moa-Hunters were not Polynesians. In fact, an examination of
the osteological remains recovered up to 1949, which I had an
opportunity to study, offers no clear evidence that these earlier
inhabitants were racially distinct from the historic Maori. The
great significance of the discovery of the Moa-Hunter horizon
lay in the fact that it was undoubtedly the earliest culture in New
Zealand known from concrete, tangible remains. Its dating at
A.D. 1155 by radiocarbon techniques was received, therefore,
with considerable interest.

In Hawaii, Emory has for several decades been mapping the
archaeology of the archipelago. Recently he had been excavating
in open sites and particularly in caves. His work is perhaps the
most extensive and long continued in the whole area. Up to the
present time, his earliest published date derived by radiocarbon
methods is approximately A.D. 1000.

These two dates for islands at the northern and southern
extremities of Polynesia agree closely and suggested that the usual
view of a relatively late date for the first human settlement of this
geospatial area was correct. During the past year, however, Heyerdahl has reported from Easter Island a sample that yielded
the date of A.D. 380±100. In 1956 the American Museum
sponsored the Cornelius Crane Expedition to the Marquesas. One of us (H.L.S.) had suggested a couple of years before to Mr. Crane the desirability of testing the possibility of obtaining useful archaeological data from these remote islands, thus contributing to an understanding of the history of human occupation in Polynesia. The fact that no dirt archaeology had ever been attempted here added to the challenge. In the summer of 1956 it was finally possible to carry out our plans. The time was limited and although we had the invaluable assistance of Mr. Robert Suggs, a graduate student at Columbia, we could only make a beginning. In 1957–8, Suggs returned to complete the earlier work and in due course detailed reports of the excavations will be published. From the first summer’s work, however, we were able to collect a number of charcoal and organic samples for radiocarbon dating, and these are the principal reason for this brief report.

Excavations were carried out both in a small series of caves in Bay Marquisien on the west coast of Nuku Hiva, the main island of the northern group in the Marquesas, and also in an open dune site fringing the shoreline of Haautuata Bay on the same island. Bay Marquisien is at the mouth of a relatively small valley (Uea) and has a limited area for the cultivation of food plants. One would, on ecological grounds, not expect this to be the principal settlement area or the earliest. On the contrary, it would more probably be the kind of valley that would be inhabited only after the larger ones, with more resources and advantages, had been occupied. It as at present unoccupied. Haautuata is also, by comparison with such valleys as Taiohae or Taipi, small, but it connects easily with another fairly extensive valley, Hatiheu.

Our excavations in the small caves of Bay Marquisien were carried down to bedrock and our samples were obtained at various levels down to the bottom. The dates which these samples yielded by radiocarbon methods were all relatively late.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Sample No.</th>
<th>Years before 1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NBM-1</td>
<td>394F</td>
<td>480 ± 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>394G</td>
<td>760 ± 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBM-4</td>
<td>394H</td>
<td>484 ± 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBM-5</td>
<td>394J</td>
<td>270 ± 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The maximum date from these cave sites would carry us back only as far as A.D. 1196 ± 150, approximately. As far as this sampling is reliable, it would indicate a relatively late occupation of the smaller and less desirable bays and valleys.

The results at Haautuata were quite different. The site investigated here was a long crescentic dune, the centre of which had been used for burials and possibly ceremonial purposes. Evidence of cannibalism was also found here. To one side we uncovered house sites belonging to a habitation complex. Four samples taken, both from the ceremonial and the residential areas, were processed with the following results in chronology:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site No.</th>
<th>Sample No.</th>
<th>Years before 1956</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NHaa-1</td>
<td>394L</td>
<td>1910 ± 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>394D</td>
<td>1090 ± 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>394A</td>
<td>1270 ± 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>394B</td>
<td>2080 ± 150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These dates from Haautuata Bay carry the occupation of the Marquesas back considerably further, even to the second century before Christ. They are the oldest dates yet published for Polynesia and greatly increase the length of time we must now attribute to the settlement of the area. Since Haautuata, the site of these dates, does not appear to be one of the most favourable valleys for the first settlement of the Marquesas and since the Marquesas themselves are an isolated group, remote from western Polynesia—which in the opinion of some students represents the Polynesian threshold—or even from the Society group, another possible focus of distribution, it does not seem unlikely that earlier dates than these will eventually be obtained.

Notes
1 One might point out that in a few instances, like Stokes’s work on Rapa, results had never been published and were, therefore, not generally known.
2 Peter H. Buck, Vikings of the Sunrise, New York, 1938.
5 Date determined by the Lamont Laboratory.
6 Date determined by Isotopes, Inc.

Politics without Parties. By Professor J. A. Barnes, Australian National University

The recent publication of Ronald Frankenberg’s Village on the Border (London (Cohen & West), 1957; pp. xi, 163; price 18s.) draws attention to a number of important controversies in contemporary social anthropology. Frankenberg’s book is a delight to read for its own sake. He describes and analyses part of the social life of a Welsh village, referred to by the pseudonym of Pentredifaith, ‘Village without work,’ in which he lived for about a year. He relates village activities to conditions in the recent past and to their setting in the economic and social life of the country. He generalizes about the typical sequence through which village activities pass and suggests in broad terms the likely trend of future development. It is clear that Frankenberg enjoyed his fieldwork; his affection for the villagers is conveyed to the reader with sympathy and wit. There are a few misprints, and a local map would have helped the reader; but the book is written clearly and unpretentiously, and diagrams illustrate the main incidents. Many of the features of our social life that we know by random acquaintance are here set out systematically and analytically, and our understanding is thereby enriched. I want, however, to consider the work not so much on its own merits as in connexion with certain wider theoretical issues.

The book is a social anthropologist’s report on an ‘advanced’ community. He makes us ponder on what distinctive features are given to the community study when it is made from an anthropological standpoint, and on how its results can be presented to an audience already broadly familiar with the culture of the community. More importantly, he brings a fresh approach to politics which seems to me of great value and relevant to investigations of primitive as well as advanced societies.

We can best discover Frankenberg’s interests and methods by examining how he handles the various topics mentioned in his sub-title: A social study of religion, politics and football in a North Wales community. Let us begin with football. If this had been a study of a village not in Wales but in Africa or New Guinea we might have expected a description of football, with a précis of its rules. Frankenberg does not provide this. He may assume that his readers know something of the rules already but this is not essential; he has no interest in the rules as such. He is concerned
exclusively with the social relations mediated through football, and the rules of football are irrelevant except in so far as they affect people in their relations to one another. Thus he notes that a football team requires a captain to exercise authority over the team, and discusses the particular hazards in being captain. The pitch has to be prepared for play, and hence the committee which does these chores is largely composed of working men prepared to dirty themselves marking the lines, rigging the net and cutting the grass. On the other hand, he says nothing about how the game is actually played. Frankenberg presents not a study of football but a social study of people who play football.

In this important respect his study is in the tradition of the Introduction to African Political Systems (O.U.P., 1940, p. 3), where Fortes and Evans-Pritchard write: 'A comparative study of political systems has to be on an abstract plane where social processes are stripped of their cultural idiom and reduced to functional terms.' Frankenberg is not concerned with the cultural idiom of football.

He applies the same stripping technique with even greater clarity to religion. He tells us almost nothing about the religious beliefs of the villagers and implies that in the minds of many of the laity these beliefs are not clearly formulated. But he does tell us a great deal about how people behave in situations in which adherence to a religious denomination is considered relevant. Because his structural analysis is based on a way of life familiar to most of his readers, Frankenberg is able to dispense with much of the cultural description that forms an indispensable but lengthy preliminary to most analyses of primitive and unfamiliar social structures.

Football scarcely needs definition, but the other terms in the sub-title call for careful scrutiny. Frankenberg takes his analytical tools for granted. He discusses in detail the qualities of political and religious activity that are specific to Pentredwrith, but we can infer only indirectly what he means by politics in general, or religion. Indeed, as the titles of his chapters show, he is not primarily concerned even with religious affiliation and scarcely at all with religious doctrine, either as taught from the pulpit or believed in the laity. His main theme is politics, and religion like football enters only as one of the systems in terms of which peoples are grouped together for co-operation and conflict. He makes it clear that in Pentredwrith religious alignment is not a straightforward arrangement of one man, one denomination. It is rather a system in which many men have tenuous connexions with several denominations and shift their allegiance in response to pressures from every quarter.

Yet if politics is Frankenberg's main theme it may seem surprising that in only one sentence does he refer to Conservative and Labour political parties. By contrast, Rees, who studied a neighbouring village, provides a brief chapter on politics in which he sketches the decline of the land-owning class and the alignment of the national parties. He notes that the local people realize that no party represents their particular interests (Alwyn D. Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, Cardiff (U. of Wales P.), 1954, pp. 154-61). Frankenberg's lack of interest in 'national' politics may have been partly owing to the fact that there was no parliamentary election while he was in Pentredwrith, for presumably between elections national parties in the area hibernate.

I think that the difference lies deeper. We use the word 'politics' in several ways. We talk of a 'political system' and often assume that 'politics' must be actions carried on in the political system. But we also speak of 'academic politics' and 'ecclesiastical politics' without implying that a university has its own army or that the church is an organization for maintaining social order within a territorial framework, to use Radcliffe-Brown's description of a political system. A 'real politician,' among other things, gets his way without the use of force. Politics, then, is not merely an aspect of 'the political system,' however that may be defined.

Most of the disputation that has gone on since the publication of The Nuer in 1940 has been about the nature of political organization in stateless societies. It has been easy to assume that in states there is no analytical problem of locating politics and the political system. The description of the formal constitution of the state is not what we mean in ordinary parlance by 'politics,' and it has recently been argued that African Political Systems is not about politics at all, but is an account of the constitutional law of a number of African States and stateless societies. Schapera has recently drawn attention to some of the contradictions involved in various definitions of 'government' and 'political organization' (Government and Politics in Tribal Societies, London (Watts), 1956). Smith has also discussed the same problem, and although he is primarily concerned with stateless societies and primitive states, his arguments can be applied more widely. For Smith, 'action is political when it seeks to influence the decision of policy' and he speaks elsewhere of 'actions associated with competition in terms of power.' The direction and management of the public affairs of any social group is 'government' and there are two kinds of governmental process, administrative and political. In Smith's terminology, political action is always and inherently segmentary, expressed through the contraposition of competing groups and persons (M. G. Smith, 'On Segmentary Lineage Systems,' J. R. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. LXXXVI (1956), pp. 47f). Here we come nearer to the everyday meaning of 'politics' and to the way in which Frankenberg has used the term. His book deals largely with actions aimed at influencing policy decisions. The attraction of the book is that because of his interest in this kind of 'politics,' we can see a community in action and not merely as a set of role-playing norm-oriented persons going through their paces. He discusses at length the moves made by villagers on the football committee, on the carnival committee and in the Supporters Club. H.M. Government enters only slightly into these actions and then only as an external agency in some ways analogous to the colonial administration in an account of tribal politics, beyond the control of the villagers even though they may hope to influence its decisions in their favour. Public and private are relative terms, and in this sense government is also relative. Football clubs are more important in Pentredwrith as firms than in the English footballing world. As Gluckman notes in his Introduction, we can recognize in Pentredwrith local politics many of the strategies and tactics which we encounter in our own social life. It is clear, too, that our understanding of primitive political systems, whether states or stateless societies, would be enhanced by accounts of political intrigues and coalitions given in the same detail as Frankenberg provides.

Factories, shops and offices all have some kind of internal government, and Frankenberg notes many parallels between his findings and the observations of industrial sociologists. However, modern industrial and commercial enterprises have limited technical objectives and are restricted in time and space. Membership is usually sharply defined; a man is either on the pay roll or not, and not half-on and half-off. Social activities in villages are closer to the content of the traditional anthropological study of a primitive society. Individuals have to be studied not only as foremen or assembly-line operatives but also as fathers and sons and Baptists and customers in the village shop, as well as officials of the carnival committee or right-half in the football team. Indeed, one weakness in Frankenberg's book is that although he indicates that ties of kinship and co-religion affect the behaviour of individuals in their capacity as footballers or carnival-organizers, he does so in a haphazard fashion. We may guess that the politics of the church
vestry or the chapel diaconate are structurally similar to those of the football committee, even though we are not explicitly told so. But the reader is left with only a hazy idea about the relationships between kinsmen, other than that sometimes they stick together; and there is no information at all about the relationship between debtor and creditor analogous to that provided in Aremberg's Irish Countryman.

One reason why an account of the 'constitutional law' of the football club and the carnival committee, or even a description of the main facts within them, would not yield information about village politics in Smith's sense is that in Pentredwrath as in so many European rural communities there are no enduring political facts formally opposed to one another. It is a political mistake to show too clearly exactly where you stand, or to declare from the houseposts who are your life-long friends and implacable foes. Here every present enemy is also a potential ally whose support may be needed in the future. At the same time there are real differences of interest, as between those who want a new school and those who think that the old one is good enough, as well as competition arising from similar interests, as when two groups both covet the carnival profits. Hence there must be no clash of decisions and one must be taken, either by positive action or by default. Frankenberg shows how strangers to the community are brought in to perform these unpleasant tasks so that the dissatisfaction inevitably felt by the losers can be directed away from the inner community. Although committee decisions are 'supposed' to be recorded in the minute book, unpleasantness can be avoided by failing to complete the minutes or by losing the book, so that no one is quite sure what has been decided or by whom. In this way community life displays features analogous to those of a pre-literate community, where the perception of the past can continually be revised in the light of present interests.

Thus Frankenberg's book is largely a story of intrigue and manoeuvre, as are most stories about politicians. It is also a story of a clash of interests, between the villagers who wish to remain a prosperous community and the firms and other bodies with money to invest who are not attracted to this remote and unproductive valley. The economic battle is presented vividly from the viewpoint of the villagers, but it is a one-sided presentation, and we are left with the dismal conclusion that soon, despite all their efforts, there will be unemployment and migration. Frankenberg argues that although Pentredwrath is still a community, no 'village without work' can hope to remain a community for long. Although he may be able to demonstrate this by reference to other villages where local opportunities for employment are greater, or much less, than in Pentredwrath, I think that he cannot prove it from the material on this village alone. It is manifest that at the time of the inquiry Pentredwrath had a community life. Indeed a study of this kind would be possible only in a 'community,' another of Frankenberg's undefined concepts. In Pentredwrath the same core of individuals interact with one another in many different situations, and their behaviour in one context is influenced by their commitments in many others. This is true of almost all communities in the primitive world, and it is a necessary condition for using the slow and indirect field techniques specific to social anthropology. (cf. my 'Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish,' Human Relations, Vol. VII (1954), p. 44.)

The ethnographer, with his traditional distrust of direct questions and questionnaires, and his desire to do more than test a bald hypothesis or establish a correlation, is particularly well qualified to observe these lengthy and devious sequences of social action and to analyse them in sociological terms. As social anthropologists we have long held, either as an article of faith or a matter of academic political expediency, that we have valuable contributions to make in the study of advanced societies, but it has not always been clear, either to us or to our colleagues in other disciplines, precisely what these special contributions are. At one time the answer might have been 'community studies.' But some of these, although informative, appear not to differ greatly from studies carried out by geographers and other social scientists with backgrounds and objectives different from those of social anthropologists; other studies under this rubric are merely social surveys of populations which may or may not form a community. Frankenberg's pioneering study of Pentredwrath shows that one useful contribution which social anthropology can make to the investigation of advanced societies is the observation and analysis of politics round the village pump.

CORRESPONDENCE

Witch Posts. Cf. MAN, 1938, 211

Sir,—Those who read Mr. Thomas Davidson's note on the Scarborough Witch Post in the Pitt Rivers Museum may be interested to know that Mary Nattrass has published a full illustrated account of the East Yorkshire witch posts, 'Witch Posts and Early Dwellings in Cleveland,' in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal. She lists and describes nine examples and further studies are being made.

In all the published plans of houses with witch posts, the post supports the chimney brace and serves as the termination of the 'heck' or 'spere,' the partition which screens off the hearth from the entrance. Where it is decorated with hearts, crosses, etc., it would appear to afford protection to both the entrance and the hearth, thus supplementing or replacing the spiral hearthstone patterns which were also employed in northern England as a protection for the hearth against evil spirits.

The type of hearth complex of which the witch post forms a part is widespread throughout northern England and it occurs in Ireland, but carved posts do not appear to occur outside Cleveland. Elsewhere, in West Yorkshire and in Westmorland, the heck post is found in association with cruck frameworks, as in Cleveland, but extensive search and enquiry have failed to reveal any carved examples. At Low Hartsop and Troutbeck in Westmorland heck posts pierced with holes have been observed but the hole does not seem to have been an essential feature of the witch post. In many cases horse hair was tied through the hole and used for cleaning the wool combs. In Westmorland the entrance in older houses is protected by a threshold made of rowan, and rowan twigs were sometimes placed on the window sills, but the heck post did not apparently fulfil any protective function.

JAMES WALTON
Maseru, Basutoland

Pagan Peoples of Northern Nigeria. Cf. MAN, 1938, 96

Sir,—Mr. J. S. Boston's review of my Pagan Peoples of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria (Ethnographic Survey of Africa: Western Africa, Part XII) reads (in part): 'There are few references to other pagan groups in Northern Nigeria, and it is not made clear whether the six main groups [tentatively supposed to accommodate the 50 or so "tribes" dealt with in the volume] would merge in relation to a wider cultural survey or whether they are to be regarded as absolute divisions.' A rapid count of tribal entries in the index reveals a total of 45 'other pagan groups,' disregarding synonyms and, of course, the names of tribes treated at length in the volume; if, as I imagine, there is an average of two page references per name, there must be some mention of these other peoples on every other page. I quite agree, however, that the question implicit in the passage quoted above
richly deserves a straight answer; as a matter of fact, I tried to anticipate the question in my introduction to the volume, but the Editor, in the interests of economy, excised the unfortunately long-winded sentence in which I made my point. That sentence (meant to have concluded the third paragraph of the introduction) reads: 'From the sometimes rather detailed accounts given here, then, in spite of some dramatic divergences even among the constituent communities, a larger group emerges for the most part unified in tradition and culture when posed against neighbouring groups of similar scale—the Hausa and related peoples to the North, who appear to have displaced them in that area, the peoples of the High Plateau, to the East, and the Gbari, Koro, Basa and culturally related peoples to the South and West.' Anxious always to make any contribution possible toward the clarification of the very complex ethno-cultural situation in Northern Nigeria, I am very grateful for the opportunity offered me now to make this point.

Philadelphia, U.S.A.

H. D. GUNN

A Problem Piece from New Guinea. With a text figure

Sir,—The human head here illustrated was found at a place named Jembelaki, a promontory-like spit of land on the north coast of the island of Batanta in the small archipelago off the north-western coast of the Vogelkop, Netherlands New Guinea. It was excavated a few years before the Second World War from an earthen rampart which formed part of an old fortification. No exact date are available on its original position in the site, nor is elucidating information given on the other material which has been found there lately. The piece was acquired by the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde at Leiden, Netherlands, and carries No. 2477-1. It has the following measurements: height, eight centimetres; maximum width, 8.5 centimetres; distance from the forehead to the hair coil (3), 6.5 centimetres.

The assumption that it was made of clay was confirmed by a petrological study from which, however, it was not possible to draw any reliable conclusions as to original provenance and age.

In style it is very much unlike the faces which one sees on human figures from New Guinea and Indonesia in our museums. That it was made in situ seems therefore improbable. On the other hand it should be kept in mind that the wooden statuettes of these areas are all fairly recent whereas the object in question may have a considerable age.

In offering these few remarks and the accompanying photographs the hope is expressed that readers of MAN will be able to help in solving the problem of the origin of this intriguing piece.

Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

S. KOOIJMAN

FIG. 1

REVIEWS

GENERAL


This book is notable for its thorough and orderly collection of the evidence, and for its cautious but penetrating use of comparative information from ethnology. Over half of the text deals with early attitudes towards death, for which the evidence is of course most abundant; the rest treats the more difficult subjects of fertility religions and sky deities.

The motives of the early cults of skulls are illuminated by a study of the osuary rituals in the Malay Archipelago at the present day, and Egyptian mummification and burial customs are compared with similar practices in the Pacific and the Americas. In both cases the author wisely refrains from drawing any general conclusions about the nature of the resemblance. But he is more sure about the time and circumstances of the spread of the fertility cult of the earth mother from the Mediterranean along the 'megalithic' route to North-West Europe. This is quite orthodox, but it is followed by the more challenging suggestion that the Avebury-Stonehenge group of monuments was remodelled later in the Bronze Age by the Beaker Folk to suit their own very different 'Indo-European' sky and solar religion.

Occasional remarks seem to call for elucidation, e.g. that the Nilotic tribes represent the remnants of the substratum out of which the higher civilization of the Nile valley arose (p. 15), or that in the Aegean the boy-god became the sky-father (p. 198). But in general Professor James supports his arguments with ample evidence, notably in his incisive analysis of the ambivalent attitude to the dead shown by mummification and cremation, in his clarification of the differences between the priestly offices and vegetation deities of Egypt and those of Mesopotamia, and in his qualified support for the views of Lang and Schmidt on primitive monotheism.

In short, this is a work of comparison and synthesis, distinguished from similar studies by Frazer, Lang and Reinach by being based on more recent evidence, and by its intelligent and discriminating use of a wide range of theories, both new and old. Such tolerance
anthropologists now recognize that primitive peoples can, through their priests, conceive of a Supreme Being after some fashion. There is no need to seek for the roots of such a belief in Hindu or Greek influences. The social and economic structure of primitive society explains it quite adequately; and it is in his survey of the bearings of primitive society and economy on religion that Radin makes his most distinctive contribution. 'Religion comes from life and is directed towards life. In itself it is nothing.'

D. W. GUNDREY


The author, who is a distinguished theologian, surveys the world's religions, ancient and modern, and, taking Protestant Christianity as his standard, finds the others erroneous to the extent to which they appear to him to differ from it. He does not accept P. Schmidt's theory that religion began with a primitive monotheism (p. 16), but says that 'there is no escaping the fact that a latent undeveloped monotheism is almost universal at all periods of history' (p. 112). In African religions, we learn with some surprise, 'the cult of the dead' is in the hands of witch-doctors ... whose vested interest is so powerful in day-to-day life that the Supreme Being seems very remote from the lot of men' (p. 60). The author falls into the too common error of regarding totems as tribal gods (p. 69), but generally speaking he is accurate and clear, and his book will no doubt be read with profit by those for whom it is intended.

RAGLAN


I found the wealth of information in The All-knowing God (reviewed in MAN, 1957, 42) most gratifying and deplored the present shortened edition. The severe loss of substance can scarcely be justified by an increase in the number of readers. The book-production is excellent.

E. ETTLINGER


This book is mainly about European witchcraft and offers the general reader a useful summary of the course of the witch craze in Europe, and of the main trends in its interpretation. It also gives an outline of African witchcraft beliefs and a brief account of harmful magic in the Middle East.

In the section on European witchcraft Dr. Parrinder confirms the view, held by earlier writers, that a general, urgent and articulate belief in witchcraft developed late in the Middle Ages, and he uses this point effectively in criticizing the more modern theory that witchcraft embodied the ritual of an ancient pagan fertility cult. He also argues that the popular conception of witchcraft was largely a reflection of ideas held by the intellectual leaders of society and he traces the course of a conflict between doubt and certainty about the reality of witchcraft. The main facts about European witchcraft are given objectively, lucidly and with a keen sense of geographical and historical perspective. But the narrative is biased towards the practical and concrete aspects of witchcraft because of the author's open determination to prove the harmful social consequences of the beliefs. A major omission from the survey of theories (and from the bibliography) is C. Williams's Witchcraft, which considered the beliefs as parts of a total system of philosophy and sought to show the relation of witchcraft ideas to the premises of current religious belief. Dr. Parrinder's analysis of the ideological background of witchcraft is, by comparison, superficial and faulty also, if, for instance, we compare his light dismissal of the Maleficiarum as 'one of the wickedest and most obscene books ever written' with Williams's reasoned case for regarding it as a pious and scholarly work. The same moralizing approach later imposes similar limitations on Dr. Parrinder's analysis of African beliefs, which are considered in isolation from their background of belief in magic.
The section on African witchcraft comprises an outline of the beliefs held in different African tribes, and a comparison of the main features of African and European witchcraft. The synopses of tribal belief are accurate and well presented, but the summary of these ideas relies on a false syllogism and does not distinguish between the primary and secondary features of each system. The author's chief aim in comparing the two sets of ideas is to show that the African beliefs are as illusory and as harmful to society as were their European counterparts, and his analysis of the similarities between the two systems is not convincing. In places the emphasis on the harmful effects of believing in witchcraft leads to some biased and unrealistic judgments, such as the argument that this belief, and the persecution of witches, serve to keep women in subjection to men.

J. S. BOSTON

ASIA


For a number of years Dutch scholars have been revising earlier renderings of ancient and medieval South-East Asian history. Among them was the late Professor Schriekie, though his Ruler and Realm in Early Java prepared during the war and published posthumously in English in 1957 is not the latest contribution to the work of revision (see for example Professor J. G. de Casparis's studies of the Sailendra dynasty (1950, 1956) and Professor C. C. Berg's post-war studies of the early Majapahit dynasty). This translation, and the translations of the works of Sturtevith and Van Leur appearing during the last few years, are enabling English-reading students to keep abreast of the advances in this field of study. What however is urgently required is a translation of Krom's monumental Hindoes-Javaansche Geschiedenis, the terminus a quo for the later studies. Only when this long overdue act of piety is undertaken will it be possible to measure in perspective the advances which have been made since Krom's day.

The process of revision since the late nineteen-thirties has involved new methodologies as a reaction against Krom's archaeological interest and somewhat literal approach to epigraphic evidence and his bias in favour of attributing in early 'Hindu' inspiration to Indonesian history, Schriekie's contribution was to argue that the basic facts of Java—its conglomeration of sub-regions with separatist tendencies and its static level of technological achievement—provided an underlying unity and sameness to its history over a wide span of centuries, and that it was therefore legitimate to use the evidence of later and better-documented centuries to interpret the events of earlier centuries. Though this method can lead to anachronisms, Schriekie uttered a valuable protest against the tradition of assigning rigid and unrelated chapters to old Javanese history, a tradition which discouraged for example an interpretation of the so-called 'Hindu-Javanese' chapter of proto-history with the aid of the subject matter of prehistory. One of the weaknesses in the study of the proto-history of Indonesia has been a reluctance to give greater effect to persistent features in Indonesian culture stemming from prehistoric times and to stress too much the 'Hindu' contribution superficially indicated by inscriptions and archaeological remains. It is a pity that Schriekie never lived to use his method in the context of 'Hindu Mataram' as he intended to do in order to complete the first book of Ruler and Realm in Early Java.

However, he was however able to throw some light on what he believed to be the underlying principle of the old Javanese State, the importance of maintaining the appearance of continuity between the dynasties even though from time to time the need was recognized for the emergence from obscure origins of 'Messiah' kings, incarnations of Vishnu or of the Buddha, to deal by extraordinary means with the troubles of the Kali-yuga period and in particular with the demon of territorial division whose activities were a recurrent problem in old Java. Schriekie tried to prove a family connexion from Arjangga in the eleventh century to the rulers of Majapahit in the fourteenth century. He attached special importance to Dedes, the wife of the usurper Ken Angrok in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and to the Rajapati, the daughter of Kertanagara, in the first half of the following century, as means of providing legitimacy to rulers with otherwise inadequate claims to the realm. It should be noted that Professor Berg regards Angrok as a mythical figure invented later to 'punish' in retrospect the regicide of the ruler who is conventionally regarded as Angrok's grandson. Professor Berg has also argued, with more support from other scholars, that the 'daughters of Kertanagara' were in fact females who embodied in a symbolic fashion the members of his 'family' of great royalty. Thus, mobilized by Tantric ritualism, and if Professor Berg is right, the basis would be removed from much of Schriekie's argument as well as from much of what has been regarded as historical events in medieval Javanese history.

Schriekie was also interested in Sumatran history. In an interesting chapter in the unfinished second book of Ruler and Realm in Early Java entitled 'The Penetration of Islam in the Archipelago', he stressed the importance of the north Sumatran ports as trading centres in late medieval times and, when Moslem traders from the Indian Ocean later had to resist Portuguese and Catholic penetration into the Archipelago, as bases from which Moslem teaching could be organized to forestall the advance of the rival faith and commerce. (Professor Berg has endorsed this view which had already been formulated by Van Leur. Neither Professor Berg nor Van Leur believed that there was intensive Moslem proselytization in the Archipelago.) Schriekie suggested that the power of the famous Sumatran empire of Srivijaya from the seventh to perhaps the thirteenth century might also have been based on northern Sumatra. He wondered whether the seat of Srivijaya's power was there rather than in Palembang which is situated some distance from the international trade route. 'Srivijaya,' like 'Hinduism,' is one of the ill defined symbols which are used faute de mieux to give a semblance of form to early South-East Asian history. Schriekie's suggestion deserves further examination.

Ruler and Realm in Early Java together with the work of the other revisionists should be read, if possible after reading Krom's Hindoes-Javaansche Geschiedenis, by those students who feel that the traditional rendering of early South-East Asian history, with its emphasis on 'Hindu' rather than on indigenous factors and on religion rather than on commerce, cannot be the whole story.

O. W. WOLTERS


In November, 1955, the Social Sciences Association of Madras sponsored a conference of sociologists and anthropologists which included some 40 members of Indian university staffs as well as visiting American and British scholars. This book is a record of the addresses and discussions which took place.

The President of the conference, Dr. Irawati Karve, provides one of the main contributions in her inaugural address. Her problem is to explain why Indian society is divided into so many endogamous sub castes. This she does by suggesting from physical and cultural data that sub castes are different ethnic groups. These have taken up the same occupational work and have thereby been merged into a single caste. But, owing to the degree to which Hindu philosophy and religious practice allows a multiplicity of cultural forms within a single structure, these sub castes have never had to merge into one social group. Her theory, in fact, is one of 'independent evolution' of sub castes, rather than of fission from a single caste at some time in the past.

It is good to have this antidote to any uncritical view of fission as the only genesis of sub castes. But Dr. Karve perhaps goes too far in saying that 'the endogamous groups we call sub castes are not due to segmentation of a big group called caste, but appear to have always been small separate ethnic groups,' (p. 44, second italics mine). Cases are known of contemporary fission of a single sub caste group into sub groups which recognize their common origin but which are nevertheless separate sub castes by all our criteria. No doubt both processes have occurred. Again, membership of the
common caste may be more important than Dr. Karve implies. In many cases all the subcastes of a caste in a given region are treated in the same way by other castes, and their different subcaste membership has little effect on their relations with others. The problem is one to which Dr. Karve makes an interesting contribution.

The second part of the book includes five papers which provided themes for discussion by delegates. Professor Redfield talks of the simple and compound society, and discusses the development of anthropological fieldwork and theory in peasant societies and societies with both peasant and tribal levels. Dr. Aiyappan and Mr. Naradeshvar Prasad review the problems of teaching in Indian universities. The former suggests a closer connexion of anthropology with sociology at the expense of its tie with physical anthropology, as well as a general co-ordination of syllabuses in the various departments (a committee of delegates was formed to examine these points). Professor Majumdar contributes a hard-hitting review of present research techniques, the co-ordination of research projects in India, and the ways in which research can be applied by administrators and others. And Professor Srinivas discusses his concept of sarkarization as the process by which a lower caste group gives up its own customs, beliefs, etc., and takes on those of higher castes. This paper is the longest of the book, and the discussion is also given in most detail. Here, the delegates show dissatisfaction with the term ‘sarkarization’ primarily for linguistic and historic reasons; but nobody seems able to put another word in its place. Brahmanization, Hinduziation, acculturation, all raise as many problems as they appear to solve. Yet it is generally felt that a special term is needed for the Indian context of change within the caste hierarchy. Professor Srinivas is probably right to remain unrepentant in his use of the term until a better alternative can be found, though it apparently causes some confusion among Indian laymen.

The last section of the book contains reports in 12 papers about fieldwork projects, under way, or recently completed. These are necessarily uneven in scope and depth of analysis; but they show how wide a range of problems is being tackled by colleagues in India. The discussions here are very short, and give little idea of what must have taken place; it might be better to omit such résumés entirely unless they can be given in detail.

The volume is useful because it serves to keep us informed of work being done in India, and tells us something of the major problems now being approached by Indian anthropologists. One hopes that some such publications will follow each of the conferences which are promised for the future.

ADRIAN C. MAYER


In this very interesting and informative book Professor James discusses the subject indicated by the title under such headings as The Seasonal Cult Drama, The Sacral Kingship, The Mother-Goddess and the Sacred Marriage, and The Myth and Ritual of Creation, in their manifestations in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Iran, Syria, Palestine and Greece. He concludes that 'myth and ritual express the most deeply rooted hopes, fears and emotions of a community concerning the practical and urgent problems of daily life, physical and spiritual; attention is concentrated upon ways and means of maintaining the food-supply and all things upon which life depends. The methods by which these ends were procured in the beginning are reproduced in the sacred actions performed and tales told to confer the object of universal desire, namely life in ever-increasing fullness and abundance. The myth gives the ritual its intention, and the ritual liberates the life when nature requires renewal. The persistence and widespread development and diffusion of the cultus is to be explained as a result of adaptation to the physical environment coupled with culture contact upon a situation calling forth a perpetual emotional tension in the life of communities dependent upon water, the weather and the seasons for their means of subsistence' (pp. 305f).

Some of Professor James' views are arguable, but there are none for which a case cannot be made, and an admirable book is narrated only by some mispellings and some slips such as the misdating of Plutarch (p. 38). On p. 47 Dionysos is an Olympian deity in Mycenaean times, but on p. 73 does not become one till much later.

W. C. BRICE


This highly specialized volume, in the series Behavior Science Monographs, lists 177 Japanese language items and 52 Chinese language items dealing with Burma. Each bibliographical entry is accompanied by a short note in English explaining the nature of the contents of the item concerned. In the Japanese case the materials cover the period 1915-1956, and in the Chinese case they cover the period 1915-1953. The extent to which either list can be considered comprehensive is difficult to judge.

The Japanese entries are on the whole reassuring. They tend to confirm my previous impression that Japanese writings on Burma do not contain very much that is of importance which is not more readily available in European language sources. The Chinese entries are more provocative; they would clearly need to be consulted in the original by any serious student of the China-Burma frontier dispute, concerning which the British sources are palpably prejudiced. Few items are of specifically anthropological interest. Chinese item 5 discusses some early sources on the Pyu; Chinese item 19 appears to be an ethnographical account of a northern Lisu community.

E. R. LEACH


The Ollari are a community of less than a thousand in the eastern Indian State of Orissa. The form of this Dravidian language has hitherto been unknown. The writer shows that it is one of the Dravidian family of languages, both in phonemics and structure. The tongue to which it is most akin is Parij, and the author suggests that these two languages, together with Puya, Kolami and Naiki, form a distinct sub-group of Dravidian languages.

The book is divided into three parts. First, a short section on phonology; next, the morphology; and last, a comparative vocabulary in which Ollari words are set down with their equivalents in other Dravidian languages. The data were gathered with difficulty, since few Ollars were now proficient in this tongue. It is likely that Ollari will soon disappear as a separate language, and we must be grateful to the author for this timely research.

ADRIAN C. MAYER

OCEANIA


This report has two main themes: the development in the Solomon Islands of a commercial interest in land with its effects on the type of right claimed, and the action that the government should take to meet it. The process of commercialization seems to have started later here than in many parts of the Commonwealth, but gained enormously in momentum as a result of the high prices ruling
said of one applies to the other.' Nevertheless, this treatment of the material means that the book is by no means a unity: it is really two books in one, and the first is the better. In it the author has given us a perceptive, detailed and well documented study of contact between the indigenous population and traders, missionaries and administrators of the nineteenth century, which is of interest to anyone who tries to understand the mechanics of the acceptance of world religions by literate societies. He has used a set of variables, adapted from Keesing, to generalize documented change ('time sequence', 'locality influences', 'migration influences', 'degree of effective contact', etc.), which provides a useful framework in which to set brief summaries of the factors at work.

The field study leans heavily on culture and personality theory, and the reader's degree of acceptance of the assumptions and results of this branch of anthropology will determine his reaction to such statements as: 'The key to social change therefore is to be found in that which determines the swing of the ego backwards and forwards from outward going participation to inward withdrawal' (p. 243). The scant page on kinship and the three and a half pages on tribal organization cry out for glosses to almost every point.

LORRAINE LANCASTER


21 This book is written by a missionary who, when he established a mission station in north-eastern Arnhem Land, Northern Australia, determined not to enforce it [the Christian teaching] by approaching the Yulengor in the dual role of policeman-missionary, with a gun in one hand and the Bible in the other. He continues: 'It seemed reasonable ... to preserve Yulengor culture, to encourage the revival of the old ceremonies and to stimulate, in the people, an appreciation of their own social organization.' With these objects in mind, the Rev. Mr. Chaseling set out to understand the people with whom he had to deal without suggesting any alteration to their way of life. In this, as both this book and future events have proved, he was remarkably successful.

But the book is not a description of missionary enterprise; in fact, that aspect of the author's activities is seldom mentioned. It is a book dealing with the life and beliefs of the aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land, their techniques of gaining a livelihood, their family relationships, their avenging and peacemaking ceremonies, the medicine men and their place in the tribe, the myths of creation, the burial rites, and the distant home of the dead.

It so happens that I have spent some time among the Yulengor, and am therefore in a position to know how accurate and far-reaching are the data contained in this book. Yulengor is not a scientific treatise, but a simple and well written account of one of the world's friendliest people, an account which should contribute much to a fuller understanding of them. There is also much in the book of interest to the student of primitive peoples.

CHARLES P. MOUNTFORD


20 The title of this book is somewhat misleading, in that the data presented by Professor Beaghole relate to cultural rather than to social change. The author disarms critics of the book’s aims by himself saying, in the preface, that he was aware that he could have made a more refined analysis of some phases of Cook Island social change had he used a conceptual scheme that viewed island society as a system of systems, each to be examined, or had he used contemporary role theory to analyse relationships between the Cook Islanders and the emissaries of Western culture.

The study falls into two parts: a history of Western contacts with Rarotonga (and to a less extent Aitutaki) from the initial stages until 1901, and a sketchy outline of ‘contemporary social life,’ based on two months’ field work in Aitutaki in 1948-49.

One may reluctantly grant the author that a gap of 50 years in his historical record and a change from one island to another is ‘of little methodological consequence’ (p. 4) since he maintains that both islands are so similar, with some noted exceptions, that ‘what is
THE EARTH OVEN IN THE TORRES STRAITS

(a) Grating coconut; (b) preparation of food parcels; (c) the parcels are tied; (d) preparation of the earth oven; (e) wood and stones are piled up; (f) the wood is set on fire; (g) the hot stones are spread out; (h) placing the food parcels on the hot stone; (i) the parcels are covered with branches and sackcloth; (j) the oven is covered with sand; (k) used stones are put aside for further use; (l) dough is prepared for making bread.

Photographs: Revd. W. Rechnitz
THE EARTH OVEN
A METHOD OF COOKING IN THE TORRES STRAITS ISLANDS*

by

THE REV. WILHELM RECHNITZ, PH.D.

Murray Island, Torres Straits

The following vegetables are grown in the Torres Straits Islands: pumpkins, sweet potatoes and two kinds of yam. (It is also possible to cultivate onions, tomatoes and beans, but this is usually done on the initiative of a white man.) The vegetables are cooked in the way customary to Europeans, for each house possesses a kitchen with a stove and also a sufficient amount of pots and pans, cutlery and crockery.

In most cases, the vegetables are cooked separately. But they can also be mixed in a way peculiar to the Islanders, in a dish called papai or sosop. For this purpose, yams, sweet potatoes and pumpkins are cut into chips and mixed, and coconut milk is poured over them. There may also be added a few sliced onions and some shellfish or meat (fowl or pork; tinned meat is seldom used). It is not difficult to prepare a smaller amount (without meat in this case) in a frying pan, but this is not very often done. The dish is usually served at public feasts when scores of guests (often more than a hundred) are to be entertained. In this case, the food is cooked in an earth oven (kap mauri). On most occasions, several such ovens are needed. The procedure is described below.

After the vegetables have been chopped and mixed, coconuts are scraped on a pointed piece of iron or wood (Plate Ba). This having been done, banana leaves are spread, a reasonable amount of vegetables is put upon them, and plenty of coconut milk is poured over them (b); if possible, some shellfish or meat is added. The food is carefully wrapped into the big leaves. Finally, the parcels, which are about 18 inches square, are tied crosswise with tendrils (c).

Meanwhile, the earth oven has been made ready. A circular spot two or three feet in diameter has been marked by a few handfuls of sand or pebble stones. Around it, big pieces of wood are laid in the shape of a square (d). Within this rectangle, a pile of firewood is erected; it is thickly covered with stones of about the size of a fist (e), and the wood is then set on fire (f). After it has been consumed, the heated stones are spread by means of long wooden poles over a wider but still circular area (g). The food parcels are then quickly laid on top of them (h) and covered with palm branches and banana leaves, the latter having been slightly dried beforehand. On top of them comes a layer of sackcloth (i). Finally, the earth oven is closed by covering it with plenty of sand (j).

The kap mauri is left in this state for at least two or three hours. When the feast is to start, sand, sackcloth and branches are removed, and the parcels are put on large plates and set upon the table. The guests cut the tendrils and help themselves. The stones are often kept for further use (k).

Sosop is a delightful dish which ought to be known outside the Torres Straits; Europeans who visit the Islands always enjoy it.

The earth oven is also used for baking bread. The dough is prepared first (l), but the parcels are much smaller, and the kap mauri remains closed for a shorter time. The pieces of bread are not larger in volume than three bread rolls. They are irregular in shape and taste good. It is quite common for families to bake their bread a few yards away from their houses, but they also do so at picnics or during village work outdoors: while photograph (l) was being taken, the young men and girls were repairing the fish traps. The baking of bread outside the village is a particular source of amusement for children, especially when they are given some little job to do.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ZANDE CLANS IN THE SUDAN*

by

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Though I was able during the 20 months or so that I spent among the Azande of the Sudan to get a rough idea of the distribution of their clans in the course of my travels and by taking samples here and there, I was unable myself to spare the time to study it in such detail and on so wide a scale as was required. I therefore instructed my clerk, Reuben Rikita, to take, during my absences in England in 1929 and 1930, as broad a census as he could of the adult males in the old kingdoms of Gbudwe, Ezo and Tembura. For a part of the time he was assisted by another youth. The census was far from com-

* With Plate B

* With a table and a map. Reference is made to two earlier articles by the author on the Zande clans: 'Zande Clan Names,' MAN, 1936, 62, and 'Zande Totems,' MAN, 1936, 110.
complete, and it was more thorough in some areas than in others; but it serves its purpose. The districts were listed separately, and the name of each man was taken down with his clan, his totem, and the ethnic group to which he belonged. In the circumstances then obtaining, this was not a difficult task, for the Azande had no reluctance to being listed. They had accustomed themselves to the procedure of a census during sleeping-sickness inspections and settlement along government roads. Doubtless there are errors in these lists, but, apart from such possible minor errors, I have no reason to regard them as other than reliable. Reuben was an honest recorder; there could have been no motive for a man to conceal or falsify his name, clan, or totem; and I was able to check Reuben's lists against my own few samples.

For the purpose of comparison, the area covered by the inquiry has been divided into four parts. The central region, A, between the Such and the Lingasi, was the realm of King Gbudwe minus the domain of his second son Mange, and it also corresponds roughly with the realm of Gbudwe's father, Bazingbi. Area B, roughly between the Lingasi and the Mongu, was the old kingdom of Gbudwe's elder brother Ezo. To the north-west of this, area C is that part of the old kingdom of Tembura, of a different dynasty from that of Ezo and Gbudwe, ruled at the time of the survey by his son Renzi. Area D, to the east of the Such and extending to east of the Iba, was once the principality of Mange, son of Gbudwe. My own researches in the Sudan were restricted to area A. All these areas could be broken down into smaller districts, and some further conclusions might be reached by this more detailed treatment, but it is not required for the very broad results aimed at here.

With a few exceptions, only those clans are listed whose members in the registers numbered at least 25. The remainder, all of foreign stocks, are entered as 'unclassified.' Some of them show only a few entries in the tables, and I cannot say whether the clan names are in such cases invariably correct. I did not myself carry out research in the areas in which they were for the most part recorded; and some of them would not have been heard of by a Zande of Gbudwe's kingdom. Reuben was, it is sometimes evident, puzzled to know how he should write such outlandish names.

Some entries are names of ethnic groups and not of clans, e.g., Apambia, Abangbinda, Abarambo and Auma. Doubtless a further clan name could have been given, but the people who gave the name of their ethnic group as that of their clan and then aura, foreigner, as an ethnic designation may very well have thought of the group as corresponding in the context of inquiry to a clan. This introduces a very complex problem, too complex to be entered into now. Suffice it to say that it is possible that some of what are today to be regarded as clans in the sense in which one uses this word to translate the Zande ngbaima, exogamous groups with a supposed common ancestry, may have been originally distinct ethnic groups. It has been suggested, I believe erroneously, that the ruling clan, the Avongara, was such a group; but the Adio group of clans (Adio, Akowe, Abanalga, Andebili, Apise, etc.) undoubtedly were a distinct ethnic group. It follows that when an ethnic group appears in the tables, it does not mean that this is a statement of the full composition of that ethnic group, for other members of it may be, and certainly are, listed under clan names. This is undoubtedly the case, e.g., with the Abarambo. On the other hand, some clans must consequently have a larger representation than is shown in the table; the numbers involved are, however, negligible. A further difficulty, though it does not greatly affect the conclusions drawn, is alluded to but not discussed at length. It is sometimes uncertain whether different spellings indicate different clans or phonetic variations, e.g., Bananga and Banangi, Apambage and Abambage, Abakumo and Abakumo, Abambai and Abangb. I have been guided in this matter by what seems to me to be the bias of probability; but, here again, the numbers involved are negligible. A related, more serious, and perhaps insoluble, problem has been brought about by assimilation or by a veritable babel of tongues, resulting perhaps in a confusion of collective prefixes—Sudanic, Nilotic, and Bantu. I am not able to say for certain, being ignorant of the areas concerned, whether, for example, the following should be listed, in each case, as two clans or as a single clan or whether those who belong to them would speak of themselves as a single clan or as separate clans: Akowe and Abakowe, Aboro and Ababoro, Muru, Bamuru, Buburu, and Banga and Babanga. I have sometimes listed them together and sometimes separately, but not, I must confess, on any clear principle. Fortunately, once more, the issue is of little numerical importance.

What conclusions may we draw from the appended table? First, we may say that it confirms what Azande themselves say, that when the original nucleus of the present-day Azande, the Ambomu under their Avongara royal house, conquered the territories which they now occupy they were scattered far and wide among the conquered peoples, and also, though the table in its presentation here does not show this, that they preferred to reside in districts directly ruled over by their kings rather than in areas administered by royal representatives. It must be admitted
that there is a certain difficulty here, and one which in Zande eyes is somewhat delicate, for people are not always prepared to acknowledge that their clans are of foreign origin, and therefore, by implication, socially inferior. I do not pursue this question further, for it is sufficient to know that everybody recognizes as true Ambomu such clans as the Abakundo, Agiti, Aghambi, Angbapiyo, Aboro, Angbadimo, Ambata and Akalingo, all of which are found in all four regions in, in most cases, relatively large numbers. I do not attempt to estimate more than in a very rough and general way the proportion of Ambomu to the total population when I hazard the opinion that, even if all claims to pure Ambmu descent were to be accepted, in none of the areas would the Ambomu clans much exceed half the population. This would be more apparent had more or less solid blocks of foreigners, still speaking their own languages—Uma, Basiri, Bongo, Babukur (Buguru), etc.—been included in the survey. Reuben evidently felt that this lay outside his directive, so such peoples have only been listed where they are individuals forming part of the general Azande amalgam and not where they are peripheral groups. My reasons for the opinion which I have expressed will be presented in a further paper, where a division into Ambomu clans and Auro, or foreign, clans will be attempted and a numerical computation made on the basis of it.

Secondly, the lists show that whilst some of the conquered and politically absorbed peoples are also widely scattered, having in all probability been the earliest conquered and enrolled into the armies of further conquest, others are concentrated, except for a few individuals, in one or other of the four areas or can at any rate be labelled western (B and C) or eastern (A and D) clans. A glance at the pages of the register is sufficient to tell one to which area they refer. If, for example, we find the clan names of Abayali, Ababanduo, Abagende, Abakpanda, Abakango, Ababli, or Ababaimo occurring several times we may be sure that the lists refer to the old principality of Mange (D); or where we see the names Akaka, Amogba, Auvukpo, Auvugora, Adabumo, or Avonamangi we may conclude that this part of the census was made in one of the western kingdoms (B and C). As will be seen from the tables, in some cases a single entry is a sufficient clue to provenance. When the four areas are broken down into districts we find that the localization of these foreign clans is even more pronounced, certain clans being in the main restricted not only to one or other of the four regions of the tables but to a particular district of that region. The geographical and political distribution of these clans undoubtedly reflects ethnic differences in the different parts of the Sudan into which the Avongara-Ambomu moved in the course of their northward migrations. It also suggests that some of the foreign peoples who now form part of the Azande amalgam submitted without putting up strong resistance and were left in their homes. Otherwise we might expect to find their clans more widely scattered. This suggestion is supported by the presence of foreign groups still culturally distinct in various parts of Sudan Zandeland, and by other considerations. The breaking-up and scattering of the indigenous foreign population seems to have been greatest in area A, where the Ambomu were most strongly represented, where the fighting against foreign peoples (mostly Amiangba and Amadi) is said to have been fiercest, and where the process of assimilation began the soonest and has probably been the quickest and, except in places on its northern and north-eastern limits, the most complete. Nevertheless, we may speak also of central clans, those found exclusively, or almost so, in areas A or B, or both A and B, and not at all, or only rarely, in the wing areas C and D, e.g. Akurungu, Abagaga, Abatuko, Auvuduma, and Abangbata.

Thirdly, the figures on the whole substantiate the statement by Azande of the old kingdom of Bazingbi (A) that the majority of the Ambomu followed the fortunes of the House of Yakpati, Bazingbi's father, only a minority attaching themselves to the House of Nungu and other royal Houses. The crude figures do not show this, but if we take as a sample the eight Ambomu clans mentioned earlier we find that their percentage of the total population of area A is about double (20 per cent.) that of the total population of area C. It is also much higher than the corresponding figures for areas B and D, which is what one might expect, since these two areas are a spilt-over from area A, area D, with the lowest percentage, being the area of most recent settlement. These estimates are, however, subject to revision in the light of a full classification of Ambomu and foreign clans and of more detailed information of clan distribution in others parts of Zandeland.

Fourthly, the lists are useful in giving us an indication of the relative numerical strengths of the various clans, and they are particularly valuable in this respect in that they enable us to make an approximate estimate of the strength of the royal clan of the Avongara. It is possible that this clan was unduly favoured in the census in that its members may have taken special care that their names were recorded and perhaps sometimes the names of sons who would have been considered too young for inclusion had they not been nobles. Perhaps, also, my clerk, being himself a noble, had a greater interest to record membership of his clan than of commoner clans. The register sometimes gives this impression, blocks of Avongara names occurring as is seldom the case with commoner clans, but this may well be accounted for by the nobles having been together at court or having been given precedence in the order of recording. But even if there has been a slight bias in favour of the royal clan, it could have been only slight and does not lessen the significance of their numerical preponderance. This is a fact of great interest when compared with the size of other royal clans, e.g. in the Southern Sudan those of the Shilluk and the Anuak, a growth readily understandable where some superiority of status and wealth is combined with polygamy. It eventually leads in some degree to a differentiation of social class rather than of simple political status. Altogether, 1,382 Avongara were listed, making them the largest single clan in the Sudan, the Agiti, with 1,294, coming next. This means that they are just over 4 per cent. of the total population registered. If they are in much the same ratio in other parts of Zandeland there must be at least some 4,000 adult male Avongara in the whole of Zandeland and therefore as a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table I</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
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<td>2. Agito</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>425</td>
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<td>179</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>53</td>
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<td>143</td>
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<td>56</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>65</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>19. Agerenya</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>120</td>
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**February, 1957**

8a. Abari | 55 | 105 | 98 | 0 | 218 |
9a. Adkap | 140 | 8 | 12 | 4 | 164 |
10a. Avunururu | 10 | 5 | 28 | 0 | 13 |
11a. Apongba | 30 | 0 | 0 | 140 | 170 |
12a. Anguli | 16 | 230 | 21 | 2 | 269 |
13a. Abangarwa | 30 | 0 | 13 | 44 |
14a. Avunyal | 1 | 30 | 20 | 0 | 51 |
15a. Andug | 0 | 2 | 20 | 0 | 22 |
16a. Amedang | 68 | 37 | 2 | 1 | 108 |
17a. Akangama | 32 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 45 |
18a. Abangam | 137 | 28 | 5 | 4 | 216 |
19a. Abanginda | 8 | 84 | 7 | 58 | 117 |
20a. Aved | 0 | 3 | 0 | 31 | 31 |
21a. Avungu | 0 | 75 | 14 | 0 | 89 |
22a. Ababang | 42 | 10 | 0 | 52 |
23a. Abangbirdo | 35 | 50 | 15 | 7 | 97 |
24a. Aabaya | 18 | 52 | 1 | 13 | 84 |
25a. Abangi | 30 | 3 | 8 | 0 | 41 |
26a. Abi | 2 | 23 | 17 | 0 | 42 |
27a. Abamba | 0 | 9 | 26 | 0 | 35 |
28a. Aina (Auma) | 0 | 8 | 17 | 0 | 25 |
29a. Ambabage (Ababage) | 0 | 30 | 11 | 1 | 42 |
30a. Abakalikeli (Abakalikeli) | 0 | 4 | 18 | 0 | 22 |
31a. Abasko | 130 | 121 | 6 | 2 | 279 |
32a. Abakpo | 37 | 78 | 0 | 116 |
33a. Abang | 34 | 0 | 1 | 59 | 94 |
34a. Abaluke | 31 | 0 | 0 | 38 | 69 |
35a. Abakili | 33 | 9 | 6 | 37 | 83 |
36a. Abalumu | 2 | 0 | 0 | 144 | 146 |
37a. Abahitro | 0 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 93 |
38a. Abakange | 1 | 0 | 0 | 168 | 169 |
39a. Abadigo | 103 | 4 | 0 | 97 | 204 |
40a. Abaturu | 0 | 30 | 50 | 0 | 80 |
41a. Afuru (Afuru) | 157 | 52 | 1 | 12 | 222 |
42a. Abanikidi | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 155 |
43a. Aronamangi | 0 | 0 | 22 | 0 | 22 |
44a. Abaruwe | 7 | 28 | 6 | 1 | 42 |
45a. Aboa | 1 | 0 | 25 | 0 | 26 |
46a. Abashe (Abaseshe) | 203 | 40 | 4 | 38 | 247 |
47a. Abalishi | 26 | 2 | 3 | 76 | 81 |
48a. Apise | 34 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 44 |
49a. Abaragharu | 0 | 0 | 50 | 50 |
50a. Abarage | 0 | 2 | 76 | 78 |
51a. Abaraghe | 2 | 2 | 30 | 30 |
52a. Abagamu | 0 | 4 | 13 | 4 | 21 |
53a. Awadama | 70 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 80 |
54a. Abakumbo (Abakumo) | 18 | 30 | 10 | 44 | 102 |
55a. Abakere | 30 | 0 | 0 | 30 |
56a. Abam (Abang) | 37 | 1 | 14 | 40 |
57a. Amani | 73 | 0 | 15 | 88 |
58a. Ahaboro | 39 | 0 | 0 | 39 |
59a. Ahaborere | 0 | 0 | 78 | 78 |
60a. Ahabati | 113 | 3 | 7 | 74 |
61a. Ahabagum | 0 | 0 | 68 | 68 |
62a. Abangau | 35 | 24 | 5 | 46 | 120 |
63a. Abamejina | 14 | 0 | 0 | 55 | 69 |
64a. Abanchuka | 37 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 38 |
65a. Abangam | 0 | 123 | 10 | 0 | 133 |
66a. Abarangidadi | 0 | 0 | 87 | 87 |
67a. Abarrunuro | 0 | 0 | 96 | 96 |
68a. Abawanda (Avanda) | 34 | 53 | 11 | 3 | 101 |
69a. Abalingna | 0 | 27 | 1 | 0 | 28 |
70a. Abambiri (Abambiri) | 16 | 32 | 3 | 57 |
71a. Abakanghi | 25 | 36 | 8 | 1 | 70 |
72a. Abapi | 0 | 0 | 39 | 39 |
73a. Amigano | 25 | 54 | 5 | 1 | 85 |
74a. Amizoro (Amizoro) | 63 | 53 | 7 | 0 | 123 |
75a. Abaghe | 10 | 5 | 57 | 103 |
76a. Afilo | 0 | 0 | 63 | 63 |
77a. Abangas | 0 | 0 | 38 | 38 |
78a. Abangari | 34 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 36 |
79a. Aghbone | 19 | 4 | 0 | 15 | 20 |
80a. Abangakisig (Abangakisig) | 2 | 15 | 17 | 0 | 53 |
81a. Abangaya | 0 | 29 | 12 | 8 | 103 |
82a. Agiligo (Agiligo) | 0 | 0 | 21 | 21 |
83a. Abanyere | 0 | 0 | 30 | 30 |
84a. Abahgo | 18 | 0 | 20 | 40 |
85a. Abakure | 0 | 29 | 28 | 0 | 57 |
86a. Abangang | 0 | 58 | 14 | 0 | 72 |
87a. Abah (Abare) | 1 | 69 | 36 | 1 | 107 |
88a. Abayos | 0 | 0 | 73 | 73 |
very minimum 10,000 Avongara of both sexes and of all ages. As all Avongara trace their descent from Ngura, a man who, if the genealogies are correct, lived eight generations ago, we might view the genealogy with suspicion or even reject it out of hand as spurious; but I would myself hesitate to do so on these grounds alone. All the more important members of the royal lineage had many wives; and one has seen in the Arab world, with some restrictions on polygamy, how the descendants of a dominant person have in the course of a few generations multiplied into something numerically comparable to clans. After the Avongara, it is the Ambomu, what we may perhaps call the privileged, clans which have most members, possibly for the same reason, that they have been able to acquire a greater number of women than members of clans of foreign origin.

The Avongara spread in all directions with the armies of conquest and their harems were probably, almost certainly, as large in other territories as those who conquered Sudanese territory. It is therefore possible that in other parts of Zelandland they are as numerous as in the Sudan.

This may be the case also with some of the Ambomu clans, but if what Azande say is correct, as I believe it to be, that the great majority of the Ambomu population followed the House of Yakpati, then we may expect to find that they are less numerous form a smaller percentage of the population in all parts of Zelandland except those ruled by descendants of Yakpati, our areas A, B, and D and the old kingdoms of Wando and Malingindo, territories bordering A, B, and D to the south in what is now the Belgian Congo, or rather bordering to the south what used to be the kingdoms of Ezo and Gbudge and the inheritance of their sons before European conquest and partition. Nevertheless, such clans as the Agiti, Agambil, Akalinga and Akowe must each number through the length and breadth of Zelandland several thousands. The foreign clans are for the most part more localized and much smaller. This is evident from the tables, for which it can be asserted without doubt that all those with the smallest representation are of foreign origin. Their spread in the Sudan is usually restricted, and since they are descendants of peoples at one time independent in Sudanese areas they are in most instances unlikely to be found in numbers elsewhere, clans of the Amadi, Amianda, and Abarambo peoples being excepted—many members of these may be in the Belgian Congo, for some of them were resident there at the time of the Ambomu conquests and others seem to have turned southwards at the onslays of Yakpati and his sons. Some of the clans of area C may be, and probably are, distributed in French Equatorial Africa, though to what extent and in what numbers there is no means of telling.

The conclusions set forth must be regarded as tentative. If someone were to compile, if only as samples here and there, figures for Zande clans in the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa firmer and more general conclusions might be reached, and others might be substituted for what can at present be no more than conjecture. Since such figures are lacking, all that can be stated is that most of the important Ambomu clans of the Sudan are mentioned by de Caledon-Beaufait, Hutterer, Czekanowski, or Lagge in their works on the Azande as occurring in the Belgian Congo, though there are many other Zande clans listed by them, especially in Czekanowski's lists, which do not occur in my tables, and many in my tables which are not listed by them.

SHORTER NOTES

Towards a Classification of Cult Movements: Some Further Contributions. Cf. MAN, 1950, 2

1. By Dr. Anthony F. C. Wallace, Eastern Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute (Philadelphia) and University of Pennsylvania

I am grateful for the opportunity to comment on Dr. Marian W. Smith's valuable paper, 'Towards a Classification of Cult Movements.'

The problem of making a classification or typology of the whole broad spectrum of what I like to call 'revitalization movements' is not readily solved. Typologies are always more or less incomplete because whoever constructs one is bound to disregard dimensions of variation which are critically important to someone else. Nevertheless they are sorely needed, and sorely needed in anthropology in particular, in view of our professional tendency to be either lumpers or splitters; to generalize findings from one or two societies over many others without more than incidental qualification, or to preoccupy ourselves with inter-cultural differentiation that similarities of process are ignored. Typology implies both a species and a set of varieties, and takes account of phenomena that unite and phenomena that differentiate.

I share Dr. Smith's dissatisfaction with the rather loose set of varieties of revitalization movements which I listed in my original paper (nativistic movements, cargo cults, sects, revolutions, etc.).
I can justify that set only on the grounds that the terms I chose for varieties were already in the literature and I was concerned to point out what all of these phenomena had in common. They do, furthermore, overlap one another frequently. I was not seriously proposing them as a formal typology, however, since the purpose of the paper was to define the species rather than the varieties. I think if I were to undertake to formulate a typology myself now I would tend, as Dr. Smith has done, to abstract from these and other conventional concepts certain crucial dimensions, but then to construct (as Linton did, but with more numerous and somewhat different dimensions) a componential matrix on which the conventional terms might be mapped to show their areas of overlap and divergence.

Dr. Smith and I agree on the need for a concept of a type of metamorphic culture change to be contrasted with 'chain-effects.' Although there is, as Dr. Smith points out, not very much to be gained from arguing about labels, I would like to make a brief for 'revitalization' as opposed to 'cult' (or any other of the existing terms, for that matter). Not all of the movements that she or I discuss can properly be characterized as cults (at least as that word is generally used). 'Cult' seems to have two major uses in the literature: first, to denote something like 'society of people with a special ritual within a larger religious tradition,' secret or not, without any implication of newness about the ritual or of 'movement' in their aims; and secondly, to denote a relatively small, heterodox, often but not always religious, and definitely 'movement' motivated group. One could hardly characterize the Catholic Reform of the sixteenth century as a 'cult movement' but I would not hesitate to describe it as a 'revitalization movement par excellence,' albeit a highly complex one. This movement certainly embraced several cultish movements but cannot be described simply as a sum of cults. 'Cult' in my view then is neither a sufficient nor even a necessary institutional mechanism but only a very common one in the development of revitalization movements.

Apart from this I endorse whole-heartedly Dr. Smith's effort to tease out essential dimensions of variation of 'revitalization' (or 'cult') movements and to formulate a scientific vocabulary for general use in discussing them. I know from correspondence, and from the language of the paper, that she will agree that the final product of the paper is less a typology of movements than a definition of important dimensions of variation and a listing of certain terms useful in describing movements along these dimensions. Nevertheless it is more important to find the right dimensions than to concoct a complete typology.

II. By Dr. Fred W. Vogel, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas. With a table

Dr. Smith's effort to bring some order into the collective adjustments which people make to accumulative changes by way of organized movements is timely and to the point. We are, of course, in the area which sociologists have termed 'social movements,' but their concern with western movements of more profound historical (usually political) significance (Heberle, 1951, p. 6) has produced little that is helpful to us. In fact the 'social movement' dimension is an area of sociological neglect and they have progressed no farther than anthropologists. Like ourselves they are still engaged in looking over the field, describing what happened in special cases, and at most they have produced insights into organizational processes and the 'natural history' of movements. A systematic analysis of movements by structural features has yet to be accomplished.

In defining social movements, it is interesting to note that sociologists by and large are in agreement with Heberle (ibid.) in assuming that intention to change the patterns of human relations and social institutions is the essential characteristic of a social movement. Dawson and Gettys (1948, pp. 678ff,) categorize social movements as either broadly 'cultural' or 'political.' Cultural movements are expressive of the 'inner sentiments of the aspiring group' and typically take the form of religious and political 'revivals,' nationalistic surges, or special artistic or fashion movements. Political movements are pointed to a 'modification of the social order in some specific regard or a complete overturning of the social order'—hence are either 'reformative' or 'revolutionary.'

In sociological definition social movements thus are rather deliberate and organized attempts at changing social institutions and human relations for the better. 'Better' may be either the idealized past or a utopian future. Wallace (1956) has written the same ideas into his conception of 'revitalistic movements' and then proceeded to list movements of all kinds under his genera-designation. In this and in his attention to the natural history of the movement he has trod the sociological path, with some introduction of psychiatric insights. In my own case, the definition of reformatory as given obviously equates with 'social' and 'revitalistic' movements. This is a mistake, for I would rather distinguish the reformation as a separate type as Dr. Smith suggests. Perhaps a better definition would be as follows: a reformatory movement expresses a popular tendency to see the life of the individual and group in a state of physical and moral crisis and to interpret their immediate welfare and future needs as dependent upon acceptance of a revelatory experience or charismatic programme transcending the usual expectations of life and regenerating health, character, and social relations generally. So defined, reformatory movements might be included as a 'variety' under revitalistic movements, after Wallace. However, Dr. Smith's whole paper implies classification at this level leaves us little better off than before, although the term 'revitalization' may prove more useful than 'social movements.'

As I read Dr. Smith's discussion, socio-cultural movements, whether accumulative or non-accumulative (readjustive) can best be classified according to a number of components and principles: (1) affect or energy component (active or passive principles); (2) form component (traditional native only, nativist; traditional plus selected items adopted without modification from a contact culture, vitalistic; conscious compounding of own and other culture systems, synthetic). The psycho-cultural processes underlying each of the form types are, respectively, revivalism, incorporation, and syncretism. Dr. Smith also gives consideration to the kind of interaction as in militant or non-militant movements.

In making explicit the criteria by which movements of this kind can be classified Dr. Smith certainly has provided an aid to analysis and clarified process. 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 Table I I have speculated with a 'classificatory reality' embodying cultural, socio-psychological and sociological referents, utilizing and at the same time modifying in usage the basic formula for analysing change developed by Linton (1936 and 1940) and Barnett (1942).

Perhaps in charting selected features of movements the importance of classification as a process will emerge, fulfilling Dr. Smith's warning not to make typology an end in itself. In the above I would emphasize the preliminary nature of the classification procedure—in the future additional serviceable categories may be added or the categories may be subdivided in the interests of precision. I have not introduced the affect component separately.
Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form Process</th>
<th>Meaning (Ideology)</th>
<th>Function for Self-Concept</th>
<th>Interactive Principle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S触动-nativistic (revivalistic)</td>
<td>Restoration</td>
<td>To maintain traditional self-concept in reconfirmation of traditional social and cultural milieu</td>
<td>Elimination of alien and other interfering forces from a conceptualized autonomous field by prophetic destruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E.g. Ghost Dance)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethico-syncretic</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E.g. Gandhi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S触动-syncretic</td>
<td>Reformation</td>
<td>To attain acceptable self-concept in a modified social milieu</td>
<td>Autonomous accommodation within a composite field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E.g. Gaith, Shakerism, Peyotism)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic-incorporative</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E.g. Cargo cults)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political-innovative</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E.g. Communism)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political-innovative</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E.g. Socialism)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

since all of the movements impress me as basically ‘dynamic.’ Some disagreements over the appropriate classification of specific movements must be expected at this stage with such differences gradually evaporating as more intense work is completed.

Besides attaining a greater understanding of what we are dealing with through the process of classification, a number of other interrelated problems must be attended to. In plotting what happens to these movements important organizational processes should emerge. This in turn will help in assessing the degree to which movements of this order influence long-range acculturaiton and actually bring about the cultural transformation now assumed. If Wallace (1956, p. 275) is right in concluding that a considerable social and cultural reorganization follows upon specific revitalistic movements, one could deduce that each movement in itself represents a separate stage in acculturation.

On the other hand, it may be that revitalism is best treated as species of ‘orientation,’ the ideological climate of a period, which may be expressed in religious or other kinds of movements and in reorganizations that do not share the qualities of a movement at all. For example, in American Indian acculturation I am impressed by the fact that a religious adjustment apparently dominates the period beginning with the prophetic attempts to restore the past and continuing into movements like Peyotism, Shakerism and Gaith. To be certain that this religious adjustment marks a definite stage in acculturation will require investigation of the missionary effort to see if a corresponding interest in Christianity parallels the native reformation efforts. Where native religious practice persists this too should be tested for its vigour during this time. Some suggestive evidences lead me to conjecture that this is the case, and if it is so, we have an important clue to the preceptive field of those undergoing acculturation. It may help to explain why economic changes have moved so slowly in the North American Plains, and elsewhere; the basic axes of communication are religious.

In the natural history of revitalistic movements it may very well be that they become routinized and even secularized as Wallace (1956, p. 275) affirms. When I referred to secularizing tendencies in the ‘reformation and accommodation’ paper, I had more in mind a succession of acculturative stages: the religious is followed by a secular development, in which adaptation to American economic, social and political customs and values is in evidence. The Indian attains a living awareness of his place as a minority group in the wider society and organizes his life in accordance with this new orientation. In this view the conception of Indian—White difference still is a real factor, as is discrimination, but the leader is no longer the prophet—rather he is the better-educated knowing man who works to protect and expand Indian rights and privileges by means of the legal-political arsenal supplied by the dominant society. His economic efforts and successes show, too, that his orientation is fundamentally secular and favours a life based on the economic customs of the United States generally. A somewhat autonomous social and cultural assimilation is not far distant.

Perhaps through the classification process and study of both the ‘natural’ and ‘acculturative’ history of these movements, a proper assessment of their contribution to the total acculturative process, as Dr. Smith projects, can be attained.

Bibliography


27


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III. By Dr. Marian W. Smith, London School of Economics and Political Science.

27

The attention which Voget and Wallace have so kindly given to my efforts 'Towards a Classification of Cult Movements' highlights the areas still needing intensive consideration.

I would heartily agree with Wallace that my paper is essentially concerned with the important dimensions of movements and a listing of certain terms useful in describing movements according to these dimensions. I think that this is partially what I have in mind when I use the term 'typology' or 'classification.' Each of us obviously agrees on the value of clearly stating such dimensions and we seem also to feel that their possible range has now been pretty well explored, although, as Voget says, future work may lead to greater precision and thus to additional serviceable categories and the subdivision of some others. What none of us has said is that we regard such examination as essential to the process of comparison in which we are all engaged; yet I believe that we would agree on this too. The categories of a typology, or the 'dimensions of variation,' are important to the extent that they serve as the bases for comparison and hence lead to valid generalizations across cultural boundaries.

I would also like to express my agreement with Voget when he places Communism and Socialism in the same Table as the Ghost Dance. These seem to me to be phenomena which must be viewed along the same lines. Yet there are grave problems involved in this—which brings me to the apparent areas of disagreement. Wallace clings to 'revitalization' Voget introduces 'social' movements, and I still rather lean towards 'cult.' Yet these are not idiosyncratic obstructions. They reflect the fact that here is an area which is really calling out for investigation and decision, and that each of us is approaching the whole from a somewhat different angle. The Catholic Reform of the sixteenth century cannot be described as a sum of cults and it certainly had an important revitalizing effect. Can it, however, be called a 'movement'? This is what Voget asks in referring revitalism to 'the ideological climate of a period.'

May the movements which we are discussing be only a kind of crystallization of general cultural trends? And if so what is the crystallizing agent? To point to the role of the prophet in this connexion is not enough. Both Voget and Wallace are working with mechanisms of greater validity and sophistication than that and I am glad to see Voget's agreement that all the movements under discussion are 'dynamic.' The distinction between 'active and passive' movements seems to me, as I suggested in my paper, unproductive and to have arisen in response to a false issue. All the social phenomena with which we are concerned have positive effects in one direction or another. The problem which remains to be worked out concerns no less an area than the whole field of cultural transformation.

This is obviously a very large field and comes close to the heart of all anthropological investigation. Voget approaches it through the three sets of referents which he now sets forth tabularly. Wallace prefers to stick to problems of the classification per se, and I think that he would agree with me in welcoming Voget's phrase concerning the greater understanding which may come through the process of classification. The similarities between movements are close enough for the data to lend themselves rather well to such consideration. The position which they occupy in the total scheme of culture change depends very much on the general theoretical approach of the person viewing them. One of the values of an accepted classification is that it tends to eliminate some of the vagaries of personal bias and concentrate attention on generally significant aspects of the material. The danger of classification lies of course in the rigidity which it breeds. Warnings against this particular evil must be frequently reiterated, but it hardly arises in the present discussion. If this rigidity can be avoided, then the dimensions that we have visualized may indeed aid in a proper assessment of these movements and thus add a sizable crumb to the larger field.

'Elek,' a Ritual Sculpture of the Baga of French Guinea.


In 1947, William Fagg published in MAN (1947, 113) an account of two Baga sculptures, one in the British Museum, the other in the Musee de l'Homme. At that time no information was available either on the interest which they hold for the Baga themselves or on the use to which they are put, apart from a note by Professor Henri Labourdet, who collected the Musee de l'Homme piece in 1932, indicating simply that the harvesters danced around it at the time of the threshing of the rice.

FIG. 1. DRAWING OF AN 'ELEK' SCULPTURE BY A BAGA FORE

During my fieldwork in the region in 1944, I collected some further information on these elekel (sing. elek) of the Baga Fore of Monchon. None of the sculptures being to hand, a man of this village kindly gave me the drawing reproduced in fig. 1, in which he had drawn the elek called Mosolo Paska (lord Paska), protector of the Kebartun lineage of Kamara moietity at Monchon. Each of the Fore lineages has a protector of this kind, with a special name. The sculpture, kept in the house of the head of the family, was formerly used in the agrarian festivals as well as at the funerals of important men. Members of the lineage took oaths upon it, and finally it played an important part in the constant struggle against sorcerers (bitch, pl. abejfiihin); this task falls among the Fore to the head of the family (see my article, 'La notion de sorcier chez les
A Few Asiatic Board Games Other than Chess. By W. H. Newell, M.A., Staff Tutor in Anthropology, Extra-Mural Department, Victoria University of Manchester. With a text figure

It is not commonly realized how many games there are in Asia which require a great deal of skill but are played only with counters and lines drawn in the dust. I here describe a selection of these from my notebook, all of which are in common use and which I have myself played in the field (see fig. 1).

Diag. I. "Twixt and between" (Japan). A board is drawn with nine squares on each edge. The nine pieces of each opponent are arranged on opposite sides of the board. Each piece can move only one square each turn vertically or horizontally, and the object is to move into such a position that your opponent lies between two of your pieces, when he is removed from the board. The winner is he who removes all his opponent's pieces from the board. (This is the game described by H. J. R. Murray, A History of Board Games other than Chess, Oxford, 1952, p. 54.)

Diag. II. "Straight Line" (Teochiu Chinese in Wellesley Province, North Malaya). Associated with this game is a Teochiu proverb, "Shiang ki kik jia dig" ("Chinese chess is for immortals, straight line for beggars"). The game is played by two players, one of whom has twigs, the other grass. Each player may then place (not move) a piece on any junction of the lines. One may place a twig over an opponent's piece and the two then cancel out. When three uncrossed pieces are in a straight line such as ADG or PQR, then one is entitled to remove any one of the opponent's twigs. When all places are occupied, all crossed pieces are removed and the game is continued by moving along the lines instead of replacing pieces until the winner has removed all his opponent's pieces. (This game is generally described in Murray, p. 43, but not from China. The Chinese version on p. 47, although with the same board, has different rules. The titles given are Cantonese not Teochiu.)

Diag. III. "Golden Lion" (Mussoorie, United Provinces, India). Two large stones represent the two lions placed at AC and GC and 20 small stones represent the goats at DB, BD and DD. The lions...
MAN

February, 1959

CORRESPONDENCE

"Human," 'Hominine,' 'Hominid'

Sir,—Some years ago, Sir Wilfred Le Gros Clark (1953) suggested that: ‘In recent discussions on the taxonomic position of fossil hominoids, there is one source of confusion to which attention should particularly be drawn—the too frequent use of the colloquial terms ‘man’ and ‘human.’ The fact is that these terms may not properly be used as equivalent to the zoological term ‘Hominide’ and its adjectival form ‘hominid’ in the same way that (for example) the word ‘horse’ may be substituted for ‘equid.’ . . . The terms ‘man’ and ‘human’ have come to assume, in common usage, a much narrower and more rigid connotation than for most of us, however we may try to persuade ourselves otherwise, also contains a very real emotional element. There can be little doubt that if these colloquial terms were rigidly excluded in discussions on the evolutionary origin of Homo, and only the scientific terms proper to taxonomy employed, such problems could be approached on a much more objective plane than often appears to be the case. If we accept the definition of ‘man’ or ‘human’ as indicating a tool-making creature (as reasonably advocated by Oakley, 1951), then the earlier small-brained representatives of the Hominide which had not yet developed this capacity may be most conveniently referred to as ‘the prehuman phase of hominid evolution.’

The use of ‘prehuman’ in the concluding sentence of this passage suggests that Sir Wilfred Le Gros Clark had not in fact found a satisfactory taxonomic equivalent for ‘man the Tool-maker.’ It must be noted that ‘prehominin’ is not here equivalent to the French ‘pre-hominien,’ which applies to the *Pithecanthropus* group, i.e. to ‘humans’ not included in the genus *Homo*.

In a subsequent paper (1954), Sir Wilfred Le Gros Clark emphasized that the terms ‘hominoid’ and ‘hominid’ can only be correctly used as adjectival forms relating to the zoological groups Hominioidea and Hominid respectively. Their scope is therefore to be determined by the content assigned to these groups. He adds that anthropologists have invented and used such terms as ‘eu-hominid’ and ‘prehominid’ without attempting to define with any precision what is meant to be understood by them.

Le Gros Clark’s use of ‘hominid’ is based explicitly on Simpson’s (1945) super-family Hominioidea, embracing Man and the anthropoid apes (families Hominid and Pongidae). This nomenclature commits us to the view that man is more closely related in origin with the anthropoid apes than with the other Old World primates (Cercopithecoidea). Although this conception is both plausible and widely held, Strua (1949) has argued persuasively for the alternative view that the Hominide arose from stem Catarrhines too primitive to be classified as anthropoid apes even in the broadest sense. On this view, the Catarrhines (sensu Hemprich, 1820) would form a natural unit with three co-ordinate subdivisions: Cercopithecidae, Pongidae and Hominide; the Hominioidea of Simpson would then be an arbitrary grouping. Nevertheless, at this stage anyone who proposes to use the term ‘hominid’ in any other sense than that adopted by Le Gros Clark must define its meaning very carefully.

Simpson takes the family Hominide to include the two genera *Pithecanthropus* and *Homo* (other supposed ‘genera’ of Man being regarded as synonyms or at most sub-genera of these two). In this sense it covers ‘Man the Tool-maker,’ and ‘hominid’ could be taken as equivalent to ‘human.’ Le Gros Clark, however, gives the family Hominide a broader scope, including also non-tool-making ‘prehominid’ stages in so far as they can be recognized. If the family Hominide is to be enlarged in this way, a smaller classificatory unit is needed to cover ‘Man the Tool-maker.’ Some authorities have been prepared to meet this need by taking the genus *Homo* as embracing all tool-using ‘humans,’ reducing *Pithecanthropus* to sub-generic rank at most. Alternatively, ‘Man the Tool-maker’ may be given sub-family status (Hominine) within the family Hominide. If this usage is followed, the word ‘hominid’ becomes available as a substitute for ‘human,’ and it would be legitimate to speak of ‘the pre-hominid stage of hominid evolution.’ The use of ‘hominid’ in this manner is not valid even if it is reckoned the only genus in the
Homininæ, and is also applicable if no other sub-family is included within the Homininæ. If the sub-family Homininæ is taken as equivalent to 'Man the Tool-maker' (Homo plus Pithecanthropus), the way is open to include within the family Homininæ other sub-families which are morphologically 'proto-homininæ', whether or not they are also chronologically 'pre-homininæ'.

Heberer (cited by Robinson, 1953) suggested the sub-family name Homininæ for the australopithecales and Euhomininæ for the 'true men' (from Pithecanthropus up). Robinson points out that neither of these names is acceptable taxonomically, for neither is founded upon a valid generic name. Despite this, he advocates retaining the terms 'prehomininæ' and 'euhomininæ' in a purely descriptive sense. I cannot see any advantage in this procedure. Since Robinson recognizes that 'true men' constitute the sub-family Homininæ, even on his own arguments the use of any other descriptive term than 'homininæ' does not appear justifiable.

The term 'prehomininæ' is in even worse case. Logically it should apply to stages preceding, and thus outside of, the family Homininæ. The scope of this term will thus fluctuate according to how much lower limit of the Homininæ is defined. In spite of this, Robinson proposes to use it descriptively for the australopithecines, which on his view form a sub-family within the Homininæ.

I submit, therefore, that there is every advantage in adopting the term 'homininæ' as the taxonomic equivalent of 'human' in the sense of 'Man the Tool-maker'. 'Homininæ' can then be used to cover both 'homininginæ' and such 'prehomininæ' as are considered to merit inclusion in the family Homininæ. It is not necessary here to enter upon the question whether the Australopithecinae deserve to occupy this position.

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Notes

'Cultureology' in Webster's Dictionary

Stru—The term cultureology was introduced into the literature of anthropology in 1939 in my article in The American Anthropologist: 'A Problem in Kinship Terminology' (Vol. XLII, p. 571). It was set forth as a basic anthropological concept in my book, The Science of Culture, in 1949. In 1954, 'cultureology' was included in the 'Addenda' of Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, 2nd edition, 1954. In view of the fact that it took 58 years (1871-1929) for the term culture, as a technical, anthropological term, to find its way into a dictionary (cf. A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture, a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions, p. 33), the acceptance of 'cultureology' in so short a time is remarkable.

I was not the first person to use the term cultureology. The distinguished (Nobel prize) German chemist and philosopher, Wilhelm Ostwald (1853-1932), enjoys this distinction as far as we know.


Weber's New International Dictionary defines cultureology as 'that branch of cultural anthropology that treats human technologies, philosophies, etc., as autonomous phenomena, independent of biological, psychological or sociological laws.' I believe that I would improve upon this definition, and, as a matter of fact, I have been given an opportunity to do so for a social-scientific dictionary now being prepared under the sponsorship of U. N. E. S. C. O.

'Cultureology' was harshly criticized when it first appeared. John L. Myer called it a 'barbarous name' (MAN, 1948, 8). C. W. M. Hart found it 'horrible to look at and horrible to hear' (Amer. J. Soc., Vol. XVI, p. 88, 1950). V. Gordon Childs could not bring himself to adopt it even though he thought that 'such hybrids seem to be in accord with the general tendency of linguistic progress' ('Archaeology and Anthropology,' Southwest. J. Anthroph., Vol. II, p. 251, note 19, 1946).

The argument implicit in the fact that a science of parasites is parasitology; of mammals, mammalogy; of minerals, mineralogy, etc., left the critics unmoved. Also, the fact that a precise and apt term that would designate specifically the science of culture, and distinguish it from the paleoanthropological, anatomical, physiological, genetic, biochemical, psychological, and psycho-analytical studies embraced by 'anthropology,' was not felt to be sufficient reason for, or justification of, this new word. Childs was the only critic who gave a reason for his opposition, namely, 'prejudices engendered by Literae Humaniores' (ibid.).

We recall that Herbert Spencer was advised by friends not to use the term sociology, which they called 'a barbarism' (cf. Spencer's preface to Vol. I of Principles of Sociology). Their chief objection to 'sociology,' apparently, was that it is derived from both Greek and Latin sources, and is thus a hybrid. But, of course, 'sociology' won acceptance and has long since become a commonplace. And the English language itself is not at all squeamish about adopting words of both Greek and Latin derivation. Witness, for example, automobile, television, dictaphone, penology, petroleum, pacifist, florist, dehydrate, cabligram, and a host of others.

'Cultureology' was included in Dictionary of Anthropology, by Charles Winick (New York, 1956). And now that Webster's Dictionary has accepted it, 'cultureology' may be assumed to be a perfectly respectable word. It is such a logical, apt and precise term that its use may be expected to become more general, in anthropology and elsewhere, as distinctions between the science of culture, on the one hand, and individual psychology, social psychology, sociology and social anthropology, on the other, are clarified.

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Note
In offering congratulations to Professor White, the Hon. Editor ventures to wonder whether the words cited in his penultimate paragraph form the strongest support that could be found for his view; six of them appear to spring from the vigorous provocation of the American engineer rather than from scholarship, 'penology' is not a hybrid at all, and the termination 'ist' is surely the most vestigial of survivals from the Greek, derived in any case through French, which is notoriously less stylized than English in such matters.—Ep.
Alur Society: A Study in Processes and Types of Domination.


There are approximately 200,000 Alur occupying about 2,000 square miles of the West Nile District of Uganda and the neighbouring territory of the Belgian Congo, between which countries they are roughly equally divided, both by area and population. Dr. Southall spent nearly two years studying the Alur, in 1949–52, five months of which were spent on the Congo side. Ecologically Alurland is varied, but the bulk of the people live as subsistence agriculturists in a healthy highland zone. Cash crops are few, cattle have great social value and are seldom traded, and money is largely provided by the many young men who visit Buganda as migrant labourers. On Uganda standards, in terms of economic and political development, the Alur are a 'backward' tribe.

The Alur, who speak a Nilotic language of the Lwo group, are the descendants of heterogeneous Lwo immigrants from the north, who have incorporated other previously settled groups, of diverse ethnic origins, into a number of variously sized and politically independent chiefdoms. From this hotchpotch, 'a new tribe has emerged...over a comparatively short period' (p. 7), a tribe which, moreover, was expanding both by natural increase and by assimilation of neighbouring peoples through a piecemeal but continuous process of political and cultural domination. This domination proceeded almost entirely without the use of force and the process was in full swing when it was halted by European conquest. It is impossible therefore to define Alur boundaries exactly; they fade into their neighbours. Some peripheral groups, which had but recently come under Alur, asserted to Government their distinctiveness from their rulers, but usually did so in the Alur political idiom to which they had become accustomed. Such groups are found among the Lendu, Okebo and Madi, the social organizations of the first two of which Southall briefly describes (Ch. VII), as part of his definition of Alur society and description of the methods of its expansion.

One of the virtues of this book is that the author states explicitly what his information is, how he obtained it, and what use he intends to make of it. The book is copiously documented, indeed sometimes bewilderingly so, and it is hard to distinguish, solely from their Alur names, which groups, and of what order, are being described. It would have made for easier reading if the lineages detailed in figs. 4–7 and 9–16, and often referred to in the text, had also been given symbols which intimated their structural relationships. The problem, recognized by Southall (p. xiii), of not losing the argument in a mass of ethnographic evidence is always one of the difficulties of presentation, particularly when dealing with a diversified and previously undescribed culture. This problem has been partly solved by printing some of the local detail in smaller type or relegating it to appendices. The result, though sometimes unwieldy, is a good all-around account.

Part I (pp. 1-24) is introductory. Part II (pp. 27-265), headed Political Organization, is the most interesting and valuable section of the book. In it Southall not only analyses the specifically political traditional institutions, such as chieftaincy, but taking the view that 'the political aspect of society is universal' also considers the institutions of Alur society, such as the family, which had some political functions. Part III, headed The Alur Today, is a descriptive account of the history of the Alur under foreign rule and their adjustment to it. Alur, like their neighbours, had a system of localized, segmentary, corporate patrilineages and clan sections—a clan section consisting of two or more segments of different lineages of the same clan, each of which was territorially detached from the main body of its own lineage system, who formed together a distinct localized grouping of their own. Clan sections occupied the same position in the political structure as corporate lineages.

Authority within the lineage was based on the same values as that within the patriarchal family. The treatment of delicts was similar to that within most segmentary societies, the nature and effectiveness of sanctions depending on the structural distance between the parties involved. Beyond a certain distance feud or war were the only recourse. It was only at this point that chiefs impinged actively upon the political and legal order. A chief did not intervene in disputes unless he felt that the fighting was so continuous as to menace his state, or if he were appealed to for assistance and protection. Usually the appearance of his sacred person, which plus retainers was also expensive to feed and maintain, was sufficient to halt the fighting and enable him to steer a compromise. A chief had no organized military force to oppose against recalcitrants who ignored his presence, but was able to rely on the loyalty to his sacred presence of uncommitted clan sections, plus his own dependants, to raise a sufficient extemore force either to quell the disrespectful, or to force them to flee the state. In the state, as within the family and lineage, authority theoretically and absolute was in practice usual, and in all three the rules, which could not be challenged directly, could be eluded by non-observance, or at worst, in major points, by migration.

Lineage affairs were left to lineage elders, chiefs only rarely intervening, even between lineages. The more important chiefs had bodies of retainers, consisting of clients bound by cattle gifts and councillors who enjoyed the joint statuses of lineage elders and courtiers. A chief was the source of cattle and the centre of a network of economic and marital exchanges, receiving tribute and girls and in return dispensing hospitality, succouring the needy and providing wives for the loyal. But chiefs depended primarily on the moral influence of their ritual authority. Chieftainship was cherished and sacred. Chiefs observed special food taboos and rituals while a special etiquette was observed towards them. Ancient ritual offices associated with the chieftainship were distributed among several clans and broadly guarded as privileges which linked their owners to the chieftainship. Above all what distinguished chiefs, and was the source of the fear and reverence expressed towards them, was their relationship with the supernatural; the prestige of their personal ancestor shrines; their connexion with particular ancient Lwo shrines; and, especially, their powers to control rain.

The administrative organization of the Alur state was rudimentary, but it, and their lineage organization, were more comprehensive than those of their neighbours. Alur domination was encouraged by many of their neighbours, indeed Alur 'chieftains', sons or brothers of chiefs, were even 'kidnapped' by neighbouring groups who wanted to be ruled and protected by them, and to benefit from the mystical virtues restricted to the chiefly lineages. Southall suggests that other reasons for the demand for chiefs lay in their charismatic qualities, and the influence of their subjects who believed in 'their destiny to rule other peoples and in the superiority of their own way of life' (p. 229), and communicated those feelings to their neighbours. In groups so absorbed the charismatic qualities became routinized and the people Alurized; both becoming, in turn, agents of a further process of expansion. Communication between Alur and non-Alur was possible because, unlike later European dominators, Alur and their subjects shared a similar metaphorical outlook. For example, non-Alur accepted the raincontrolling capacities of chiefs as superior to, but not essentially different from, their own practices. Also, just as in certain areas European rule was welcomed as putting an end to constant feuds and wars, Lendu and Okebo welcomed chiefs, but without thereby losing control of their own internal affairs. This latter was also a self-continuing process, for within one group a 'chieftain' to

This book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on African law. Dr. Bohannan has addressed himself primarily to expounding—he himself would probably prefer to say ‘translating’—the legal and jural notions of the Tiv, a semi-Bantu people of Central Nigeria. But though he has thus limited himself ethnographically, those with experience of law in other African societies will find in much of his account a good deal that is strikingly familiar.

This emerges most plainly in his analysis of the structure of the jir, a Tiv concept which, as elsewhere in Africa, combines the notions of a court or tribunal and of the case which is being heard before it. The major feature of jir procedure is the absence of ‘pleading’ in the technical sense. They do not dispute present their case by way of ‘statement,’ not in terms of the requirements of some legal category. Each side sets out to tell his side of the story, and where there is disagreement on a question of fact witnesses may be called to testify on oath. And of course the judges use their own knowledge of the surrounding circumstances to assess the validity of all testimony.

Finally, after questioning and counter-questioning, the members of the jir give a judgment which is less of a legal summing-up of the issues involved—for points of law are rarely raised explicitly—than a homily or moral lecture. The purpose of the jir is not to apply laws, but to decide what is right in a particular case.

The Tiv political system is built up around the principle of the segmentary lineage; the notions of centralized administration and authority are absent, so that the present office of ortaregh or ‘court member’ carries no claim to authority in traditional terms. Accordingly, the modern Native Authority Court achieves decision not so much by enforcing law as by seeking a judgment that will win the assent of the litigants in terms of the indigenous concept of jir. Bohannan remarks: ‘The importance of concurrence by the litigants cannot be over-emphasized.’ But how is this concurrence achieved? The author suggests that it is the opinion of the community which forces concurrence, but this only serves to raise the question again in another form. One feels here that a perceptive analysis would have been considerably strengthened if Dr. Bohannan had placed rather less stress on jural structure, and rather more on judicial process within the jir. For example, he tells us that the Tiv, like the Lozi, have the concept of the ‘reasonable man,’ but we are not told how he enters into the process of litigation. The point of the ‘reasonable man’ in Ogbonan is that he provides the judges with a valuable tool for getting on with the job of deciding cases. In presenting their statements before a court, the litigants themselves evaluate their own behaviour and pose as ‘reasonable men;’ concurrence is achieved because so often the litigant is condemned on the basis of his own evaluation. From the material itself, and from scattered comments in the text, one suspects that a similar process is to be found in the Tiv jir, but Dr. Bohannan never presents a complete record of a case in which are set out the respective statements of the parties, the various questions put to them, the obiter dicta of the judges, and all the other events which go to make up a court hearing.

Hoebel has remarked that the study of primitive law, like Common Law, must draw its generalizations from particular cases, cases and more cases—cases to be dissected and analysed into their principles. In the later chapters of the book, which deals with different kinds of jir, Dr. Bohannan gives us cases in full measure—there are 80 altogether—in which he discusses Tiv jural notions of marriage, contract and debt, wrongs and so on. However, the cases are used for purposes of illustration only, never as a tool of analysis. This is seen most clearly in the discussion of moots, which periodically arise out of cases within the minimal segment of a lineage, and require ritual rather than legal correction. The moots are simply presented as large chunks of field data, and no attempt is made to relate them to the social settings, in all their complexity, within which they arise.

This use of the case method, it seems to me, is related to Bohannan’s pre-occupation with Tiv concepts and their proper ‘translation,’ and his concern to explain the idiom and set of images in which a people see their jural institutions. An alternative use of the case method is that put forward by Llewellyn and Hoffman; they regard each case as a study of men in conflict, institutions in tension, and laymen or craftsmen at work on resolution of the tension; in this way law and society are brought into relation. I have no doubt myself which approach is the more fruitful for the anthropologist.


The conduct of Africans on the Copperbelt, both in their relations with one another and with other bodies, cannot be explained in terms of their rural past but reflects processes at work within the urban social system. This is Dr. Epstein’s principal thesis, and he argues it with considerable skill. Blending anthropological techniques with a historical approach, he analyses a series of events which illustrate the factors structuring the Africans’ relations with the Administration, the mine managements, and among themselves.

The Copperbelt Africans were long regarded as temporary visitors whose principal identifications were with their tribes of origin. The disturbances of 1935 showed that the Tribal Elders had little authority among the people but the attempt was made to extend the use of tribal institutions for administrative purposes by the creation of urban native courts and advisory councils. Effective leadership passed to the welfare societies and the better-educated urban council representatives who criticized these courts as a further ‘intrusion of tribal government’ into the urban areas. The author discusses in some detail the progress of the African Mine Workers’ Union founded in 1948. On the flood of popularity after a successful strike the Union mustered overwhelming support for its demand that the system of administration through tribal representatives be brought to an end. Subsequently its membership fell away. Dr. Epstein holds that this was due to the growing cleavage between the interests of the clerical and underground workers. He then considers a boycott attempted by the African National Congress and shows how in contrast to the unitary character of mine and mining union Congress can be used as an instrument for promoting sectional interests.

The final chapter, on the role of tribalism in urban life, is exploratory. Dr. Epstein offers an analysis similar to that of J. Clyde Mitchell in the Kaleda Dance, holding that while tribal sentiment as an integrating bond may be declining in urban areas, tribal affiliation may remain important in interpersonal relations. Most urban Africans evaluate behaviour among their fellows in accordance with tribal norms, and in this context they respect the arbiters of traditional custom (the underlying consensus on these matters is well displayed in the admirable chapter on ‘Court and Community’). But where African interests are opposed to European interests, tribal membership is irrelevant and ‘tribalism’ is absent. Moreover, groups which sometimes appear to be ‘tribal’ in character may be emerging ‘economic classes.’ The reiteration, however, of highly categorical expressions like ‘contradiction,’ ‘cleavage’ and ‘incompatibility,’ has a numbing effect and makes the argument less easy to follow than Mitchell’s. The author’s second major conclusion is that the urban social system is made up of many different sets of social relationships; in a changing society these are frequently of conflicting character and undergo modification as they interact, and inconsistencies being resolved by the operation of the principle of situational selection. This ‘principle’ is nowhere defined; how is selection
Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa. By Roland
Oliver. London (Chatto & Windus), 1937. Pp. xvi, 368,
19 plates, 3 text figs., 11 maps. Price £1 10s.

This is not a book on anthropology, but it is never-
thless an indispensable concomitant to the history of Afri-
can studies, and should be read by all Africanists. An appraisal of Sir Harry
Johnston’s career was long overdue, and has now been provided by
Dr. Oliver in a careful and well-written study which throws new
light on many aspects of the history of Africa in the last two decades
of the nineteenth century. Though all Africanists know of Johnston’s
linguistic and anthropological work (as exemplified in such books as
The Kilimanjaro Expedition, British Central Africa, The Uganda
Protectorate and the Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu
Languages, to name but a few), they do not all perhaps realize the
part played by Johnston in the political development of Nigeria,
Nyasaland, and British East Africa during the 20 years of his life
in Africa. It was all very well for the late Mr. L. S. Amery to call
him ‘such a failure’ (p. viii); but the results of Johnston’s pioneer
administrative work have endured. In the sphere of African studies,
though his theories were often based on wrong assumptions, and his
facts not always correct, his books have been a source of inspiration,
and, let him deny it who will, it is hardly too much to say that
without his foundation work African studies would today be the
poorer.

The nature of the relations between Johnston and the Foreign
Office, and in particular of the attitude of Sir Clement Hill, is
probably new to many Africanists, as also the story of the co-
operation and conflict between Johnston and Rhodes.

An interesting point, to which the author refers more than once,
is the discrepancy between Johnston’s accounts of various events as
they appear in his diary and in his published works, for example,
the fight against the Kibosho people as described in his diary, and as
written up in The Kilimanjaro Expedition. In his explanation of this,
Dr. Oliver points out that Johnston’s character cannot be understood
without realizing that he was capable of this kind of deception
(p. 66). But this ‘licence’ was not extended to his scientific work.

The book is well produced, with good illustrations (among them
some old friends from The Uganda Protectorate), together with 11
maps, including two sketch maps by Johnston showing his views on
the division of Africa among the European powers. A bibliography of
Johnston’s works on Africa would have formed a useful conclu-
sion to an excellent book.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

Africa in Transition. Edited by Prudence Smith. London (Reinhardt),

This is a collection of 19 short essays (originally
mainly talks broadcast by the B.B.C. on the Third Pro-
gramme) by 16 authors with an introduction by Lord Hailey and a
preface by Mrs. Prudence Smith.

The central theme is how the lives of the African peoples in the
Union and the Rhodesias are being transformed by the impact of
European civilization. The subjects discussed include housing,
health and nutrition, migrant labour, legal problems, personal
values and witchcraft beliefs, and two essays on the opposing
theses of apartheid and integration.

The publisher surmises ‘that the conclusions may well surprise
and shock the intelligent reader who, in spite of his desire to learn about
these subjects, has not until now been able to obtain an authoritative
study in compact and understandable form.’ The intelligent reader,
shocked and surprised though he may be, will possibly hesitate to form
a final judgment on the racial conflict in Southern Africa after
presentation of the case which does not profess to do more than view
the situation from one angle, which is the impact of European
civilization on the African peoples. It is, surely, equally important
to study the effect of the impact of an African environment on the
European peoples in the Union and the Rhodesias.

The theme of the impact of European civilization on the African
is discussed by experts in their own subjects and the articles are
excellent as far as they go. But the subjects chosen seem to illustrate
chiefly the adverse effects of the impact, and little if anything is revealed
of the other side of the case.

The book can, therefore, be recommended as a collection of
authoritative, well written and interesting articles on certain
selected aspects of the South African problem.

GEORGE BERESFORD-STOOKIE

Price £1 10s.

This book is a chronological anthology compiled
from written records, mostly printed books. The first extract is from
Barros, a Portuguese factor and historian who served on the Gold
Coast between 1535 and 1532, and the last from Dr. Nkrumah’s
autobiography published to coincide with Independence. With
three exceptions the writers either participated or witnessed the
events they describe. Interest is focused on people, African and
European, and their reactions to each other and events. Recent
political developments are deliberately omitted. Presumably the
book is designed to provide background material for students and
instructive delectation for the common reader. This it does well
and also provides attractive refreshment for the specialist. Hardly any
dull writing is included with the exception of five trivial snippets of
journalism. A 36-page essay provides a critical survey of the sources
and nearly relates the extracts to historical events.

Extracts are grouped in four sections, of almost equal length,
according to the main phases of European activity. During the first
period, ending with the abolition of the Slave Trade, Europeans
were tolerated as long as they remained in their forts and only
fought each other. These trader-navigators had mercenary interests
but lively styles. Appropriately the concluding extract is from
Thompson, the first missionary to the Gold Coast. During the next
70 years the British subdued their rivals and the Coast piecemeal but
came increasingly into conflict with the Ashanti. From this period
officials and missionaries are more quoted than traders. During the
third period, 1870–1900, Ashanti was beaten and colonial power
consolidated. The extracts are mainly from travellers, missionaries
and officials who wrote in response to the popular demand in
England for knowledge about the geography and customs of the
Dark Continent. From the final period, that of ordered administra-
tion and the development of nationalism, journalists and anthropo-
logists are the principal sources. The hand of M. Castor Cardinall,
Daniel Danquah, Fortes and Busia are exceptionally prominent. The
anthology, in some ways, reveals as much about changing European
attitudes as about Ghana.

It is a pity that the Bond of 1844 is not included (it would have
occupied less than a page), because it is seldom read despite the
almost mythical significance frequently ascribed to it. Crook’s Gold
Coast Settlements has been ignored though it could have yielded some
interesting and rarely quoted first-hand reports. If the sponsors,
West African Newspapers Limited, provide for this quality of book-
production throughout the series Africanists will grow deeply in
their debt.

P. T. W. BAXTER

Les Langues Négro-Africaines. By L. Homburger. Paris (Payot),

I reviewed the English version (1949) of the first
edition of this book (which appeared in 1941) in MAN,
1949, 151. There seems to be little to add to the criticisms made
there, since we are told on p. 63 that ‘comme nous espérons que des
études linguistiques inspirées par nos conclusions éclairciront beucoup
de problèmes, nous n’avons pas cru devoir modifier notre
texte.’ In consequence there has been no revision of most of the
book, and no attempt made either to correct errors or (in spite of
the author’s claim) to bring the bibliography up to date. Moreover,
since the first chapter (53 pages) is in the nature of an ethnographic
text of Africa, it is quite inexcusable to make no reference either
in the text or in the bibliography to the Ethnographic Survey of Africa,
of which at least 31 parts had been published by 1955.

It is in the author’s shift of ground that the book differs from the
previous edition. In 1941 she believed in the Egyptian origin of the 'Negro-African' languages, and claimed that the link between ancient Egyptian and the other was a hypothetical language which she called 'Saharian.' Now, however, she takes the Dravidian languages as the source, or rather, in her own words, 'les langues dravidiques et l'égyptien ancien dérivent d'une source commune qui a dû être une langue parlée dans le bassin de l'Indus vers la fin du 4e millénaire av. J.-C.' This new theory, she claims, does not clash with her previous one; it merely extends the field, and by it she gets a great 'indo-Egypto-Negro-African' family. The last chapter of the book is the only new part. It replaces the original Chapter XII which dealt with 'L'origine égyptienne des langues négro-africaines,' and is entitled 'Le Sindo-Africain.' I can only say that much of her argument seems unconvincing, though she tries to cover herself by saying at the beginning 'la multiplicité des faits ne permet pas de les commenter ni de les expliciter. Il faudrait un volume entier...'.

While there is perhaps some excuse for writing names of African tribes 'de façon que les lecteurs français les prononcent correctement'—like Fouloulda, Lotouko, Souk—it is surely not necessary to write Massa, and there is a most misleading statement on p. 14 that 'on a signalé des dialectes hétérophones par les Falachas.'

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

AMERICA


The Mixtec form one of several important linguistic groups of ancient Mexico each of which made important contributions to pre-Columbian culture. The Mixtec still occupy much of the western part of the State of Oaxaca, south-east of Mexico City. To the east of them lie their old enemies, the Zapotec, whose territory extends to the southern part of the state of Tehuantepec. For archaeologists, the term Mixtec has been a convenient catch-all for more than one style of art manifest in certain forms of polychrome pottery and in the iconographic paintings on the codices and manuscripts which we term codices. Research by the Mexican scholar, Alfonso Caso, has proved by the decipherment of the glyph of a certain town that a number of the pictorial codices are definitely Mixtec, as had long been suspected. These codices, with which by happy chance England is well endowed, are historical in contrast to the divinatory codices of the Totonac Group.

Pictures and glyphs of dates, persons, and towns illustrate the lives of chiefs. Birth, marriage, battle and death are painted with a brevity faintly reminiscent of the Biblical 'and Cush begat Nimrod,' save that an umbilical cord represents birth, a couple seated on a mat or ceremonially bathing represent marriage, and a tidy 'mummy' bundle, death.

Oaxaca and the Mixtec have had a strange fascination for Englishmen. Three centuries ago Thomas Gage wanted to settle there; Zelia Nuttall brought that gem of Mixtec painting, the Zouche-Nuttall codex, to the attention of the world; Constance Risjord, British consul in Oaxaca, devoted his spare time to Oaxacan prehistory... A. P. Maudslay spent much time there, tending a gold mine in Zavaleta which he had inherited; Cooper Clark published the life of 'Eight Deer' as recorded in Mixtec codices; Long (with apologies to Ireland) followed with other commentaries, and Burland has recently published on the Selden roll.

Dark, the latest in this succession, gives us a methodological handling of the genealogical material in Mixtec codices with special reference to the Codices Bodley and Selden. His book does not make easy reading. Although he deals with this intricate material, there is no illustration to help the reader who must turn to the reproductions of these two codices published over a century ago in a very rare and expensive work. The introductory chapter assumes that the general reader possesses a quite wide knowledge of the Mixtec and their neighbours, yet it has statements—for example, that Teotihuacan ceased in A.D. 1068—which the specialist must find disconcerting.

Despite the title, the work really deals only with plotting genealogies. For tabulation purposes pictorial conventions are reduced to ideographic symbols which, in turn, give place to letters or alphanumeric numerals. For example, 1 in circle stands for a picture of a man and a woman seated facing each other, the female being on the left; 2 in circle is the same except that the man is on the left; 3 in circle is like 2 in circle except that the woman turns her back on the man. From there on the symbols get more complex, and it is hard to believe that anyone could master them except after constant practice, but these are, so to speak, work sheets. Various methods of punchcard classification are also discussed.

These techniques are used for the construction of genealogical tables for the Selden and Bodley codices. In preparing these Dark made some new interpretations, notably of what he believes, correctly it would appear, to be the convention for linking grandchildren with their grandparents. His Bodley sequence is of 675-700 years (27 or 28 generations of 25 years each), whereas Caso reaches 778 years. Dark does not utilize the data on birthdays. In some cases the entries are defective but when complete with year and day glyphs they give exact intervals between generations, and these Caso utilizes. Two very interesting products of Dark's research are evidence of three, perhaps four, brother-sister marriages, and a strong probability that a man woven with double strands in a kind of twill work denotes a person twice married.

This book offers us the ingredients and recipe for making the cake and an anticipatory lick of the spoon; we look forward to a pleasant banquet in a subsequent volume.

J. ERIC S. THOMPSON


The study under review is an important, although not entirely new, approach to the reconstruction of the social, political and religious structure of a society. The methods used are similar to those utilized in regular ethnographical research except that historical documents and archaeological reports have been used as sources rather than personal contact with informants. The objectives of the author were twofold: to examine and synthesize the linguistic, traditional, religious, and archaeological information available in order to define a historical background for the sixteenth-century Pokomans and the relations of the Pokomans to other Maya peoples and the Mexican Pipil; and utilizing every source of data available to reconstruct and examine the social and political organizations of the Pokomans and place them in a comparative historical framework. Both objectives have been admirably achieved and the author should be congratulated upon the success of this study.

The author, after evaluating all the documentary sources, presents the historical setting as Part I. From a study of these sources she has ably mapped the extent of Pokoman habitation during the sixteenth century and presents a sound hypothesis of the origins of the historical Pokomans. Although the identification of any archaeological complex with a particular prehistoric ethnic group is risky business, I am of the opinion, based on my own excavations in the Antigua region, that the Pokomans extended even into this area during Post-Classic times. On the other hand, the presence of Pokoman groups in Copan, as suggested by the author, may be questioned.

Part II is devoted to a reconstruction of sixteenth-century Pokomans kinship, political structure and settlement patterns. Although the author wishes to restrict herself to the reconstruction of the sixteenth-century Pokom Mayas, I believe that some comparisons
based on ethnographical reports of modern Pokom towns by
Gillin, Tumin, and Goukoud would have added greatly to the value of
the study. I also regret that there was no mention made of
Dr. Robert Wauchep’s pioneer study of 1947 where historical
sources were first used in the reconstruction of Quiché-Maya and
Cakchiquel political history. Nevertheless, I am convinced that
Miss Miles’s study of the sixteenth-century Pokom—Maya will stir
Middle and South American archeologists and ethno-historians to
undertake much-needed studies of a similar nature.

STEPHAN F. DE BORHEGYI

Die Hieroglyphen der Maya-Handschrift. By Günter Zimmer-
mann. Universität Hamburg, Abhandl. aus dem Gebiet der
Auslandskunde, Vol. LXII, Ser. B (Völkerkunde, Kultur-
geschichte und Sprachen), Vol. XXXIV. Hamburg (Cram,

This is principally a much needed catalogue of all occurrences of
every glyph in the three surviving Maya codices; it replaces the
Gate catalogue, published in 1937, which left much to be desired.
Zimmermann has developed a very helpful method of designating
by numbers and a system of punctuation the component elements of
a compound glyph. For example, 1.195: 1342: 14 indicates that main
sign 1342 has affix 1 to the left and affix 79 above with affix 14 post-
fixed below. Affixes are numbered 1 to 99; for head forms and parts
of the body, numbers 100 to 999 are reserved; animal and bird
glyphs are allotted numbers 700 to 1299; and conventionalized
glyphs start at 1300. Zimmermann has greatly expanded my category
of augural glyphs assigning to each a positive or negative aspect,
corresponding to my good and bad grouping, an arrangement also
accepted by Barthel but which finds no place in Knorozov’s attempts
to read the glyphs phonetically. Zimmermann brings together the
glyphs which represent offerings to form a new category. Some of
these have been recognized as such long ago, but others are now
assigned to the group as a result of Zimmermann’s comparative
studies. The author is to be congratulated on an outstanding contribu-
tion to this very specialized study.

J. ERIC S. THOMPSON

The North American Indian Orpheus Tradition: A Contribu-
tion to Comparative Religion. By Åke Hultkrantz. Ethnol.
Mus. of Sweden, Stockholm, Monog. Ser., Publ.

Although this excellent and scholarly monograph is presented
chiefly as a contribution to the comparative study of religions, it may
well be the case that many readers will be more attracted by its
attempt to discover and discuss a psychological basis for the Orpheus
tradition as it is widely spread among the North American Indians.
This attempt is made only after a very thorough presentation and
analysis of the distribution and versions of the Orpheus story. It is
first shown that, in spite of the inevitable variations which conform
to local cultural differences, the tradition maintains a remarkable
constancy both of plot and of its underlying motivations. Then the
main features of the Orpheus tale as compared with other eschato-
logical narratives in the same communities are considered in detail.
Great emphasis is laid upon the nature of the obstacles which are
depicted as occurring in the course of the journey from the land of
the living to that of the dead, to the ritual character of the middle
period before return to the everyday world, and to a revivification
which ‘takes the form of a slow, progressive process of ‘normaliza-
tion,’ corresponding to the convalescence and recovery of a seriously
ill person’ (p. 309). Historical analysis, which attempts to set the
various basic forms and variants of the legend into a general order of
time sequence, then leads to the suggested psychological origina-
tional level, assigning to each a positive or negative aspect.

The Orpheus tradition in North America, it is maintained, must
be understood specifically against an American background. What-
ever may be true about its possible derivation from other sources,
Dr. Hultkrantz is convinced that the story derives directly from ‘the
narrative of a shaman’s ecstatic journey to the land of the dead,’
made so as to bring to life seriously ill person. The whole story
then has what, at the stage of its origin and growth, would be
regarded as a direct factual basis. How in the course of its wide
dispersion and development it gained various accretions and changes

of emphasis is considered in detail. In particular there is a most
interesting attempt to show the part played by the tradition in
shaping rites connected with beliefs about life after death, with
considerable reference to the ‘ghost dance.’

For the style of its presentation, its abundant documentation, and
the general interest of the author’s ideas, this can fairly be regarded
as a model monograph. Perhaps a few years ago it would have been
objected that the psychological interpretations offered deal only
with the ‘manifest content’ of the Orpheus legend. But from the
point of view of their significance for the student of society, it can
well be argued that the face value of folk products, and a study of
their direct social derivation, are of outstanding importance.

F. C. BARTLETT

Other Men’s Skies. By Robert Bunker. Bloomington (Indiana U.P.),
1956. Pp. 256

This is an extraordinarily interesting book. It has been
written by an ex-official of the U.S. Indian Service—new style—to show the application, in the Pueblo Indian
field, of John Collier’s policy as Secretary of the Department of
Indian Affairs, and what the Pueblo Indians are doing to cope with
their own modern problems; and also to discuss how they can best
be led to take more responsibility, to believe in their own capacity
for self-administration, to make up their minds what they want, and
to use the Indian Service as their instrument for getting it. And,
possibly, as a protest against what Mr. Bunker finds reactionary
in the policy of Mr. Collier’s successor? Mr. Bunker (who gives us
some penetrating studies of Indian leadership and Indian political
sense) would have the Federal official abandoning all coercion,
merely standing by to give such advice and help as the pueblo
council may request. It is good news that the native governments
have survived the oppressive paternalism of the past, and obviously
the Collier policy has paid dividends. But Mr. Bunker might have
said more about its effects on the liquor problem. Then, in 1910-11,
Mr. ‘Pussyfoot’ Wilson was given a free hand to suppress the
traffic; his actions were certainly arbitrary—he bypassed the lawful
pueblo authorities—nevertheless a great improvement in health and
happiness resulted. Now we hear of drunkenness returning to the
eastern pueblos and appearing on the Hopi reservation, where 40
years ago it was unknown. Will the restored powers of the native
councils suffice to control it? What penalties will they be allowed
to inflict? Again, post-war changes in housing, nutrition, dress and
heating have been revolutionary: how will the fuel supply stand up
to them? Can the councils cope with the destructive forces spreading from Los Alamos to the Tewa villages? It will be seen
that Pueblo problems are full of interest for our own Colonial Civil
Service trainees, who can study here on a small scale experiments
that he may have to try on populations of many thousands.

What Mr. Bunker writes on the influence of ex-soldiers on their
pueblos is impressive. His account of the Zuñi Shalako usefully
supplements M. Cazeneuve’s. Mr. Inglis’s line drawings are very
spirited.

But in fact there is nothing at all of this book that one would willingly
miss.

BARBARA AITKEN

Eastern Ojibwa: Grammatical Sketch, Texts and Word List.
By Leonard Bloomfield. Ann Arbor (U. of Michigan P.),

This full and scholarly study by the late Sterling
Professor of Linguistics at Yale was virtually complete when Bloom-
field died in 1949, but has been given its final editorial review
by another Algönkianist of note, in the person of Charles F. Hockett
of Cornell. Bloomfield’s data and texts were collected in 1938 from
a single Ojibwa informant, Andrew Medler. Medler was born in
Michigan, educated in part at Carlisle Indian School and long
resident on the Walpole Island Reserve in Ontario, and thus equipped
to pinpoint dialect and intrusive forms in the language.

The Grammatical Sketch, including a valuable chapter on syntax,
takes up roughly half of the book, and is followed by 888 specimen
sentences. The Word List occupies 37 pages, and there are 38 texts
with translations. For the linguist these have the advantage of
presenting some variant forms of the same story, recorded at differ-

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ent times or by different hands; the close concordance of the several versions is an index of the accuracy of the work. For the non-specialist in American languages (among whom I must be counted) the texts offer much of interest, ranging as they do over varied facets of the personal experience and traditional lore of an intelligent and perceptive Indian living in the later stages of his people's cultural transition.

Central Algonkian languages, of which Eastern Ojibwa is one, are still spoken to some extent north and south of the Great Lakes and west to Saskatchewan. Bloomfield's work should provide a model and a yardstick for comparative studies of other members of the group.

GEORGE TURNER


45

Writing for the layman in an easy conversational style, La Farge packs his eleven brief chapters with an admirable quantity of sound ethnological and historical information, and corrects numerous commonly held misconceptions in both fields. His material is organized on the pattern of Ruth Underhill's more exhaustive Red Man's America, and like the latter seldom trespasses above the Canadian border except to treat of the Northwest Coast peoples. A very wide net has been cast for the pictorial content. Much use is made of contemporary pictures, from John White's Virginia drawings to photographs. Some of them are familiar enough; others, even to the specialist, are not. Photographs of museum dioramas are legitimately employed for the illustration of vanished or undisturbed cultures, and there are many reproductions of paintings by modern Indian artists. Most important, the captions are informative and critical, drawing attention where necessary to inaccuracies or inconsistencies in the picture. The quality of reproduction, of the coloured plate in particular, is probably the best that can be expected at the price. Some misprints are less easily forgiven.

This is a 'popular' book that could do a great deal of good by achieving popularity, especially with the American public to whom it is primarily addressed. Certain elements in that public, however, would find the author's home truths unpalatable; without sentimentalizing, La Farge—an old New Dealer—speaks his mind as freely on past wrongs as on the present governmental and local discrimination which continue to hinder the advancement of an obstinately expanding minority.

GEORGE TURNER


46

This monograph is a thorough and complete study of the structure, organization and mode of life of the sugar plantations in a small area of the state of Bahia in north-eastern Brazil. It is the result of over a year's fieldwork and of considerable literary research into the history. In it are described the racial and class structures, the various conceptions associated with them, the family and religion. Particularly valuable are the two chapters on the history of the area, which is largely the history of sugar-growing in South America with local peculiarities. There is also constant reference to the historical background throughout. This enables the reader to understand the forces at work in this type of economy, and the effects which they have on society, far better than a more limited 'static' study would do. The final chapter on recent changes is especially interesting in the light of the previous history of the sugar communities.

Mr. Hutchinson combines description and analysis with admirable clarity of style and the various subjects discussed are presented in due order and concisely. Details of individuals and families and of particular events are particularly striking, as, for example, the behaviour of various classes of people at a party given by the author and designed to include and combine people from every level of society. My one criticism is that the inclusion of more case histories and particular incidents, allied with the actual comments of the people concerned, would have served to illustrate the points made better than any amount of description. In such small and conservative communities there must be many picturesque incidents, seen or recalled, and a use of these from time to time conveys the reality of life as much as, if not more than, the continual use of formal analysis.

AUDREY J. BUTT


This is an attempt to cover as much ground as is possible in a middle-size volume, and to give authoritative information on each section. So we have ten authors, ten styles and ten approaches, a certain amount of information and a great deal of propaganda and moral indignation. The common purpose of the authors does not seem to be 'understanding' minority groups, but rather moral persuasion directed at the intolerant majority. Sections heavily saturated with emotionally loaded words are interspersed with statistical information which is factual and probably objective, but lacks the human touch necessary for true understanding.

In spite of these shortcomings, the book is not without value, especially for the anthropologist. It presents some information on the scope of the problem of minority sub-cultures within the United States: the religious sub-culture of Catholicism, the ethnic groups of Indians, Negroes, Japanese and Puerto Ricans, and the peculiar combination of religious and racial elements which characterizes the Jews. The historical background of these groups and of their present status in the American society is given much more prominence in this volume than any attempt at psychological or sociological analysis. In fact there is hardly any psychology in this book—and too much preaching is bad psychology.

T. GRYGIER


48

Aside from giving a significant fragment of culture history, the value of this second edition of the history of scientific societies in the United States lies in the light which it throws on parallel developments in the sciences. As one might suspect, anthropology is not so well represented as some of the other sciences because part of its subject matter is taken to fall in the humanities and social sciences and therefore 'outside the scope of this book' (p. 112).

Even superficial knowledge indicates that the ties between the United States and Britain in respect of the development of scientific societies are closer than is ordinarily realized. Thus the American Ethnological Society and the Ethnological Society in this country were founded within a year of each other, 1842 and 1843 respectively, and both were preceded by societies devoted to 'antiquities.' A supplementary approach which handled only those societies in one subject would make this wider national coverage possible and anthropology could well be treated in this way. The very fact that anthropology crosses the boundaries between the sciences as classically defined would yield a valuable slant on modern culture history. Surely the time is ripe for a history of anthropological societies as such.

MARIAN W. SMITH

EUROPE

In its arrangement, Professor Richardson's book reflects a tendency in industrial studies to focus greater attention upon relationships within the workplace. Full employment has bred a spirit of independence amongst workpeople generally, in their relationships with managers and Trade Union officials. Management has, for
this and other reasons, become a more difficult job. More and more, research has been directed to the study of the social and psychological factors which affect relationships in factories, and its results have stimulated the development of new techniques of management designed to increase efficiency and promote greater co-operation.

To my knowledge, this is the first British introductory textbook on industrial relations which deals at all fully with these techniques. Nearly a third of the space is devoted to these matters, with sections on Personnel Management, Motion and Time Study, Profit Sharing and Co-partnership, and Joint Consultation. Various methods of incentive wage payment are also fully discussed.

But Professor Richardson does not neglect the institutional framework. The student who wishes for a concise and accurate description of the machinery of collective bargaining, of the structure of Trade Unions, and of the place of the State in our system, will find it here. He will also be introduced to some of the unsolved problems in the field, and will find an account of the attempts which are being made, in Britain and abroad, to solve them. Professor Richardson’s practical experience at the I.O., and within the British system, lend great authority to his views.

The book is marred by the too frequent intrusion of the author’s own ‘philosophy’ of industrial relations. There are too many ‘oughts’ and ‘shoulds.’ For example, the discussion of Joint Consultation reads in places like a list of ‘Do’s and Don’ts’ for prospective personnel managers. Since many of the issues touched upon are still controversial an account of these controversies would have been valuable. The absence of such an account gives parts of the book a certain flatness. I would have wished for more case material to illustrate the principles discussed. This did have enlarged the narrative. As it is, stretches of the book make heavy going for the student. I believe that these shortcomings go far to explain why An Introduction to the Study of Industrial Relations has had less than the success it deserves.

Strikes does not concentrate on workshop conflicts. Yet Mr. Knowles’s study, a detailed analysis of strike movements and their causes and consequences, helps explain why others have begun to do so. By using official statistics and the considerable descriptive literature on strikes, he is able to show a marked downward trend in the magnitude and duration of strikes in Britain, over the last 15 years or so. He also shows that in the same period strikes have tended to become slightly more frequent but shorter, involving less man-hours lost. All this reflects a change in the strategy and tactics of the trade unions in response to a changed political and economic climate. On the whole, the unions have adopted a more moderate attitude and employers have co-operated to improve the machinery of negotiation. But many of the short strikes that we have witnessed, particularly since the introduction of the 33 1/3% working week, have been ‘unofficial’ strikes, and in a number of cases they have taken the form of strikes against the Union. The persistence of ‘unofficial strikes’ can be partly explained as a protest against the tardiness typical of large-scale bureaucracy, or in terms of reluctance on the part of trade-union leaders to support strike movements. But these explanations, and explanations in terms of the movement of economic variables, will not suffice, and one has to consider what Knowles calls ‘the imponderables.’ Hundreds of workers have been known to ‘down tools’ over issues like the timing of tea breaks. These strikes call for a study of factory social structure, if they are to be adequately explained, or for a study of the motives of managers and workpeople. Mr. Knowles is aware of this, but it was not the purpose of his study to look closely at strikes of this kind. He contents himself with shrewd asides.

In addition to the analysis of trends, and of the causes and consequences of strikes, the book contains the best inventory that I know of the weapons which lie to the hand of workers, in their efforts to preserve or improve their wages and working conditions. Token strikes and sit-ins, the sit-down strike, sympathy strikes, sympathy strikes, etc., etc.; and the ‘by-forms’ of industrial warfare, ‘ca’ canny,’ working to rule, boycotts, union labels, and other means of bringing pressure on employers, are all fully discussed. The circumstances which dictate the choice of weapon are also indicated. This account makes fascinating reading, even for the sophisticated reader, for material is assembled from many periods and places.

In assessing the consequences of strikes, Knowles is able to demon-
seems to me to justify even their cautious comment (p. 81): 'Such a return can be considered satisfactory.'

When this book first appeared it was reviewed in the Welsh press unfavourably, because its conclusions were, it was said, already well known. This is not a valid criticism. More to the point is that the conclusions, although they cannot be disputed, are superficial, not well analysed, and drawn from doubtful evidence.

The authors might also be reproached for missing, in their discussion of the crisis brought to the Welsh way of life by prosperity, the prospect of unemployment and slump which has now overwhelmed their survey area. Despite this, it must be admitted that the authors have collated together information which, if treated critically, would form a useful shorthand introduction to anyone contemplating intensive study of a village or town in South-West Wales.

RONALD FRANKENBERG


This book is one of several reports sponsored by the Institute of Community Studies and deals with the structure of family life, especially in relation to the older members of the community. The enquiry was made in the district of Bethnal Green in East London. This painstaking and well documented study deserves the attention of those concerned with the many, and growing, problems of old age. The author's conclusion is that the enquiry suggests that the extended family—grandparent, parent, child—is slowly adjusting to new circumstances, not integrating. To me who spent many years on the borders of Bethnal Green the interview reports and quotations from diaries kept by old people (part of the appendix) provided particularly interesting reading; both are evidence of a task skilfully and sympathetically done. In spite of social change and the upheaval caused by two wars, family solidarity seems to have changed little since the early years of the century—'Mum and Dad' still remain at the centre of the family group.

ROBERT H. HYDE


This work by Gerhard Rohlfis provides a detailed survey of corbelled stone huts, cylindrical stone huts with conical stone roofs, terraced stone huts, and stone huts of similar types, largely from southern Italy, southern France, Spain and the Mediterranean region generally. Almost a hundred examples are illustrated by clear line drawings and photographs in a supplement of 24 plates. The sections dealing with the Mediterranean region, where the author has carried out field work over a number of years, are well documented and adequately treated but elsewhere an apparent lack of knowledge of the relevant literature has resulted in a somewhat distorted picture. This is particularly noticeable in the distribution map of corbelled stone huts in Europe, where, outside the Mediterranean area, the only other occurrences are mapped on a thin inset map of the British Isles, showing the corbelled huts of the Hebrides and south-west Ireland. No reference is made to the work of Francoise Henry on the corbelled huts of France and south-west Ireland, to the studies of Estyn Evans, Ake Campbell and R. H. Buchanan in Ireland, to the Welsh corbelled pigsties described by Forwerth Peate, or to the corbelled ash houses of Dartmoor, Derbyshire and elsewhere. Although these are not actually used as dwellings they are undoubtedly survivals of hut types and belong to the same class as the corbelled huts described by the author. Examples from Norway, Sweden and Iceland are briefly mentioned as an addendum but they are not included on the distribution map.

With so many localities the significance of the distribution of corbelled hut constructions is lost. When fully mapped, the area occupied by corbelled huts is strikingly similar to that of the neolithic megalithic collective tombs, indicating a strong connexion between the two. Further confusion arises from using the same symbol to indicate true corbelled beehives, circular terraced stone buildings and rectangular buildings with pyramidal stone roofs. It is by no means established that the terraced buildings of Minorca, Tarragona and the Dalmatian coast have the same origin as the corbelled beehives and until more detailed research has been carried out it would have been preferable if different symbols had been employed for the main classifications.

These comments refer either to methodological omissions rather than to the material actually presented and there is no doubt that this detailed summary of the literature on corbelled stone huts in the Mediterranean region will prove of extreme value to students of folk building, who will particularly appreciate the thorough photographic supplement. Read in conjunction with Francoise Henry's work in France and Ireland ('Early Irish Monasteries, Boat-Shaped Oratories and Beehive Huts,' County Louth Arch. J., Vol. XI, 1948, pp. 296-304; and 'Early Monasteries, Beehive Huts and Dry-Stone Dwellings in the Neighbourhood of Catherincorra and Waterville (Co. Kerry),' Proc. R. Ir. Acad., Vol. LVIII, 1957, pp. 145-166) and with the summary of the literature on corbelled huts published by R. H. Buchanan ('Corbelled Structures in Leicale, County Down,' Ulster J. Arch., Vol. XIX, 1936. pp. 92-112) this contribution provides a good overall picture of corbelled and allied buildings in Europe and further afield.

In the appendix Rohlfis mentions a number of occurrences of corbelled dwellings outside Europe, in such widely separated regions as Bolivia, Mexico, north Canada (the Eskimo igloo), Kurdistan and South Africa.

JAMES WALTON


Students of peasant agriculture will recall the excitement of M. W. Beresford's demonstration, ten years ago, that much of the ridge and furrow still visible in the modern fields of England is a relic of the strip system of land-holding and farming introduced by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Now Beresford has joined forces with Dr. St. Joseph, the Cambridge Curator in Aerial Photography, to produce a topography of medieval England documented by an intensive study in both local and national records and illustrated by a magnificent collection of air photographs.

The theme of the book is to suggest 'how the documentary and pictorial tools of research can and indeed must work in alliance,' especially in analysing and illustrating economic activity. As the authors say, this is not because 'Medieval man was an exclusively economic creature but because it is the visible and tangible remains of his existence which a camera records—buildings on which medieval man spent time and money, fields created and maintained for the sale of their produce, the face of nature scoured by the search for raw materials.'

Aerial photography has two functions, each with its own appropriate targets—that of discovery, and that of illustration. Both are demonstrated here. The reader's confidence in the evidence is first secured by comparing modern photographs with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps; the correspondence is a vivid reminder of the essential conservation of the rural landscape. But with conservation there may also be change, such as that from open fields and strip agriculture to compact, enclosed holdings or from arable to sheep-farming with a consequent decay and abandonment of villages. It is the casualties of this change, the ridge and furrow underlying the post-medieval hedges, and the earthworks of deserted villages which the air camera is now discovering for us.

In other aspects of topography—the shape and size of villages; the forms of medieval towns and their relation to markets, castles or churches; the traces of medieval roads, ports or industries—the aerial view serves chiefly to illustrate, more comprehensively than a ground view and more realistically than a map, what was already known. Indeed, many of these views would be meaningless without the documentation of historical records. Nevertheless, the examination of the appearance of so many medieval remains has led the authors to interesting conclusions about the original planting and subsequent growth of villages and towns. Another question in particular should take note of their conclusion (pp. 1358) that 'it may be questioned whether any system of classification [as of village plans] can ever be realistic enough to aid historical research
and indicate stages in the development of a village earlier than those known from documents.'

Medieval England, then, is a pioneering study in the exploration and exposition of medieval topography. One may regret the use of double columns and art paper making it a most trying book to read. Nevertheless, it adds most notably to the stature of the series of Cambridge Air Surveys.

LESLEY ALCOCK


This book has gathered together a reliable collection of material relating to Holy Wells in Wales from a wide range of published, manuscript and oral sources. The work has been arranged in two parts. The first consists of six chapters dealing with problems of antiquity, medieval and post-medieval associations and the whole range of belief and ritual associated with the wells, while the second part presents a most valuable classified, alphabetical list of the wells arranged on a county basis. The volume concludes with six distribution maps. A work of this kind was long overdue and we are especially grateful to Mr. Francis Jones not only for the list itself but also for his analytical study of the subject. He has done full justice to his subject and the book is a great addition to the study of Welsh folk culture and contains the most useful material for interpreting phenomena connected with sacred wells, not only in the Principality but also in other lands. The book would have been even more attractive had it contained a few well-chosen illustrations.

E. G. BOWEN


The late Professor Gruffydd deals only with one of the folklore problems presented by the Mabinogion, namely with the Welsh fairies. His conclusion that "the Arthuriad Legend with its Land of Féerie had not been evolved when the Mabinogion assumed their more or less final form..." is of great importance. Two arguments are not happily chosen: (1) Welsh stories about changelings derive, as Professor Streeter has pointed out before, from contact between an aboriginal people and the dominant race rather than from puckish fairies; (2) legends of women, cattle and mischievous monsters coming out of and returning to lakes are world-wide. They should be studied on a global scale (see MAN, 1953, 92). Final judgment on the theory that Gwern underwent a 'fire test' must await the further disentanglement of the story of Branwen.

E. ETLINGER


This is a survey of the prehistory not only of Europe but also of Egypt and the Fertile Crescent. Its subtitle is 'How and why the prehistoric barbarian societies of Europe behaved in a distinctly European way.' This way, it seems, is the way of technical progress, and while Childe tries to show that owing to their comparative freedom the craftsmen of South-East Europe were able to establish a tradition of continued progress while the rise of theocratic dictatorships had inhibited further progress in those countries of the Near East in which the crafts originated. It is at least doubtful if the growth of European civilization can be so simply explained.

There are some surprising statements. On p. 13 he says: 'I should like to suggest a distinction between chief and king... Chiefs interpret custom but are bound by it: kings create laws.' No such distinction can be drawn, and law-making is not normally a function of kings.

'But the real representation of the human form [i.e. in the caves] is not due to any incompetence of Magdalenian artists,' he says (p. 23), 'but to a peculiarity of the perceptual equipment of all savages and barbarians. Nothing deserving the title of human portraiture is older than the Narmer palette, the Urban Revolution.' Such competent artists could surely have drawn men had they wanted to.

'Before the end of Neolithic II the whole North European plain was dominated by warlike groups differentiated by divergent adjustment to local conditions expressed in peculiarities of ceramic decoration and burial rites' (p. 67). Burial rites might be adjusted to local conditions, in that there could be no cremation without wood, but surely not ceramic decoration.

Childe explains the depicted victories of Horus and the Horus kings as representing the conquest by a Falcon clan of the lands of other totemic clans (p. 84). This theory indicates a misconception of the nature of totemism: totemic clans are segments of tribes and never conquer each other's lands.

An odd slip is his citing of the 'Azadzi' as typical herdsmen (p. 136). The Azade have no cattle. But in spite of faults the book is like all Childe's—an interesting and scholarly one.

RAGLAN


The author of this book was a Swedish nobleman who, after moving to Prague, being converted to Roman Catholicism, and taking holy orders, undertook a journey to the Swedish Lapp in order to convert them to Christianity. Unknown to Swedish scientists his Latin manuscripts describing this journey have existed in Prague and Vienna, where they were found by the famous Swedish librarian Isak Collin some 20 years ago. The Vienna manuscript is the foundation of the present printed edition. The translation to Swedish has been performed by Professor John Granlund. It is a rather refreshing account of Lappish culture in the middle of the seventeenth century, describing different aspects of the life of the Lapps, such as journeys in ski after reindeer, catching wild reindeer, marriage customs, and shamanistic performances. There is scarcely any new information of significance here, apart from such interesting details as the remarkable description of a shaman's ecstatic trance. Like a modern ethnographer Körning sees the importance of the reindeer for the whole of Lappish culture.

ÄKE HULTKRantz


This is a demographic study, analysing the fluctuation of the Lappish population figures in Jämtland's lapmark in Sweden between 1730 and 1830. The author has had recourse to a rich archival material which he has treated in an exemplarily cautious and critical way. He finds that the Lapps almost doubled in number during the period, and ascribes this fact more to a high birth rate than to immigration of Lapps from the North—there is little support in the source material for the latter assumption.

ÄKE HULTKRantz


The cultural and social background of the visionary of San Nicandro is well depicted. Some details of his life story, which would assist a psychological study, can no longer be established, though Donato Manduzio died only ten years ago. The allies' arrival in the 'spur' of Italy had a remarkable impact on this small group of converts to Judaism. The whole text of Manduzio's journals and correspondence should soon be published.

E. ETLINGER
A STONE HEAD OF VARIANT TYPE AT ESIE, NIGERIA

Photographs: W. B. Fagg, 1958
During my current visit to Nigeria for the Yoruba Historical Research Scheme, I paid a visit on 11 November, 1958, to Esie in Ilorin Province, which I had previously visited in 1950, in order to study more closely the well-known collection of stone figures of uncertain provenance which were discovered in 1933 and are protected in a temporary shelter by the Department of Antiquities pending construction of a permanent building. This enormous collection of mostly broken carvings in a form of soapstone—usually said to number about 800, but apparently much exceeding this, and still being added to by excavation on the site—has been little visited by Europeans, but has been made widely known in a number of articles in periodicals, such as the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (F. de F. Daniel, 'The Stone Figures of Esie, Ilorin Province, Nigeria,' Vol. LXVII (1937), pp. 43–9), *Nigeria* (J. D. Clarke, 'The Stone Figures of Esie,' No. 14 (1938), pp. 106–8) and the *Burlington Magazine* (E. L. R. Meyerowitz, 'The Stone Figures of Esie in Nigeria,' Vol. LXXXII (1943), pp. 31–6). The first Europeans to report seeing them seem to have been the Revd. Father A. Simon of the Catholic Mission at Oro nearby and Mr. H. G. Ramshaw, the Inspector of C.M.S. Schools, Ibadan.

Speculation on the origin of these sculptures is by no means at an end. Though sited in Yoruba country, they are not far from the southern borders of Nupeland, and though they are often assumed to be Yoruba, a Nupe origin (before the conversion of the Nupe to Islam in the early nineteenth century) is not to be ruled out, especially as the techniques with which the heads are copiously embellished are nearer to the Nupe than to the Yoruba style of tribal marking at the present day (though none so elaborate are now to be found in the area). Some of the figures have been thought to represent Mfuba or priests of Shango, the Yoruba god of thunder, but in Yoruba tradition Shango himself came from the Takpa or Nupe. Nothing is known about the style of Nupe round sculpture in pre-Islamic times, while Yoruba stone sculpture is rare and does not conform to a single style as does the wood sculpture. The Esie works are on the whole homogeneous in scale and style, although considerable variations in quality and treatment indicate the presence of several or many hands.

The one notable exception to this homogeneity is the head illustrated in Plate C and, together with some more typical heads and figures, in fig. 1; my attention was first directed to it, before my visit in 1950, by the Revd. Father L. K. Carroll. It is about 11 inches high and thus approximates to life size; no others approach it in scale. It is so conspicuously in a different style that it seems unprofitable to detail the differences. It may be from a figure, but I saw no torso large enough to match it. The peculiar flatness of the back of the head also sets it apart from the other heads, in which the sculptural emphasis is rather on the profile. I do not remember any parallel for the asymmetrical keloids represented between ears and eyes, or for the sword or dagger of indeterminate length on the forehead (in the usual position of the spray or crest on a Yoruba king's crown).

If, as seems highly probable, this head does not by origin belong to the Esie group, then we are bound to look first to Ife, the only other known centre of stone sculpture for some hundreds of miles around. The most important stone figure found at Ife is the so-called Idena ('watchman') in the Igbo Ora, lately published in MAN by Mr. Frank Willett (1958, 187, Plate L), and comparison of the two certainly suggests a similarity or affinity both of general treatment and in certain particular features, such as the eye borders and the ears. Moreover, the degenerate form of stone sculpture carried on at Ife up to about the beginning of this century (perhaps the best example of which is the soapstone figure variously called Alafere and Moremi and illustrated by Bertho and Mauny in their valuable account of Ife stone carvings in *Notes Africaines*, No. 56, Dakar, 1952, pp. 97–115, fig. 11) could well be derived from carvings such as the subject of this note—which I should therefore guess to be intermediate in date between the 'classical' period of Ife and modern times.

* With Plate C and a text figure
SOME FUNCTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE HANDAXE*

by

MERRICK POSNANSKY, B.A., DIP.Arch.(Cantab.), PH.D.

Curator, The Uganda Museum, Kampala

61 The use of the handaxe and other primary paleolithic tools has often intrigued the prehistorian. The terms handaxe, chopping tool, scraper, etc., are all functional terms as compared to the more non-committal descriptive terms of the French coup-de-poing, bifae or pointe. It is commonly agreed that the handaxe was some form of unhafted all-purpose tool.

The often rounded nature of the point and its unbattered condition in used but unrolled implements indicates that the point was not the most important feature of the handaxe. Its derivative forms like the cleaver, and to a certain extent the more pointed ficos and the later Acheulian, true Micoquian handaxes, would seem to be specialized tools in which the point and the 'cleaving' edge were the most important features. It is also generally agreed that the edge is the more important feature of the handaxe and that the tool must primarily have served as a scraping and cutting tool, though the larger handaxes, used in two-handed fashion, may have been used as digging or grubbing tools. The evolution of the handaxe is not that of form change. The generally pear or oval form of the Abbevillian or Early Acheulian handaxe is similar to the more evolved Acheulian handaxes. The handaxe becomes thinner, the flaking flatter, the edge less sinuous, and the impression gained is that the edge is improved by means of the greater use of the soft percutor and the technical advance of 'turning the edge.' The handaxe in short becomes a more efficient cutting tool.

The function of the handaxe has rarely been studied from an objective point of view. Basically it consists of two converging edges, which have as a rule been formed by flaking from both faces. The thickness of the axe depends on the length of the flakes removed, combined with the angle left between the two faces; the longer the flakes and the smaller the angle the thinner will be the resultant handaxe. The convergence of the two edges means that the axe becomes progressively thinner towards the point. In a perfectly symmetrical axe the flakes from both edges converge to form a median ridge (fig. 1, above) where the cross section is thickest. Provided that the flaking from both faces is similar the axe will have a symmetrical lensoid to lozengical cross section and the edge will be central to both faces.

Fig. 1. Handaxe forms

From a study of the Turton collection of flint and quartzite handaxes from the Trent Valley and of a collection of 118 flint handaxes from Furze Platt in Wollaton Park Museum, Nottingham, it was found that very few are perfectly symmetrical. Among the asymmetrical handaxes the asymmetry consists of various or all of the following features: (1) unequal development of the two cutting edges with regard to absolute length; (2) a disparity between the opposing interfacial angles giving rise to an asymmetrical and non-central median ridge; (3) an asymmetry of section whereby the cutting edge is non-central to the two faces. The most common form of asymmetry of section is one in which one face is flat and the other keeled resulting in a plano-convex tool. This plano-convexity can be caused either by the nature of the raw material, as where it is tabular, or from differences in the length and flatness of the flakes removed from the opposing faces. This asymmetry fundamentally affects the handaxe as a cutting tool. A cutting edge is the more effective where the edge is long and straight, the interfacial angle comparatively small and the median ridge non-central. This last factor is not essential, but it is found that the displacement of the weight away from the cutting edge, which a non-central median ridge implies, increases the efficiency for cutting. It is often found that a handaxe is asymmetrical because one cutting edge is more developed than the other.

From the subjective point of view it was found that the asymmetry made it easier to use in one hand than the other. I divided up 40 complete handaxes in the Turton collection into a group easier to use in the right hand, if it was intended to use the handaxe for cutting, a group easier to use in the left hand and a group which could just as well be used in one hand as in the other. The last group repre-
sented the more symmetrical of the handaxes in point both of the equal development of both edges, with regard to length, and of the symmetry of the cross section. Two other people were independently asked to divide the collection into the three groups, neither being familiar with handaxes, and both were asked to divide the handaxes from the aspect of the ease of handling and the effectiveness of the tools for cutting. The results were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Right-handed</th>
<th>Left-handed</th>
<th>Handedness not determinable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. per cent.</td>
<td>No. per cent.</td>
<td>No. per cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The writer</td>
<td>14 35</td>
<td>5 12.5</td>
<td>21 52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observer A</td>
<td>15 37.5</td>
<td>6 15</td>
<td>19 47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observer B</td>
<td>9 22.5</td>
<td>4 10</td>
<td>27 67.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above figures, though small, show a certain conformity as regards the proportion of left-handed to right-handed handaxes and also a remarkably constant number of left-handed handaxes. There seems to be sufficient evidence from the above results to show that handedness did exist in handaxes. The handaxes were then studied with regard to handedness, but an attempt was made to reduce the subjective factor. In a handaxe in which (a) one edge only is well developed, (b) the median ridge is not central and (c) the section is asymmetrical, one face being flatter than the other, the most efficient method of cutting is one in which the butt of the tool is held in the palm of the hand with the fingers splayed around the blunter of the two edges and the flat face of the tool faces the inner cut face. The thinnest portion of the handaxe commences the cut. This wedge-like aspect of a cutting tool is of course present in woodworking tools like the adze and the chisel in which the flat part works against the fixed portion of the object being cut. This salient feature of a cutting tool designed for one-handed use enables us to divide the truly asymmetrical handaxes into ones designed for usage in the left hand and others designed for right-handed use. Fig. 1 contrasts the features of both axes with a purely symmetrical handaxe possessing two cutting edges.

The Furze Platt collection was then examined using the above criteria and the following results obtained: 53 (44.9 per cent.) symmetrical, to allow of usage by either hand; 37 (31.3 per cent.) right-handed; 20 (17 per cent.) left-handed; 8 (6.8 per cent.) in which the asymmetry was not so pronounced as to make them impossible to use in either hand, though six possessed left-handed and two right-handed features. These figures, though relatively small, bear a certain similarity to those arrived at from the more subjective experiment. In both cases half the total number possessed sufficient symmetry to allow usage by either hand, whilst "left-handed" handaxes formed a significant minority of the asymmetrical handaxes.

The results of these experiments are also matched by a subjective analysis of many hundreds of handaxes in lava from Ologesalie, Kenya. Though the raw material seems to have given rise to less asymmetrical handaxes the proportions are similar between left-handed and right-handed handaxes.

Numerous assertions have been made about handedness in prehistoric man. De Mortillet (1885), 5 on the evidence of the flaking of handaxes, thought Lower Paleolithic man to have been right-handed, though in a later (1890) study of neolithic scrapers he found evidence for more left-handedness than right-handedness. Wilson (1885 and 1886) also concluded from the flaking that paleolithic man was right-handed, though from his study of primitive art he found evidence of a greater amount of sinistrality. Johnson and Wright (1906) from a study of the positions of the cortex on neolithic tools concluded that there was evidence for a more or less equal division between left-handed and right-handed people in neolithic times. Brinton (1896) studied modern American stone-age cultures and concluded from the secondary flaking on the tools that 33 per cent. were left-handed. The anthropologists' have differed considerably in their verdicts on modern primitive tool-users though the general conclusion seems to be that there is an absence of definite dextrality and that sinistral preferences are often quite prevalent.

The only major work on handedness in paleolithic man has been by Sarasin (1918), who, to some extent following Cunningham (1902), worked from the subjective angle of the ease of handling the tools in order to determine left-handedness and right-handedness. He examined numerous Mousterian scrapers and sorted out their asymmetry by resting implements of plano-convex form on the flake surface, in order to decide which side was the scraper edge. He concluded from a study of these pieces that there was an equality of numbers between left-handed and right-handed tools. Classing together both scrapers and points, he found, from three separate counts of 426 pieces, 34 per cent. to be symmetrical, 34 per cent. to show right-handed use and 32 per cent. to show left-handed use. He also divided a collection of 17 French and Egyptian handaxes into 8 left-handed and 9 right-handed tools. Unfortunately most of Sarasin's arguments were based on modes of prehension and are unrelated to the function of the tools which he described; this is particularly so with his detailed statistics of Mousterian scrapers. Barnes (1932) has shown that scrapers can be used either towards or away from the operator depending on the nature of the tool, the job in hand and any considerations regarding the wear of the tool. This fact seriously affects Sarasin's conclusions. What Sarasin did prove was the absence of a preponderant right-handedness. The emphasis on right-handedness, as Blau (1946) has also shown, only came when the specialization in such tools as the single-edge bronze sickle made it desirable from practical considerations that there be a one-sided orientation of society. The final preponderance of right-handedness is explained by the medical psychologists as due to sociological considerations. Amongst primitive peoples where tool specialization is at a minimum, ambilaterality rather than ambidexterity is characteristic.

The present proportion of left-handedness in European society is between 5 and 15 per cent. of a given community.
The results of the study of the handaxes indicate that Lower Paleolithic tools were certainly made for left-handed as well as for right-handed use, but that a large proportion could be used just as well in either hand. This to some extent supports Blau's contention that in primitive man 'there exists a bilateral or equal modicum of efficiency' between the two hands. The number of tools better suited to left-handed usage is larger than the 5-15 per cent. of the total, which agrees with the arguments of Blau and Sarasin that right-handedness only became predominant following the increasing specialization of tool forms in the Bronze Age.

The handaxe would also serve as a scraper of various forms and the frequency of the point flaked mainly from the one face could indicate that the point was often utilized as a form of specialized scraper of the nosed variety. A further function of the handaxe may have been that of a cutting tool. The frequently thin point of many evolved Middle Acheulian handaxes could be explained by the need for a thinner cutting tool.

The most asymmetrical handaxes are not completely one-edged; the second edge would help to provide a thin point for the tool and would often be suitable as a scraper edge. Of the various Middle Paleolithic flake tools there is an increase in specialized tools with the elaboration of techniques of flaking inherent in the prepared core; of the Lower Paleolithic flake tools, however, the lack of specialized forms is noticeable; many would seem just as easily usable as scrapers or as cutting tools.

Notes

1 On the use of this 'cleaving' edge there is some difference of opinion; 'experiments show that the cleaver makes the ideal skinning and flaying tool,' L. S. B. Leakey, Adam's Ancestors, London, 1953, p. 58; 'this is essentially a tool designed for chopping and it is tempting to see in it a wood-working or meat-chopping tool,' J. D. Clark, Actes du Congrès Pan Africain de Préhistoire, IV Session, Paris, 1952, p. 360.

2 It is noticeable that many African handaxes, particularly those on large flakes, are very large in size, some from Ihimila Iringa, Tanganyika being as large as 15 to 16 inches in length and 9 lb. in weight (C. Van Riet Lowe, S. Afr. Arch. Bull., Vol. VI, no. 24 (1951), p. 4).


4 The Turton Collection is a large private collection of Lower and Middle Paleolithic material from the Trent Valley, see a forthcoming paper on 'The Lower and Middle Paleolithic Cultures of the East Midlands.' All the handaxes studied in this survey are of Early to Middle Acheulian facies (Breuil, Acheul II-IV).

5 G. de Mortillet, La préhistoire antérieure de l'homme, Paris, 1883.


16 A. Blau, op. cit., p. 46.


ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

Floating Villages: Chinese Fishermen in Hong Kong.

By Miss Barbara E. Ward, Birkbeck College. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 23 October 1958

Out of a total population estimated at more than two and a half million, the Boat People of Hong Kong are reckoned to number rather more than 100,000. Of these about one-half gain their livelihood from fishing; the rest are engaged in various kinds of transport and in trading. About half the fishing people are engaged in deep-sea work, trawling and longlining; the remaining 25,000 or so are inshore fishermen (which term includes fisherwomen and fishchildren, too).

All these Boat People are water dwellers, owning no property ashore and knowing no other home than the traditional craft which are at the same time their major pieces of capital equipment. Water dwellers of a similar kind are to be found in other parts of the Far East and China. Those of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, numbering in all perhaps a million or more, are often known in Chinese by two ideographs usually transliterated Tanka and translated 'egg families.' The origin of this term is obscure, but its connotation is regarded by the Boat People themselves as decidedly derogatory and they resent its use in the mouths of landsmen. The Tanka of Hong Kong all speak a more or less marked dialect of Cantonese.

Chinese fishing methods are various, advanced and highly specialized. Usually a man's boats, gear and skills are all strictly adapted to only one of a quite large number of existing methods, with the result that a man born on, say, a trawler will usually remain a trawlerman all his life, a long-liner a long-liner, and so on. Similarly the daughter of a trawlerman usually marries a trawlerman's son, and so on. Inshore fishing methods are several: the most important being night-time purse-seining and day-time small-scale long-lining, Gill-netting and shrimp trawling. Around the coasts of the Colony of Hong Kong are several floating communities of inshore fishermen.

These floating communities often, though not always, are to be found anchored alongside stone-built villages of landsmen (usually Hakka-speaking). Even if there is no land village, there is likely to be some open space used for net-drying, perhaps some rude hut for storage, possibly vats for dyeing nets and sails, almost always some ritual centre or centres. In the anchorage each boat has its permanent berth, each boat-owner has his customary net-drying space ashore, and the temple, where they exist, are invariably dedicated to some fisherman's deity and administered
by committees of fishermen. Local tradition usually maintains that the forefathers of the present fishermen came to the site first, before there were any landsmen there, and genealogies tend to bear out this claim. In short, the anchorages are floating villages, localized communities, not as might have been expected and as the popular stereotype has it simply the occasional stopping places of unpredictably wandering 'water gypsies.'

The factors which force these Chinese fishing people to confine themselves, narrowing down their potentially almost unbounded choice of residence to one or other small anchorage, are of several kinds—technological, economic, ritual—and they have concomitants in the fields of kinship and marriage and what can be loosely called the local political and administrative structure. Probably most important are the economic factors. These make it essential for a boat-owner to have more or less permanent credit arrangements with both fish dealers and shopkeepers. Credit is only granted on personal knowledge, and thus a fisherman away from his 'home base' is a fisherman who cannot long survive. The fishermen themselves, though aware of this economic necessity, are more likely to express their localization in terms of the supernatural protection afforded to them by the 'good "Fung Shui"' of their own anchorage and the gracious favour of the deity of their own home temple to whose worship they pay elaborate attention.

# SHORTER NOTES

Racial Relationships in South Wales. By Roland Jones. With two text figures and two tables

The source of the following physico-anthropological data is a random sample taken from the industrial populations of the Rhymney, Tredegar, Ebbw Vale and Brynmawr Urban Districts in the north-eastern part of the South Wales coalfield (see fig. 1). Head and stature measurements were taken from 300 males and 434 individuals were blood-grouped. In addition, details of grandparentage were recorded for each individual (fig. 2) which clearly indicate that, on the sample evidence, there is practically no 'local' population in this area, using the word 'local' in the sense that all four grandparents of any individual were born in the locality. The population, therefore, is almost entirely an immigrant one, its origins lying mainly in south and west Wales.

Fig. 1. Sketch map of the South Wales coalfield

An attempt was therefore made to determine more precisely the racial relationships between this population and three representative Welsh populations using external phenotypes and the ABO blood groups as yardsticks or testing mechanisms. The three Welsh populations were selected from published series for North Wales, Central Wales and South Wales respectively and the relevant anatomical and blood-group data are set out in Tables I and II.

Fig. 2. Grandparentage of the sample surveyed

There is, however, a discrepancy in the U.D. blood-group data. Nearly half of the individuals in the sample held blood-donorship cards and there can be no question of the accuracy of this material but the remaining 230 individuals were tested by me, using the simple slide test which is held to be only 95 per cent. accurate. The 5 per cent. of errors are most probably group A classified as O, so that allowance must be made for the fact that the O phenotype percentage is almost certainly too high by 2–3 per cent. and the A frequency correspondingly too low.

From the statistical analysis of the anatomical data a number of significant and probably significant differences emerge between the U.D. sample and the three Welsh populations. There is some
indication of a pattern in these differences. Both the North Dyfi and the North Carmarthen samples, representing north and south Wales respectively, differ significantly from the U.D. sample in three characters, head length, cephalic index and stature, while the Plynlimon sample from Central Wales differs only in stature. Naturally, all the actual differences are small and do not distinguish between major racial types, but the evidence does suggest that the U.D. populations are most closely related, racially, to the peoples of the Central Welsh moorlands.

This is somewhat paradoxical in view of the fact that the grandparent map (fig. 2) shows that the large majority of individuals in the coalfield population originated in areas other than the moorlands, that is, in south and west Wales, of which the North Carmarthen sample is representative. However, the ABO blood-group evidence appears to substantiate these racial associations. The phenotype percentages (Table II) for the U.D. sample clearly show the high O, low A group frequencies which are the hallmarks of moorland Welsh populations. The statistical analysis of the blood-group data reveals only one probably significant difference between my sample and the North Carmarthen sample. The latter has less O blood and more A blood, and while the actual difference is small, it still suggests close racial associations between the industrial populations in the north-eastern part of the coalfield and the populations of the Welsh moorlands. This relationship is particularly well marked in the case of the Central Welsh population, especially when the discrepancy in my blood-group data is accounted for.

On the strength of the evidence here provided these racial associations are a matter of tendency, not of proof. Nevertheless, when considered from the point of view of population origins, the statistical analysis of the anatomical data and the ABO blood-group frequencies clearly suggest that selection in favour of moorland racial elements, that is, slightly more pronounced long-headedness and high O gene frequencies, has occurred in the population of the Urban Districts. With the present knowledge of human genetics it is impossible to judge how or why these selective agencies operate. However, C. S. Coon and Professor Fleure have noticed the predominance of long-headed brunes in many industrial populations in Britain. Therefore, the suggestion put forward by Professor E. G. Bowen, that this type can resist urban difficulties rather well, gains added significance from this study of racial relationships in South Wales.

References


Coon, C. S., 'The Races of Europe,' 1939.

Mourant, A. E., 'Blood Groups and Human Evolution,' Presidential Address to Section H of British Association, 1956.


Note

Watkin and others have recorded high B-group frequencies for the populations of the Welsh moorlands, but it was not felt to be an essential contribution to the present argument. It is worth noting, however, that the U.D. sample does reveal a high B frequency and that 75 per cent of the B group individuals in the sample originated in moorland areas.

Graphical Methods of Depicting Cultural Development.

By Professor L. S. Palmer, D.Sc., Ph.D., Hon. Curator, Wells Museum, Somerset. With two text figures

In recent years much has been written on the controversial question of the mechanism underlying man's cultural development; a development that cannot be dissociated from his physical evolution.

The late Professor V. Gordon Childe's paper on 'The Evolution of Society' and Professor Leslie A. White's contribution entitled 'Evolution and Diffusion,' both of which appeared in the same volume of *Antiquity,* help to crystallize the views of the prevailing schools of thought in this country and in America. They also clarify the nature of the problem which has confronted social anthropologists for over a century. The problem may be appreciated by asking the question: 'Are there laws of cultural development?' If the answer is in the affirmative, then there must necessarily be some underlying mechanisms controlling and directing cultural development along the path or paths defined by the laws. If the answer is in the negative, then cultural development will be subject to random causes, the effects of which will be equally random and therefore subject to no regular laws.

It is obviously important that there should be agreement as to the meaning of 'law' in this context. In this paper the generally accepted meaning of the word when applied to the natural laws of physics is assumed. That is, a law is considered to be the verbal expression of a quantitative relationship between two or more variables. In the particular case of man's physical evolution or cultural development, one variable must be the measurable criterion of man's physique or of his culture and the other variable is time.

That man's physical development in the past has been subject to a regular law or laws has long been recognized. Lamarck and Darwin in the early nineteenth century realized that the changes in man's morphology had not been the result of random causes, but had occurred regularly with time. Darwin propounded a mechanism by which a law of man's physical evolution could be put on a rational basis. Since then our knowledge of the processes of evolution has steadily increased. Darwin's fundamental ideas, particularly his theory of natural selection leading to the gradual adaptation to environment, are still acceptable; but the mechanisms producing the variations from which selection can be made have only recently been discovered.

The biological 'atom'—the gene—is now invoked as the cause of those variations which arise not only between members of the same family but also between individuals of different races. Genes

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**Table I. Anatomical Observations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Districts</th>
<th>North Dyfi</th>
<th>Plynlimon</th>
<th>North Carmns.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Head Length</td>
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**Table II. ABO Blood-Group Frequencies**

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<th>O</th>
<th>AB</th>
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<td>North Carmarthenshire</td>
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<td>407</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**References**


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The biological 'atom'—the gene—is now invoked as the cause of those variations which arise not only between members of the same family but also between individuals of different races. Genes
and gene combinations suffer changes, or mutations as they are called, due to several causes; such, for example, as exposure to abnormal intensities of electromagnetic radiations. When the effects of genes and gene mutations are coupled with Darwinian natural selection, there is a rational basis for a law of evolution. The rare exceptions arise when inexplicable random mutations produce abnormal types: a process analogous to quantum jumps in physics. Such occurrences are however negligibly few when compared with the majority of individuals who develop according to recognized laws of physical evolution. Although extremely rare, the advent of abnormal types may have effects out of all proportion to their numbers.

Only recently has this normal and natural development of man been subject to quantitative measurements and only then to a very limited extent. It is obviously possible to do this at least with certain morphological changes that have occurred in man during the past million years. For example, it is a relatively simple matter to plot the volume of his skull against the time in years B.C. or A.D. because modern techniques have enabled the dates of most of the well-known prehistoric skulls to be determined with a sufficient degree of accuracy. In this way the law of evolution of the size of the human skull can be depicted graphically (Curve A, fig. 1).

**Fig. 1. Graphs of Man's Physical and Cultural Development**

The slope of the graph at any point will obviously give the rate of change in man's skull capacity at that particular time.

From these considerations it is clear that the laws of evolution that Darwin realized can be established on a quantitative basis comparable with the laws associated with the so-called exact sciences.

It is now possible to reword our question in a more precise form, namely: 'Are there laws of cultural development comparable with, but not necessarily similar to, those laws applicable to man's physical evolution?'

Before attempting to answer this question, it is desirable to reconsider the problem of cultural development as it has been outlined by Professors Gordon Childe and Leslie White in their respective papers cited above.

The question in terms of Gordon Childe's discussion may be restated thus: Can the modified Darwinian mechanisms of physical evolution be invoked to explain cultural development? He points out the dangers and difficulties of doing this unless the dissimilarities between the processes of physical evolution and those underlying cultural development are fully appreciated. Underlying both there is a 'natural' process—that of selection. The particular physical or morphological variants in man which are selected for development are those which enable him to 'fit' his environment in the best way. Similarly, the more enduring variants of his culture, for example his artifacts, are those which best 'fit' the purpose for which they were designed. Gene mutations which produce the variants in man's physique are 'replaced by discoveries and inventions.' These produce the variations in artifacts, institutions, etc., upon which natural selection operates in the mechanism of cultural development.

A further point stressed by Professor Childe is the difference in the methods by which gene mutations and cultural inventions are transmitted. The former are transmitted genetically to direct descendants—a relatively slow process—whilst the latter are diffused by the more rapid process of 'precept and example.' This diffusion of culture applies not only to direct descendants 'but to all his contemporaries and fellows.'

These important distinctions show that, if there is a law of cultural development, it will be very different from that of physical evolution. As Childe puts it, 'the selective process may be so much accelerated that its very character is changed.'

Professor Childe also points out that typologies of artifacts or hierarchical series may indicate qualitative graduations of culture, but that the efficiency of a tool (that is, its evolutionary fitness) is not a simple function of the time. Consequently 'its survival cannot . . . be predicted from the data available . . .'. He then concludes that 'no analogy between the evolution of species and the evolution of societies is valid.'

This must necessarily be so unless some measurable criteria of culture can be found which are comparable with osteometric data in physical evolution. Furthermore, the changes in such criteria would have to be related to the time in a known way.

Professor White's paper, after discussing past theories, epitomizes the situation by saying that the 'evolutionists' explain the occurrence of like cultures in non-contiguous localities by independent development arising from the inherent similarities in all men; whilst the 'diffusionists' favour the idea that normal men are uninnventive but once a new idea arises then it readily and quickly spreads or diffuses. But White points out that diffusion only takes place after the new idea has been developed where it was first initiated. This dual process is illustrated by reference to metallurgy and the alphabet both of which must have been developed before they were diffused. In fact White sums up the situation by expressing the view that 'both these processes of culture change are universal and fundamental.'

Here therefore is a dual mechanism quite similar to that expressed by Professor Childe who replaces gene mutations by cultural inventions which are then rapidly diffused by 'precept and example.'

Our problem has now been reduced to the quantitative determination of the law of diffusion of culture; the diffusion taking place after a new cultural discovery has been made.

There is now an obvious link between physical evolution and cultural development. Randomly mutated genes may lead to the development of a genius; a genius may then produce an invention which, if 'fit,' will survive and benefit the whole community by diffusion. This is therefore the fundamental mechanism underlying cultural development which may be summarized thus: randomly mutated genes in an individual may cause the growth of a genius, and the random occurrence of a genius in a community may cause the development of a culture. A genius (or an idiot) from this point of view may be looked upon as a 'randomly mutated individual.'

The culture of all highly civilized countries, if not borrowed through diffusion, is invariably the result of its rare geniuses. In this connexion it is interesting to refer to a totally different field of culture and to recall the remarks made by Mr. T. E. Goldup, C.B.E., a past President of the Institute of Electrical Engineers, who, in his recent presidential address said: 'I cannot conceive that any machine will ever replace the relatively few geniuses upon whose vision and creative ability the evolution of
our civilization depends.' Consequently, any country which encourages a uniform education system that tends to inhibit the development of a potential genius must itself suffer in the long run or depend on cultural developments diffused from foreign countries.

To return to the law of diffusion, Childe has shown that the study of any single artifact, or for that matter any single class of objects such as pottery or brooches, cannot lead to a knowledge of any law of cultural development. Such studies merely give a qualitative picture of certain material changes that have taken place with time. As White has said, the ideal cultural criterion would be the energy consumed per head per annum and to plot this against time. But the measurement of such a criterion is obviously impracticable. Nevertheless there are some criteria directly related to culture that can be enumerated and plotted against time. One criterion is the number of materials that man has brought under his control during any given time, and another is his degree of social specialization as measured by the number of industrial occupations upon which the members of a community are severally engaged at any given time. These have been enumerated for specific times throughout the period of man's evolution in north-west Europe. The resulting graph (Curve B, fig. 1) shows the rapid acceleration which is known to characterize cultural development when determined by the mechanism of diffusion.

The general upward tendency of the graph seems to commence somewhere about 50,000 B.P. (before the present). After this time the smoothness of the curve is more apparent than real because new factors arose which influence its gradient. These are discussed below. It will be apparent that the process of diffusion is not merely a question of the transmission of knowledge, because one invention necessarily leads to many others. The discovery of glass was requisite before glazed windows and teapots could be invented. Similarly the invention of the wheel preceded mechanical clocks and motor cars. Consequently it is to be expected that any cultural development graph would show the ever increasing rate depicted in Curve B of fig. 1.

This law of cultural development in Europe is common to most countries in the zone of a rigorous moderately cold ameliorating climate. From such a graph the control of nuclear energy and the introduction of space travel are events the magnitudes of which may well have been anticipated. It is not appropriate here to discuss possible reasons why Egyptian culture preceded that of north-west Europe by over 4,000 years; nor is it relevant to refer to the lack of acceleration that typifies the cultural development of the Australian aborigine.

It is however not without interest to realize that in Europe about 50,000 B.C. there was a rapid upward change in the physical evolution graph for an anatomical measurement associated with the speech function. That articulate speech is one of the factors influencing cultural diffusion has been emphasized by White. This is one of the several correlations that can be deduced by comparing graphical representations of the laws of physical evolution on the one hand with those for cultural diffusion on the other. That these two aspects of man's development cannot be entirely independent is axiomatic. But the full extent and significance of their interdependence has yet to be determined.

With the rapidly rising graph such as Curve B, increases of gradient are not readily visible. But abnormal increases of gradient must have occurred at those times when agriculture was introduced into north-west Europe and when the facilities for trade and transport were improved. When the former happened about the beginning of neolithic times and the latter about the beginning of historic times, graphical discontinuities would be produced because these events would cause abnormal increases in the numbers both of materials and of occupations—the ordinates of the graph. In other words, discontinuities occurred when the food-gathering of paleolithic peoples was replaced by the food-production of the neolithic and metal-age folk and when, in historic times, food-production was supplemented by food-purchase and importation from other countries.

It was not thought of at the time when Curve B was originally produced that the discontinuities inherent in it could be 'magnified' by a different method of plotting the data. In a private communication Dr. M. L. R. Pettersson pointed out that a graph obtained by plotting the logarithms of both the ordinates and the abscissae would result in a form of curve in which the above important discontinuities would be clearly emphasized. When this is done, the Curve B of fig. 1 takes the form shown in fig. 2, both of which are plotted from the data in Tables IV and VIII cited above. This graph shows up the cultural discontinuities caused (1) when food-producing replaced food-gathering about 5,000 B.P., and (2) when food-producing was supplemented by food-importing about 2,000 B.P.

![Fig. 2. Log/Log plot of Curve 'B' of Fig. 1.](image_url)

From the foregoing considerations it is believed that quantitative treatments of physical evolution and cultural development may usefully supplement the conclusions that have arisen from recent philosophical discussions.

As more discoveries are made, so more material will become available for measurement and the more accurate will become our knowledge of the laws of evolution. Then, apart from unpredictable catastrophes, it should be possible to measure the rates of man's physical evolution and cultural development with sufficient accuracy to predict the probable course of man's journey into the immediate future.

**Notes**

5. Palmer, op. cit., Tables IV and VIII and fig. 54.
6. Palmer, loc. cit., fig. 1, curve 2.

In a previous note ('A Battle Axe from Habban,' MAN, 1953, 176) I referred to the ingenious padlock known as Kufl Ghuthaimi, or Ghuthaim lock, which is in use in Southern Arabia. C. v. Landberg, Dialletes (Leiden, 1901), Vol. I, p. 85, has already published a note on this type of lock with drawings, but his study is so inaccessible to any but specialists that it has seemed worth while to publish this example which I purchased in the Hadrami town of Shibam. About the same time I bought four keys for Ghuthaimi locks from a junk merchant in Shibam market.

The padlock, No. 48.1972 in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, is illustrated with its key in position in its channel. The part of the padlock which can be wholly withdrawn appears in the half-disengaged position on the right of the photograph. The free ends of the bars which act as a spring, and catch inside the box of the lock, can be perceived on its lower leg. The key is inserted at the left-hand side of the box of the padlock where a small groove shows in the photograph in the lower ridge of the key channel. When the lock is closed, i.e. when the right section is rammed home, it can be opened by drawing the key to the right end of its channel; this releases the spring bars.

The padlock and four keys (known as iklid (Nos. 48.1942a-d)) are all made of iron, the lock showing traces of brass at the joints and elsewhere. The latter has been decorated with wavy lines scratched on the side of the box, and it bears the inscription 'Aml Ghuthaimi, the work of Ghuthaim.' According to landberg the Al Ghuthaim come from the East Yemenite town of Harib, and, writing in 1901, he states that some of them were still working at San's, capital of the Yemen. I doubt if these locks are made today because, being entirely hand-made, they are expensive, and cheap Indian or European padlocks are bought instead. These last are called in Hadramawt kufl abu hitz, amulet locks, because their shape reminds the Arab of leather amulets worn on the arm, or silver amulets worn round the neck. It may be remarked that in ancient Arabian literature, more particularly in the verse, weapons and other objects are not infrequently described by the name of the craftsman famed for his skill in their manufacture. The commentaries usually give the name of an individual craftsman as the origin of the appellation, but it is more likely to be the name of a family group engaged in the craft. To the Hadrami certain family names immediately suggest certain trades or crafts.

The keys, which seem to have been ornamented with some tooled work after forging, are of two distinct types. One wonders whether the two inner specimens, which differ from the other three keys, are of local Hadram manufacture or represent a less developed form than the rest.

FIG. 1. PADLOCK AND KEYS FROM SOUTHERN ARABIA

Photograph: Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology

The Ghuthaimi padlock is made in various sizes, this being the largest I have actually seen. In Shibam and elsewhere in the Aden Protectorates they are used to padlock the doors of shops in the market. All those in Shibam must, I think, have been imported from the Yemen by caravan from Harib. Wooden locks are of course still very much in use, and manufactured to this day. I am again indebted to the courtesy of Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell for the photograph and permission to publish it; he showed me a Korean padlock which works on a similar principle, also in the Museum.

CORRESPONDENCE


Sir,—In 1954 there was discussion in MAN on a suggested interpretation of the designs characteristic of some shields from the Trobriand Islands. I note that the interpretation given by Dr. E. R. Leach has evoked some correspondence including a recent letter in MAN (1958, 90).

I have no personal knowledge of the Trobriand Islands but as Curator of Anthropology I have paid some attention to building up our ethnographical collections from the New Guinea area. For the past 40 years we have been exhibiting in our New Guinea gallery four of these decorated shields (our numbers, A.7409-A.7412) from the Trobriand Islands. These four bear closely similar designs and all were collected before the year 1920. Associated with the display is an illustrated explanation, which was first put there by my predecessor, Sir Edward Stirling, prior to 1920. The illustration is in colour and depicts a shield, which is not one of those on exhibition. However, any differences are very slight and of little consequence except as indicating that the data did not come to us associated with any of the exhibited specimens.

I send you a black and white reproduction of this drawing and its legend. There is no indication whence this explanation came, but it is obvious that it came from an authentic native source. It seems not to have been published, or if it has been, at least it has not been noticed by any of those taking part in the present discussion. It seems worthwhile therefore to send it to you in the hope that it may help to broaden the discussion on the interpretation given by Dr. Leach.

It is just possible that our data were supplied to us by Professor Malinowski. It will be recalled that Malinowski did his first field work in New Guinea under the friendly eye of Sir Edward Stirling. Indeed his first paper, 'The Natives of Mailu,' was published under the supervision of Stirling in the Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia, Vol. XXXIX (1915), pp. 494-704. Incidentally we possess the original corrected typescript at the South Australian Museum.

The accompanying illustration (fig. 1) is labelled 'Trobriand Island Shield and an Interpretation of its Design.' Beneath the drawing of the shield it is stated: 'The design on this shield is similar to those exhibited in this case. It has been interpreted as having the
Sir.—Since both Drs. Leach and Berndt, in their interpretations of the design on a Trobriand shield, do not rely on any definitive statement by Malinowski concerning shields, but give opposing but plausible interpretations of the ethnography supported by circumstantial evidence, I feel emboldened to add yet more circumstantial evidence. This is from another Melanesian group, the Siane of the New Guinea Highlands, and concerns two points: (1) the use of ‘bicesting’ as an artistic technique (which specialists in the field of primitive art tell me is rare) and (2) the reaction of natives to stylized and to more naturalistic drawings.

During my first few weeks in the field in 1952–53 I observed a large ceremonial in which were carried large boards, many of which were painted with designs similar to the one shown in fig. 1a. The boards and their designs were called gerua, but my inquiries as to the significance of the designs were met by the statement that they did not mean anything, they were ‘just gerua.’ Some months later I saw some boys, aged about eight, playing in the bright sunshine on the flat dusty area in front of my house. One boy stood with his back to the sun, his arms bent, and his hands held out on each side of his head at the level of his ears. The other boy was tracing the outline of his shadow in the dust as in fig. 1b. When I came closer they scratched over what had been drawn, and looked guilty, but eventually told me they had been drawing gerua. With this clue to the symbolism of the design I decided to test both my interpretation and my guess at the significance of another design motif, called sirinumu, which had previously been named for me, and which is shown as fig. 1c. I accordingly drew the pin figures here shown as fig. 1d, and when alone with my best informant, I showed them to him. His reaction was one of extreme horror and shock, as he shuddered and told me to hide them again. I had the feeling, however, that this horror was more conventional than real. He told me that fig. 1b was a pig, but it should be called a gerua (the discrepancy between his statement that gerua symbolize pigs and the boys’ statement that gerua symbolize people will not be discussed here), while fig. 1d was an opossum, but should be called sirinumu (as I had guessed). Emboldened in my interpretation of symbols, I next day asked a youth what the diamond motif was, which was worked into his shell-headdress. He told me that it was sirinumu. I took this up with my first informant, who saw no conflict. He said, ‘Yes, they are both sirinumu; can’t you see they are the same?’ I asked him to explain and he held his hand over the right half of the design and then over the left half, to show how the two halves of the cross, if joined at their extremities, make a diamond. It may be noted that the opossum is a symbol of fertility or sexuality in Siane, most commonly associated with female sexuality. A Freudian might see a direct association between the diamond and the female sex organs, and see the cross (and the opossum) as either a derivation from this symbolon, or as a convergence with it. But in either case ‘bicesting’ is needed to make the symbolism apparent. I also asked him about the circle at the base of the gerua design in fig. 1a, which is not explained by the zoomorphic interpretation. He said, ‘That is the head; it should be called fo rumuna (house of the sun).’ Again my puzzlement that a head should be at the bottom seemed silly to him, since he considered the position was normal in a stylized drawing.

NORMAN B. TINDALE
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Fig. 1. Interpreted design on a Trobriand shield (a-f) following elements associated with mythology and totemic system of Kiriwina. According to other interpreters these designs embody highly symbolic representations of human male and female genital organs. The descriptions of the markings are indicated to be as follows:

(a) Kuhuwana, Venus or the morning star which rises when sikauina birds and lekoleko (fowls) begin to crow.
(b) Kauisa or three-headed snakes.
(c) Saigna or decorative lines.
(d) Sasauna, small fish in creeks and in shallow waters on the beach.
(e) Sina, a species of flat fish.
(f) Ulbula or stars of lesser importance visible in the morning hours.
(g) Heads of snakes.
(h) Vikia or frigate birds caught by the snakes.
(i) Hau or rings of shell used as earrings.
(j) Sikauina, a bird the size of a starling which gives a sharp short call before sunrise.
(k) Luadakidade, the rainbow.
(l) Multiplicity of marks representing holes pierced by spears in the shield.
(m) Bul-buli, the tail of the manucodia.

In September, 1951, Lepani Gamagawa, a native of Kiriwina, aged 28, attended a conference in Adelaide and examined our collections in my company. The above interpretation of the shield was acceptable to him, but he claimed that there was one mis-spelling. The design called ‘Luadakidade, the rainbow’ should be ‘Luabukidade.’

He stated that two kinds of shields were used on Kiriwina. Unadorned ones by ordinary folk were called kuluwana. These were similar in shape to the one illustrated but were plain-surfaced and painted white all over. The only marks present were those caused by from four to eight strips of cane forming the insertion for the cane handle. Decorated shields, called kalakatake:ra, were those used by important men. In use the shields were held narrow end upwards. In fighting, spearmen carried only spears, clubmen only clubs, and shieldmen, otherwise unarmed, protected both. The sword-like clubs were for close in-fighting. Bows and arrows were not used as a rule in adult quarrels since they were regarded only as in the nature of children’s toys.

I trust that these facts, gathered prior to the beginning of the present discussion, will be of interest to those taking part in it.

Fig. 1. Artistic designs from the Siane tribes (a-c) represent gerua, (d, e) represent sirinumu.
The occurrence of ‘bisection’ as an artistic technique in stylizing representational forms must then be regarded as known in Melanesia (even if not widely used) and Dr. Leach’s unorthodox interpretation receives some support. The reaction of horror (even if feigned) at a naturalistic representation, though both the diamond and the cross symbolize the same object and are worn all the time in shell head-dresses, may shed some light on whether the Trobriand design is highly stylized as Dr. Leach suggests, or more nearly representational as Dr. Berndt claims. The reason why the cross or diamond is worn is because it is a fertility or sexual symbol, which will help the man in conquering women. A naturalistic drawing of a woman would make any woman recoil in horror, and would have no practical effect, while a stylized design enables her to look at it for a long time, without realizing its significance—long enough for the design to have its magical effects. Natives will admit that, in fact, women know what the symbol means, but say that they should not know, as it is a secret. In short, the value of a highly stylized design, when used for magical purposes, lies in the assumed inability of the general public to interpret the meaning of the symbol.

To return to the Trobriand shield, if all that the carrier of the shield wished was to make the enemy turn and flee, it would seem that a more naturalistic design would, as suggested by Dr. Berndt, be appropriate, if the same attitudes towards naturalism are held by the Trobrianders. If the design were intended to have more damaging effects on the enemy, the more involved symbolism suggested by Dr. Leach would appear more likely. The intricateness of the design would also explain why so few Trobriand shields were carved in this way; for the design to keep its full power its interpretation would have to be known to as few people as possible. Those possessing such shields would then become ‘very brave and distinguished warriors’ (and not vice versa as Malinowski phrases it), while ordinary men would have to rely on the magicians’ chanting for their safety. The secrecy surrounding the design would also explain what troubles Dr. Berndt, namely the ‘association with a (female) flying witch in the context of warfare, an exclusively male activity.’ The association is strictly against the rules, but, like the secret of a horsehoe in a boxing glove, is highly effective if no one knows it is there. As may be guessed, I incline to Dr. Leach’s interpretation.

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RICHARD F. SALISBURY

Courage and Pacifism among American Indians. Cf. MAN, 1958, 226

68

Sir,—It is surely unfair to level the finger of ethnocentrism at Mr. Maybury-Lewis because of one paragraph in his recent review of Murphy and Quain, The Trumal Indians of Central Brazil. Nevertheless, his perplexity concerning the presence among the Trumal of a ‘stress on virility and hardness in men’ when coupled with an apparent lack of warfare cannot be allowed to stand without comment. He asks why men should be ‘hard’ when prestige is not derived from war and men do not boast of their prowess as warriors. This would be a legitimate perplexity in some societies and is natural enough in a person reared with a knowledge of the Spartan antecedents of our own civilization. But it has numerous parallels in the American Indian scene. To take only one example, all Coast Salish children, whether male or female, were raised to be physically ‘tough’ and spiritually self-reliant despite the fact that true warfare was at a minimum and the prestige of the warrior a dubious one at best. It is not enough to say that these traits were as much valued for their significance in a fishing-hunting economy as they would have been had the demands of warfare been present, nor does Mr. Maybury-Lewis suggest this.

There are curious parallels between the cultures of South and North America and nowhere are they more obvious than in the aspect of life which I have elsewhere subsumed under the phrase ‘war complex.’ The Jivaro victory celebration duplicates almost step for step the Plains scalp dance, and the whole relation of war to the rest of social practice was closely akin in these two widely separated areas. In the same way, a curious pacifism appeared in both continents in conjunction with a demand for individual hardihood and stamina. The Trumal clearly offer an instance of this latter combination of traits.

I am fully aware of the difficulties inherent in the ‘trait approach’ to social structure. Nevertheless, when the same situation occurs in other societies, there is no valid reason for suspecting inaccuracies in the recorded Trumal prestige system because of an assumed contradiction. Mr. Maybury-Lewis has pointed out a most interesting fact. As fact it must stand. But it still remains to be adequately analysed.

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MARIAN W. SMITH

Graphical Methods in the Study of Human Evolution. Cf. MAN, 1958, 213, 254; also 1959, 64

69

Sir,—I have noted with interest Professor L. S. Palmer’s observations published in recent issues of MAN (1958, 213 and 254), and should like to say that I share his wish to apply the principles of scientific method to the study of Primate skeletal remains. We are also at one in the statement that with a continuity of morphological change between different fossil groups ‘a genetic connexion is possible, provided that other factors upon which genetic relationships depend are also present.’ The basis of my main criticism of Professor Palmer’s book Man’s Journey through Time (MAN, 1958, 189) was that these ‘other factors’ are so complex and the numbers of Primate fossils so few that one’s assessment of the continuity of morphological change and hence of genetic relationships is at best arbitrary. In my view, it is therefore not feasible to define fossil lineages of the type implied by the graphical presentation adopted in Professor Palmer’s work.

A more detailed discussion of problems connected with the assessment of Primate relationships will form the substance of a future publication (‘Rate of Change in Primate Evolution,’ to be published by the Society for the Study of Human Biology as part of the symposium Natural Selection in Man).

E. H. ASHTON

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REVIEW

GENERAL


The intention of Professors Olson and Miller when they wrote this book was to provide further means of studying the interrelation of morphological characters in relation to evolutionary theory. They make their general pleadings in the first two of their nine chapters, state their method in the third, disclose their particular mind upon the matter in the fourth, and exemplify both in what remains. Protocol data are given in an appendix of 86 pages, the relevant literature is listed in another four, and an index of five pages completes the work.

The authors begin in (principle) with pairs of linear measurements, these measurements being between morphologically definable points. The morphological data so quantified are chosen because of their real or supposed functional importance. The $m(n - 1)/2$ coefficients of linear correlation $(r)$ between distinct pairs of the $n$ measurements taken are then computed and entered in a ‘matrix’, which is necessarily symmetric with a unit leading diagonal. The strength of association between two correlated measurements is measured by the lower fiducial limit of $r$. Using language different from that of the authors, one may describe the subsequent procedures as follows. The two distinct measurements connected by the highest numerical value of $r$ in a given row or column are

At long last, other aspects of human biology than the anatomy and physiology of the individual are being intensively investigated and, although our knowledge of human ecology, genetics, etiology and evolution is still very incomplete, enough has now been discovered to make possible some form of synthesis. This is the aim of a series of books being edited by S. A. Barnett, of which Variation and Heredity is the third to be published. These books are not addressed to the professional human biologist but to those more generally interested in the subject. This has made Dr. Kalms's task particularly difficult, since he can assume no prior knowledge and most people have difficulty, at first, in understanding the basic principles of genetics.

The first third of the book describes human variability, both within a single population and between populations. As one would expect the nature of the interaction of genetic and environmental factors figures prominently in the discussion of the causes for the differences and similarities between people. The role of the environment is twofold; it selects the most fit individuals in it to perpetuate the group and it also determines, in part, the characteristics of the phenotype on which selection acts. The most adaptive genotype, in a constantly fluctuating environment like man's, is the one that gives the greatest adaptability.

A description of the behaviour of human genes in families and populations occupies most of the rest of the book. In addition to an explanation of the different modes of inheritance and the chromosomal basis for them, whole chapters are devoted to the better-known blood-group systems, mutation and radiation hazards and the relationship between the genetic basis for a character and the appearance of that character in the phenotype. A few examples of non-genetic inheritance are also given. Finally there is an interesting discussion of the practical value of a knowledge of human heredity, and indeed throughout the book attention is focused on those aspects of genetics which have the greatest relevance to everyday personal and social experience.

From all that has been said, it is apparent that Dr. Kalms has covered his subject widely, and though this inevitably means, in a small book, that many facets are superficially treated, in view of the type of reader to which it is addressed, it would seem to be the best approach. The one serious criticism is that it seems unlikely that the reader without any knowledge of genetics will be able to understand the essentials of Mendelism from this account and it is unfortunate that the chapter in which these are principally explained has confusing text figures. Nevertheless the book is, in the main, readable, accurate, up to date, provocative and contains much information of wide appeal. It is a valuable addition to the series.

G. AINSWORTH HARRISON


This, the third part of Dr. Hill's vast essay on the Primates, could well be called the first half of his New World Symphony. Like its analogue it contains Old World elements as well. About a quarter of it deals with the pithecooid sub-order, a tenth with the platyrrhine infra-order, the rest with the hapalid family. The restriction of detailed account to the marmosets and tamarins came after conference between the author and the publisher instead of issuing the work in instalments of the size of the volume. The plan of the book follows that of the two earlier members of the series. Of the 27 plates 22 are photographs of types of the genera and species of hapalids; many of them remind one of caricatures of certain eminent Victorians. The majority of the figures are again by Yvonne Hill, and are up to her standard. Fig. 36 (by Ivan Sanderson) is of special interest; it shows the generic distribution of the hapalids in relation to climatic and floristic zones, and is of a kind that one would like to see more often. The very full index is over eight pages long; 11 pages are given to the literature on the pithecooids and platyrrhines, and eight pages to that on the hapalids themselves.

Dr. Hill's presentation is that of a scholar. Apart from his careful discussion of taxonomic problems, this is shown by the way in which he has collated the native and European names of his beasts; for the jungle of nomenclature in this field is as thick and tangled as that of the Amazonian hinterland in which these beasts reside. His summaries of behaviour, of embryology, of parasitology and of what little palaeontology we know are interesting and stimulating. The general biologist will, no doubt, pay particular attention to what Hill has to say about the apparent 'state of flux' of the whole hapalid family (pp. 285 ff); it would appear to be far from the state of species fixation found, for example, in its Old-Wold cousins. The thing is of special interest in view of the argument advanced by H. Graham Cannon in his recently issued Evolution of Living Things (Manchester U.P., 1938). In the body of his book Hill presents Callithrix as a separate family, but he demotes it to generic status in his preface (p. viii). This is an example of his candour. The author will forgive the reviewer for an equal candour on some points. It is unsafe to equate binocular with stereoscopic vision (pp. 58 and 59); human experience makes this clear. We can know about stereoscopic vision only by direct communication with the viewer, and then not always. Again, the information given on the brain is somewhat too small. There are tantalizing peeps at the cerebellum in certain figures which make those without access to Dr. Hill's material wish earnestly for more, both pictures and conversations, as Alice said. One would like to see just how far cerebral and cerebellar cortical development are correlated in these forms.

The publishers have done a good job. Is 'directive procedures' (p. 69) a writer's or a proof-reader's error? M. A. MACCONAILL


Instinct in Man—the title opens a door into a new gallery of knowledge which we enter with expectancy and awe—and indeed the display is brilliantly executed. The three main contributions to the idea of instinct—the early ideas of Hobhouse, McDougall and James Diver, the derivation and definition of the concept as employed by Freud and the methods
and achievements of ethnology, or the objective study of innate behaviour in animals—are each picked out with a clarity which needs must be read as an exercise in itself as well as for the information it imparts.

Large differences, however, between the items on display demand that each be remembered not as a representative sample of the body of knowledge of which it is a part but as the foundation stones in an argument. They are apparently to be taken as an ultimate conclusion of the author’s investigation in the separate fields, and this without any recognition of the immense differences in the nature of the information contained in each of the systems of thought which he is discussing.

It would be churlish to upbraid the author for lack of awareness or critical approach, for his contribution has been to bring out the logical inconsistencies of the different authorities and to dissect out statements of fact about the conclusions of the different authors from the implications which do not necessarily, but often are assumed to, go with them. Many false trails of thought will be spared the student of Freud, Lorenz and Tinbergen if he will but read this book as part of his study.

If these authors can argue from false premises in attempting to indicate what they consider the wider implications of their work to be, should not some of their own conclusions, not their findings, be suspect? The author treats, however, as a developing science like ethnology on the same level as the completed work of Freud, acquaintance with which is only possible in published work, whereas acquaintance with ethnology demands reference not only to a few summary books but also to the original publications, and above all a personal acquaintance with the growing body of research workers. He is mistaken, for example, when he states that ethnological studies interpret courtship as ritualized ‘threat, escape and appeasement,’ for threat is universally recognized as the outcome of the conflict between approach and avoidance. This is nowhere better presented than by D. J. Morris L’instinct dans le comportement des animaux et de l’homme. Paris, Libraires de L’Académie de Médecine (Mason, 1956). This error also leads him to accept the cherished belief of others besides ethologists that aggressiveness is not a primary instinct but an outcome of frustration.

Perhaps if he had followed up the implications of intention movements which he omits to mention he might have decided that social approach is fundamentally the intention movement of aggression. This error invalidates his conclusions on Freud while leaving his criticisms of Freud's own conclusions unimpaired.

Our sense of defeat is enhanced when the book ends in a prodigious list of the instincts and their attributes. Freud's dualism never truly showed that he saw in the nexus between sex and aggression something of outstanding importance which still demands resolution. By raising our eyes to encompass all forms of instinct we lose sight of the problem which he posed.

As one tries to comprehend the trend of thought one's eye is caught by a chapter of odds and ends, surprisingly enough entitled 'The ethological study of man.' This is indeed very odd because such studies do not yet exist or, at least, that was so until just recently when an approach to human ethology was set down in Behavioural Science, Vol. II, No. 3 (1957). Perhaps this miscellaneous collection is gathered together in order that the attention of those who produce later editions of the book will be reminded of the need for a chapter on this subject when this becomes possible, for then we may be able to advance our understanding of man's instinctive nature.

M. R. A. CHANCE


The author tells us that most general works in anthropology tend to be addressed to students working for doctorates or to professional colleagues, whereas his book is addressed to a wider non-specialist audience, including undergraduate students. It deals with anthropology in a comprehensive manner: the nature of culture, culture and biological heritage, the growth of culture, culture, society and personality, material culture, economic and political organization, world view, art and play, language, etc. These subjects are presented less in a textbook than in a classroom manner. The book might be described as a manual for teachers in anthropology to guide them in instructing classes on a rather elementary level. It is equipped for this purpose with question-and-answer sequences, exercises and diagrams 'to help organize thought.' It is not therefore the kind of introduction to the subject with which we are familiar in this country, but it seems to be eminently suited to the large classes attending courses in anthropol-
speaking of the "God of Gods" the Ainu gave Him the name of Pase-Kamui, "Creator and Possessor of heaven." But N. G. Munro, who spent some 30 years among the Ainu, says that they knew no such supreme deity, and that the term pase-kamui, which simply means 'important god,' is applied to all the principal deities. It seems that pase-kamui was Batchelor's X.

The next chapters, on cults of the sun, moon, water, etc., are collections of facts in the Frazerian tradition, but when we get to the maypole, we are told of such 'vegetation cults' that 'they flow from one primitive ontological intuition' (p. 315). By this time we have decided that the author is a thorough-going anti-diffusionist, and are therefore surprised to read of such customs as those connected with the last sheaf that 'It is most likely that all these agricultural ceremonies spread from a small number of places of origin (Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia) over the whole world, and that a great many races only got hold of scraps of the scenario as it was at first' (p. 342). Again we are told of the cosmogonic egg, which the author finds in Finland, West Africa, Central America, etc., that 'the centre from which this myth originated is probably to be located in India or Indonesia' (p. 415). It is difficult to reconcile this with the assertion that 'myth is an autonomous act of creation by the mind' (p. 426).

There are other inconsistencies, or what appear to be such, and the author's use of his authorities is not always to be relied on. We read: 'All over Africa and in India sap-filled trees symbolize divine motherhood and are therefore venerated by women' (p. 281). For Africa we are referred to The Magic Art, but we find there mention only of three East African tribes, and nothing about divine motherhood or veneration.

The author is widely read, though chiefly in the older writers, and the book contains many interesting ideas. These are, however, in general presented in such a way as to puzzle rather than enlighten the reader.

RAGLAN


So many articles were offered in honour of Professor Thompson that the editor could only accept those which corresponded with Professor Thompson's main interests, folklore scholarship and methodology, folklore in literature, the folk song and folk tale, and folk belief, superstition and festival. Few authors can claim such wide interests and so many devoted friends, colleagues and students.

The papers on folk tales strikingly reflect Professor Thompson's great contributions to the subject. Professor Archer Taylor continues his valuable investigations by annotating a collection of nineteenth-century proverbs in the United States. Professor R. M. Dorson provides a new instalment of his important work on the pioneer folklorists; this time he deals with Hugh Miller, of Scotland. Interesting remarks on story-tellers are made by Professor R. Th. Christophers and by W. H. Jansen. Professor W. D. Hand, in his paper on 'Analogues of the Couvade,' presents pre-natal observations, not yet treated in literature. Professor L. L. Lid surveys 'The Paganism of the Norsemen.'

In his paper on 'The Feast of Saint Martin in Ireland' Mr. S. Ó Súilleabháin raises the question which saint is intended, as 'there is no saint named Martin who was of Irish origin or birth.' As the Bishop of Tours (d. A.D. 493) was here on 11 November they can be sure that the feast is dedicated to him, all the more as animals and birds were sacrificed to him on Martin's Day well beyond the borders of Ireland. I regret that Mr. Ó Súilleabháin omitted the date of the special ritual recorded from Galway, where a fowl was killed and its blood shed in all the four corners of the kitchen. Sartori (Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, Vol. V, pp. 1716, 1718) anticipated the author in stating that Martin's Day continues an ancient festival of thanksgiving at the end of harvest time. Mr. Ó Súilleabháin's references to the start of grain-grinding around 11 November throw new light, however, not only on traditional Irish legends but also on the customs of German millers (ibid., Vol. V, p. 1713; Vol. VI, pp. 608, 615). His final conclusions of links between St. Martin, ancient Syria and Mesopotamia are, indeed, of outstanding importance.

E. ETTLINGER


This book is the outcome of a scheme of research into primitive economics which was undertaken at Columbia University between 1955 and 1953 under the direction of Professor Karl Polanyi. The seminar came quickly to the conclusion that any attempt to study the economic affairs of early or simple societies in the manner of Rostovtzeff, by modern European analogies, was certain to fail. So various systems of exchange were considered without preconceptions, and these are described in the first two-thirds of the book.

The ancient world until the time of Aristotle knew nothing, it appears, of the free market and of profits and losses. Trade was rigidly controlled, often in neutral coastal zones left unoccupied by the great empires. Traders, as at Kanish, were paid from commission on turnover, but did not speculate or adjust prices. Changeable prices, in fact, were unknown; instead there was a rigid system of 'equivalences.' In all these respects the Aztec and Maya civilizations, as Miss Chapman describes them, present many points of comparison.

Miss Arnold shows how distinct at the Dahomey port of Whydah were market operations and trade proper. The first was an informal business, concerned with local supplies and exchange; the other, a matter of controlled traffic in slaves, gold and ivory, commodities which never entered the market.

Benet contributes a clear and original study of the function of the market in the politically fragmented Berber mountains. Here the antagonistic tribes can meet in truce, usually under strict religious sanction, and incidentally to trading reach a compromise over disputes.

Neale's description of the Indian village economy emphasizes that it was not concerned with payment for measurable contributions, but with arranging reciprocal services and sharing out the harvest according to status and merit. His analysis is reasonable for the joint village, but it might not apply so well to the ryt settlements of the south.

The final third of the book, which is concerned largely with a review, in the light of what precedes, of the ideas of Malinowski, Thurnwald, Firth, Herskovits and others, is often obscure and needlessly involved. But the work as a whole has made a considerable contribution by bringing together these diverse studies and thinking over their implications in a way both fresh and unbiased. On the end map 'Katchana should read 'Atchana.'

W. C. BRICE


There are no remarks on story-tellers are made by Professor R. Th. Christophers and by W. H. Jansen. Professor W. D. Hand, in his paper on 'Analogues of the Couvade,' presents pre-natal observations, not yet treated in literature. Professor L. L. Lid surveys 'The Paganism of the Norsemen.'

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E. ETTLINGER
exaggerations in longitude is left obscure; the origin of the portolan chart almost certainly had no connexion with the introduction of the compass (p. 523); and the portolan thumb-lines are not explicable as wind-roses (p. 524).

In general, Parts II and V, on Manufacture and Approach to Science, will probably prove more valuable than Parts I, III and IV, on Primary Production, Material Civilization and Communications, which include topics, like those of building construction and firearms, which are adequately treated elsewhere. The whole book is very carefully produced and indexed (though an 'r' has dropped out of the caption to fig. 344), and the figures, though often detailed and complicated, are printed with wonderful depth and precision.

W. C. BRICE


This reference work was begun in 1947 at the instigation of the Arctic Institute of North America and has been supported financially by the Defence departments of the United States and Canada. It was six years before the first three volumes were published; since then we have an annual volume and it is hoped that this practice will continue.

Because it is fully annotated (under authors) and cross-indexed by subject, it is a very useful tool for the research worker, particularly for one not familiar with Russian or Scandinavian sources and languages. The 'Arctic' area dealt with is a wide one including all Alaska and Greenland, the Northwest Territories and the northern portions of the eastern Canadian provinces, Scandinavia north of the circle (thus bringing in the Lapps) and most of Siberia north of latitude 60°. It excludes Iceland which is considered to be adequately treated elsewhere. In addition to expedition accounts and detailed scientific research within this huge area, certain other unlocalized aspects of cold are treated such as the physiology of man and animals, and design criteria and operations of buildings and machines.

With Vol. VII the bibliography has reached Item 43,464 and the material is now overwhelmingly contemporaneous—there will always be older works discovered, but from now on one can expect the annual volumes to give a very complete coverage of the past year's arctic literature.

There is no separate heading 'anthropology' in the subject index. The northern peoples are listed under their names:

Aleuts, Chukchis, Dolgans, Eskimos, Finns, Gilyaks, Indians, Kamchadals, Lapps, Ostyaks, Palaeo-Siberians, Samoyeds, Tungus, Ural-Altaic peoples, Yakuts, Yeniseiaks, Zyrrians.

There are also index headings such as 'Shamanism' and 'Arctic hysteria.'

As an example of the style, one finds under index heading Chukchis—Narcotics and Stimulants: 'Nikol'skii, D.P. O spirynkh napitakh, 1901, [Item] 30994.' Under 30994 is given the full Russian title, source and date, number of pages and references, title translation. This is followed by a descriptive paragraph of the content including... the making and use of kumiss, an intoxicant made of poisonous musrooms by Chukchis and Kamchadals, and a drink made of birch sap by Kamchadals (pp. 273f). Anyone wishing to sample these brews has only to refer to the original source!

I have found the annotations generally excellent and where a brief generalized sentence or a check on some figure has been required confess to the lazy habit of using the bibliography alone without delving further.

The project has been directed since its inception by the skilful hand of Marie Tremaigne, formerly of the Toronto Public Libraries, and the present staff contains some nine research analysts as well as clerical and cataloguing personnel. Situated as it is next to the Library of Congress at Washington it is splendidly organized to continue its useful work for, we hope, many years to come.

P. D. BAIRD


Hilde Thurnwald in this book continues the republication of selected essays of Professor Thurnwald designed to set forth his views concerning social evolution. Gesellschaft is his word; intended to be more dynamic than Gesellschaft. His wide, varied, and long experience in New Guinea, his tolerance and sympathy made him a leader in anthropology, and the present book (Part 2 of a series to be continued) gives an interesting and suggestive introduction to methods of study of society looked at as a whole. He criticizes romantic mysticism about supposed stages of advancement toward society which varies with but is generally closely linked with some particular writer. The locational, climatic, economic, ceremonial, genealogical and external features and interactions (rather than relations) of a group are brought in, always with the individual and the flux of custom in mind. Cautions are necessary in accepting information, especially relationship names, from persons questioned, and there are dangers in using these overmuch to construct what Thurnwald would hold to be an abstraction rather than a dynamic account of a human group. These who have been accustomed to use Thurnwald's well known volumes Die menschliche Gesellschaft will find this collection of essays an interesting summary of a veteran's thought, from which it is likely that most of us will dissent a little here and there. It gives in not being too systematic; the society is fortunately still in process of growth.

H. J. FLEURE


The object of this book, which consists of an introduction and an essay by the editor and three essays by other professors of the humanities, is to 'reduce the area of disagreement between humanist and scientist.' The writers, however, seem really to have grasped the position of the arts in relation to the sciences. The editor says that 'ideally, perhaps, the arts are free of objective reference and didactic intent,' and that 'the humanist lives, —not infrequently by preference—in an atmosphere of imprecision and undefined impressions.' But those whom he cites as the great humanists, such as Danté and Raphael, neither lived in an atmosphere of imprecision nor were without didactic intent. They were the great educators of their times, and that the scientists are the great educators of today is due in part to the imprecision of modern art and partly to the fact that the great artists of the past largely exhausted the possibilities of their media.

RAGLAN


Schlegel follows Spinoza in treating body and mind as diverse aspects of the same fundamental entity and approaches recognition of psycho-physical types more or less along Kretschmer's lines with some critical adjustments. Circumference of the hand and transverse diameter of the lower pelvic aperture are emphasized. Much is made of ambidextrous and gnycymorphic as well as of athenic and athletic types. A questionnaire to be filled up by the patient describing his own mental traits sounds naive.

H. J. FLEURE

AFRICA


The subject of this book is village relationships among the Ndembu people of the upper Zambezi. Dr. Turner has made a meticulous examination of the composition of Ndembu villages and of the reasons why their members build together or disperse.

Traditionally, the Ndembu were dependent upon hunting and the cultivation of cassava. The men's occupation of hunting carried prestige, but it was women's work in cultivation that provided the staple subsistence. The villages are (and were traditionally) small and

The sources of our knowledge of the Celts are the classical writers, the traditions, particularly those of Ireland, and the findings of archaeologists. These are to some extent complementary, but Mr. Powell does not attempt the hopeless task of combining them into a historical narrative.

The origin of the name is obscure, and Mr. Powell suggests that it may have been the tribal or family name of the royal founders of the Hallstatt culture (p. 52). It seems not to have been applied to any of these islands before the eighteenth century (p. 18). We note with interest that the Germani were probably a Celtic tribe living east of the Rhine whose name was extended to all the inhabitants of that region (p. 164).

Mr. Powell deals at some length with Celtic religion. Many figures and Latinized inscriptions have been unearthed in France, but our knowledge of cult, such as it is, comes chiefly from Irish tradition. It is improbable that the Druids were anything more than ritual experts (p. 157).

Much of the text and most of the 79 excellent photographs and 25 equally excellent drawings are concerned with the Hallstatt and La Tène cultures. These are believed to have been developed by Celtic aristocracies and, though owing much to Greece and Etruria, had striking features of their own which set the fashion for the Celtic world.

RAGLAN


In the years 1953–55 Dr. Morris made a study of juvenile crime, and in particular the relationship between crime and place of residence, in Croydon, a county borough with a population of a quarter of a million on the outskirts of London. He prefaced the results of his own researches with a survey of contributions to the study of delinquency areas’ previously made in this country and the U.S.A.

His detailed maps and carefully compiled tables are not easily appreciated by those unfamiliar with the topography of Croydon, but his conclusions are clear enough. ‘The facts of the matter are that crime and delinquency are almost exclusively a proletarian phenomenon’, ‘short-run hedonism’ is a fundamental attribute of working-class culture; and though by no means all members of the working class are criminals, their lack of social responsibility produces an atmosphere in which crime readily develops.

He stresses the dilemma of housing authorities. If they mix social classes they make everybody uncomfortable, and if they segregate the working class they perpetuate the conditions under which for a boy social adjustment may involve joining a delinquent gang. He concludes that ‘social’ delinquency presents an even more serious problem than ‘psychiatric’ delinquency, and makes suggestions for the improvement of the social services.

RAGLAN
MAXIMON

(a, b) The old mask of Maximon; (c) washing Maximon's clothes in the lake; (d) Maximon in Santa Cruz; (e) Telmel and Maximon, 1934; (f) Maximon with cigar; (g) Maximon lying amongst the fruit in the Municipality; (h) Baltazar stringing up Maximon. Photographs: (a, b) Musée de l'Homme, (c) Instituto Indigenista Nacional, (d, f-h) E. M. Mendelson
Much has already been written, not always with precision, on the complex ritual figure of Maximon in Santiago Atitlan, Dept. Solola, Guatemala. While detailed treatment would require a booklet, I offer this note as a companion to the study of the San Martin bundle previously published in MAN.

As nearly as one can discover from conflicting evidence, the Maximon is, basically, a flat piece of wood about 24 feet high and 6–8 inches thick. A little jar or enamelled iron cup is strapped to the top end and contains the base of another piece of wood, or possibly a gourd, which forms the core of the head. At the bottom end, two jars contain the wooden legs. The whole contraption is kept in a bundle above the roof trellis of cofradia Santa Cruz towards which all who enter cross themselves and under which the largest candles always stand. When dressed for fiestas, the core is wrapped in rags and corn husks, held together with string and fitted with boots. The telinel, an official attached to the cofradia (he is an ajkun, native priest; the office was permanent until 1950 but is now yearly), covers the resultant bundle with two or three sets of clothes offered by Atitecos and pilgrims from other villages. A doll emerges, some 44 inches tall, clothed in shirt, belt and pants of Atitlan style plus a Texan 55-size hat, a blue serge jacket and a bib made of some 30 silk scarves. A crude wooden mask covers the head core.

The wood is said to be palo de pito or tezjet but accounts vary as to form: one man had it that the core was forked for the legs. A persistent rumour that the core contains a little idol could not be checked: some spoke of a gold or silver figure, pagan or Christian, others of a silver cross, one man of an ear of corn. Some denied the idol altogether.

The 1952–3 telinel’s distrust always overcame suggestions that I should be allowed to see the upper side of the trellis. The core seems to be kept in a mat tied by a cord to the central roof post. Near this there is a wooden case with a glass side panel, about 3 feet long, in which a blanket-covered bundle reveals only a Maximon mask at one end. This is brought down for pilgrims and there is evidence that it is a recent innovation, possibly copied from the ‘Holy Burial’ case kept on the main altar. The sides of the trellis bear some 15 bundles of pilgrims’ gifts of clothes; nothing of Maximon’s should ever be destroyed. Recent gifts are kept in a box at the back of the cofradia: they are aired and the box is danced with at fiesta time.

The first modern mask is said to have been made by the prophet nabeysil Francisco Sojuel some 50 to 70 years ago. He then asked a certain Esteban Ajcot, also a quasi-deified ‘ancestor,’ to make a second one since his was too small. While the ajkun Baltazar was telinel, around 1945, he asked his brother, also an Esteban, to make a third. One mask, probably Sojuel’s—said to hold without strings—is never shown. The two others were taken by the Catholic priests who raided the cofradia in 1950 after an ultimatum forbidding the cult of Maximon had been disregarded. The Indians were told that they had been burned, but in 1952 I found one mask in Guatemala City and could only retrieve it on condition that it went to the Musée de l’Homme, Paris (Plate Da, B). At this time there appear to have been two masks again in use: one for the glass case and one for the doll.

Many years ago, Maximon is said to have had a cofradia in the sacristy close to the Santa Cruz altar on the left side of the back of the church. Here there was also a sweatbath where ajkun, the ‘sons of Maximon,’ used to pray. (This may have been the original cofradia San Miguel, staffed by sacristans, which by 1946 had been transferred to a private house.) After an earthquake, Santa Cruz had welcomed the Maximon. In 1952, cofradia San Miguel no longer appeared to exist and Santa Cruz alone celebrated the fiesta. But a little stone head carved at the apex of the sacristy dome was still pointed out to me as being Maximon’s. The double-headed bird klavikoaj and a large snake are also said to have lived there.

While respects are paid to Maximon all the year round by ajkun-guided pilgrims from all over the Highlands, especially San Pedro Sacatepequez of Dept. Guatemala (in this sense he is more of an areal deity than San Martin), the figure is only dressed, on the trellis, on fiestas San Miguel (29 September) and San Andres (30 November) and, on the floor, during Holy Week. During Holy Week a little-known private ritual of Maximon is carried out alongside the public ritual of Jesucristo at the Church. During the

FIG. 1. ‘ALTAR’ OF MAXIMON ON CHURCH PORCH

Photographs: E. M. Mendelson

* With Plate D and two text figures
Fridays of Lent, 1953, groups of boys paraded in the night with imitation Maximons on their shoulders. On Holy Monday, 30 April, a midnight washing of Maximon’s clothes took place in the lake on three special stones kept each year with the previous year’s third cofrade (Plate De). The clothes dried out on Tuesday morning in the compound of a house which had belonged to Francisco Sojuel. In the afternoon, an eight-feet-high square wooden post was planted in a hole on the church porch floor, about a yard to the right of the entrance (candles had been lit at this spot during the Friday nights of Lent). On Tuesday night, in the presence of the head of the village, took place the most solemn dressing of the year. The telinel, crouching in the middle of the room on a huge mat, whose sides were held up by cenhades to shield him from sight, worked sitting astride the shawl-covered core. When the doll was raised (Plate D), all filed up to it and prayed—and later danced three sones, holding it in their arms—but the respect shown to this figure, especially by the telinel who slaps it on the back, calling it ‘brave’ and ‘pretty boy’ and keeping its mouth filled with cigarettes and cigarillos, is not as fervent as that paid to San Martin: when it once fell over, telinel was very leisurely about picking it up. On Wednesday morning the telinel carried Maximon on his shoulders to the Municipal building (Plate D) where the doll was laid to rest in the middle of large piles of fruit brought from the Pacific coast and later used to adorn the main altar in church. At noon, it was carried in procession to the post on the church porch, now decorated with leaves (suyoc, toney?), and strung up by Baltazar. The figure remained here, constantly attended, prayed to, incensed and candled until, after the exit of the dead Christ from church on Friday, it was taken back to the cofradia and dismantled (fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Andolor (María Dolores), San Juan Carajo and Maximon Following the ‘Holy Burial’

In this context, Maximon appears as Judas Iscariot but he is not, as elsewhere in the area, reviled in any way or destroyed at the end of Holy Week. One informant had it that the present cult of Maximon had begun only in the time of Sojuel. Before that it was a Judas of straw which was thrown into the cemetry, only the clothes being kept. Sojuel had thought that it should be made of wood like other saints.

All other informants held that Maximon had been created in the beginning of the world and for most of them the association with Judas was tardy or irrelevant. An esoteric legend with many variants involves the following themes: (1) a conflict between some married and unmarried ‘ancestors’ following upon interference by the latter with the former’s wives; (2) the decision by the married to make an image which would ‘keep order in the land’; (3) the search for a tree out of which they could make it and the tree’s spoken self-revelation in kalshalun on the north edge of the village; (4) the maddening of the suitors by the clothed image assuming the shapes of the beloved; (5) the breaking of order by indiscriminate sex relations between the image, in male or female form, with other Indians of both sexes; (6) the breaking-up of the image in its present form to render it powerless. It is Maximon who calls ajkan to their job and punishes them with fever and madness if they refuse and, to this day, provided he has the ‘power of prayer’ without which the Maximon would crush him on Holy Wednesday, the telinel is said to have transformation powers over the doll to be used against sexual offenders, and there are indications of a black magic which must await treatment elsewhere.

Maximon is a ‘great traveller and walker’ and has ‘a whore wife,’ Maria or Magdalena Castellana, whose fiesta (7 October) is held in Santa Cruz. This date fell outside my stay.

Ateeco reference to Maximon as rilaj acha (the old man) and Mam affords a clue to the way in which an ancient Maya deity may have become associated with Holy Week: (1) The ancient Maya had a deity called Mam whom they feasted on the Uayeb days marking the passage from one year to another:

They had a piece of wood, which they dressed like those figures of boys made of straw that are used in bullfights and placed on a stool on a mat. They gave him food and gifts during the feast known as Uayeb. When the feast was finished they undressed the idol and threw the piece of wood on the ground without troubling to reverence it any more. And they called it Mam, grandfather, whilst the offering and feast lasted. (Cogolludo.)

The Indians feared those days, believing them to be unfortunate, and to carry danger of sudden death, plagues and other misfortunes. For this reason these five days were assigned for the celebration of the feast of the god Mam, ‘grandfather.’ On the first day they carried him about, and feasted him with great magnificence; on the second day they diminished the solemnity; on the third they brought him down from the altar and placed him in the middle of the temple; on the fourth they put him on the threshold of the door; and on the fifth, or last day, the ceremony of taking leave (or dismissal) took place, that the New Year might commence on the following day, . . . (Pio Perez).

(2) There appear to be certain parallels between Ateeco Holy Week ritual and the Uayeb rites, inter alia in the timing (a short week of five days) and the anti-clockwise processions to four temporary chapels in one case and the movement of idols to four corners of town in the other.
Basing myself on a Huasteca myth recorded by G. Stresser-Péan, I have suggested elsewhere the possibility of the Uayeb rite being a ritual summary of a waning and growing agricultural cycle, symbolized by young godlings (in modern Atitlan: San Martin and his angels) who, after fertilizing the earth by union with their females, became old and degenerate, being later reborn after a drunken sleep. The last days of the year would naturally be ruled over by the old aspect of these gods whose dying and subsequent rebirth, expressed as a crisis, could be associated with the Christian crisis of death and rebirth at Easter.

The other Catholic personalities of the Maximón deserve some notice: San Pedro, San Andres, San Miguel and Pedro de Alvarado, Conquistador of Guatemala. Peter and Andrew are brothers (the 'ancestors' appear to have been siblings); Peter was first apostle, Andrew was the first called and Michael was first of the angels. In Yucatan Michael is leader of the Chac rain deities; in Atitlan he is patron of the Palo volador dance. As a knight, Michael may have been the link with Alvarado, or else the name Pedro. The confusion of personalities appears to hinge a good deal on the name Simon, an interesting fact given the present-day etymology of Maximón as Mam-Simon and frequent mention of Judas as Simon Judas: (1) Peter is, of course, Simon Peter; (2) Peter in Rome fought Simon Magnus, a figure called San Pedro Maco Magro figures in church ritual in Holy Week and we find that Peter, a great healer, is in Chichicastenango 'holder of the keys of heaven and hell, identified with the masters of the medicine bundle, patron of diviners and sorcerers' 10; (3) St. Simon and St. Jude Thaddeus share one feast day and there is evidence of confusion between Jude and Judas in popular Catholicism. G. Stresser-Péan tells me that in the Huasteca, for instance, there is a feast of the hanged on 28 October, apparently associated with the old Maya hanged goddess Ixtab, and that he found associations between Jude and Judas in his informants' minds; (4) Judas, son of Simon, is a frequent New Testament reference. Add to all this the fact that, in the iconography, Peter, Andrew, Jude and Simon are usually old men. It may also be worth noting that Peter 'betrayed' Christ as well as Judas and that, in Atitlan, he is still patron or dueño of roosters. These remarks should afford clues to the meaning of the Indians' reference to Maximón as Primer Apostol and their resentment at his being considered only as Judas by the progressive young Catholics who inspired the priests to fight the Maximón between 1930 and 1933.11

The Maximón is obviously a complex product of the mixture, at several levels and at various times, of Maya and Roman Catholic ritual and beliefs. Historical reconstruction is hampered at every step by lack of sufficient data bridging the gap between the Conquest and the present day. Is the equivocal and ambiguous character of Maximón already present in his pre-columbian antecedents or is it entirely a product of the mixture of ideas, in part at least at odds with each other? Bisexuality, mono-polymorph-ism (Mam-Mames, etc.), indeterminate moral status where good (youth) and bad (age) tend to be associated with the effects of agricultural seasons are all to some extent charac-

eristic of Maya deities. It is difficult to unravel the strands of Maya and Christian content in the fertility rites associated today with San Martin and Maximón. Is the chastity required of the fruit-bearers of Holy Week, for instance, without which the fruit will arrive unripe from the Pacific coast, an example of Maya ritual chastity in times of great religious importance or is it a product of Christian abstention? Is Maximón's breaking of the sexual order which he had been set up to defend and the subsequent ambiguity of his position in witchcraft—he attacks adulterers and 'ism (whose main crime is adultery in bestial form) but also lives with a whore and seems to connive in rapes and sanctioned elopements—the product of a Maya dilemma or of Christian ethics confusing a fundamentally amoral Maya attitude? The confusion was obviously increased when Maximón, whether in the time of Sojuel or before, became, ritually, Judas. Brinton remarks 12 that nagationals' sodalities were dedicated to Judas and Pilate out of hatred of the Church; when the Maya and Catholic dying and rebirth rites were blended in the Holy Week ceremony, was Mam made into Judas by the Indians or the priests? Both, perhaps, may have collaborated: the priests for obvious reasons, the Indians, in so far as they did consent, to mark Mam's continued opposition to the God who had either destroyed the old deities—in that 'death of the world' which Aztecs hold to have blighted the magic powers of the old prophets and magicians—or forced them to assume such debased new shapes. Today, many old beliefs are gradually being hushed: the 'race' of Maria and Juan continue to be run in Holy Week but no mention is made of the love affair they had on the eve of the Crucifixion; sterile women no longer drink, as they appear to have done, the water from the washing of Maximón's clothes but rather that of the washing of the Holy Burial's; quarrels rather than unchastity are given as a reason for unripe fruit. But, since traces of a world view in which good and evil are tied to Nature and Fate rather than to Man's will and God's interference do survive in Aztecatl, I have supposed that part of Maximón's ambiguity is due to his being the vortex of a clash between two different solutions to the problem of disordered sexual activity: one in which it weakens nature but by-passes 'sin' because it fertilizes the earth (Mam-Martin) and another in which it weakens man in his relation to God (Mam-Judas). Continuing conflict over Maximón in my time suggests that this agreement to differ in the realm of religious beliefs still underlies the apparent peace of a 400-year-old Conquest situation.13 But this story will be told on another occasion.

Notes

1 Inter alia, S. K. Lothrop, Further Notes on Indian Ceremonies in Guatemala, Indian Notes, Vol. VI, No. 1, Heye Foundation, New York, 1929; E. B. Lothrop, Throw Me a Bone, New York, 1948; V. Kelsey and L. de J. Osborne, Four Keys to Guatemala, New York, 1948, pp. 40-3. The subject has fascinated Guatemalan writers like M. A. Asturias, 'Maximón: Divinidad de Agua Dulce,' Revista de Guatemala, 1st year, No. 4 (1946), and lesser talents among journalists. The diaries kept by observers of the Instituto Indigenista Nacional, however, especially those of de Dios Rosales, A. Pop and S. Otzoy are rich in first-hand information of high quality.
'A Guatemalan Sacred Bundle,' MAN, 1958, 170.

A partial description of Holy Week, 1936, has been given by E. MacDougall in 'Easter Ceremonies at Santiago Atitlan in 1930,' Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology, No. 123, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1955. For my own, fuller account, see Religion and World-View in Santiago Atitlan (Long Text: L.T.), Microfilm Collection of MSS. on American Indian Cultural Anthropology, No. 52, University of Chicago Library, 1957, pp. 219-68.

There are indications that the water from the washing of Maximon's clothes may have been drunk in the past. In my time I only saw women drinking the water of the monthly washing of the Holy Burial of Christ's clothes. See L.T., pp. 155-6. 'Clean' water from the middle of the lake is used.

For the version which put me on to the story see A. Pop, San Pedro la Laguna Field Diaries for 22-3-50, Instituto Indigenista, pp. 1224-30. See also L.T., pp. 464-6. The breaking-up of the image corresponds perhaps to a widespread Maya fear of walking deities: the excuse for burning the Chichicastenango straw Judas is 'so that he will not go about frightening people' (R. Bunzel: Chichicastenango, New York, 1952, p. 414). Is there a connexion here between Maximon and the Lowland Xiuhei spirits in J. E. S. Thompson, Ethnology of the Mayas of Southern and Central Honduras, Chicago, 1930, p. 66, whose embrace drives people mad?

For one published case see B. Paul, 'Mental Disorder and Self-Regulating Processes in Culture,' in Interrelations Between the Social Environment and Psychiatric Disorders, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, 1953(?), p. 59, and, generally, the unpublished material of Paul, Pop and Rosales on San Pedro, a 'sister' village of Atitlan's.

Maximon, magic, chiefly the curing of fever and madness (often connected with illegitimate sex: some say Maximon fathers cretin) is said to involve an ajkun having a partner outside the house speaking, when invoked, in a high, plaintive voice. Formerly, boys are said to have done their courting in a high voice and disguised, and there are rumours that Maximon impersonators likewise obtained the girl of their choice: see L.T., pp. 431-4. Note that the old Mam-laab of the Huasteca have voices 'grêles et plaintives' according to G. Stresser-Péan's data quoted in 'A Guatemalan Sacred Bundle.'

Quoted from A. M. Tozzer, Landa's Relation de las Cosas de Yucatan, Harvard, 1941, pp. 130ff. For a full analysis, see L.T., pp. 462-70, 472 and 478-82. For the problem of wooden idols, see also Landa, p. 111, note 505.

A Lowland rite, described by Thompson, op. cit., p. 62, may be of a transitional type. This author's Maya Hieroglyphic Writing, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1950, p. 133, affords a clear example of a Kekchi Mam ritual during Easter.


Two other Atitlan-Uayeb parallels may be noted: the use of processionical arches on the one hand and the importance of the first mayor's house in Holy Week ritual compared with the house of the chief in the Uayeb rite on the other. See Landa, op. cit., p. 140.


Baltazar associated the piece of wood on which snakes lie (palo komar; San Jorge and San Damian, angels of San Martin, are patrons of snakes) with the wood on which Maximon lies (tzaj: bed). Maximon is said to use snakes in striking down offenders and prayers against snake bite are a feature of ajkun esoteric knowledge. The old Mam-laab of the Huasteca are said to lie on certain plants, while the young Tzultucaj (a Kekchi form of Mam; see Thompson, Ethnology . . . p. 60) lives in a hammock of serpents. Both these and Maximon are givers of fever.

One old Atiteco gave a curious reference to 'two aparatos (appliances) made by the angels before Maximon, being called Juan Tzaj and Juan Tzurui. Maximon, the third aparato, was made when the world was 9 years old, the other two having been taken by the angels into their divine kingdoms.' Two informants independently associated Juan Tzaj and Juan Tzurui (Maktej for one) with the ancestors who had made the Maximon. Further research is needed here, but, on a 'Lord of Nine Generations,' see Landa, op. cit., p. 146, note 656.

10 R. Bunzel, op. cit., p. 268. Note that, in the same way as San Martin is patron of the Atiteco dependency of Cerrito de Oro, San Pedro is patron of the 'sister' village San Pedro la Laguna. The names Don Pedro and San Simon were those most used for Maximon by Baltazar and other ajkun, but curiously enough, fiesta San Pedro seemed to go unnoticed in cofradia Santa Cruz.

11 Perhaps one should note that Simon's emblem is a saw. Baltazar told me that during Holy Week, 1933, the Catholic priest had spoken of 'Three Simons: Simon Santamay (Thaddeo?) in Paradise, Simon Pedra (pedro) and the Maximon who was the adornment, image or representative of the Simon in Paradise.' I have no record of such a reference; the statement seems to me to be an example of the traditionalists' refusal to associate Maximon with Judas. The fact that Maximon was only a representante (i.e. not a live god and therefore guiltless) was constantly used as an excuse during the conflicts and ajkun even pretended that 'he did not talk any more'; see note 6 above.

There is a story that Sojuil was saved from prison by Maximon sitting in his place and smoking cigars (see 'A Guatemalan Sacred Bundle'). Could this be connected on the one hand with something like St. Peter's liberation from prison by an angel and, on the other, with the Popol Vuh heroes who smoked cigars in the House of Gloom and, like Sojuil, later escaped from a House of Fire and were resurrected from death? Certain Lowland beliefs associate shooting stars with cigar stumps smoked by agricultural deities, the old Balans, while Stresser-Péan's old gods no longer bear the lightning of their youth but only will-of-the-wisps. In Chichicastenango, Jesus smokes in prison but it is really a firefly which the Jews see; Jesus has left (S. Tax, 'Folk Tales in Chichicastenango,' J. Amer. Folklore, Vol. LXII (1949), p. 126).

12 Nagnulism, Philadelphia, 1894, p. 36.

13 As an appetizer, see Time Magazine, Latin American Edition, 2 April, 1951, p. 25.
THE REDISCOVERY OF A UNIQUE FIGURE FROM TORRES STRAITS

by

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In J. Beete Jukes's Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of H.M.S. Fly (London, 1847), the famous naturalist-geologist makes several interesting remarks about works of art which he and his fellow voyagers collected in Torres Straits. 'I purchased for a knife,' he writes, 'a curious tortoise-shell mask, or face, made to fit over the head, which was used they [the natives of Erub] told me, in their dances. It was very fairly put together, with hair, beard and whiskers fastened on, projecting ears, and pieces of mother-of-pearl, with a black patch in the centre for the eyes' (Vol. I, pp. 178f). The mask is illustrated by Jukes, after a drawing by Harden S. Melville, draughtsman to the expedition (fig. 1). In a footnote Jukes adds: 'This and all the other native implements and curiosities I collected, are now in the British Museum.' There can be no doubt that the superb Erub mask on display in the British Museum, faintly marked with the number 46.7-31.3, is that referred to by Jukes (fig. 2).

Of even greater interest, perhaps, is another object mentioned on page 193 of Vol. I of the Narrative. In Jukes's own words, 'Mammoos would go on board with me, taking a large tortoise-shell figure of a boy, three feet high, and very curiously constructed, for which I had no room, but which he sold to Mr. Bell for an axe.' 'It is now in the Museum of the United Service Institution,' Jukes remarks, giving an illustration of the effigy (fig. 3).

For the next 60 years the fate of this object seems to have been total obscurity, but in 1909 it suddenly became the centre of an absurd and amusing controversy. Lawrence Hargrave, an engineer who had accompanied D'Albertis in Torres Straits and New Guinea in 1876, and had become interested in Australian antiquities, solemnly announced that Jukes's 'tortoise-shell figure' undoubtedly had concealed gold belonging to the Spanish voyager, Lope de Vega. The pursuit of this novel theory led Hargrave to attempt to locate the figure. But it was not to be found in the United Service Institution Museum. The suggestion of Captain T. A. Joyce of the British Museum that the figure probably 'fell to pieces through neglect or disappeared when the other ethnological objects were moved from the United Service Museum to the British Museum in 1896, Hargrave spurned. Instead, he invented a hypothetical private owner, whom he implored 'from national interest in the fate of a bold seaman' to bring forth the figure and thus reveal 'the secret that reposed in Lope de Vega's heart.'

The following year, Dr. A. C. Haddon, the recognized authority on Torres Straits, replied to Mr. Hargrave, pointing out the incredible errors in the latter's theory. To meet these objections, Mr. Hargrave constructed a new theory involving some dirty-work-at-the-crossroads (Lope de Vega, privately printed, Sydney, 1911, p. 12).

'Lope de Vega got a few pounds weight of gold on the Shoalhaven River. The gold of course was saved from the wreck of the 'Santa Isabel' ... The gold passed with Kos and Abob to Murray Island and thence to Darnley Island [Erub]. The gold was in the bamboo that was afterwards made into the body of the tortoise-shell figure. The figure went to the United Service Institution. 'Somebody' examined the figure, closely, and found the gold inside with perhaps some picture writing, the figure being hopelessly damaged. The 'Somebody' knew the figure came from Darnley Island and therefore went there to dig for more.'

FIG. 1. MELVILLE'S DRAWING OF ERUB MASK

After Jukes's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 178. All photographs by Douglas Fraser, 1938

FIG. 2. ERUB MASK PRESENTED BY JUKES

British Museum No. 46.7-31.3. Figs. 2, 4, 5 by courtesy of the Trustees
As Haddon later remarked, 'There is not a shred of evidence for any of these statements.'

In the course of my research at the British Museum in Torres Straits art, I was shown a box of fragments of a turtleshell figure which was then in the workshop awaiting repair. The fragments included a small head clearly of Erub style, a badly damaged body, one arm with severed hand, one ear, one forearm, one thigh, two lower legs and two feet (fig. 4). As laid out in the photograph, the height of the image from head to toe is 93 centimetres (91.5 cm. = 3 feet). The head is 20 cm. in length; the ear, 5.5 cm.; torso, 30.5 cm.; arm, on diagonal, 31 cm.; thigh, 25.5 cm.; left lower leg, 21.5 cm.; right lower leg, 17 cm.; left forearm and hand, 25 cm.; right hand, 19 cm.; left foot, 12 cm.

(broken); right foot, 12.5 cm. There was also a fragment of a fish which measured 27.5 cm. Because of its beard, the figure is presumably male, although there is no other evidence of its sex. No identification number can be found on the figure, nor is there any reference to it, so far as I can find, in the museum registers.

The temptation to regard this as the long-lost Jukes piece simply on instinctive grounds must be met with firmness; for although superficially the elements of the effigy match those of the figure in the Narrative, demonstrating an absolute identity of the two is rather difficult. Melville's drawing illustrates a complete figure, fully decorated and in an active pose, while the British Museum image is severely damaged and at present unrestored. Some of its more distinctive features, moreover, such as the nose and
the attachments, are lost. Finally those elements particularly useful for identification, such as incised patterns, are unfortunately on the back of the torso and therefore not illustrated by Melville. Proving the case is also complicated by the fact that the objects to be dealt with don't have the same pedigree: it is easy to match two objects having a common cultural origin precisely because they are drawn from a single reservoir of experience; in the present case, however, the instincts and impulses, not to mention the prejudices, of a mediocre nineteenth-century artist stand between the object and its supposed rendering.

A number of elements will help to relate the two objects, of which the following are the most precise. There is a band of some sort on the forehead of the Melville figure which corresponds to a rather exceptional row of dots on the actual figure. A hole appearing in the centre of the body seems to have been represented by the artist. The right hand has four fingers exactly as in the drawing and the remaining portion of the left hand has a mark on it approximately (but not exactly) where one appears in the illustration. The use of grass at the wrists is in fact present in the effigy. And the ankle-decorations and foot-treatment appear to match those of the engraving.

While the visual evidence seems to support the suggested identification, final attribution has been delayed by the discovery of some new documentary material. An ordinary shipping tag was found attached to the Erub mask illustrated in fig. 5, bearing the notation: 'Torres Sts. tortoiseshell masks, sent by A. Fowler.'

![Fig. 5. Erub Mask in the British Museum](image)

B.M. No. 1937-3-15-96

1912. No instructions.' This tag was written by Mr. H. J. Braunholtz, former Keeper of the Department of Ethnography. Since Mr. Braunholtz did not join the museum until 1913, the information on the tag was probably copied by him from an earlier label or document. On the back of the tag, there appears in pencil a note written by Captain A. W. F. Fuller which reads: 'Small portions of this mask may be with the small turtle shell figure (in pieces) which came with this specimen.' Captain Fuller is certain that he would not have written this unless the two specimens were in positive association with one another. By 1937, however, when the mask in fig. 5 was registered as part of a large inventory, they had apparently become separated, for the figure was not included in the stocktaking.

Attempts to trace A. Fowler have met with no success. The building at 124, Knightsbridge is a residential hotel and no records of former tenants are kept. There is no incoming or outgoing correspondence relating to these objects in the files of the British Museum. In the face of this dearth of information there was no alternative but to abandon the search for direct documentary proof of the attribution. Until such information is forthcoming, the ascription of the British Museum figure to the Jukes expedition must rely heavily on circumstantial evidence, of which the following is a summary.

1. A turtleshell figure from Erub is said to have been deposited in the Museum of the United Service Institution before 1847, but there is no record in that museum of this alleged accession. There is little doubt, however, that the figure was in England at that time.

2. Turtleshell effigies of the human figure from Torres Straits are extremely rare, the only other examples known to me being a fragmentary figure 5 from Mabuiag in the British Museum, and the remains of the Waiat figure from the Murray Islands now deposited in the Queensland Museum. The British Museum Erub figure is therefore the only known example of its kind, corresponding exactly in its uniqueness to the Jukes piece.

3. The British Museum Erub figure, an unregistered and unrecorded specimen, must have been unknown to Dr. Haddon as he would otherwise have mentioned it in the voluminous Cambridge Expedition Reports. In other words, Haddon never tested this figure against the Jukes illustration because he did not know of the existence of the figure.

4. Both the figure and the mask are probably of early date since neither exhibits the slightest evidence (i.e., beads, cloth, etc.) of culture contact. In Torres Straits masks collected after 1865, traces of acculturated material can usually be found.

5. The figure and the mask appear to be the work of a single gifted artist. They are unusual both in quality of technique and intricacy of form. This too argues for an early date.

6. The label on the mask bears the old term 'tortoiseshell' and refers to 'masks.' The detached head of the figure might easily be mistaken for a mask. This is supported by Captain Fuller's inscription which definitely associates the figure with the mask.

7. There is nothing in the illustration that contradicts the attribution, while many points of resemblance can be found.

In short, all of the documentary and circumstantial evidence except the alleged deposit in the United Service Institution Museum lends weight to the identification of the British Museum figure as that illustrated by Jukes. With the addition of the stylistic evidence, the conclusion seems well grounded that the Jukes figure and the British Museum effigy are in fact one and the same. If this be true, the figure may well have never been deposited in the United Services Institution Museum but remained in private hands until 1912 at which time it was sent in fragmentary condition to the British Museum. There the effigy remained, unrecorded because of its state in an out-of-the-way corner until the postwar reorganization programme
brought to life once more this rare and remarkable turtleshell figure from Torres Straits.

Acknowledgements

Although I did not find any gold, I wish to thank Mr. Adrian Digby, Keeper of the Department of Ethnography, and Mr. B. A. L. Cranstone, Assistant Keeper, for permission to publish the British Museum pieces and for many kindnesses. Mr. H. J. Brahmoltz, C.B.E., and Captian A. W. F. Fuller have contributed generously of their time and knowledge. I am also indebted to Columbia University for granting me the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship for 1957–58 which made possible my studies in England, and to the Museum of Primitive Art, New York, for a grant-in-aid for photography.

Notes


The Handling of Money: A Note on the Background to the Economic Sophistication of Overseas Chinese.

By Maurice Freedman, M.A., Ph.D., London School of Economics and Political Science

The vast majority of the men who left south-eastern China in the nineteenth century to make their fortune overseas were peasants or artisans. In South-East Asia great numbers of them took to business; many grew very rich. The general economic success of the Chinese abroad could not have been due to any special business training in China because the commercial class played too small a role in the emigration. The prosperity of a great many of the first generation of South-East Asian Chinese rested on their industriousness. The peasant Chinese was almost proverbially a hard worker; his patient toiling habits were so often commented on that we can have little doubt that the capacity of overseas Chinese for regular and sustained work was founded in a discipline acquired at home. But the will and ability of Chinese to work hard could not have been the sufficient cause of their progress in the amassing of riches. They accumulated wealth because, in comparison with the people among whom they came to live, they were highly sophisticated in the handling of money. At the outset they knew not only how to work themselves but also how to make their money work.

The Chinese peasant was not a hoarder who, so to speak, put his savings in a stocking under the bed. If he had money over and above his immediate needs he invested it so that it might grow. Some peasants took to trade, and if they were fortunate advanced from small beginnings to considerable riches. Some who had made money invested in land, which was likely to give a smaller economic return but was both more secure and a base for high social status. At a certain level of prosperity a man might also invest in education, for to move into the class of the scholar-gentry was a possibility opened up by increasing riches. But even very small sums of money could be put out to fructify, for there was a constant drive to invest in credit. A considerable part of the demand for credit was met by landlords, pawnbrokers and traders, but for small loans peasant could turn to peasant, the man with a temporary surplus placing it with a kinsman or neighbour who was for the moment below the line.

A missionary who seems to have been a careful observer of life in Fukuien, one of the two provinces from which nearly all overseas Chinese came, suggests how ordinary people were schooled by debt and credit, nearly all men being at one time or another debtors and many of them creditors. 'The great mass of the Chinese people are in a chronic state of debt. It seems to be the natural and normal state in which a Chinese passes his life. He is born into it; he grows up in it; he goes to school with it; he marries in it; and he ultimately leaves the world with the shadow of it resting on him in his last moments.' But if the opening paragraph of the Rev. J. Macgowan's chapter on 'Money and Money Lending' inclines us to think that the Chinese were generally crushed by the burden of debt, the next sentence dissuades us, 'This state of things does not seem to depress him in the least.' Indebtedness was nothing to be ashamed of, was public knowledge, and was readily incurred. Creditors were also widespread. 'These money lenders are not a distinct class such as exist in England, but they are everyone who has any spare cash at his disposal.' The servant woman with a spare dollar and the coolie who finds himself with a surplus of three dollars' look around for debtors with whom to place their money. 'The whole Chinese empire may be said to be in a perpetual state of borrowing and lending, and a large majority of its people are daily concerned with that most practical question how they shall pay the interest to the minority who have lent them money.'

If such a generalization cannot convince us that Chinese were generally put to school by experience to learn how to handle money, we can turn to another kind of evidence. Observers constantly refer to 'money loan associations' which at first glance look like simple mutual credit clubs calling for the minimum of economic skill. When we examine them more closely we see that they must have taught entrepreneurial, managerial, and financial skills of considerable importance. The money loan associations were small groups of people who paid regular (usually monthly) sums into a pool which was placed at the disposal of the individual members in turn. The institution was so common that printed books were sold which set out the rules and provided columns for the necessary entries. The normal procedure was for a man or woman who wished to raise a sum of money to get together a number of people (commonly ten) who paid the desired sum in equal shares and then recouped themselves in turn at fixed intervals. The order in which the members, other than the promoter, drew the pool was determined either on the basis of chance (by lots or dice) or by means of tenders to forgo a proportion of the contributions due. (In a less usual version, the organizer did not start the scheme by collecting the total sum for himself but was paid for his services by receiving one half of one individual contribu
tion from each of the individual drawers of the periodical sums in turn.)

The members needed to trust both the promoter and one another not to decamp after drawing the pool. It therefore fell to the promoter to recruit his group in such a fashion as to inspire confidence. Even in a village community there was a risk that a man might default and run away. In urban conditions the risk was much greater and the burden on the promoter heavier; the members did not necessarily know one another or even meet, the promoter going the rounds to take bids and collect and distribute money. The promoter had to make a careful assessment of the risks of default and of the financial soundness of the members, because he was often bound to make good in some measure the losses resulting from a member dropping out. In return for the risks he ran and his services as an organizer, the promoter received a joint loan from the members which he repaid without interest in as many instalments as there were members. (In many loan associations the promoter paid interest in the form of a feast which he gave at the first meeting; but he then benefited from the feasts which were given at each subsequent meeting by the individual members drawing the pool.) On their side the members were playing a careful financial game when they tendered for the pool. Each man had to weigh his desire to draw the pool early against his wish to pay the minimum interest. After he had drawn the pool, he had at each subsequent draw to pay a full contribution, so that the interest which he paid declined with the period for which he held off; the last man of all to draw paid in the least money in periodical contributions and took out the maximum amount.

Suppose that there were nine members and a promoter, the initial sum collected by the latter being $90. At the first meeting each member paid the promoter $10. At the second meeting tenders were submitted, the highest bid being $2. The successful bidder then collected $10 from the promoter and $10 = 2 = 8 from the other members. Suppose that at the third meeting the successful bidder offered to forgo $2.40; he then received $10 each from the promoter and the previous successful bidder and $10 = 2 = 40 = 7.20 from each of the remaining seven members. The bids would probably rise at each meeting, but if for the sake of simplicity we assume a flat rate of bidding at $2 throughout, then the very last member (who of course made no bid) came away with $10 = 90, having paid $74. If the meetings were at monthly intervals, the last member had invested $74 over a period of nine months and made a profit of $76 at the end.

It was to the advantage of the men who could wait the longest for their money that the periodical bids should be high. People therefore often put in small bids, which they knew would not win, in order to frighten the members who really needed the money into bidding up. The tenders were written and sealed, or otherwise kept secret, so that a large number of bids seemed to indicate to the man who desperately wanted to draw the pool that he would need to forgo a large proportion of the contributions if he wished to ensure a successful tender.

One way of looking at this institution is to see it as a means of procuring relatively cheap credit on a co-operative basis. The promoter paid no interest on what he borrowed, while the members paid interest at rates below those demanded by moneylenders and pawnbrokers. Writing of a Kwangtung village in the nineteen-twenties D. H. Kulp said that 'not infrequently interest rates on loans run as high as twenty per cent. per month.' The legal maximum rate of interest in the nineteenth century was 3 per cent. per month, but because of various contrivances a tenant was probably not able to borrow at less than 5 per cent. per month. But this is to look at the advantage accruing to the member as debtor; the member as creditor also benefited. The interest that he earned was comparatively small, but the investment was probably more secure than in ordinary moneylending, it did not need to be assembled in one sum at the beginning, and it was more certainly to be recovered in a fixed time. We must see in the money loan association the drive to lend as well as the pressure to borrow.

Shrewdness in handling money was an important part of the equipment which ordinary Chinese took with them when they went overseas in search of a livelihood. Their financial skill rested above all on three characteristics of the society in which they were raised: the respectability of the pursuit of riches, the relative immunity of surplus wealth from confiscation by political superiors, and the legitimacy of careful and interested financial dealings between neighbours and even close kinsmen. The Chinese were economically successful in South-East Asia not simply because they were energetic immigrants, but more fundamentally because in their quest for riches they knew how to handle money and organize men in relation to money.

Notes

2 Lights and Shadows of Chinese Life, Shanghai, 1909, p. 171. Macgowan is of course here speaking generally of China, but he had special knowledge of the south-eastern area. Among his works is a dictionary of the Amoy dialect.
3 Ibid., p. 173.
4 This example is modelled on that given in E. W. Jacques, 'A Chinese Loan Society,' MAN, 1931, 216. Jacques is writing about Chinese loan societies in Sarawak, but he describes a system common in China.
6 Kulp, op. cit., p. 191.
8 In the central Chinese village described by Fei Hsiao-tung the kind of uncommon and unpopular loan association in which bidding was allowed was called Kwangtung Piao Hui, an auction system supposed to be originated in Kwangtung. See Peasant Life in China ..., London, 1939, p. 274. It may be that south-eastern Chinese were particularly ingenious organizers of and hard bargainers in money loan associations, but the bidding system was by no means confined to the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien. See A. H. Smith, Village Life in China, A Study in Sociology, New York, 1899, pp. 154ff., and Yang, op. cit., pp. 6, 77.
9 On this last point cf. Freedman, op. cit., p. 18.

A Note on Local Descent Groups. By Professor A. W. Southall, East African Institute of Social Research

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In a recent article, Professor Morton Fried drew attention to the apparent contradiction between Murdock's statement that the 'consanguineal kin group cannot be characterized by common residence' and Leach's view that 'when the consanguineal kin group ceases to be localized it ceases to be corporate.' Commenting on the relevance of this to material on the Gusii and Luo presented by Mayer and myself respectively, Fried invites further reaction. In fact, of course, Leach does not use Murdock's term 'consanguineal kin group' and what Fried refers to is what Leach calls a local descent group. Furthermore, Leach does not state that when the consanguineal kin group ceases to be localized it ceases to be corporate. He says that when a large-scale lineage ceases to be localized it generally ceases to be corporate for the purpose of arranging marriage. This is clearly a much more limited statement. Fried does not seem to give adequate weight to the variation in numerical and territorial size displayed by
corporate unilinear descent groups and the complexity of their internal structure. It is very misleading to treat them as simple units in the way that Fried does, for example, in his reference to the Chinese material. The criteria of classification will apply very differently according to which level of a complex lineage structure is chosen. Against this background, the conflict between Murdock's dictum and the practice of Mayer and myself can be reconciled.

If we consider first the biological aspect of the family, and take a patrilineal nuclear family of parents and children in which the sons and daughters born by the mother were in fact begotten by the father, the position is perfectly clear. This is a compromise and not a consanguineal kin group in Murdock's sense.

There are two possible alternatives. Either we consider only the men in a patrilineal system, excluding the women, and only the women in a matrilineal system, excluding the men, or we consider the descent affiliation of spouses, not in biological terms, but according to the predominant direction of their jural rights and their social participation.

In the case of patrilineal systems (we still have to use this term unqualified in general discussion for the sake of brevity, despite its oft demonstrated ambiguities) there is considerable justification for the first alternative, since in many patrilineal societies the status of wives approximates to that of jural minors. It might therefore be held that the only full members of the descent system are the men, women being merely channels through which the males of the society are replaced, and that therefore when all the surviving adult male descendants of an agnatic ancestor occupy a continuous territory they are justifiably called a local descent group.

Since patrilineal and matrilineal systems are never mirror images of one another, identical in reverse, this interpretation is not likely to fit matrilineal descent groups so neatly. The jural rights of males still tend to predominate over those of females even in matrilineal systems, so that in them males cannot easily be ignored from the point of view of descent, although they may be regarded in their marital groups as mere begetters while the crucial line passes through women. However, at a formal level it seems justifiable to call a matrilineage a local descent group if its adult female members, who alone count for the reckoning of descent, enjoy common residence.

A number of writers on lineages may have implicitly assumed some such interpretation as this. For example, the diagrammatic paradigms of Tallensi lineage structure given by Fortes show males only, although children of both sexes are included in the definitions.7 I followed a similar pattern in the treatment of Luo and Alur material.6 The contradiction pointed out by Fried centres on terms used and implicit understandings rather than on facts.

The other alternative, of treating the descent-group affiliation of females in terms of the net balance of jural rights and social participation, is also worthy of serious consideration. This is especially because the structural significance of variation in this respect has only recently been recognized and the evidence is still very scanty. Fallers has drawn attention to the paradox that the Zulu-Nuer type of system, in which agnatic groups are incorporated as political units, is in one sense less 'patrilineal' than is the Soga system, for Nuer-Zulu lineages in a sense contain in-marrying wives. Soga lineages are made up solely of actual agnates, women remaining members of the lineages into which they were born.7 On the other hand, one might say that it is those societies, which confer a sort of honorary membership of the local descent group upon its wives, which are really more strongly patrilineal because it is only by this fiction that a patrilineal group is enabled to become both corporate and local.

Such fictional membership does not mean that a wife is regarded as having the same descent as her husband, for obviously this would make nonsense of the concepts of descent, incest and exogamy. Rather, it emphasizes aspects which cluster about a descent group by virtue of its being localized.

The Luo and Alur do not define the affiliation of women precisely.8 They can never be equated with men and on major ritual occasions at least three categories are differentiated: male agnates, females born into the lineage and females married into it. On the other hand the marriage ceremonies of the Nilo-Hamitic Jie 'culminate in the incorporation of the wife into her husband's clan when she has borne and reared two children.9 Among the related Teso a wife is 'initiated into the clan taboos of her husband' by an elaborate ritual, and 'a widow remarrying must go through this ceremony again to enter the clan of her new husband.'10

The literature on marriage ceremonies and the transfers of property and obligations of service associated with them is voluminous, but much fuller information is required on the relation of these to the jural rights of women and the nature of local kin groups. The jural rights of women need to be studied from the point of view of their overt definition, their expression in ritual and the implications of other cultural elements such as the dogma of witchcraft, the normal place of burial of married women and normal residence of widows. The concept of the local descent group needs refinement and could often be defined in quantitative terms, by reference to the numerical size, genealogical depth and segmentary articulation of lineages which are localized and the number of non-members attached to them. An adequate classification of corporate unilinear descent groups must probably await fuller knowledge of the range of variation in the patterns of logical connexion between these factors in different empirical systems.

Notes
10 J. C. D. Lawrence, The Iteo, Oxford (1957), pp. 95f.

The Hemoglobin of 103 Indian Gir Cattle. By Dr. H. Lehmann, St. Bartholomeew's Hospital, London, E.C.1.

With a text figure

It has been known for some time that adult cattle possess two types of haemoglobin (Cabannes and Serain, 1955). Bangham (1957) presented convincing evidence that these two hemoglobins were determined by two allelic morph genes of which neither was dominant or recessive. Bangham also made the remarkable discovery that whereas most cattle in Britain are homozygous for the Bov. A hemoglobin, those from Jersey, Guernsey and South Devon breeds included animals with hemoglobin Bov. B. Bangham related this observation to Stapleton's (1953) theory of the origin of the Jersey cow from Bos indicus rather than from Bos taurus. Following an ancestral line of migration suggested by Boston (1954) which leads from the Indus valley through Africa to Europe and using the presence of the
Bov. B hemoglobin as a marker of common ancestry with Jersey cattle, Bangham and Blumberg (1938) have discovered this pigment in East and West Africa, and in South-east, Mid and Northern France as well as in Switzerland.

Lehmann and Rollinson (1938) found a difference in the hemoglobin distribution in Uganda cattle. Two breeds were compared, both partially derived from the Asiatic lateral-horned Zebu. One of them—the short-horned Zebu—is a mixture of the lateral-horned Zebu and the Asiatic Brachyceros, the other—Ankole—is a crossbreed of the lateral-horned Zebu with long-horned African cattle. There was a significantly lower incidence of the Bov. B gene in Ankole, and it was thought that this was an expression of its African rather than Asiatic ancestry.

Fig. 1. Indian Gir cattle

If hemoglobin Bov. B is associated with Bos indicus one might expect a high incidence of this hemoglobin variant in the Indian Zebu. By the courtesy of Dr. L. D. Sanghi and Mr. P. K. Sukumaran, Bombay, 103 specimens of blood from randomly selected adult Gir cattle were obtained for examination. The incidence of hemoglobin Bov. B was considerably higher than in the Uganda short-horned Zebu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>A+B</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uganda short-horned Zebu</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Gir</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whereas in the Uganda Zebu the frequency of the hemoglobin Bov. B gene was just under one-half of that for the Bov. A gene, both were exactly the same in the Gir cattle.

There had been no obvious evidence for a balance polymorphism in Uganda and the number of phenotypes found has been in fairly good agreement with that expected from a stable genetic equilibrium. In contrast there is a considerable surplus of heterozygous phenotypes in the Gir cattle. With an equal gene frequency the number of both homozygotes should equal that of the heterozygotes if all three types had the same chance of being conceived and reaching adult age. However, it seems that in the Gir cattle natural selection favours the heterozygote. Instead of a proportion of heterozygotes to both homozygotes of 1:1, the ratio is 67:33 or 2:1. This deviation from the expected equilibrium is statistically highly significant.

I should like to thank Dr. L. D. Sanghi and Mr. P. K. Sukumaran of the Human Variation Unit, Indian Cancer Research Centre, Bombay, for their help in obtaining the blood samples of Gir cattle and for securing the photographs; and Dr. A. E. Mourant of the Medical Research Council Blood Group Reference Laboratory, London, for discussion and advice.

References

CORRESPONDENCE

Iron Gongs from Northern Rhodesia. Cf. MAN, 1955, 30, 157; 1956, 20; 1958, 255

Sir,—I am grateful for Mr. Barrie Reynolds's letter on iron gongs from Northern Rhodesia as it affords me an opportunity to correct a conclusion which I reached that the iron gongs were introduced into Southern Rhodesia by the Kazembe (Lunda) peoples in the mid sixteenth century.

In my paper on iron gongs I concluded (a) that these gongs spread from the Congo to the Rhodesias, and (b) that this spread took place at a relatively late period in the history of the Southern Rhodesian ruins, as the gongs are only found in the upper layers of the ruin debris. Subsequent work has confirmed these conclusions and the strong Congo Rozwi influence on the Southern Rhodesian ruin cultures is emphasized in other aspects of material culture.

From the evidence available to me at the time I concluded that the peoples of the Lunda Kazembe were responsible for the introduction of iron gongs into Southern Rhodesia in the mid sixteenth century. This was based on a statement by Hall and Neal that 'there appears to have been two races of conquerors styled Abolos: one of them, it is believed, was the Kazembe of the present Northern Rhodesia, who, according to Diego de Conto (Diogo de Couto), devastated the country of Sofala, and entering into Monomotapa, entrenched themselves and conquered the country, and on the fact that the Lunda Kazembe possessed double iron gongs.

This was refuted by Dr. Ian Cunnison, who pointed out that the Lunda Kazembe did not migrate from the Congo to Northern Rhodesia until A.D. 1740. Dr. Cunnison's studies of Lunda history leave little doubt that his dating is sound. Furthermore, Hall and Neal's interpretation of de Couto's account is incorrect. The passage from Da Asia to which they refer is as follows: 'It must be known therefore that in the year 1570, when Don Fernando de Monroy was captain of Mozambique, very large armies of most barbarous and cruel Kaffirs came from the heart of this interior Ethiopia, who like swarms of locusts descended upon the lands of Monomotapa from the great lake in which the rivers Guama, Zaire, Rapto, and
Nile have their origin, of which we have given a particular account in our ninth decade; and thus this cruel and barbarous scourge stole into the land and destroyed everything where they passed. Upon the road they were joined by two other tribes called Macabies and Ambios. These were the most savage, as their ordinary food was human flesh, and it has never been ascertained from what part they came, as they were such barbarians that they could give no information of anything. According to our opinion it appears that they came from a kingdom in the vicinity of the empire of Abyssinia, called Ambea, of which the emperor made mention in his letter to the king Dom Manuel, which can be seen in his chronicle written by Damiao de Goes, and by the similarity of the name of these Ambios they appear undoubtedly to have come from that province. It is clear, therefore, either that the iron gongs were not introduced into Southern Rhodesia by the Lunda but by some other tribe from the Congo, or that if they were introduced by the Lunda then the date of their introduction must have been after A.D. 1740. I have discussed this problem with Dr. Desmond Clark, who writes: 'I think you are correct in assuming that the iron gongs are of Congo origin in so far as Northern Rhodesia and the territories south of that are concerned, but Hall and Neal's identification of one of the Abolozi groups with the Kazembe's people could not possibly be correct. I think it is much more likely that the gongs were introduced by one of the earliest migrant groups from the south-east Congo, such as the Chewe-Maravi elements which arrived in Northern Rhodesia round about A.D. 1500. You will find the Kingdom of Masse (Mwazi, the title of the Chewe chiefs), i.e. Mwazi Kazungu in southern Nyasa, marked on Sanson and de Lisle maps of late seventeenth to early eighteenth century, as also the kingdom of the Maravi—the present Nyanja group of tribes. It usually took anything up to a hundred years to get such information onto the maps. Certainly in Northern Rhodesia all these double and single gongs are associated with tribes of southern Congo origin. The earlier tribes, such as the Tonga-Ila, do not have them.'

It is possible, therefore, that one of the early Congo tribes could have reached Southern Rhodesia by the middle of the sixteenth century, though this tribe could not have been the Lunda. It is also possible that the title Kazembe was not restricted to the Lunda chiefs for Dr. Cumnion writes: 'I find persistent references to early Kazembe,' and he quotes a reference to a Cazembe in the Tete district in 1560. This could not have been a Lunda Kazembe and must have been the chief of another tribe.

Studies subsequent to the publication of my original paper confirm that the iron gongs were introduced into Northern Rhodesia and further south by peoples who migrated from the Congo basin. This introduction took place some time after A.D. 1500 when the first peoples began to migrate from the Congo into Northern Rhodesia and iron gongs may well have reached Southern Rhodesia by the middle of the sixteenth century. Dr. Cumnion has definitely established, however, that the people concerned could not have been the Lunda unless the gongs did not reach Southern Rhodesia until after A.D. 1740.

In 1956, through the kindness of Dr. Desmond Clark, I had the opportunity of studying the iron gongs in the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum at Livingstone. Gongs from the Soli, Lunda, Bisa, We, Nkoya, Lala, Lozi and Luchazi tribes are included in a very rich collection. Equally important are the bow tridents, ceremonial axes, tongs and iron stools, particularly the assemblage from the grave of the Soli chief, Kondola Bimbe. Kondola Bimbe was the chief of the Soli between A.D. 1720 and 1750. He was a renowned blacksmith and, if not actually responsible for the introduction of iron-working among the Soli, he gave it a great stimulus. He settled with his people in the Chalimbana and Chongwe valleys. When he died his body was exposed for a year in the hut of his senior wife and then buried together with his wives and slaves and the weapons and utensils which he had used during his lifetime. In the case of Chief Kondola Bimbe these included iron gongs, bow tridents, ceremonial tongs, a stool and ceremonial axes.

I hope that Mr. Reynolds, or some other worker in Northern Rhodesia, will eventually publish a detailed account of the grave goods of Kondola Bimbe, including comparisons with similar artifacts from the Congo area and from the Southern Rhodesian ruins. They undoubtedly establish a strong link between the Congo and the Rozwi culture of the Southern Rhodesian ruins.

Maseru, Basutoland

JAMES WALTON

Notes

1 MAN, 1958, 255.
2 MAN, 1955, 30.
6 Translation by G. M. Theal, Records of South-Eastern Africa, Vol. VI (extract kindly supplied by Dr. J. Desmond Clark).
7 Letter from Dr. J. Desmond Clark to me, 8 November, 1937.
8 Letter from Dr. Ian Cumnion to me, 30 September, 1938.
9 Information kindly supplied by Dr. J. Desmond Clark.

REVIEWS

AMERICA


French ethnologists do not as a rule show much interest in South-western studies. All the more welcome is this significant contribution by a French psychologist, who brings to his work clear judgment and, apparently, a privileged position with the Zuñi—though his objective presentation of the evidence does not emphasize this. He is able to set the pageant of the giant Shalako impersonations, which brings so many Indian and foreign visitors to Zuñi, in relation to the other observances of the November week featuring the arrival of the masked supernaturals, seldom seen by outsiders, and to the Koko (Kachina) cult in general. He finds reason to agree with the Zuñi tradition that the Koko 'joined the people late in the migration,' that is, that this was a rather late addition to the Zuñi religion. The late Dr. Parsons was at one time of the opinion that the Pueblo use of masked dancers was entirely imitated from Spanish customs; M. Cazenueve has not much difficulty in disposing of this theory, but he might have conceded that the Shalako were precisely Dr. Parsons' strongest example. Compare Fewkes' drawings of these figures with the gigantes of Spanish processions and the correspondence is extremely close, even to the placing of the window at the level of the bearer's face: the clapping hand, too, seems to be a European device. Is it not likely that the Shalako were added to the Zuñi Kachina repertory, much as the Hopi, about 1912, added a Ki'ma' (Christmas) Katsina on the American model?

Having established the pre-Columbian status of the Kachinas, M. Cazenueve discusses the date of their invention, which he is inclined to place in the traditional period of migrations (cf. Exodus, Nostoi) following the great droughts (tree-ring evidence) of the late thirteenth century. Then, he thinks, the need for a new kind of intermediaries between men and the rain-givers was felt, and the cult of the masked supernaturals resulted. The whole of Chapter XI in which he develops this theme will repay study. He accepts Cushing's view that the Zuñi tribe includes an element from the Rio Salado region, and, presumably, he can reconcile this with the representation of masked dancers on a vase from 'Snake City' ruins in the same region, generally assigned to the early twelfth century.
M. Cazeneuve lays stress on the abstract character of the Zuñi mask-makers' art, explaining it as an expression of the *diferencia* between the supernatural and the human. Awañobi wall paintings and some Pueblo masks support his view, but he goes too far when he generalizes it for the whole of Pueblo art. Pueblo pottery design has included the naturalism of the Mimbres, with progressively stylized bird forms (as Chapman demonstrated) among others, as well as geometrical forms; and one might trace a gradation of mask-making from the ceramic-representational of Hopi Powamu to the Zuñi abstract.

The Koyemshi sacred cloths, for M. Cazeneuve, embody 'the sacredness of transgression' of taboos. Should he not take into account also their connection with a revulsion from solemnity in the presence of the sacred?

On the origin of the name *kachina*. M. Cazeneuve is not convincing. This supposed Hopi phoneme (p. 218) *katchi*, 'life, soul, breath,' + *na*, 'father,' looks like speculation by an intelligent Hopi informant. And what grounds are there for supposing that the word (which in form seems to be Keresan) came from the west rather than from the Pueblo Grande pueblos where the Spaniards first recorded it?

The book is illustrated by spirited drawings. The photographs seem hardly worth the risk of taking them.

BARBARA AITKEN


Thirty of the songs recorded in Quechua by José María Arguedas, head of the Instituto de Estudios Etnológicos del Museo Nacional de Historia, in Lima, and later translated into Spanish, are given in this volume. Also included are eleven 'threshing Songs,' collected and translated into Spanish by María Lourdes Valladares, and nine folktales, collected by Father Jorge A. Lira, translated into Spanish by Arguedas and then into English by Kate and Angel Flores. English translations of the songs and of the two short essays by Arguedas, as well as an introduction, are the work of Ruth Stephan, an American novelist and poet.

The introduction and the essays provide some background for understanding the songs and tales. A useful bibliography is appended. Since the book is confined to the literary aspect of the folklore, the music of the songs is not analysed.

Most of the Quechua folk songs, ancient and modern, deal with nostalgic love themes, filled with references to birds, animals, and plants. With the exception of the 'threshing Songs,' this collection consists of popular songs for dancing. Differing markedly from the songs, the tales included in this book warn against transgressing family rules and customs and reveal a strong distrust of the stranger in the community.

Arguedas points out that the *huaynos* (popular dance songs) in Peru range from those whose language and music seem to indicate pre-Hispanic antiquity to others of totally Spanish character. Thus the songs faithfully reflect the degree of acculturation of the people who sing them. All of the songs presented here are Indian, but the original Quechua versions included words of Spanish origin whose form and meaning have undergone change.

In its purpose of acquainting the English-speaking world with the beauty of Quechua folklore, this book succeeds admirably.

GEORGE EATON SIMPSON


This last work of Professor Schultzze Jena can be named 'the unfinished,' for while writing his translations of the *Cantares mexicanos*, the 83-year-old scholar was surprised by death. Therefore the book only contains folios 1–57 of the Nahualt manuscript *Mexican Hymns*, in the National Library of Mexico.

In producing this review I find myself in the not very desirable position of having to make a choice between censuring the deceased and ignoring the scientific truth. I have trodden the path of censure.

We can speak only with appreciation of the great activity that Dr. Schultzze Jena demonstrated during the years following the First World War in the field of studies of autochthonous Mexican culture. We meet with a last demonstration of his laboriousness in the ample glossary added to this book. But this is the last commendation which can be said about this edition of Mexican hymns. In the original manuscript the Nahualt words are not separated in a correct manner and therefore it is difficult for anyone who has not a very ample knowledge of the language to avoid mistakes, and in general it can be said that it is impossible to produce an unchallengeable version. For that reason I do not want to criticize the German Professor on small details.

But Dr. Schultzze Jena made more serious mistakes: he unfolded a great fantasy at all points where he did not understand the meaning of the texts. He went so far as to interpret history starting from his wrong translation of a poem written on the occasion of Nezahualpilli's victory over Atlixco, attributing to Nezahualpilli a victory over Mexico too. Everybody with the slightest knowledge of Mexican history knows that the Tezocan ruler was the faithful ally of the Mexican (Aztec) Empire. And this mistake occurred in a Quellenwerk zur alt Geschichte Amerikas!

The severest remarks, however, I must reserve for the editor, Gerdi Kutscher. By inside information I know that in 1956 he received all the works of the great Mexican connoisseur of Nahualt literature, Professor Angel Maria Garibay, but the editor had not even mentioned his books in the bibliography which he compiled. Further I cannot understand why Kutscher has edited the poems in so strangely prosaic a form, as though Byron were written in the following way: 'And then the very rock hath rock'd, and I have felt it unsheath'd, because I could have smiled to see the death that would have set me free...'

RUDOLF VAN ZANTWJK


The third-second Congress of Americanists, of the series which began in Nancy in 1873, was held at Copenhagen in 1956 under the presidency of Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith. Reports of these congresses tend to follow a pattern: many of the papers concern the interests of the country which is host to the congress; the rest can be lumped together in a sort of literary Cave of Adullam. This volume is no exception, and one can do no more than mention a few of the 91 published papers. Naturally, there is a rich series on the Arctic, notably the presidential address on the significance of eskimology, Knuth's archeology of the farthest north, Collins on the Dorset problem, Vebeek's résumé of recent work on Norse sites, Laughlin on Aleutian archeology, Okladnikov's summary of recent work in North-East Siberia, and various papers on Eskimo language. Larsen discusses Nunamiut material culture in relation to that of Eskimos and their neighbours; Spenser and van den Steenhoven deal with Eskimo polyandry and legal concepts respectively.

Of general papers one might note Lowie's views on the culture-area concept and Hackel on possible relations between Alaska, California and the Pueblo region. Delving in museums has produced a number of papers: Loukotka brings to notice a very large and interesting collection of Tiahuanaco material, made around 1910, and since then hidden in Czechoslovakia; Haberland solves the problem of the wooden figures from Macabi island; Bathnell makes known an unusual Cupisnique vessel in the Royal Scottish Museum; Kutscher brings to light a sort of Badminton depicted on Mochica vases. Desk work includes Caso's interpretation of the Mapa de Xochitepec and Barthel's and Knorozov's conflicting views on interpretation of the Maya hieroglyphs.

Field reports include Anderson's on a Maya site in British Honduras, Cruxent's on an early lithic industry in Venezuela, Becker-Dörner's on work on the Middle Guapoare, Brazil, Haury's discussion of sites of elephant-slaughter in the south-western United States, and Doernbiz on North Peru. Weitlander reports the discovery of a remarkable Zapotec calendar; Irmgard Johnson discusses twine-plaiting, Oberon the life cycle among the
Quijos of eastern Ecuador, and Zerries and Schuster different aspects of the Waika.

Glottochronology is the subject of four papers, of which Eggan’s appraisal is favourable, but Hjelmslev’s is critical.

This listing of papers, necessarily brief and subjective, will serve to indicate the wide scope and the high level of the Congress, and make clear its obvious success. The renewed participation of Russian anthropologists in these Americanist meetings is welcome; without their co-operation research on the peopling of the New World is handicapped.

J. ERIC S. THOMPSON


The Kaapor Indians, better known as the Uruubu, belong to the Tupi group of Amazon Indians, and live in the Maranhão province of Brazil. This is a useful ethnographical book dealing with the featherwork ornaments of this tribe; there are sketches and descriptions of the points of technique and style which differentiate the featherwork of this tribe from that of others; and 14 colour plates, from gouaches by Georgette Dumas, illustrate the different types of ornament and some variants (from specimens in the Museu do Indio) together with a detailed description of each and a sketch showing the method of wear. There is some lack of correlation between the English and Portuguese texts and the actual illustrations of Plates VI and XII, thus: Japu-Ruwaí-Diuual (armlet) is described in Portuguese and English as Plate XII and appears as Plate XII, but the appropriate sketch and caption are with Plate VI; Tampi-Porã (earrings) are described in English as Plate VI and have the right sketch and caption, but the colour illustration and Portuguese text are part of Plate XII; Diuual-Kuaiwu (armlet) is described as Plate VI in Portuguese and English, and is Plate VI, but the appropriate sketch and caption are with Plate XII.

This book, which also includes a discussion of the place of featherwork in the Kaapor social, cultural and mythological milieu, leads one to look forward to Darcy Ribeiro’s larger study on the featherwork of the Indians of Brazil, sponsored by the Museu Nacional.

The useful English summary contains some spelling mistakes and unusual uses of words, but is nonetheless very useful; the book itself is rather inconclusively produced in the form of a loose-leaf folder, each leaf of which is folded in half and printed on the four pages. But the printing and illustration are very good.

M. A. BENNET-CLARK


Dr. Bailey’s account of the village of Bispwara, in what was once the Khondmals Subdivision of Angul (or latterly of Ganjam) District, gives a detailed study of the economic set-up of a hill village in Orissa, of its social stratification, of the relations obtaining between different castes, and of the forces operating to bring about the transfer of wealth, land and political power from one section of the population to another over a period of time. At the same time the influence on the village community of its gradual absorption into the wider economy of the State is considered and the nature of the resulting changes is demonstrated.

The examination of this village community is extremely well done, particularly from the economic aspect, and the whole set-up of a composite Indian village with its interdependent castes, its village servants with traditional functions mostly paid in kind, is admirably described. Much of the material will by no means be new to anyone who has served as a district officer in India. The causes why land, the most coveted of all possessions to the Indian countryman, comes into the market and passes in ownership from one caste, or class, to another, and the problems of the joint family, multiple inheritance, and disintegrating estates are familiar enough to most retired Indian civil servants in this country, but these are a disappearing generation and this study is not intended for their edification anyhow.

In the chapter on ‘The Changing Village’ the attitude of the villagers to the Administration is extremely appreciated, and so likewise are the question of social distance in the administrative classes themselves, the position of the village headman, and the tensions of caste, but it is perhaps a pity that the author has attempted to translate the vernacular names of castes into English, for in spite of his glossary it gives a wrong impression. Thus the Sudhu caste (presumably the author’s Sudo), which he translates ‘Warrior,’ is not and never has been Khatiya or Rajput, but is a caste of agriculturists who used to supply palanquin-carriers and body servants, and in part is possibly of Sawara origin. So again the Ghadi caste may do scavenging but is not typically a sweeper caste and seems to derive its name from its occupation of collecting grass for horses, one such assistant having been usually attached to each sali or groom.

On natural history the author is weak; hares may no doubt be shot in the paddy nurseries (p. 114), but there are no wild rabbits in India, and the snakes (p. 17) is entirely incorrect of recounting any of any sort’s diet. There are one or two slips in proof-reading: on p. 80, line 7, either ‘buyer’ should read ‘seller’ or ‘below’ should read ‘above,’ and in lines 9 and 10 on p. 31 ‘east’ and ‘west’ seem to have been interchanged. But the volume as a whole is well printed and well turned out: it contains the essential maps, and an index, and is illustrated by a dozen or so plates of photographs; it is an important addition to economic and sociological studies on India.

J. H. HUTTON


The manner in which Japan, alone among Asiatic countries, industrialized and westernized herself with great speed and success in the latter half of the nineteenth century is a remarkable historical phenomenon. In reality, the factors which made this phenomenon possible lie deep in Japanese history, dating back to the equally remarkable assimilation of the whole of Chinese civilization over 1200 years previously, and they are also complex, involving a network of diverse political, historical, economic, social and other influences.

The author of this book seeks to explain the nineteenth-century industrialization in the too limited terms indicated by his title. He claims to find a sufficient explanation within the short span of the Tokugawa period (1660–1868) and in the single field of religion.

It should be made clear that the term ‘Tokugawa religion’ is a misleading abbreviation for ‘Japanese religion in the Tokugawa period,’ since there is nothing so distinctive about the state of Japanese religion in this period as to justify such a special term. It should also be made clear that this book cannot be regarded as a textbook or authoritative treatment of Japanese religion in this period, since it does not treat this religion fully or for its own sake, but merely emphasizes certain selected aspects which appear to the author to support his line of argument. Apart from Chapter VI and Appendix I, there is no clear evidence of any original work by the author on any of the Japanese sources or of any knowledge or use of important recent monographs by Japanese authorities in this field. Everything else seems to be based on secondary material in western languages, and there is a prolific spate of quotations from western-language books, articles and translations, good, bad and indifferent.

Chapter VI and Appendix I introduce new material, a description of a minor religious movement known as Shingakai and of its founder, Ishida Baigan, taken from Japanese sources and presented to western readers for the first time. It is ironical that this part of the book, which has independent value of its own, seems to have little relevance to the development of the author’s line of argument in the rest of the book.

E. B. CEADEL

In spite of its title this book does not cover the political systems of Kedah and Johore and contains nothing on the original Bugis system of Selangor, even the old office of Suliwatang not being mentioned. Apart from these omissions it is a most interesting and valuable work, the writer having gleaned hitherto inaccessible material from old official reports and reviewed known facts from a new angle. Essentially it is a study of Malay States in the nineteenth century. There is, however, a historical introduction excellent except for a few minor errors. There was a State secret in Perak, the name of the founder of the Malaca royal line. But the installation formula (chiri) was not secret, though it was not unintelligible Sanskrit. The Perak Sultanate was founded not before the Portuguese captured Malacca but in 1530 when Sultan Mahmud died. Incidentally the accession of Megat Terawis as Bendahara and apparently to the temporary and limited use of a Perak digest of Malangkabau customary law, which was published after Mr. Gullick had written this book. For the chapter on law he appears not to have studied the Malacca Digest (translated by Newbold, whose nineteenth-century material has not been used and whose book does not appear in the Bibliography) or the Pahang Digest, which was also the law of Perak and Johore, or the authoritative articles by Mr. Justice E. N. Taylor on Negri Sembilan law of property and succession. The Ninety-Nine Laws of Perak may be the accident of publication being best-known to British students, but certainly in Perak, Pahang and Johore the 'Pahang' digest must have been far more widely known and followed, as Sultan Idris said. Mr. Gullick quotes Wilkinson as remarking that the lopping-off of hands for theft, a Muslim penalty, was too barbarous for Pahang. Yet it is prescribed in the Pahang digest and, Begbie tells us, was practised in Trengganu early in the nineteenth century as it was in seventeenth-century Acha. Often it must have been not savagery but a misplaced religious and intellectual interest first in Hindu and later in Islamic law that led to cruel punishments.

It is comical to find Clifford and Swettenham described as 'superb scholars': fluent speakers of Malay though they were, both those able men left England direct from school and neither would have added to his real distinctions a claim to scholarship.

R. O. WINSTEDT


This vivid and exciting book begins with a reconstruction of the pre-war jungle life, work and marriage of the young anthropologist Pat Noone, of whose scientific work only a few articles survive, the rest of his papers having perished by accidents of flood and war. Then follows an account of his brother Richard's assignment by General Templer to win over the aborigines away from the Chinese communist bandits, a task seemingly impossible but brilliantly performed and leading incidentally to the discovery that Pat was murdered by a Temiar lover of his aboriginal wife, with the excuse of dream compulsion. For Temiar dream life the theory of Dr. Kilron Stewart of New York may make good copy, but it certainly needs corroboration. Of more interest than the few pages directly devoted to anthropology are the oblique references to the effect on the aborigines of the bandit war. Before the Chinese communists invaded their mountain fastnesses and coerced them with propaganda it would have been deemed incredible that the mild-mannered aborigines could produce headmen who would kill and torture their people for the sake of any ideology. Even now the author's expression 'braves' can hardly be applicable to Temiar youths.

Saka (p. 38) meaning 'a hereditary area of common land' looks like a Sanskrit loan word as corrupted by the Malangkabaus of Ulu Jelai, Pahang, and one can hardly suppose that practitioners of shifting cultivation have long had the concept of hereditary land.

R. O. WINSTEDT

EUROPE


Nearly 50 authors make major but short contributions to the discussion of evidence for chronology from local finds. No synthesis is attempted and local detail abounds. For the Paleolithic, from the discussion of tools and figurines, less critical chronologically, are hardly mentioned. For later periods pottery is the subject of perpetual discussion and such matters as bronze swords and their possible spread to the Baltic are overlooked for the same reason.

The Szeletian phase of transition from Mousterian to Aurignacian gets appropriate emphasis; its laurel-leaf implements probably have nothing to do with those of the French Solutrian. Szeletian is ascribed to a loess dated as Wurm II while Aurignacian (distinguished from Perigordian) is said to be Wurm II and Gravettian Wurm III. Dating largely depends on inferences as to homologues between cave deposits and loess layers, and so, on the dating of these. Some carbon-14 analyses in Western Europe suggest later dates, but it is well not to be dogmatic. One notes that Brevil favours the idea of higher antiquity. The Neolithic seems to begin (c. 2600 B.C.) with influences from the south (Vinca), and, as in so many periods, the new developments appear in Moravia and spread thence to Bohemia. Funnel-necked beakers are earlier than bell beakers, and both have a short history, as in most countries; they are dated here 1800-1700 B.C., a little later than has been the fashion in Britain; they seem to have spread in from the south-east with trading people. Corded ware, about contemporary with bell beakers, came from the north, notably the Aurjetz phase, rings show links with Hungary and Mycenae about 1500 B.C. (cf. Britain and Mycenae). The Urmfolds culture, so important in Slovakia, is discussed in much detail.

H. J. FLEURE


Bronze Age Cultures in France, though subtitled The Later Phases from the Thirteenth to the Seventh Century B.C. also covers several centuries before 1300 B.C. and opens wide perspectives of European prehistory, from the British Isles to Spain and Italy.

It raises two kinds of questions, special and methodological. One of them concerns problems of considerable interest to specialists in Western and Central European prehistory. An evaluation from this point of view would require no little space and, above all, a reviewer far more competent in the vast fields of research covered by the book. However, it should be emphasized how welcome it is to all workers in these areas.

Obviously, an outsider will not find it easy reading; but it contains comments on subjects of broad interest. Typical of a situation common to many archaeologists is the ethnological question which recurs throughout the book—whether a certain trait 'represents the appearance of new people or simply the adoption of a new fashion.' No doubt the author is of the opinion that a more or less final
judgment of such questions on the basis of the finds is possible, and many a migration is mentioned in Chapter IX, Summary and Retrospect. If further questions, such as those concerning the place of the finds as established facts, the present book would become somewhat dangerous; but if interest is directed also to the preceding sound argument, discussion will no doubt be stimulated. Closely related to these problems are those concerning economy and social conditions: it is most interesting to follow the attempts to identify, e.g., 'pastoralists,' the social structure of Middle Bronze Tumulus cultures, or 'Urnenfield villagers'; but one has a feeling that, had it been possible to treat these aspects of the problems with more detail, the hypothetical character of such labels would have been far more underlined.

It is a pleasure to read and use this work of synthesis, not least because of many admirably written, personal pages on questions of common interest to many of us. CARL-AXEL MOBERG

OCEANIA


Most of the Polynesian chants and tales here translated were recorded by the author in Rarivave of the Austral Group, others in the Society and Tuamotu Groups. A few are translations of material from Hawaii and the Marquesas, recorded by others. The collection therefore has a strongly eastern Polynesian flavour. The translations give the impression of keeping close to the originals while preserving something of their spirit and poetical quality; not an easy achievement. There is a useful preface by Dr. D. S. Marshall, the editor, who also provides some explanatory matter in the text, and an introductory note on the author and a general survey of Polynesian culture by other contributors. B. A. L. CRANSTONE


As the author so honestly explains in his preface, this book is based on his field work which was not done to solve any special theoretical problem. It has been written mainly as a descriptive ethnography for use by students. Its second objective is to examine leadership and political institutions in a stateless society. Despite the author's modesty, it is the most thorough ethnography available on a Melanesian society in the Solomon Islands group. In addition, the theoretical analysis of Siuai cultural systems is a significant contribution to attempts at presenting briefly the whole picture of a culture. In this respect it is one of the best examples of the cultural-anthropology approach extensively followed in the United States but rarely in Britain.

Part I of the book gives an account of the physical environment of the society and relates some of the physical aspects to beliefs about nature and man.

Part II deals mainly with kinship relations and with what the author terms 'other associations' such as friendship, economic associations and men's societies.

Part III, probably the most important section, deals with leadership. Solomon Islands societies are often puzzling to the anthropologist and to the administrator, for it is difficult to understand who the leaders are and, even more important, what requirements are needed to become a headman. After outlining all the formal cultural requirements such as wealth, the giving of feasts, the support of an extensive body of kin, especially one's own matrilineage, Oliver finds that these formal requirements do not fully account for the choice of leaders in the society. He concludes that there is another very important set of factors having to do with the leader's personality—intelligence, industriousness, charisma, executive ability, mastery in the use of non-physical coercion, and diplomacy. Oliver says that this general characterization is based on 'actual observations of natives' behaviour rather than on natives' unsubstantiated assertions' (p. 441). From the empirical material given in earlier chapters this statement is amply justified, but I should think that these qualities are not peculiar to Siuai leaders, but are found in any society where leadership is mainly an achieved rather than an acquired status.

Throughout the book there is a continual exposition of native theory and practice. Much of the material concerns social control and what are the 'oughts and ought-nots' regarding household, neighbourhood, village, related village, matrilineages, etc. Oliver finds that wider units such as the neighbourhood do not follow their traditional norms of behaviour, and that actual practices do not confirm what they say about how behaviour is controlled. He comes to the conclusion that there is only one institution that has wide and effective control, and then only in terms of the neighbourhood, and that is the Men's Society. While this fact has been mentioned by other writers on Solomon Islands societies, it is the first time it has been established through methodical and painstaking field work. Because of this, what Oliver says about the ramifications of Men's Societies is in advance of other works which mention their functions only in passing.

Part IV of the book attempts to integrate and evaluate all the preceding material in a cultural synthesis. The author avoids the temptation of tidying up the culture, and states its internal contradictions and conflicts with admirable clarity.

This book lacks the formal elegance and intellectual ingenuity of structural analysis that one has come to expect in the works of many British social anthropologists. But it gives a most comprehensive account of Siuai society and culture, and leaves one with a feeling of understanding how the system works. It is evident too that the field work was excellent. The book is a notable addition to the anthropological literature and its interest is widened by the ethnographical area which it deals with.

JAMES SPILLIUS


This is the last of the late Sir Peter Buck's extensive list of publications on Maori and other Polynesian subjects, many dealing with material culture but others covering a wider field. He had finished the draft of the text before his death in 1951, but it has been prepared for publication by several of his colleagues at the Bishop Museum. His successor as Director, Dr. Alexander Speer, contributes a foreword.

Like all Buck's work on material culture this is admirably thorough. Techniques are lucidly described in detail and where necessary are illustrated by clear drawings of every stage. The range of variation within a type is fully explored. Associated practices and beliefs, such as the ceremonies connected with canoe-building, are discussed at sufficient length to provide the essential background. Illustrations are generous, and there is a useful bibliography. The majority of the pieces described and illustrated are, naturally, from the Bishop Museum collection, but other collections have been drawn upon to a considerable extent. One can only regret that there will be no more such works from Sir Peter Buck's pen, but at the same time be thankful that he was able substantially to complete this one.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE
WAYANG SIAM PUPPETS REPRESENTING RAMA AND HANUMAN

Photographs: (a, b) by permission of Professor Raymond Firth; (c) Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; (d) Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
THE KELANTAN WAYANG SIAM SHADOW PUPPETS 'RAMA' AND 'HANUMAN': A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THEIR STRUCTURE*

by

MISS JEUNE SCOTT-KEMBALL

London

108 In India, Thailand, Cambodia, Malaya, Java and Bali the Ramayana is not only to be found in metrical form and as an oral tradition, but has also been adapted as a shadow play. The first two aspects of the Ramayana have been studied by various scholars, and Dr. Juyimbol has compared some versions from the countries mentioned above. As a result of these studies some conclusions have been tentatively drawn regarding the introduction of the Ramayana tradition from India into South-East Asian countries and its movement from one of these countries to another. The complementary study, the Rama story as a shadow play in India and in South-East Asia, is still lacking. Neither the shadow play as such nor the puppets themselves have been the subject of a special study.

The purpose of this paper and of subsequent ones is therefore to analyse the structure of the strictly Indian Rama-story characters that have been borrowed from the Indian epic and which appear in the shadow plays of South-East Asia. The premise being that continuity of structural features can throw light on the source from which South-East Asian countries derived the Rama story as a shadow play.

The comparative material available for this study is adequate for some South-East Asian countries, Java particularly and to some extent Bali and Thailand. Specimens of the Cambodian Rama-story shadow puppets would appear to be conspicuous by their absence. From Peninsular Thailand specimens are not too plentiful and data also scarce. Indian shadow puppets in European museums are rare. The shadow puppets of the Rama story of Malaya, which are used in the performance of the wayang Siam, are fairly well represented by specimens and in films.

This is fortunate, for those wayang Siam puppets which represent characters from the Rama story present an ideal starting point for a comparative study. Unlike the Rama-story shadow puppets of Java, Bali and Thailand, whose structure can be said to be more or less standardized, the structure of the wayang Siam characters is not stable and would appear not to have been so for the period for which we have specimens. In their structure one can discern the influence of the nang yai of Thailand, perhaps through contact with the nang of Peninsular Thailand; of the wayang kutil of Java through contact with the wayang Jawa of Malaya itself, and, as I hope to show, the influence of shadow puppets from south-west India.

* With Plate E and two text figures

The influence of Thai shadow puppets seemingly predominates in the puppets of the wayang Siam. If, however, one divests the wayang Siam puppets of their external Thai accretions, such as the high-spired crown, their basic structure will reveal the influences already mentioned.

Description of Thai Shadow Puppets

There are two types of shadow puppet in Thailand. (a) The nang yai of Bangkok which consists of huge scenic puppets depicting episodes with a group of figures, or single figures, sometimes in action poses or sometimes standing upright, the pose then being more or less static. Usually nang yai puppets are wholly enclosed, either with a plain band or with decorative scroll work. In some cases the frame of the halo acts as the face enclosure. Nang yai puppets are normally unarticulated. (b) The smaller shadow puppets of the Peninsula nang which are roughly from two to three feet high; frequently less. These are articulated except in certain instances.

The specimens of these latter depicting the Rama story which come from Ligor (Thai, Nakorn Si Thammarat), Tongkah (Thai, Phuket = Junk Ceylon), Jalar (Thai, Yala?) and Patani show that in Peninsular Thailand these shadow puppets are structurally as unstable as are those of the wayang Siam of neighbouring Kelantan. (The wayang Siam, incidentally, is not confined to Kelantan.) In fact it is evident that Peninsular Thailand and north Malaya can be regarded as a shadow-puppet melting pot. For if Thai shadow puppets have influenced the wayang Siam puppets the reverse is also the case.

The Peninsula nang not only differ from the nang yai in being single figures with apparently no scenic groups such as those of the nang yai, but they have also discarded various distinctive features that are commonly found on nang yai puppets. The enclosure of the figure is absent and quite often the snake foot enclosure as well (in passing, the noble characters of the wayang Siam more frequently than not do have the snake foot enclosure). The halo, almost always found on nang yai human and godly figures, is also wanting. Male figures are customarily in profile, except the upper body which is en face, thus conforming to Javanese, Balinese and Malay (wayang Siam and wayang Jawa) and to some extent Indian practice. The women are en face to the waist. This is contrary to Javanese, Balinese and wayang Siam (and wayang Jawa) construction, but it is in conformity with nang yai and some Indian puppets. These divergencies, marked though they are, are not such as to enable a definite distinction of form to be made.
between the nang yai puppets and those of the Peninsula nang. The Rama-story characters of the latter adhere in their structure to that of the nang yai and with rare exceptions the Peninsula nang figures retain the coarse facial features that are characteristic of the nang yai—noble and godly personages not excepted in either case.

The impression created by many of the puppets of the Peninsula nang is that they have been extracted from the scenic nang yai, reduced in size to be more manageable and the articulation added.

An examination of the structure of the nang yai and Peninsula nang Rama, as illustrated in fig. 1, will show the comparable features. The nang yai NY1, NY2 and the Peninsula nang M6, M29 and P all have the thrust-Javanese wayang kulit via the wayang Jawa or direct from an Indian model. Compare the Rama figures from Java and Bali, J, B, and IND(d). The fixed left arm is also as the wayang Siam which in its turn adopted the flexed position of this arm from the Javanese wayang kulit—but with the difference that in the latter it is usually characters of the left side of the screen who have this arm so fixed, whereas in the wayang Siam it is those of the right who are so portrayed. An examination of the Shoranur figures of Laksmana, Hanuman and Sita (which are technically of the right side of the screen) shows that, like their wayang Siam counterparts, they too have the left arm fixed, though it hangs straight down.

M29 and the wayang Siam S3 and S are an interesting

forward chest and the characteristic swivelling of the upper body between the hip bones, the latter being modified only in M29 and P. Theses two features are common to Thai puppets in general. The body is generally thick, but in M6, M29 and P the arms have become thinner.

M29 is the result of the meeting of two shadow-puppet currents at it were. It shows the influence of the wayang Siam and so indirectly of the Javanese wayang kulit. There is a marked refining of the prevailing coarse face features; the high-set eye is comparable to the eye position in the wayang Siam in general. The short upper body is similar to all the wayang Siam Ramas except S2 and S3(d). The spacing of the feet is either after the wayang Siam through the trio. M29 and S are roughly contemporary, late last century, while S3 was collected in 1940 and was possibly made in the early nineteen-thirties. All three have the same simplicity of line and all lack the external pretty-pretty clutter that characterizes the wayang Siam Rama S2, R3, C, K, H2(c), HO(c) and F(d). (In S3 the internal decoration is also slightly less florid than it is in F for instance. Rama S3 is perhaps a link between the S Rama and the remainder of the more or less present-day Rama figures—though it clearly shows the influence of the latter.)

One distinctive, though not structural, feature of the Rama (and Laksmana) of the Thai nang yai, Peninsula nang and the wayang Siam is the bow. This is never found

Fig. 1. Puppets representing Rama

S2—K, Wayang Siam (Malaya); M29—M6, Peninsular Thailand; NY1, NY2, Thailand; J, Java; B, Bali; IND, India
on a Javanese or a Balinese Rama and it is not on the Indian Rama\textsuperscript{11}(d). Only the three last named have both arms articulated.

**Rama Wayang Siam: Body Structure Comparison**

Comparing $S$, $H\textsuperscript{12}(a)$, $F$, $S_2$, $S_3$, $R$, $C$, $K$, $H_2$, $HO$ with the Peninsula $nang$ $M_6$, $M_29$ and $P$, with the $nang$ $yai$ $NY_1$, $NY_2$, with $J$, $B$, and with $IND$, we find: with the exception of $S$, $H$, $C$ all have the chest thrust well forward, to an excessive degree even when compared with $NY_1$, $NY_2$. But none have the characteristic Thai swivelling of the upper body between the hip bones. Nowhere is Rama portrayed in an action pose after the manner of $NY_2$. The characterization is ‘emphatic’ as compared to that of the Javanese Rama which is ‘explicit’ and with the Balinese Rama which is ‘implicit,’ the last definition also applying to the Indian Rama. The static quality (also found in $M_29$ and $P$) of the pose—static by $nang$ $yai$ standards—approximates to that of the Indian Rama with the exception of $S$, which, the emphasis on characterization apart, is structurally influenced by a Javanese model. $S$, excepted, the lower body of $F$, $H$, $S_2$, $S_3$, $R$, $C$, $K$, $H_2$, $HO$ has something of the compactness of Rama $IND$ while the upper body shows definite Thai influence. Javanese structural influence is particularly clear in $S$ in the long upper body, the fineness of the limbs and body and the lengthened bow arm, the last being a predominant and constant feature of the wayang Siam Rama. The Javanese practice for noble types is also followed, though with slight modifications, with the shoulders set in a straight line.\textsuperscript{33} $H_2$ is a notable variant; the hunched shoulders are reminiscent of $IND$.

If one compares $IND$ with the Peninsula $nang$ $M_29$ and with the wayang Siam $F$, $S_3$, $C$, $R$, $K$, $HO$, one cannot deny that a pronounced drooping of the lower body is common to all of them and that the lower body of $K$, even to the legs, is virtually identical with $IND$. Equally one must admit that Javanese influence seems to be present in the tendency to straighten the figures as in $H$, $H_2$, $C$, slightly evident in $S_2$ and of course in $S$. But $S$ follows no rules. It is the shadow-puppet wayang Siam Rama without peer! It is worthy of note that this particular stylization—and the characterization too—has no follow-up in the specimens illustrated. Perhaps this is because Che Abbas sold not only his entire set to Skeat, but his book of designs as well.\textsuperscript{34}

Generally speaking, the proportions of the body of the wayang Siam Rama are closer to those of Rama $IND$ than to any of the others.

In the relationship of head to body the Javanese Rama with its exaggeratedly long neck and bowed head stands by itself. The Balinese and Indian Ramas are closest to each other. In the $nang$ $yai$ the head-body position is roughly the normal human one while in $M_29$ and $P$ it approaches the wayang Siam figures—$S$ included. The wayang Siam position is somewhere between that of $IND$ and the $nang$ $yai$, and it is constant.

From this analysis of the body structure of the wayang Siam Rama it is clear where Thai and Javanese shadow-puppet influences have affected it. The Indian influence is perhaps less definite, but in my opinion it is there.

* One fact that does emerge from this structural breakdown and one which is substantiated by the drawings is, that the wayang Siam Rama, $S$ excepted in part only, has structural continuity.

There is one feature common to all the shadow puppets illustrated—and to Thai, Indian, Javanese, Balinese and wayang Siam puppets in general—the accent on the buttocks.

**Rama Wayang Siam: Head Comparison**

While the structure of the body owes something to the Indian shadow puppet, the structure of the face owes nothing directly to it, only perhaps indirectly to the Indian concept of beauty. The face is a blend of Thai and Javanese structure. At the same time it has its own distinctive characteristics. The oval shape is certainly Thai while the delicate eye, mouth and nose are definitely from a Javanese source, as is also the ideal of the nose and forehead being in a straight line (though in the wayang Siam having a concavity to a degree not found in Javanese puppets).\textsuperscript{35} The slight brow indication in $F$, $HO$, $S_3$, $S_2$, $K$, $R$, is a minor variation, though in $S_2$, $S_3$, $HO$ the distinction between nose and brow is more sharply drawn and is perhaps nearer to $IND$.

The face and the treatment of its features are, in Javanese and Balinese puppets, the character-determinant. Working on the same principle for the wayang Siam one comes to the conclusion that it holds good there too. Throughout the wayang Siam Rama there is a basic structural continuity. (This also applies to other noble characters such as Laksmana and Sita.) Here one cannot escape the impression that the Malay wayang-maker-designer portrays his noble characters facially very much in his own physical likeness. Only the Indian puppets show a like consideration to the Indian face structure, particularly noticeable in Pathy's illustrations\textsuperscript{11}(f). It is one of the characteristics that has continuity from $S$ to $HO$, that is from late last century to the present day. In this respect a closer examination of the wayang Siam Rama reveals the noteworthy fact that, while these puppets do have certain structural features in common in the body and while they do deviate from the shoulders downwards, the structure of the face is basically constant, though the expression as a delineation of Rama's character varies greatly, for example as between $S$ and $F$.

**Hanuman**

Hanuman is a less easy character to break down structurally, for, as the illustrations show (fig. 2), the wayang Siam figures have little in common with each other. Again, what structural continuity there is is in the face.

The $nang$ $yai$ $NY_1$, \textsuperscript{37} $PTS\textsuperscript{6}(b)$ and the Peninsula $nang$ $M_237$ and $M_1837$ are typical of the Thai manner of presenting this Ape of Apes. This also applies to his brethren. A notable omission is the tail. The face structure is apparently singular to Thailand.

The wayang Siam Hanuman differ very much in structure. $S$\textsuperscript{12} has the refined limbs of the Javanese $J$\textsuperscript{37} but the pose is $nang$ $yai$ or Peninsula $nang$. $F$\textsuperscript{12}(d) and $C$\textsuperscript{37} are roughly alike and in the weight of the body approximate to $IND\textsuperscript{11}(d)$, $R$\textsuperscript{37} has the thrust-forward chest and the body weight of
the Peninsula nang M18, the style of face of the Balinese B, and the action pose of the Javanese Hanuman. S2 is a very individual Hanuman indeed.

Compared with the body structure of Rama that of Hanuman has not very much structural continuity. It is, however, possible that Hanuman—despite the fact that with Rama and Sita he is keramat—is a character with such diverse qualities that the Malay wayang-maker-designer finds it difficult to incorporate all of them in one figure. Various interpretations of Hanuman would overcome this difficulty so that the dalang could not only use a different Hanuman for each story, but could even use various figures in one story.

In the face F, S2, C have continuity in the snout and in the long protruding tongue; R only in the tongue. This is a curious feature; it is particular to the wayang Siam Hanuman. It is not a monkey characteristic; it is of the snake world and is found on the Javanese wayang kulit Snake God, Antaboga.

Of the four specimens I feel that the C Hanuman is the nearest to being a genuine Malay development. As with the figures of Rama there is the variation in the work of Semain, S2 and F; the latter clearly shows its near-Javanese origin not only in the setting of the feet, but in the retention of the typically Javanese hanging tails of the dress, the one falling between the legs and the other lying along the left leg.

**Conclusion**

From the examination of these two wayang Siam puppets and those of the Peninsula nang it is clear that north Malaya, mainly Kelantan, and Peninsular Thailand are areas where, in the recent past at least, different shadow-puppet influences have been so active that in the wayang Siam a rigid shadow-puppet structure for these characters has not been able to develop. At the same time, though the manifestations of Thai, Javanese and Indian structural influences are so distinct, the wayang Siam shadow puppets of these Rama story characters have developed individual structural features which make the wayang Siam style distinctive to Malaya.

This structural analysis, suggesting as it does the possibility of Indian influences, leads naturally to the problem of the source from which Malaya received the Rama story as a shadow play. In my submission this cannot be determined as yet, any more than can the extent to which the Rama story has been overlaid on an existing shadow play, nor to what degree that shadow play or 'ritual with shadows' was profane or sacred.

In respect of the introduction of the Rama story as a shadow play into Malaya, though Rentse quotes Dr. van Stein Callenfels's opinion that it travelled northwards from Java, it is noteworthy that the Rama story and the wayang Siam shadow-puppet style are exclusive to each other. This despite the presence in Malaya—perhaps for some centuries—of the wayang Java, the puppets of which are still structurally Javanese, though with slight modifications.

It is not, therefore, beyond possibility that the Rama story as a shadow play in Malaya was a direct importation from India.

**Notes**


4. The principal collections in Europe are the Raffles Collection, British Museum (see MAN, 1937, 160); and extensive collections in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. There are of course good collections in other Dutch museums, in German museums, the
Musée International de la Marionnette, Lyon, the Musée de l'Homme and the Musée Guimet, Paris.

In Leiden, as note 4, and in other Dutch and Continental museums. In London, the Hooykaas Collection (see MAN, 1957, 160).

4) Nang yai: Nationalmuseum Ethnografisk Samling, Copenhagen; (a) Deutsches Ledermuseum, Offenbach am Main; (b) Puppet-theater-Sammlung der Stadt München and in other German museums and private collections. In the British Museum one only; (c) In H. H. Prince Dhaninivat Kromkhamn Nidyalabh Phridhakhon, The Nang, Thailand Culture Series, No. 12, The National Culture Institute, Bangkok, 1954, 16 plates; and (d) René Nicolas 'Le Théâtre d'Ombres au Siam,' J. Siam Soc., Vol. XXI (1927), pp. 37-51, 17 plates; (e) Musée International de la Marionnette, Lyon.

7) To my knowledge there are three only, in the last named (in note 9) museum. These are not characters from the Rama story; they would appear to be divinities, but their identity is doubtful.

9) For convenience I have made the distinction between Thailand proper and Peninsular Thailand. See also note 11.

10) Peninsula nang: Dr. F. W. M. Müller, 'Nang Schattenspielfiguren Kgl. Museum für Volkerkunde zu Berlin,' supplement to Internat. Archiv f. Ethnogr., 1894, pp. 1-26. 11 plates of puppets. Figures 1-42 are from Ligor and Tongkang, 43-99 from Pattalung (perhaps not Rama-story characters), Plates IV, V, VI from Bangkok. University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge: 11 puppets from Pera ( ), 1939, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford: 44 children's puppets of pasteboard, Kampong Jalar, Jalar, 1902. Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden: 134 puppets, acquired 1886 (1-53 from Salang), 1887 (1-244), 1888 (4-54), 1889 (8-14) from Ligor (Thai, Rama, Si Thammarat). A few are as the figures illustrated in Müller's paper. This, and the provenance of this Leiden collection, suggests to me that they are Peninsula nang rather than Malayan. Only a few are identified. I have not yet seen this collection (but see General Note at end).

11) I have been fortunate in getting some first-hand information on the nang kluen of Singora (Songkhla) and that of the village of Chathing Plara from Miss Vichintana Chantavibul who is at present in London.

12) The Laird MacGregor Loan Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, Indian Section, London, 13 puppets, c. 1850. Belguam, Bombay; (a) Government Museum, Madras; eight puppets from Cuttadapah District, Andhrapradesh; 10 from Nellore District, Andhrapradesh; 24 from Palghat, Malabar District, Kerala. All obtained during the last 15 years; mostly characters from the Ramayana and Mahabharata. See reference in Mlle Jeanne Cuisinier, Le Théâtre d'Ombres à Kelantan, Paris, 1957, note on p. 48; (b) Deutsches Ledermuseum, Offenbach am Main; (c) three photographs taken by Dr. A. A. Bake, provenance Palghat, Kerala, 1938; (d) eight photographs taken by Mr. P. C. de Hoeben, Laren, Netherlands, provenance Shoranur, Kerala, 1936; (e) four photographs in Stan Harding, 'The Ramayana Shadow Play in India,' Asia, April 1935, pp. 234f., provenance Kerala; (f) seven photographs in P. V. Pathy, Indian Rod Puppets (confused terminology: these are in fact shadow puppets); March of India, Vol. II, No. 3 (1950), pp. 46-50.

13) The Skect Collection, University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, 149 puppets presented by Skect in 1898; see Catalogue of the Ethnographical Collection made by W. W. Skect, published as an extract from the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Antiquarian Committee, 1890; (a) Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, two puppets from Kelantan, 1947 (see MAN, 1957, 160); (b) four sets of eight figures each cut out of stiff card, about five to six inches high, unpainted, Kelantan, 1947. These are apparently for children, though they are unarticulated and have no centre rod; (c) two puppets from Patani, obtained Perak, 1912. I assume that one of these is Rama (the Peninsula nang P of the illustrations). It is uncoloured with an inscription in Chinese, perhaps the name, which I have not had translated. It is, however, typical Rama. Rama and Laksmama are very similar; their respective body and face colour, blue or green and yellow or yellow ochre, seem to be a good guide to identification, but these two Patani figures are uncoloured; (d) Professor Raymond Firth's collection of 13 wayang Siam puppets from Pantai Damat, Kelantan, 1940. These puppets are from the set of dalang Semain of the above village. Semain told Professor Firth that he had made them himself. In view of the difference between his Rama F and S3 and his Hanuman F and S2 he obviously had two models from which to copy. He admitted to lending to other dalang some of his Rama puppets (which were never returned) so he might also be a borrower copyist himself. Professor Firth thus has two Rama puppets and a photograph of a third, and one puppet of Hanuman and a photograph of a second (Rama S2 and Hanuman S2 being the photographs); (e) one puppet in the New York Museum, London, Kelantan, 1956. (All dates given for specimens are the dates of acquisition); (f) Nationalmuseum Ethnografisk Samling, Copenhagen: 148 puppets, presented by Anker Rentse, 1931, formerly the property of Tungkru Seriwa; used for performances in the palace of the late Sultan Muhammed IV of Kelantan.

14) Wayang Kulit' made by the Malay Film unit, Box 1061, Kuala Lumpur, 16 mm., full colour and sound, approximately 20 minutes' running time. 'Wayang Kulit, the Malay Shadow Play,' shot by Dr. Ivan Polunin, Lecturer, Department of Social Medicine and Public Health, University of London, part colour, no sound, typed script; location, Kampong Telok Sari, Mersing District, eastern Johore. Both films are recent.


16) From approximately the late eighteen-eighties to the nineteen-thirties.

17) A proper nang yai puppet is unarticulated. The single figures are as high or higher than an adult Siamese. The scenic puppets are roughly six feet high by four feet broad. Only the Ranakien is performed; see Prince Dhaninivat's paper cited in note 1.

18) The wayang Jawa puppets portray the Panji stories and the Pendauna stories. For a comparison between the wayang Siam and wayang Jawa puppets see Cuisinier, op. cit. in note 11(d), particularly Plates XI, fig. 1, VII and XIII, XIV respectively.

19) As yet I do not have photographs of the shadow puppets in the Government Museum, Madras. The structural comparisons have been made only with the Shoranur and Palghat puppets. Note (c) and (d) respectively. The puppets illustrated Pathy's article, op. cit. (note 11(f)), have no enclosure of the figure at all; sometimes a foot enclosure. The women are en face and in profile. The figures range from one to seven feet in height. Their provenance is just given as Andhra.

20) Prince Dhaninivat, op. cit. in note 6, p. 6, says that nang yai means 'play with big figures.' In Jacob, Jensen and Losch, Das Indische Schattentheater, Stuttgart, 1931, Jacob uses the term nang hong, meaning 'royal nang.' Both names amount to the same thing: big=important=royal. I consulted Mr. E. H. S. Simmonds, Lecturer in Thai, School of Oriental and African Studies, on this point and it was decided to follow Prince Dhaninivat and to use nang yai.

21) In this respect it is interesting to compare the scroll-leaf partial enclosure usually found on the Javanese wayang kulit puppets Batara Guru and Batari Durga; pp. 9 and 12 respectively in R. Hardjoiwirogo, Setyaraj Wayang Purwa, Balai Pustaka, Djakarta, 1952, translated into English by Dr. C. Hooykaas and Jeune Francis Jones (photostat negative of this translation is in my possession). A partial enclosure is also found on some of the Shoranur puppets. In these puppets and in the Palghat Sita the enclosure of the figure is complete and in the Shoranur figures it is almost identical to the nang yai form. However, the Indian puppets are articulated within the enclosure. Two of the Laird MacGregor Indian puppets are fully enclosed, one being in the form of a panel and portraying an episode. Both are unarticulated.

22) Articulation has, however, been introduced. See Anggada, reg. No. 1658/1, Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam, 1957.

23) The nang of Pattalung is called nang 'Talung, that in the region of Singora, nang kluen. There is also the nang kedek, see Cuisinier.
INDIVIDUAL OWNERSHIP AND TRANSFER OF LAND AMONG THE KUMA*

by

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This paper is concerned with distribution of land between persons and groups.1 The concept of ownership varies widely among different peoples, and 'land-ownership' as I am using the term here should be understood to mean the right to cultivate and occupy land with the prerogative of transmitting this right to one's heirs.

The Kuma of the southern Wahgi Valley in the Central Highlands of New Guinea live by agriculture and pig-raising. Their agricultural land is divided into neat rectangular plots surrounded and dissected by drains which meet at right angles in a regular checkerboard pattern. When a garden is exhausted, pigs are turned in to graze on the vestiges of old crops. The owner may then grow trees for timber, or simply leave kumai, the blady grass used for thatching, to grow unchecked. The following may last from one to 15 years. When the land is needed again for cultivation, tree stumps and grass stubble are burned and the ashes turned into the earth.

The Kuma are a strongly patrilineal people organized in highly segmented clans. A clan is typically divided into subclans and sub-subclans, and most clans are themselves segments of wider descent groups. Each clan has exclusive corporate rights to the territory which it occupies, and this territory is locally distinct. We can distinguish clan ownership, which is a corporate matter, from individual ownership. I shall not be concerned here with land as the property of a clan, but propose to examine individual ownership of land within the territory of a particular clan, Kugika.

Land is owned and inherited by males in the male line. A man inherits his father's land, and an eldest son has the duty of dividing it as equally as he can with his brothers as they need it. If an owner has no sons, his brothers and their sons inherit his land. There may be some doubt about how a person happened to acquire a particular parcel of

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* With three text figures

Plate VII: R. Rentse, op. cit. in note 1, Plate XIV; B. Hofker Coll., Amsterdam. 38 Rentse, op. cit. in note 1, p. 284.

General Note

I am informed by the Educational Puppetry Association, London, that the Government of India has plans for recording, by drawings and photographs, existing India shadow puppets (and other forms of puppets as well).

It must be understood that all comparisons have been made only with puppets which I have actually seen or of which I have seen photographs. (Since writing this paper, I have seen the collection of puppets in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, which are mentioned in note 9. They are Peninsula nang. A few of these puppets illustrate the article by R. H. van Gulik, 'Oostersche Schimmen,' Part 2, Elsevier's Geillustreerd Maandschrift, January-June, 1932.)

Acknowledgments

For information, photographs, etc., I am indebted to: Dr. C. Hooykaas, Dr. A. A. Bake, Mr. E. H. S. Simmonds and Mrs. J. Jacobs, School of Oriental and African Studies, London; Professor Raymond Firth, London School of Economics and Political Science; Miss Vicchintha Chantabicu, London; Dr. O. Samson, Horniman Museum, London; Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell, University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge; Miss B. M. Blackwood, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford; Dr. J. Kierning and Mr. A. H. N. Verwey, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden; Miss J. Felboen Kraal, Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam; Mr. W. G. Hofker, Amsterdam; Mr. P. C. J. van Hoboken, Laren, Netherlands; Dr. G. Gall, Deutsches Ledermuseum, Offenbach am Main, and Dr. I. Kraft, Puppentheater-Sammlung der Stadt München; Miss Inger Wulff, Nationalmuseum Etnografisk Samling, Copenhagen; Mlle P. Le Scour, Musée de l'Homme, Paris, and Mlle M. Ray, Musée International de la Marionnette, Lyon; Dr. A. Aiyappan, Government Museum, Madras, and Dr. I. Polunin, University of Malaya, Singapore.
land, and in such a case his clansmen assume that he must have inherited it from his father.

The Kuma clans may have any number of constituent segments. Kugika clan is divided into three subclans named Penkup, Burikup and Koimamkup. Each subclan forms a separate local settlement within the clan territory, but does not itself have an exclusive right to the portion of clan land which it occupies. Each of the Kugika subclans is further segmented into three. Sub-subclans are rarely localized, though there is usually a tradition that they were originally local groups which had to disperse as shifting cultivation of the staple sweet potato continued.

The patronymic for complete identification of a man belonging to, say, Tegaingkanim sub-subclan is Kugika Burikup Tegaingkanim. He is a Kugika man to people of other clans, a Burikup man to people of other subclans of his clan, and a Tegaingkanim man to other Burikup people. Such an individual will be noted in the accompanying figures as BT (Burikup Tegaingkanim) with a distinguishing number.

**KUGIKA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Penkup</th>
<th>Burikup</th>
<th>Koimamkup</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baimankanim</td>
<td>Tegaingkanim</td>
<td>Bomungdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunganganim</td>
<td>Baimankanim</td>
<td>Tunambuoldam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dambankanim</td>
<td>Apkanim</td>
<td>Kissukanim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The territory of Kugika clan is on the edge of the Wabgi Valley basin, where the higher terraces below the foothills of the Kubor Range break up into spurs which cut out into the valley between bushy ravines. The altitude ranges from about 4,600 feet at the bottom of these ravines to about 5,200 on the level ridges where most of the gardens are situated. The sides of some of the gullies are used for plantations of banana and sugarcane and for orchards of pandanus.

I intend to examine here the ownership of two samples of agricultural land, each an area of roughly half a square mile. I sketched and collected information about a number of such samples as opportunity occurred in the course of fieldwork, and have selected these two because together they illustrate fairly simply the principles governing individual ownership and transfer.

**The Gwaip Sample**

The gardens sketched in fig. 1 were situated at Gwaip on the south-western edge of the area settled by Burikup subclan, where it adjoined that of another subclan, Koimamkup. The third subclan, Penkup, was settled to the north and north-east of the area shown. The stream marked in the sketch divided the area of Burikup settlement from the Kugika’s principal ceremonial ground at Kondambi, where people of all the subclans established a temporary village in 1954 for the duration of the Pig Ceremonial.

The plots under kunai grass at Gwaip were old gardens being fallowed. These and the existing sweet-potato plots formed a level plateau which shelved away to a gully where the uncleared bushland near the stream began. The bushland was thickly grown, and apparently had never been cultivated.

**Fig. 1. GWAIP**

K1, K2: Owners belonging to Koimamkup subclan; BT1—BT4: Owners belonging to Tegaingkanim sub-subclan of Burikup subclan; BB1—BB4: Owners belonging to Baimankanim sub-subclan of Burikup subclan

This section of Burikup land belonged to men of Tegaingkanim and Baimankanim sub-subclans, and no member of the third sub-subclan had land within three-quarters of a mile of the gardens shown. All the owners (BT1—4 and BB1—4) had more land elsewhere within the area settled by their subclan.

Five men belonging to the two sub-subclans were reputed to own jointly a piece of land (a) lying eastward of the south-eastern corner of this section. This land had not been cultivated during their lifetime. All five men had access to the timber growing there. When I asked whether other men of the two sub-subclans could get timber there if they needed it I was told that the necessity would not arise because they had plenty of timber elsewhere.

One parcel of land (b), which was divided into two by the public path, was owned jointly by BT1 and BB4. This was the only case that I discovered of a garden under cultivation being owned jointly by men of different sub-subclans. BB4 explained it by saying that Burikup was too small a group to divide into sub-groups in the conduct of practical affairs. BT1 said that their fathers had owned this particular land jointly, and that he and BB4 had inherited their undivided shares in the normal way. I viewed this plot when the sweet-potato crop had finished, the soil appeared to be practically exhausted, and kunai grass had sprung up patchily. The wives of BT1 and BB4 told me that they had worked this garden together, sharing the produce.

BT2, younger brother of BT1, had a large plot (c). He had recently cultivated a portion of it, and the sweet potatoes were bearing when his pigs ravaged a garden belonging to a man of Penkup subclan. He compensated this man for the crops so destroyed by granting him use of the cultivated portion of the plot. One of the Penkup man’s wives tended the sweet-potato patch and dug up tubers to cook for her husband’s domestic group. She told me that the land would revert to BT2 as soon as the existing crop was exhausted.
BB3 had also made a parcel of land (d) available to a man of another subclan—in this case, Koinamkup—when his pigs had gone into this man’s garden. K2 cleared and cultivated the land, which had been under kunai grass at the time. Clearing and tilling land establishes a lasting right to it, and BB3 did not intend to claim the plot back later.

BB1 gave a plot (e), at the time covered with kunai grass, to another man of Koinamkup subclan who was his wife’s mother’s father’s brother’s son (that is, his wife’s ‘mother’s brother’). K1 cleared and cultivated the land. BB1 demanded nothing in return. Later, K1’s wife helped him when he was trying to persuade her clansmen to give him a bride whom he particularly wanted, but the attempt was unsuccessful and I heard no one connect the help in marriage negotiations with the gift of land. K1’s wife used to give BB1’s wife a little of the produce of this plot, but she also gave some to her own father’s sister’s son in Penkup subclan; the gifts were not made in consideration of specific benefits which she and her husband had received from these kinsmen.

The dwellings indicated in fig. 1 represent three cases of ‘brothers’ living together. BB3 and BB4 were patrilineal parallel cousins. They shared a house and cooking grove (f), with houses built close together for their wives. The two women gathered food from their own husbands’ gardens and cooked it together.

BT1, BT2 and BT4 grew up in the same family, BT1 and BT2 having the same father but different mothers, and BT1 and BT4 having the same mother by men who were brothers. BT1 and BT2 shared a house and cooking grove (g), and their wives cooked their food together for meals which they shared.

BT4 was a practising sorcerer, so his food had to be cooked separately. He shared a house (h) with BT3, an imputed agnate—a member of his sub-subclan with whom he could trace no genealogical tie. BT3 built an additional house of his own, where visiting relatives slept, close to that of his wife. He himself generally slept in the house which he shared with BT4. Sometimes he ate with his family and their guests, and at other times his wife carried his share of the evening meal to the house he shared with his ‘brother.’ BT4 built a house for his wife and pigs about a quarter of a mile south of the houses which BT3 had built, and their families cooked their meals separately.

The Kolya Sample

The locality sketched in figs. 2 and 3 is Kolya, traditionally the seat of Dambaikum sub-subclan of Penkup subclan. The stream which rises from a spring here provides water for everyone in the neighbourhood. Fig. 2 shows the ownership and occupancy in 1954 of about half a square mile roughly south-west of the spring. Dambaikum sub-subclan is scarcely represented. The men of this group owned more land at Gibbis, a ridge to the north-west. The sub-subclan was formerly divided into two segments named Kola-ndam (literally, ‘fathers’—that is, owners or occupants—of the place Kolya) and Gibbis-ndam (‘fathers’ or residents of Gibbis). Facilities for pig-grazing were rather better at Gibbis, and the Kolya-ndam people began to move there until by 1954 only one Dambaikum man remained with his family at Kolya. His dwellings were slightly north-west of the area sketched. Men of the other sub-subclans of Penkup subclan gradually occupied much of the land at Kolya. I cannot trace the full story of how this happened, so I intend to examine the recent (1954) ownership and occupancy of the land there and try to relate this to what I was able to learn of the former situation (fig. 3).

PB1 had planted bananas and sugarcane in a plot of his own (p), and wanted to reserve the rest of his land here for sweet potatoes. PK3 had planted bananas and sugarcane on one side of the little gully formed by the stream. PK3 was a bachelor who lived with PB1’s younger brother’s domestic group and required only a little food to contribute towards the meals his sponsor’s wife cooked. PB1, on the other hand, had four wives and several children; as orator of the subclan, he was an important man and had to
provide food for innumerable visitors. He told PK3 that he would like to clear a little of the bushland on the left bank of the stream (b) in order to plant more bananas and sugarcane, and PK3 consented readily. There was no question of paying for the land in any way. PB1 intended to keep it indefinitely and transmit it to his sons, along with his other land; PK3 agreed that clearing the land and planting crops there gave him that right. PB1 had acquired another block (c) from PK3 in a similar fashion several years previously. PB3, a patrilineal parallel cousin and close supporter of PB1, had acquired a piece of land (d) from PK3 at about the same time as the earlier transfer. He had helped PB1 to clear his block, and had been helped by him (or, more strictly, his son) in return. PK3 recognized the right of PB3 and the latter’s heirs to this land.

PB2, the son of PB1, had received a small parcel of land here (e) from his father a year after his marriage. PB1 had obtained this land from PD1, as compensation for damage done by pigs, at a time when it was being followed. PB1 had cleared it, with PB3’s help, and had grown several crops of sweet potatoes there. It had been followed again, and in 1954 PB2 began to clear it for cultivation with the help of PB1 and PB3.

PK1 and PK2 had obtained pieces of land (f and g) from men of Dambakanim sub-subclan who no longer wished to maintain gardens at Kolya. This land had not been used for many years, and thick bush had grown there. PK1 had cleared his block and planted sweet potatoes; PK2 had not yet done so.

PK1 had built a house for his wife, and PK4 had built houses for himself and his wife. Both wives kept pigs, which they herded each morning northward along the public path to root in the bush. The path leading through PK3’s property ended in a wooded gully where the pigs used to forage. The two women used this path when they drove their pigs into the bush and retrieved them in the evening, and their husbands used it also in their daily search for firewood. PB1 had also built a house on his land at Kolya. He rarely slept there, but sometimes visited the house to perform sorcery in secret, since the bananas and sugarcane effectively hid his activities.

The bachelor PK3 owned rather more land at Kolya than any other man, even after he had disposed of various parcels of land to PB1 and PB3. This is surprising, in view of the strong tradition associating this locality with Dambakanim sub-subclan and PK3’s unquestioned membership of a different sub-subclan. I could not find a satisfactory explanation of this anomaly. PK3 owned an extensive tract of land at Gibbis, in the area then occupied almost exclusively by Dambakanim sub-subclan, as well as other pieces of land in an area which was traditionally associated with his own sub-subclan. He and others told me that he had inherited all this land from his father and had had no occasion to acquire land from others.

PK3’s father had associated very closely with the members of Dambakanim sub-subclan. The Dambakanim and Kungkananim people had had a serious dispute, after which the members of the two groups were unable to share each other’s fire and food. It seems to me possible that PK3’s father had sided with Dambakanim sub-subclan and so was exempt from the taboo on sharing food and fire with its members, but no one could tell me whether this was so. PK3 and his brother could trace no genealogical links with other members of their own sub-subclan, Kungkananim, or with the members of Dambakanim group. They themselves appeared to have no particular bond with the people of Dambakanim sub-subclan. PK3 associated much more closely with the men of Baimkananim, with whom he lived, than with the men of his own sub-subclan, and he contributed to the Baimkananim marriage payments. Whatever PK3’s history may be, several men told me that the land that he owned at Kolya and at Gibbis probably belonged, at least up to his father’s time, to men of Dambakanim sub-subclan. This is consistent with the tradition that this sub-subclan was originally a fully localized and locally distinct group.

Conclusion

The Kuma have a certain amplitude of attitude towards land, which they consider to be both plentiful and easy to obtain. How plentiful it actually is in relation to their needs does not concern us here, but the available land is by no means used to the full. They have no emotional attachment to particular tracts of land, and display no possessiveness in regard to it such as they show in regard to the things that they exchange—women, pigs and material valuables. Land, to the Kuma, is not worth exchanging and not worth haggling over. In fact, individual ownership is never seriously disputed, and this is no less true of clan ownership.

There is no conception of buying land. It is essentially clan property, and every member of the clan has a right to share in it. By clearing and cultivating, a member earns for himself and his descendants the right to treat a particular piece of land as part of his share. Bushland is not individually owned unless it is known to have been cultivated in some former time. It is simply clan land, and people with gardens nearby may extend them by clearing the bush. Owners may give pieces of land to their kinsmen without expecting return. But this is rarely done on the basis of specific kin ties; a man who has no further use for a piece of land yields it readily to a clansman who wants to use it.

A man who has sons but no daughters may give some land to a clansman who has daughters but no sons, on the understanding that the father of the girls will contribute towards the sons’ marriage payments some of the wealth obtained through the girls’ marriages. A Kugika Penkup Kungkananim man had granted some land in this manner to a man of his own sub-subclan, and some of the Kugika told me that they knew of other cases in other clans. The first marriage payment for the new occupant’s eldest daughter was presented during my stay, and the former owner did in fact receive part of it. The two men told me that the new occupant's ownership of the land would be absolute when marriage payments for all his daughters had been received and distributed. But this case is somewhat misleading, because the former owner’s share of the marriage payment was no greater than it would have been.
because of other considerations, and I think it more probable that the new occupant's ownership would be absolute when he had followed the land and prepared it again for cultivation.

We have seen that individuals may acquire land in several ways besides inheriting it, and this helps to explain why ownership is often in respect of very small lots. A man whose sweet potatoes are destroyed by a neighbour's pig may be granted use of a garden to make up for his loss. Ideally, the garden which he receives reverts to its former owner when the existing crop is finished. But if he still has enough sweet potatoes for his immediate needs, and the owner of the pig can spare only land which is uncultivated, he may accept a piece of this land to cultivate. Clearing and tilling establishes ownership, and the former occupant of such land has no further claim on it.

There is no particular rule that land should only be transferred within the subclan, but in practice it is much less commonly transferred to members of other subclans. The land which K1 and K2 acquired at Gwaip was on the border between the area settled by their own subclan and that of the former occupants. Both men had gardens which they had inherited from their fathers within a quarter of a mile. In 1954, no more than six of the 97 men in Kugika clan owned land within the areas occupied by subclans other than their own.

Land may also be transferred to individuals belonging to other clans. These are always affinal relatives of the owner. In 1954, nine such men occupied land within Kugika territory. Five of them had become effective members of the Kugika community and were known by outsiders as men of Kugika clan; the other four were birth members of a neighbouring clan who had not changed their allegiance. It is not unusual for a man to settle for a few years or longer with a brother-in-law who is a man of importance. The new resident gains prestige and a multiplicity of contacts from such an association. His host has the benefit of additional labour which he can use to his own advantage and that of the group to which he belongs.

Affinal relatives help each other in many ways, but I have not known them to help in clearing land unless they themselves are to make gardens there. Clearing land is hard work, and sons are the only kin whom a man can always call upon to help. Such help is one of the concrete advantages of achieving the common ambition to have many sons. A man may use his sons' labour to fulfil obligations to others. PB1 was able to extend his gardens at Kolya because he could command help in clearing the additional land; PB3 was a patrilateral parallel cousin and constant supporter, but required reciprocal help when ready to clear the land which he himself had acquired. PK2 had not yet been able to clear the land which he had acquired from the Dam-bakanim whereas PK1, the leader of his sub-subclan, already had sweet potatoes growing in a plot which he had acquired at the same time.

Wealth among the Kuma is measured not in land but in the number of pigs that a man has (and, since he needs wives to take care of them, the number of wives that he has), the extent to which he can control the flow of material valuables between his own group and others, and the number of people belonging to other clans who stay with him for ceremonies. A man who wishes to be renowned has to contribute lavishly to feasts and provide food for a constant stream of visitors as well as for a domestic group which is likely to be a large one. He has to have many gardens in all stages of production. The relationship between wealth and land-holding is thus fairly complex. Some of the largest land-holders among the Kuma are the least wealthy. That is, if we mean by 'land-holders' those who have a prior right to cultivate and occupy land.

It is more important to exercise such rights as can be acquired, and only 'big men' who have sons and followers can do so.

Notes

1 The material analysed in this paper was collected during fieldwork as a Research Scholar of the Australian National University, 1953-5.

2 Plots under cultivation are here called 'gardens' in accordance with standard usage, but 'agriculture' seems a more suitable term than 'horticulture' for a method of cultivation which requires rest and enrichment of the soil and involves no attempt to improve the strain of crops planted.

OBITUARY

Rektor Dr. Philos. Just K. Qvigstad: 1853–1957

Rektor Just K. Qvigstad, of Tromsø, Norway, died on 15 March, 1957, nearly 104 years old. His name may be known in scientific circles far from his homeland; he is especially known in the Finno-Ugrian countries. Just K. Qvigstad was one of those who started the most intensive research into Lappish culture in Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia towards the end of the last century. He became a central figure in this research: a doyen among his colleagues, holding their highest respect.

Just K. Qvigstad was born on 4 April, 1853, at Lyngseidet in Troms province in North Norway. At 21 he had already taken his degree in philology and seven years later he received his degree in theology. Meanwhile, he had begun his teaching career. For the greater part of his life—until 1920—he was headmaster of the Teacher's College in Tromsø; in 1910 his singular capacity as an educationalist was given official recognition when he was appointed Minister of Education (kirkeminister). Yet, it is not in this field, but in the scientific, that Qvigstad's contribution was the greatest and most widely known.

His scientific interests were, first and foremost, linguistic. His first work, Beiträge zur Vergleichung des verwandten Wortvorrathes der lappischen und der finnischen Sprache, was published in 1881, and in 1893 appeared his main work, Nordische Lehnmütter im Lappischen. Besides these and other contributions concerned with the relation of Finnish and Norse to Lappish, there are the important place-name studies and collections of Lappish plant, animal and star names. Rektor Qvigstad seems to have been the first to begin work on Coast Lappish dialects in Norway.

From 1914 his publications were of a more ethnographical character, the intellectual and mythological riches in Lappish culture attracting his special attention. We are indebted to him
for several volumes (Lappish text interleaved with Norwegian translation) of fairytales and legends, and for collections of the traditions of Lappish folk medicine, supernatural beliefs, proverbs and riddles, and weather prophecies. Nor was this all: he produced a great deal of valuable primary material for any student of the old Lappish religions, and—in yet another department—literary material and comment in connexion with the history of settlement in the far north and the historical relations between Lapps and other peoples.

Still there was time and energy for another pressing work, perhaps one even more exacting upon the scholar: translations from Norwegian to Lappish, including the revision and editing of the translation of the Bible.

In 1897 Rektor Qvigstad was proposed for a Professorship in Lappish Language at Oslo University. Regrettably, however, insufficient state funds rendered the election stillborn; but in 1920 a special Fellowship from the state released Qvigstad from his duties at Tromsø Teachers' College, allowing him to devote himself exclusively to research.

Many learned societies extended their honours to Just K. Qvigstad; he was also honoured with Orders by the governments in the northern lands. In 1943 Tromsø Museum instituted a Gold Medal bearing Qvigstad's name, to be awarded for outstanding work in Lappish ethnography and philology. In 1955 Qvigstad was made an Honorary Doctor of Uppsala University; despite his longevity, there had not been time over to offer to the preparation of a doctor's dissertation.

This brief note may have indicated something of the quality and industry of Just K. Qvigstad as scientist. But he was much more. He was a great and gifted person, devoting his abundant talents and capacity for work to wherever they were needed. His human and intellectual qualities were applied to public life, in which too he took an energetic part. So it is not only in academic circles that his name and his life will be venerated.

ORNULV VORREN

Dr. Maria Wilman: 1867–1957

The death of Dr. Maria Wilman occurred in a nursing home at George, Cape Province, South Africa, on 9 November, 1957. Born in Cape Town in 1867, she attended school at the Good Hope Seminary and then went to Newnham College, Cambridge, where she took a science tripos. Back again in South Africa, she saw the post of Curator at the Museum in Kimberley advertised and on the advice of Dr. Péringuey, of the South African Museum, Cape Town, accepted it. She continued in this post until her retirement at the end of 1946.

She and her many helpers, over the years, assembled a very fine collection of native skeletal material, principally skulls of Bushmen, Hottentots and Koranas. Mainly by correspondence she found where the various rock-engraving sites were to be found and as a result wrote her book entitled Rock Engravings of Griqualand West and Bechuanaland. It was she who recognized the importance of the work being done by Mr. A. M. Duggan-Cronin in photographing the native tribes and she edited the resulting series of books called The Bantu Tribes of South Africa. She also published a botanical work entitled Preliminary Check List of the Flowering Plants and Ferns of Griqualand West.

In recognition of her contributions to science the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, conferred on her the honorary degree of Doctor of Law. The McGregor Memorial Museum, Kimberley, stands as a monument to her scientific achievements.

J. H. POWER

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

Neighbourliness in Bunyoro. By Dr. J. H. M. Beattie. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 3 February, 1959

The Nyoro of Western Uganda attach high value to neighbourliness. People should live near to and help one another, even though they are not related as kin, and a man who lives apart from his fellows lays himself open to suspicion of sorcery. Eating and, especially, drinking beer together express the friendly relations which should subsist between neighbours, and beer parties are often held simply because the beer is available and it is agreeable to drink it with a group of friends and neighbours.

The beer is made from a variety of banana, which is cooked in bulk, mixed with sweet-smelling grass and water, and trodden out in prepared hollows in the ground, the resulting liquid being fermented in large wooden troughs or 'canoes.' A good deal of beer is prepared at a time, and as it does not keep it has all to be drunk at one sitting. There is always a formal host at a beer party, who controls the disposal of the beer, which is dispensed in a strict order of priority according to the social standing of those present. Formerly women would not attend; nowadays they do, though they should sit in a separate group. But even this degree of segregation is breaking down. If there is enough beer there is often singing and dancing in which both men and women join.

As well as informal feasting and drinking there are also formal occasions for doing so. There is a custom whereby a person or group of persons may bring a gift of beer and food to another person or family; notification is given in advance and the receivers and their friends also contribute to the feast. This institution is now declining, but Nyoro still value it as an expression of the good relations which (ideally) should subsist between neighbours. In Bunyoro as elsewhere feasting and beer-drinking are also traditionally associated with rites of passage. Some time after the birth of a child it is formally taken outside the house and there is a naming ceremony, after which a small feast is held, attended by near relatives and neighbours. The marriage feast is the greatest of all; it is traditionally provided at the bridegroom's home by him and his family; it begins on the evening of the bride's formal arrival there, and it may continue for two or three days. At the same time a smaller party is taking place at the bride's parents' home (they may not attend the main feast), where special meat and beer have been sent 'to comfort them' by their new affines. Six months or so after the marriage the wife's mother pays a formal visit to her daughter and son-in-law; this is also the occasion for a feast, to which both parties contribute. A few days after a death there is a feast at which (when the deceased was a household head) a day is decided upon for the inheritance ceremony. This takes place some weeks or months later, and is also an occasion for commensality.

Feasting in Bunyoro is also associated with traditional religious rites, the most important of which are those centring on the mhundu spirit-possession cult. This, though now mainly an individual affair, was formerly particularly concerned with the well-being of domestic groups, and cult membership involved a cycle of initiation rituals which culminated in a considerable feast, 'second only to the marriage feast.' Food and beer were also
consumed when close agnates came together to sacrifice and pay their respects to the ghosts of the dead lineage fathers; this cult is also now obsolete.

There are other lesser occasions for feasting in Bunyoro, such as the birth of twins, the building of a new house, and the successful conclusion of a hunt. But the only other important formal feast is when a dispute between neighbours has been settled by an ad hoc ‘court’ of local people. Disputes arise from many causes: debt, petty theft, inheritance, women, the custody of children, cultivation rights, and so on; and these sometimes lead to conflicts too serious to be settled informally. Certain grave offences such as homicide and rape are nowadays dealt with by the Protectorate courts. But lesser offences and disputes between neighbours may be dealt with either through the Native Courts (held by Chiefs and established by Protectorate legislation), or by relatively informal ‘neighbourhood courts.’ Such a ‘court’ consists simply of a group of neighbours summoned ad hoc to deal with a dispute. It only comes into existence when it is summoned; there is no standing membership. Anyone can attend, provided that he is a householder and a respectable person; the basis of representation is neighbourhood rather than kinship or lineage membership.

When the parties have stated their cases, and witnesses (if any) have been heard, the neighbours discuss the case and usually reach a unanimous decision in favour of one or other party. They then order the loser to bring a specified quantity of meat and beer to the winner’s house on a selected day. If the loser accepts the court’s decision, he does this, and the meat and beer provide a feast which is consumed by both parties and their friends, and by the neighbours who composed the neighbourhood court which adjudicated on the dispute. After this the dispute is supposed to be finished, and it would be improper for either party to refer to it again.

Losers in such cases are not bound to accept the neighbourhood court’s decision, but most do. It is an act of indulgence for an offended party, and the neighbours, to permit a complaint to be settled ‘in the village,’ and not to take it to the Chief’s court. For it implies that the offender is still accepted as a member of the community, while to send his case to be heard by strangers in the official court would suggest that the community rejected him. Reconciliation rather than the punishment of the offender is the aim. If one suggests that the culprit is penalized by being made to buy meat and beer, which cost money, Nyoro reply that he enjoys the feast just as much as the others. Indeed, as formal provider of the feast his status is an honourable one, so that he is really being complimented by his neighbours. Thus neighbourhood courts owe their great social importance to the communal eating and beer-drinking which is their proper conclusion, and they exhibit par excellence the traditional importance of feasting in Bunyoro as a means of expressing good-neighbourly relations, and of restoring such relations when they have been breached.

CORRESPONDENCE


Mr. B. E. B. Fagg has referred to a rock gong, discovered in 1957, which is at Kasawo in North Kyagwe, Buganda (Man, 1957, 32). The further discovery in the Western Province of Uganda of both a rock gong and slide, both in close proximity to rock paintings, is, I think, of interest in view of the steadily accumulating evidence of such occurrences at the same sites in various parts of Africa.

This gong and slide are at Kakoro Rock which is a hill formed of scattered rocks, situated 11 miles north-west of the town of Mbale, in Bakedi District. The hill is composed of two low-lying tor-like hummocks joined by a saddle. It rises some 200 feet from the sur-}

rounding plain. Cultivation is particularly plentiful up to the western and northern slopes of the hill.

About 50 feet below the south hummock there is a solitary large rock, about 30 feet high, which rests upright on a platform of granite. This rock appears to have split along a joint plane. Seen from afar it stands out like a flanking sentinel to the southern hummock and cannot have failed to have caught the attention of man over the centuries (fig. 1). It is not surprising, therefore, that the platform on which it rests has been used as a centre for activities, as is evident from the presence of paintings on the split southern face and part of the western face, and of a gong which is part of the base of this massive block.

The paintings, in red pigment, are heavily weathered. The
traces which remain show that they were originally schematic designs which included concentric circles. Signs of more paintings can be traced on nearby rocks, whilst other groups have been recorded in the vicinity and in the saddle between the two hummocks (Uganda J., 1958, pp. 39-42). There are probably more paintings hidden amongst the tumbled rocks of the hill.

The gong, which is composed of an exfoliated slab of rock (fig. 2), bears heavy indentations along the edges, consistent with having been beaten over a long period. Lumps of stone lie nearby. These evidently served as beaters.

A group of local natives proffered the information that this site was customarily visited by herdsmen, also youths and children. When a number of people got together the gong would be played to while away the time. Sometimes the young men danced to its ringing tones.

A bystander gave an impromptu demonstration, ring ing the rock with blows from two of the handy stones which he clutched in both hands. He had no difficulty in handling his beaters; in fact he played skilfully enough to suggest that this was a pastime in which he frequently indulged.

About 80 feet below the platform there is a rock slide which stretches for about 70 feet down the rock slope to the fringes of cultivation and a nearby banana plantation. This slide, I was told, had always been used by boys as long as could be recalled. A young lad was quick to demonstrate his prowess at sliding which he did seated on a freshly cut four-foot length of the stem of a banana tree. A stick was stuck transversely through one end thus serving as a foot rest. After pushing on the smooth rock with his hands the boy was soon moving and the stem, gaining momentum, took its passenger at a good speed down to the bottom of the slide (fig. 3). As in Southern Rhodesia, where the branches of bushes are used for the same purpose (S. Afr. Archæol. Bull., 1958, p. 76), here the handy banana stem is evidently preferred to the rock sledge more prominently in use elsewhere.

None of the natives spoken to, young or old, could throw any further light on the background of the uses of either gong or slide. The paintings too meant virtually nothing to them. Some men had even been unaware of the presence of the designs. No evidence was forthcoming of any present-day association between paintings, gong and slide.

My enquiries, restricted to a morning's visit, were of course far from exhaustive. Kakoro Rock has become of archaeological interest since the first recording of the paintings there in 1956, hence there is obviously ample scope for the gathering of more data both oral and material from the whole site.

Masaka, Uganda

E. C. LANNING

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FIG. 3. KAKORO ROCK: THE ROCK SLIDE
A youth is seated on a banana stem.

II4 Sir,—Mr. Bernard Fagg has lately described his finding of a large number of 'rock gongs' in Northern Nigeria (Proceedings of the Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, 1955). 'I have also noted sites reported by reliable informants,' he adds (ibid., p. 312), 'over a wide area stretching across Northern Nigeria through the Provinces of Sokoto, Zaria, Kano, Plateau, Bauchi and Bornu, to the Northern Cameroons.' Perhaps it may be useful to report that I have lately seen two such 'gongs' in Darfur.

I heard of them when talking to a Fur chieftain at Kebkebia, which lies at the western end of the Kaura pass through the two masses of Jebel S. and Jebel Marra—about 100 miles west of El Fasher. 'Not only may you see the palace and the mosque of Mohamed Teirab'—they lie at Shoba, some 20 minutes' drive through thorn scrub to the south of Kebkebia—'but we also have sounding stones in our country.' These stones, he added, were used by Mohamed Teirab's servants to 'call the people together . . .': an explanation which the people of Shoba village afterwards faithfully duplicated, saying that they knew no other.

There are two large boulders and one small one lying close together on a slanting reach of bare rock near the foot of a peak of the same summit; the palace of Sultan Teirab, which is of course an eighteenth-century affair, lies about 200 yards away. Two men of Shoba village showed me how the 'people were called together' by pounding these boulders with a lump of stone. As is seen in the photograph (fig. 4),

these boulders have repeatedly been struck at different intervals along the lip of the stone, making broad white marks. I had the boulders struck for me at different points, and the notes were certainly different, although I have no idea whether they could be made to form any kind of scale. The two men said that they knew of no other such stones; and these, they said, had not been used since 'Mohammad Teirab's time.' But the facility with which they knew of them, and the readiness with which they showed me how to use them, may perhaps argue that some kind of local tradition attaches to them other than that associated with Mohammed Teirab.

They bear, in any case, a striking similarity to those described by Mr. Fagg and are fresh evidence, no doubt, of the continuity of culture which, since remote antiquity, has joined one end of the savannah belt to the other.

BASIL DAVIDSON

London, S.W. 13

II5 Sir,—An English example can be added to the pierres sonantes of Brittany (MAN, 1956, 73), namely the font at Middleton Stoney, Oxon. (formerly at Iffley, Oxon.) in which King Edward the Confessor was baptized. The stone font, if struck, sounds like a bell. For this statement, see J. C.
A mere historian, untrained in the disciplines pertaining to social anthropology, comparative religion, philology, etymology, and so forth, approaches a review of one of Mrs. Meyerowitz's works with some trepidation. However, if The Akan of Ghana, the third book to appear in Mrs. Meyerowitz's series of works on the Akan-speaking peoples, is not overtly as historical a work as its immediate predecessor, Akan Traditions of Origin (1952), it does contain within it one specific contribution to our knowledge of West African history, while the book as a whole is never wholly irrelevant to its study.

The positive contribution is comprised by Chapter V, in which Mrs. Meyerowitz gives in extenso the account of Bono (Techiman) tradition which she and her interpreter and assistant, Mr. Kofi Antubam, collected some years ago and which was used in the vital first chapter of Akan Traditions. A serious weakness of this earlier work is that Mrs. Meyerowitz seems then to have been unaware of the vital importance of recounting oral history as nearly as possible in the exact traditional forms used by its guardians. In fact in Akan Traditions it is not easy to distinguish between the basic data collected by Mrs. Meyerowitz and the comments and interpretations which she places upon them. The account of Bono tradition now given still does not seem to be an exact text, nor is it wholly free from interpolation, but we are now at least better informed than we were before about the traditions of this state which are so crucial for early Akan history.

Besides this Bono history, Mrs. Meyerowitz also prints, in an introductory chapter, her more recent views on the remoter migrations of the Akan. These have already been published at somewhat greater length (MAN, 1957, 99), and no more need be said here than that from 'Día' on the Niger bend (an appellation which has been challenged by M. Mauny), she now looks north-east towards the oasis of Dajo for the antecedents of the Akan; in other words the Palmer country is now preferred to that of Delafossé. It is difficult, on the evidence offered, to say very much more than that Mrs. Meyerowitz has now chosen the north-eastern rather than the north-western or northern of the two main routes along which fertilizing influences have in the past reached West Africa from across the Sahara. But one of Mrs. Meyerowitz's main conclusions in her new book is that 'Akan civilization is essentially pre-Arab North African in character, and that the claim of some of the Akan, that their ancestors had been of a white race and originally came from the Sahara, is unlikely to be fiction.' The idea of Libyan-Berber, or even of Phoenicio-Carthaginian influences on West African culture is, of course, by no means new; but a statement such as the one just quoted appears, on the face of it, to ignore considerations such as that cultural influences can travel with few or no permanent migrants to carry them, and that, granted that some of the formative ancestors of the Akan-speaking states may well have come from the Sahara or beyond, their people as a whole (and their languages) are fundamentally Negro.

The bulk of The Akan of Ghana is, however, devoted to a study of four successive and agglutinative Akan cults isolated by Mrs. Meyerowitz, and is historical most obviously in as much as a concluding chapter reviews analogies between these cults and beliefs and customs associated with the ancient Libyans. We begin with (i) a Moon cult, associated with a matriarchal and totemic order of society in which the clan is given life by a woman, who 'overcame by the life-giving power, had brought forth an abuson to be its goddess.' In this cosmology, the creator (Nyame) is female, but later 'the ancestors of the Akan nobility must have united with a people who worshipped a Father-God' (Odumankoma Bore-Bore). From this union developed (ii) a Venus cult, in which the brother or husband of Nyame, and thus also of the Queen-mother, became her 'executive officer.' Thirdly it is postulated that with the growth of the city-state, the male executive needed a higher status; thus we have (iii) a Sun cult, with a King, the incarnation of the sun, matrilineally descended from the Moon mother. At Bono, this development is ascribed to the third ruler, Obunumankona, dated at A.D. 1363-1431. Finally we are given (iv) a Ntoro cult, providing authority for the father of a family; the male for the first time being identified with creation, in the sexual act, and the new gods being associated with water, as representing the seminal fluid. At Bono, this stage was reached with the fifth king, Takyi Akwamo (1431-63).

It is not easy to comment either on Mrs. Meyerowitz's data or on her deductions from them, but the following words from her preface throw an interesting light on her method of approach to her study: 'In order to establish an ordered arrangement, in space and time, of my material, I finally fixed four Cult Types and their periods, and visited those regions in Ghana where I expected to find evidence that would clarify the outstanding problems.' Although for some of the totemic evidence for Cult 1 Mrs. Meyerowitz considers the Winneba New Year festival, it is the Brong (Bono) state of Techiman which forms the centre for this study, and despite the important position in Akan tradition given to this state, one could wish that in a work attempting to establish the beliefs of the Akan-speaking peoples as a whole, there had been a somewhat wider examination of the available data.

The book is lavishly produced and illustrated, but a little more care could have gone into its composition. For example, on p. 13, 'Academic Council' occurs instead of Academic Board, and on p. 18, note 3, Bovill's Caravans of the Old Sahara is wrongly cited as Caravan routes of the old Sahara. Similarly, although the photographic reproductions are of high quality, their connexion with the
text is not always readily apparent. This is particularly so with Plate V, 'The High Priest of Tigare'; Tigare does not occur in the Index, nor apparently in the text, and it is not easy to see the connexion between Tigare and the Culls of Mrs. Meyerowitz.

J. D. FAGE

Note

1 Mrs. Meyerowitz's interpretations of the symbolism in Akan masks, figures, and devices shown in some of her illustrations sometimes seem, if they do not parallel, themes developed by Frobenius, though it is interesting that she does not consider close the artistic analogies with West Africa suggested by such a book as Picard's *Le monde de Carthage*; compare, for example, Picard's Plates XVIII and XXXI with Mrs. Meyerowitz's *okunba* statuettes in her Plates L-III.


The history of Zanzibar is as colourful as can well be imagined and it is surprising that it has not before caught the attention of writers whose primary object has been to catch its glamour and romance. In this book Lady Claude Hamilton has done all of that and it has a good deal of the flavour of a historical novel without taking the liberties with history which that kind of writing permits.

There are it is true a good many minor inaccuracies and the spelling of Arabic and other names is somewhat haphazard but in this kind of book it would be capricious and pedantic to quarrel with that. Lady Claude has a real sympathy with the people and a genuine admiration and affection for them and their rulers, and if her characters tend sometimes to think and talk rather like Englishmen what does it matter? I feel myself that this is just the kind of book that is needed by those who do not aspire to any deep knowledge of the intricacies of past affairs on the East African coast. There are many who go there and stay there whose ignorance is profound and that at least will be remedied if they read this book. If the bibliography had included the late Sir Reginald Coupland's other book on the coast, *East Africa and its Invaders*, it would have been a very adequate book list for those who wish to pursue their studies further.

Lady Claude tells the story of Zanzibar from the accession of Seiyyid Said bin Sultan, one of the greatest figures who has walked across the Arabian stage, in 1806 to the death of Seiyyid Hamud in 1902. This story of a century is adequately introduced by a short chapter concerning Uman's previous connexion with Zanzibar and concluded with another dealing with present-day Zanzibar. It includes the story of the suppression of the slave trade and pays due homage to the navy and the work of man like Hamerton (who by the way was not a naval captain) and Kirk. What perhaps has escaped Lady Claude is the fact that the trust which Seiyyid Said and his son Barghash reposed in these two men respectively led to the admiration which these two Arab rulers had for Britain and to the fact that British influence became as wide as it did in East Africa.

The introduction of democratic institutions and the vote into Zanzibar has led to a very considerable diminution of Arab political influence which had been supreme on the coast since at least seven centuries B.C. The arrival of the missionaries who were helped by these Muslim rulers (for instance, a fact not mentioned by the author, Seiyyid wrote Kraep a letter of recommendation to the authorities on the mainland and his son Ali another for Bishop Tucker to Kabaka Mwanga in Uganda) opened another quite separate history for East Africa which will probably lead to the supremacy of African political influence. In this the Arabs have played no real part; that they were responsible for bringing Islam to the coast has been largely negated by European neglect of it since. The story of Arab colonization in East Africa is therefore to be a separate and now closed story, though it is to be hoped that the successors of the great Seiyyid Said and the present much more beloved Sultan, Seiyyid Khalifia, will ever continue to preside over the Island's destinies.

HAROLD INGRAMS


Dr. Colson's book on the Plateau Tonga will not disappoint the expectations of those who have read her various articles on this people. The solid documentation and the good straightforward writing are there, and with them a thorough investigation of every aspect of her theme.

The Tonga differ from many of the matrilineal peoples of Northern Rhodesia in that the future owners of farming land, and this, 'Dr. Colson tells us without comment, 'has led to large tracts of land being taken over for European farms.' Nevertheless it is still possible for a Tonga to make a good living out of farming, and it is a change from reading about the many tropical peoples who look to education solely as a means of getting away from rural life to be told that Tonga who have salaried jobs see them only as a stage on the road to cash-crop farming or some other form of 'business' in the Reserve.

As Dr. Colson points out, the present structure of the Tonga family presupposes access to land sufficient to provide for its needs, and she foresees radical changes if the standard of cash needs should rise to a level at which they become dependent on wage labour. Indeed some changes have been noted already, notably, in the areas where economic opportunities are greatest, the insistence of fathers on their right to bequeath their property, and even more, perhaps, of sons on their right to inherit it. This leads to questioning of the rules of matrilineal descent, though men are not so enthusiastic about the European system when they learn that a divorced man may lose the custody of his children and yet have to support them.

It is, however, Dr. Colson's study of the traditional system as it can be seen in the conservative areas that is the most interesting part of her book; unfortunately 'culture change' always seems to go the same way. Tonga do not trace their descent very far, and there is no elaborate, or remembered, founding of new lines. While the kin group keeps together it is undifferentiated; any member may approach the common ancestors, and a man may not receive the dowry of his own sister's daughter but only that of a classificatory sister's daughter. What keeps the group small is the emigration of individuals, not the splitting-off of a segment.

Men like to live in homesteads at a little distance from their nearest neighbours, and Dr. Colson observed a companionship between husband and wife which she ascribes to this relative isolation, and which contrasts with the sharp separation of the sexes observed among many African peoples.

It appears to be more or less accidental that the marriage payment is made in cattle. Formerly it consisted in hoes, as it does among the other matrilineal peoples, and of course the change to cattle has not changed it into 'child-price.' Children belong to their mother's group, and what the marriage payment secures is the right to an independent household and full guardianship over the wife. The desire for children so characteristic of the simpler societies is here expressed, not in terms of the need for descendants to continue the line and keep one's memory alive through the ancestor cult, but in the theory that the fertility of women is their most precious possession, which they should not wish or be compelled to waste. Hence the idea of fidelity to an absent husband is meaningless. This attitude may be characteristic of other matrilineal peoples, but I do not remember to have seen it so fully documented. A child is legitimate if its father acknowledges it, whether or not a marriage ceremony has been performed; the essence of the marriage is to create the relationship of husband and wife. But legitimacy is important because it is to his father's matrilineal ancestors that a person looks chiefly for spiritual protection. About a third of all marriages are irregular in that they are either initiated by the elopement of the couple or follow the birth of a child.

Puberty ceremonies are not important as a preparation for marriage, and, as Dr. Colson sees it, the whole socialization process is directed to the undifferentiated roles of 'husband' and 'wife,' the only ones which Tonga society as yet envisages.

These are only some of the many interesting points that Dr. Colson treats in this excellent book.

LUCY MAIR

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In the last few years a considerable effort has been put into research among the Fulani of West Africa by the International African Institute. Dr. D. J. Stenning worked among the pastoral Fulani in West Bornu and has published two papers embodying some of his field results, while a forthcoming book is announced by the International African Institute. Mlle Dupire, attached to the Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire, carried out similar researches in the Niger Province of French West Africa and in the French Cameroons, which represents the south-eastern limit of Fulani expansion. Mr. Hopen meanwhile worked on the north-western border of Nigeria and is the first to publish an extended account of his work.

The International African Institute is to be congratulated on sponsoring this scheme. Not only has it produced an example of co-operative, even international, endeavour only too rare in the anthropological field, it has also filled one of the most conspicuous gaps of West African ethnography. For the Fulani are a people of great importance in both the past and present of the region. They occupy an area stretching some 2,000 miles eastwards from their original homeland in Senegal to beyond Lake Chad, dispersed clusters of cattle-keeping pastoralists living in country otherwise entirely inhabited by farming peoples. Though some of these groups are pegan, others have played a formidable role in the spread of Islam, a fact which led to the establishment of their dominion over the Hausa states of Northern Nigeria in the early years of the nineteenth century and to a consequent loss of pastoral tradition on the part of the new ruling dynasties.

Hopen gives a competent and well ordered account of a group of pastoral Fulani in Gwandu. As in Evans-Pritchard's account of another transhuman society, the author finds himself bound to stress the interaction of environment and human personnel. Heavy rainfall in the wet season is in general unsuitable for pastoral activities, and the seasonal movement is therefore northward in the wet season, and southward in the dry, the average one-way distance being 73 miles in the general area of which Gwandu forms a part. It is during the southward move to find good pastures that the greatest dispersion of households takes place. But transhumance does not involve the sharp seasonal changes of social density which Mauss noted among the Eskimo and Evans-Pritchard among the Nuer. For ecological conditions are such that throughout the year the small Fulani household has a considerable autonomy, especially with regard to spatial mobility. This picture is in direct contrast to the pre-British situation, where the threat of raiders inhibited the search for the best pastures and led to residence in walled villages, the land round which was cultivated by slaves while the cattle grazed in the bush beyond.

The economic aspects of existence require yet more stress than among the Nuer, for the Fulani form only a small percentage of the total population, of which again the pastoral element may well be in the minority. Where possible these Fulani do no farming at all. They therefore inevitably live in a symbiotic relationship with the farmers among whom they move. From these they obtain agricultural produce and manufactured goods and in return provide milk, butter and manure. Hopen gives a good account of this and of the inter-relation of local environment and social organization. But the analysis of the economic life is not limited to its adaptive aspects. There is, for example, a useful chapter on marriage payments. Yet more welcome is the section on the transmission of property between father and son and the tensions related to the holder-heir situation, a subject which has received less than adequate treatment in recent ethnographical literature. The influence of contemporary psychology has been towards accounting for father-son tensions in terms of the socialization and the control of sexual rights, rather than in terms of the social situation among the Fulani, as in other instances of transmission intra vivos between the holder and the heir (e.g. among the Wambugwe of East Africa and in rural Ireland), the conflict situation is particularly overt.

In analysing the Fulani family, Hopen like Stenning has stressed the way in which relationships change depending upon the position of the actors in the life cycle of the individual and of the domestic group. Both writers have emphasized the important part played by the elementary family in Fulani life and connected this with the form of pastoral ecology. In their accounts of the family the two authors display considerable agreement, but in respect of the articulation of the domestic groups into wider units there appear to be some differences between the two areas. While Hopen makes no mention of any lineage organization, and even the patrilineal clan is clearly of very marginal significance, Stenning speaks of the lineage named after a common male ancestor three to five generations back, a group which is endogamous as far as first marriages are concerned, the unit of widow inheritance, the range within which help in the form of loans, gifts and services may be forthcoming, and the care of the common camp made in the wet season. Moreover the clan, although it appears to have lost some of its former ritual functions, is still of some importance. It would appear that these differences are to be related to the more complete pastoral economy of the Bornu group; Stenning is dealing entirely with pastoralists whereas in Gwandu only a third of the "pastoral" Fulani subsist without farming. Ecological conditions in Gwandu are in some ways more favourable for there are few tsetse fly to complicate wet-season movements and it is possible to find suitable winter and summer conditions within a fairly small "orbital" distance. This has led to a considerable ingression of strangers, and therefore to more mixed local populations, as well as to a greater degree of competition for available resources.

The Fulani situation may be of crucial significance in any attempt to determine the variables associated with unilineal descent groups and particularly with differences of lineage depth. We await with interest the publication of the other results; what has appeared so far is certainly a good augury for what's to come.

JACK GOODY


This is a superb book, in both the quality of its photography and the scholarship of its text. It will probably stand as the most important general work on African sculpture for many years to come.

Satisfactory photographic representation of sculpture is extraordinarily difficult to obtain. For the full realization of three-dimensional form sculpture should be studied from every angle, so that it is truly enjoyed in the round; while both the relationship of its various planes and its actual texture can probably only be completely appreciated through handling. The photography of Eliot Elisofon, arranged by Bernard Quitt, simulates these conditions as nearly as is possible in two-dimensional reproduction. Large-scale photographs are silhouetted separately on a plain ground, showing both the texture of various materials and the depth and angles of various planes with extraordinary clarity. In many instances too, three or four illustrations of a figure taken from different angles are set as a series on a page, so that it may be considered from every side. Not all the photographs reach the high degree of excellence of Nos. 4, 11, 223 as examples of texture, or 31, 215 as studies in depth; and I must confess to a personal dislike of single photographs spread across a double page, but this is a pincing criticism. The artists have so realistically set before us nearly 400 outstanding examples of African sculpture. The captions indicate the social and aesthetic significance of the work, while more technical details of materials and size are given at the end of the book.

In the text an essay by the late Ralph Linton serves as a helpful introduction by discussing and defining the term primitive art. Later William Fagg uses the phrases tribal art and the art of literate and industrial civilizations, a happy definition which we hope will be widely adopted as the word primitive inevitably suggests a stigma to the sensitive emergent peoples whose traditional work is under discussion.

After discussing the problem of the comparatively restricted area in Africa in which sculpture of significance is to be found, Mr. Fagg poses the yet more difficult task for the art critic of attempting to formulate an aesthetic of African sculpture. Two factors are the
cause of this, first that it is wellnigh impossible for a member of our modern civilization fully to understand the content and significance of tribal sculpture; and secondly that in its form it ranges through every stage from naturalism to abstraction, and from rigid planes to flowing curves.

Taking the convenient divisions of the Western Sudan, the Guinea Coast and the Congo he exemplifies three different aspects which it is necessary to consider in such a study. Although he has earlier put forward the term dynamicism as most expressive of the philosophy behind African carving, he rightly warns us against the temptation of explaining the work of the Western Sudan entirely in partially understood psychological terms. In discussing the Guinea Coast the art historian may begin to piece together, albeit with many lacunae, a story running from the terracottas of Nok (dated by carbon-14 between 900 B.C.–A.D. 200) through the mysterious terracotta and bronze heads of Ife to the more profusely, if not always accurately, documented bronzes of Benin. Finally, in the Congo section, Mr. Fagg puts forward the outstanding work of the late Professor Obrechts in the methodical and detailed analysis of styles in the carving of the various tribes and sub-tribes there.

There is nothing startlingly new in these lines of approach; but what is of assurance to the student is the clarity and scholarly care with which they have been written. A helpful bibliography completes the book.

MARGARET TROWELL


This small booklet, originally published as Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Heft 9, contains two separate articles, one by each of the authors. That by Hermann, 'Die afrikanische Negerplastik als Forschungsgegenstand' is a very useful and accurate introduction to the history of the study of African art. In about 30 pages a wealth of bibliographical data is brought together, which no student in this field should fail to consult. The only reservation that could be made is that Hermann is sometimes somewhat too polite in his evaluation of contributions in this field which are of only mediocre quality. But any serious student of African art will soon find out this for himself.

Rather important is Hermann's statement about his own position in the field of theoretical Kunstwissenschaft, which he states to be based on Frey's publications about comparative art history.

Germann's contribution 'Negerplastiken aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig' is useful as a quick introduction into the cultural backgrounds of African art. Of course the diversity in the cultural meaning of African art is much too large to be treated adequately in some 25 pages. Therefore his contribution is little more than a useful catalog of possibilities, based mainly on information gathered from museum collections and general anthropological literature on Africa, his only specialized source being Himmelfelder's well-known publications, whereas Graule's information about the Dogon is lacking.

The booklet ends with 36 plates of objects from the Leipzig museum, with descriptions and a tribal map. The greater part of these objects were destroyed during the war, and one would have liked an indication of which are still existent and which destroyed.

A. A. GERBRANDS


This delightful and beautifully illustrated book fills a gap in the well-known government-sponsored series of publications on Ancient Algeria which was started some years ago. The text in this volume naturally contains little that is new, as the author's Préhistoire de l'Afrique du Nord and Vaufrey's excellent works have already set out the latest ideas on the prehistory of the region. The value of the present work lies in the numerous and well chosen illustrations, some in colour. Where else can one find pictures of the famous site at Ternifine where come the Acheulian human jaw discovered by Professor Arambourg, the jaw itself and some of the faunal remains associated with it, and the stone implements unearthed from the same sands?

The Abbé Breuil contributes a chapter on the Aterian. This peculiar African culture belongs to the Middle Stone Age and is characterized by the occurrence of a large number of tanged points. An account of the Capsian finds in the Constantine area follows and a number of human skeletal remains are figured. There is still controversy as to the exact position and affinities of the Capsian culture. It is true that pygmy tools occur, especially in the upper levels. But this does not mean that the Capsian is necessarily to be classed as mesolithic. The occurrence of pygmies merely means that composite tools were being made, and this happens more particularly when soft wood is available for the hafts. Soft woods postulate a certain climate, but such a climate may well have occurred in parts of North Africa while in Europe it was still too cold for their free growth. Typologically speaking (apart from the pygmies) the evolution of the Capsian industries compares closely with that of the early upper paleolithic of Western Europe.

An account of some of the later Stone Age cultures is included and there are numerous splendid illustrations.

It must always be remembered that the prehistory of North Africa is to be associated with that of the Mediterranean area and with Europe. The core of the Sahara made any intercourse with the south almost impossible. To the east the sands go right down to the Nile for scores and scores of miles, and to the west down to the Atlantic. Not since the pluvial phase of Acheulian times can we find evidence for any serious influences moving to and fro across the desert spine. Of course during the wet phases the fringe areas were inhabited, and inhabited, and some contact must have been possible. But south of the great sandy wastes the cultural evolution in prehistoric times subsequent to the Acheulian was completely different.

MILES C. BURKITT


Any addition to the all too scanty field of Middle Eastern bibliography is always welcome, but this latest offering of the University of Miami Press, which has also given us the excellent series on south-western Asia by Dr. Henry Field, has much more to recommend it than mere lack of competitors. Mr Coulth is particularly to be commended for including in his bibliography works in Arabic, the omission of which mars the usefulness to the specialist of many similar works. The inclusion of indices, by subject matter and by author, contributes greatly to the practical value of this work, though one might question the selection of categories into which the material itself is classified.

The compiler rather optimistically describes the emphasis of his bibliography as being upon 'social anthropological studies,' a view which many users of this work surely will not allow. The less than satisfactory nature, from the standpoint of social anthropology as well as other social disciplines, of much of the material on the Egyptian fallah cannot, however, detract from the value of this bibliography. It has been compiled with considerable thoroughness, is well annotated, and will prove very useful to both the Middle Eastern specialist and the comparative sociologist.

JOHN HARTLEY


The question, What is French Canada?, the object of this study, is a problem which has been tackled not only by early

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chroniclers and historians, by folklorists, but also in recent years by sociologists calling themselves anthropologists. Being an anthropologist, I am keenly aware here of the difference in approach to the field under observation by sociologists and by the older Oxford scholars and the followers of the American master Franz Boas,
The contemporaries with whom Professor Garigue enjoys breaking a lance are sociologists like himself, whose starting point is a theory or a hypothesis. When confronted with a great diversity of social features over the vast territory of ancient New France (much of the North American continent), they reduce their objective to a single one, which the contemporary scientific or technical world from there are we left to jump to conclusions. This was done, in the last few decades, by Léon Gérin, a French-Canadian economist of the Le Play school, who studied his own parish of Saint-Justin, situated on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, between Quebec and Montreal. To Gérin (1898) this parish, established for at least four generations, was still characterized by its continuity of farm-ownership, through a system of inheritance which is specific to Quebec. A farming rather than a peasant community, it is neither 'simple,' nor 'archaic,' but complex. Horace Miner, at a later date (1939), chose the parish of Saint-Denis, Kamouraska, on the lower St. Lawrence, and he found that this 'peasant society resembles the primitive people.' Its family complex, like that of other French-Canadian parish units, is that of ancient rural France in the seventeenth century; it is like a feudal state. It is a basic political unit, centred in the fabrique with the parish priest as its head, and education is left to private initiative. The church was the only formal organization left after the collapse of the French régime (in 1760). The particularism of rural communities was typical of the whole country. Then the 'School of Chicago,' headed by Professor Park, joined in with his French Canada in Transition, in 1942. Hughes focused his attention upon what he called Cantonville anonymously (that is, Drummondville), a modern industrial town with a mixed population in the heart of the 'Eastern Townships,' east of Montreal. His school has had a considerable influence upon those who may have considered his disciples, among them the Laval University younger professor Jean-Charles Falardeau, with his Perspectives (1953), etc. Other parishes or towns have been surveyed in recent years. More recently still, Marcel Rioux, for the National Museum of Canada, has published his Description de la culture de l'Île-Verte (1954), and Belle-Âme (1957), the first on the south shore of the lower St. Lawrence, and the second in Chaleur Bay, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. More monographs now follow in quick succession, and descriptive knowledge is fast being added to our stores of valuable but fragmentary materials.

Now Professor Garigue, a newcomer in Canada, writing in both French and English, enters the picture as if with a chip on the shoulder. With a lively sense of the crusader, he questions the conclusion of most of his forerunners. And the frequent meetings of young sociologists now witness sparks flying under their hammer, the more so since they are not content with cold empirical observations, but bring forth theories and hypotheses which are easy to challenge.

For instance, whereas, according to Gérin, the hypothesis of continuity of ownership of the farm in the family since the beginning prevails, and family property may be considered a communal possession, Garigue goes to great pains to show that this axiom is not valid, that Saint-Justin cannot be made to represent a stage in the historical and geographical development of Quebec, that it is not a 'folk-like' community, that the family is not linked firmly to the land, but that the farm easily changes hands. In other words, the traditional culture of Quebec, as prevailing at Saint-Justin, is mainly commercial as in an urban society. According to Garigue, Miner's theory of a peasant or primitive society existing at Saint-Denis and elsewhere, leads its author to the conclusion that it is bound eventually to disappear, in the growing conflict between rural and urban societies. Here opens the debate on the stresses and conflicts between the various layers and units of the French-Canadian organization. Change and continuity is the topic of a prolonged debate, which Hughes has initiated with his French Canada in Transition. Again Garigue finds ample opportunities for disagreement. But there is no room here for further elaboration.

Garigue's valuable contribution in this book of semi-detached essays is his conclusion that French Canada is not a feudal state based on the seigneurie and parish of the old régime, is not a 'folk-like' society characterized by its stability on the paternal farm, and is not bound to disappear in the clash between rural and urban life. But this French enclave on the North American continent is very complex, in good part urban, and is scattered over varied areas, with a maritime population of fisherfolk, and a substantial element dedicated from the beginning to the fur trade all over the continent. His method usually is to start with a theory of his own or of other sociologists, and to prove or disprove it in the field, collected facts carefully selected to that end. His method of making his theory fit the facts is a method that only the most skilful can carry off. If we find the process at times rather arbitrary, we cannot forget Poincaré's plea for the value of hypotheses in the growth of science. But meanwhile a lively, if not bitter, controversy is bound to prevail in the councils of sociologists within Canada.

As a member of the older empirical school, I miss in all these sociological studies an important element, that of cultural anthropology. Statistics, social institutions, change and continuity, urban and rural culture everywhere hold the stage. But virtually nowhere do we find anything about the content of the French Canadian culture. Arts and handicrafts in the countryside or in town, apprenticeship, the guild of joiners and carpenters of Sainte-Anne, traditional apprenticeship within the family circle, schools like those of the Ursulines (1639), of Mgr. de Laval at Cap-Tourmente (1675), and of Chevillon at Ile-Jésu (1802), are not once mentioned in the whole series of books and essays. Folk songs, folk tales, dances, legends, sayings and proverbs fail anywhere to make an appearance. Yet we, folklorists of the National Museum and the Archives de Folklore, know from experience that the social character of the French Canadians is under these captions most richly endowed, and that they derive from these ancestral sources still alive among them the framework of their personality, sociability, 'esprit de corps,' 'psychologie des foules,' etc. Yet Professor Garigue, a sound scholar foraging ahead on one foot, a sociologist's, admits, in his chapter on Sherffield, that French Canadians alone in a mixed industrial town, a new mining centre in the north, can endure beyond one year the working conditions and isolation, this because of their clustering together around their parish priest and church, and of their family associations. He might well have added that their folk or oral traditions—and we must know what they are—stand at the core of their social existence and continuity in town or in the country. They are 'chez nous' wherever they set foot in their own land, and shoot roots deep in the soil of the New World. MARIUS BARBEAU


The Western Apache is one of the Apaches of southern Athabaskan or Apachen-speaking tribes of the aboriginal American southwest which are so similar in language and social and ceremonial life that they are considered off-shoots of a single parental group. One of the principal differences between the Western Apache and most of the other southern Athabaskan-speaking tribes is the presence of strong clans among the former. In this compact monograph Dr. Kaut endeavours to identify the Western Apache clans, the three phratries into which they are grouped, the sections which they form, and the relations which obtain among them as well as to account for the appearance and functions of this unilateral kinship unit among these people. This inevitably forces comparison of the social structures of the Western Apache with that of the Apache tribes without clans and invites explanations concerning the differences.

Kaut concludes that the differences in kinship systems and total social structure among the Southern Athabaskans relate 'to differences in subsistence basis and total ecological adaptation.' According to him, in the beginning agriculture was lacking or of minor importance, and hunting and gathering organization was based upon bilateral local groups associated in loose bands, with merging generational kinship principles emphasized so that groups of close relatives formed co-operating units. The Mescalero Apache remained closest to this prototype in both subsistence patterns and related social organization, he says, with the Chiricahua Apache close behind. The Kiowa Apache, Jicarilla Apache and Lipan Apache, the groups to the east, came to rely more on the buffalo hunt, emphasized the band at the expense of the local group and extended family, and favoured intra-generational bifurcation and generational opposition, thus permitting interaction between larger groups of
relatives. Agriculture ultimately became a factor for the Jicarilla, Western Apache and Navaho. The identification of matriloclal groups with particular farming sites led to the development of clans. A 'young and weak' clan structure is hinted at by Dakota-Iroquois terminology of the Jicarilla. A much stronger clan developed among the Western Apache. The still further development of the Navaho clan is reflected in kinship terminology, where an explicit differentiation clanwise between cross-cousins is made. Among the Cibouces of the Western Apache, at least, clan bonds have been strengthened in the modern period by the reduction in size of the group's territories and the consequent increase in contacts among clansmen. This, in brief, is the author's view of 'different stages in an evolutionary process at which the various groups of Southern Athabaskans represent.' There is much that is valuable and suggestive in Kaut's discussion and formulation, but there is much that is questionable to the student. The Eastern Mescalero hunted buffalo, but their band structure and kinship terminology do not differ from those of the Western Mescalero. I cannot agree, either, that the Mescalero or Chiricahua band was very important in subsistence activities. I have to be convinced, moreover, that the Jicarilla band had any more influence or centralized authority than the Chiricahua or Mescalero band. The agricultural Jicarilla certainly use Dakota-Iroquois kinship terminology, but there is no indication of unilateral kinship concepts. When Dr. Kaut wants to prove the relation between agricultural and clan origins, as on pages 33 and 34, he bestows a 'young and weak' clan system on the Jicarilla. Elsewhere (page 28) he speaks more accurately of 'the absence of clans' among the Jicarilla. The author will have to make up his mind whether theory is to override facts or whether facts are to guide theory.

MORRIS E. OPLER


This is the third Memoir published within the last three years by the American Anthropological Association which, like its predecessors (Nos. 80 and 81), addresses itself to the problem of social and cultural change engendered by the 'diffusion' and introduction into 'primitive,' 'tribal,' 'peasant,' 'folk' or otherwise 'underdeveloped' societies of such specifically modern complexes as commercial enterprise and industrialization. It thereby bespeaks the lively concern of current social anthropology with problems of this particular order of social and cultural events and with the diagnosis of circumstances and processes which, on the face of it, belong not properly to the province of the economists. Nash's is another among the very scant pioneering studies which attempt to assess the kind and degree of alterations which a society is apt to undergo when directly exposed to the technologically and organizationally distinct and historically novel form of production called industrialism. Moreover, it is a rare and most salutary instance of an empirical study of change that boldly—though not entirely conclusively—confronts out-dated and preconceived notions and much muddled thinking about industrialization and its alleged ill effects on culture and society.

Machine Age Maya is the result of a 14 months' field study launched in 1933 in Cantel, a Quiché-speaking Indian community in the Western Highlands of Guatemala and seat for close to 80 years of Central America's largest cotton textile mill employing at present between 900 and 1,000 men and women, the large majority Indians native of this community of traditionally small-freehold peasant farmers. The topic of the study is the adaptation of this Indian community 'to factory work, cash wages, and the wider ties of the modern industrial world,' while yet maintaining its social integrity and cultural distinctiveness to an impressive degree. For contrary to what might be expected in the light of historical precedents and prevailing conceptions or experiences of industrial revolutions, this long-sustained case of industrialization within the setting as described has not resulted in major social disorganization of the traditional community with its religious brotherhoods, civil-religious hierarchy, and predominantly Mayan world view, nor has it suffered what might be diagnosed as cultural disruptions and losses on a major scale. Time and space usages, community and factory have accommodated themselves to each other's ways. Family and household organization have not become undermined as a result of factory work, and 'operating relationships' among household and family members and as between generations and sexes have not been materially affected even where economic dependency relations have come to be reversed from the traditional pattern as maintained by non-factory, that is, farming families. The changes that have occurred, and as assessed by comparison between factory and non-factory families, are additive rather than structural in nature.

In sum, the case as presented by Nash could almost be termed one of 'idyllic industrialization'; and the author makes it clear that there were and are many cultural elements in the situation predisposing Indians toward industrial work. On the other hand, he indicates enough of the character of the (non-Indian) factory management to permit one to think that a robust and more closely business-calculation type of management or one organized and operating on more impersonal lines would not have spared Cantel more drastic social and cultural dislocations.

Nor must it be overlooked that Nash's stock-taking occurs after 80 years of one single factory's continuous existence and operation in one single community. After such a length of time, a degree of accommodation between factory and community should not come as a surprise. Yet the earlier beginnings of the factory, the first 30 or more years—the typically crucial phase—appear to have been beset by the kinds of problems that are more nearly familiar to latter-day 'industrial revolutions' and mid-twentieth-century industrialization elsewhere.

In any event, Nash's case of industrialization seems to be exceptional rather than representative. It deals with a situation that is isolated by virtue of the peculiar character and structure of Guatemalan (national) society as a whole—a matter which Nash does not sufficiently consider; it is isolated by virtue of a lack of that proliferation of production and services which we usually associate with 'industrialization,' a process which ordinarily is made to encompass planes much wider than the local one; and isolated, finally, by virtue of Nash's own approach and treatment and by the confinement of his analysis almost exclusively to the locality itself. He pays scant direct attention to any wider context within which industrial Cantel ought to be considered, except in so far as relates to recent nation-wide political and trade-union developments in Guatemala which, indeed, have affected Cantel in many telling ways. Thus we believe it that is not particularly the workers' union of the factory that has caused the ancient civil-religious hierarchy and its operation to weaken, but rather the impingement of the political events and political and quasi-political institutions on the national plane which may be mediated by industrial labour or agrarian or indeed other similarly extensive and nationally-linked organizations that may cause existing local institutions to alter their forms and functions or to be superseded entirely.

None of these strictures should detract from Nash's important, unusually well written, blessedly brief and perspicacious book with its careful and engaging descriptions of, for instance, the 'public personality' or of the careers of local union leaders, clearly 'transitional' rather than 'marginal' men. He has turned out a study that is both informative and suggestive, and he succeeds admirably in exemplifying his dictum that 'knowledge about industrialization needs a new armoury of questions, a new scheme of imagery, above and beyond the confirming or discarding of existing generalizations about industrialization.'

BEATE R. SALZ


It is unpleasant to see how a well-known scholar, who produced various works of standing in the field of ethnography, finds himself bereft of a great part of his former qualities when he grows old. Yet this was the case with Professor Schulze during the last decade of his life, when he seemed to have lost the critical faculty which he was famous for in earlier years.

His paleographic work on these texts was obviously quickly done without the care that is so necessary in reproducing Nahua scripts.
The result is that the Aztec texts are written incorrectly, many Nahualte constructions having been divided in a wrong way. The translations frequently have an invented character, e.g. on page 30, where 'quauhtlemaniti' (= quauhtlemaniti in modern transcription) has been translated by 'Der Adler mit den feurigen Pfeilen,' whereas the literal meaning is 'the rising eagle' (quauhtli = eagle; chuaniti = who rises). The 'feurigen Pfeilen' were invented by Schultz probably because he knew that the rising eagle was the symbol of the rising sun. It is only one example to indicate the way in which the translations are full of inexactitudes.

**EUROPE**


An interest in the rural crafts tends to breed a strange sentimentality and within the last few years a larger number of books have appeared describing the disappearing craftsman in romantic terms, but without saying a great deal about him. W. M. Williams’s book, which is one of the Dartington Hall Studies in Rural Sociology, is not of this type. It is an objective study of the rural industries organization of England and a study of conditions in a few of the more important village industries at the present time.

Mr. Williams’s approach is that of the sociologist, for he does not mention the technological aspects of the crafts nor their historical development. The title of the book may, for this reason, be a little misleading, for the study is limited to a consideration of the national rural industries organization and the condition of a few selected crafts in Devon, Shropshire, Cheshire and Staffordshire.

The first chapter is devoted to a factual account of the rural industries organization and the author describes the little-known work of such bodies as the Development Commission, the Rural Community Councils, and the Rural Industries Loan Fund. This chapter is extremely valuable, for it is, as far as I know, the only brief published guide to a very complicated organization.

The next three chapters are devoted to a study of the more important village and market town crafts in Devon and the West Midlands. Mr. Williams discusses conditions in those crafts such as saddlery, which cannot be adapted to any technical changes. One feels that this chapter in particular would be more valuable if there were a little historical retrospect and a brief description of the techniques. From the crafts that cannot be mechanized, the author proceeds to a discussion of a few trades, such as blacksmithing, where mechanical methods have changed traditional methods, and he concludes with a description of conditions in such crafts as weaving and pottery-making. These three chapters, which are the results of extensive field-work, are eminently readable, for, although they are factual and objective, the author of present-day conditions in no more than a dozen crafts, the author has made them alive by allowing the craftsmen to speak for themselves. A potter describing his products as ‘this over-decorated junk,’ or a saddler describing his customers in terms of ‘only a handful are any good’ say far more than a wealth of objective description. One may feel a little disappointed that the author does not mention a very important group of wood crafts—the underwood industries, which are rapidly disappearing and do perhaps need the advice and assistance of the Rural Industries Bureau to a far greater extent than some village trades, such as blacksmithing and thatching.

The next chapter is devoted to the business organization of the crafts and the work of the Bureau in making them more efficient. Once again, the intelligent use of quotations makes this chapter on a very arid subject extremely readable. The author then returns to the national organization of rural industry and shows the way in which the various bodies are helping the country craftsman. The last chapter ‘Planning for the Future’ is perhaps the most important in the book, for in it the author discusses the value and status of the craftsman in rural society, and describes the measures which are necessary to ensure the future welfare of the crafts.

Mr. Williams’s book is a pioneer work of great merit, and he is to be congratulated for lifting the study of rural craftsmanship from the quagmire of sentimentality and inaccuracy to the level of an academic study. If this book can arouse the interest of sociologists, economists and historians in the crafts and encourage them to carry out a full-scale scientific survey of rural industry, similar to that carried out by the Agricultural Economics Research Institute in the early 1920’s, then Mr. Williams will have fulfilled a very valuable duty.

J. GERAIT JENKINS


This is a work of great interest and very considerable value. Its object is to describe the dominant sociological, political and economic aspects of Soviet society as it is today; it deals, in fact, with the whole Soviet Union and not just the R.S.F.S.R. (although the emphasis is of course on the Russian people). Such a task, comparatively straightforward in the case of most countries, is of course exceedingly difficult in this case, because of the need to strike a delicate balance between two suspect groups of sources: Soviet documents, ex hypothesi official, and accounts by defectors. There is no lack of material; its abundance (and contradictions) are embarrassing. Many mistakes are likely, and checking them is virtually impossible because objective truth in social matters is neither sought nor obtainable in the Soviet Union. But while I noticed certain small mistakes of fact, and might have placed emphasises differently, no glaring unlikelyhood caught my eye. The book is a notable and laudable achievement.

T. E. ARMSTRONG


The collected works of Bachofen are being published in ten volumes, and their contents in range and detail attest the immense erudition of this so typical German scholar. In the latter years of his life, Bachofen set before himself three great tasks: to provide an account of Roman history, to trace out the evolution of the human family and society, and to study the ‘Symbolsprache’ of ancient sepulchral art. The present volume is an expression of this last interest, although Volume IV has also been devoted to a Versuch über die Gräberfigur in der Alten. Of the two studies contained in the volume under review, the first was originally published in 1867 in an edition limited to 50 copies; the account of Roman grave lamps was left incomplete when Bachofen died in 1887. A work on Orphism written so long ago can, of course, have little more than an antiquarian interest today, in view of the material discovered since that time, especially the inscribed lamellae and the frescoes of the ‘Villa dei misteri,’ and the work which has been subsequently done on the subject—it is significant that no discussion of the problematic testimony of Pindar or Empedocles appears in the index. However, this study of the Orphic doctrine of immortality has its value, because Bachofen was more concerned to interrogate the evidence of vase paintings that than of literary documents and his ability in comparative symbolism was considerable. Perhaps this brief notice may best end by quoting what is surely Bachofen’s most notable conclusion in this connection: ‘Der Standpunkt der vulgären Mythologie ist nicht derjenige der Grabdenkmäler ... Es ist der Orphische Glaube, aus welchem die Masse funerären Monumente hervorgeht, aus welchem allein sie daher ihr Verständnis schöpfen kann.’

S. G. F. BRANDON
ANCIENT EXAMPLES OF TREPHINING

CONTRIBUTIONS ON TREPPANING OR TREPHINATION IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES*

by

DR. K. P. OAKLEY, F.B.A., MISS WINIFRED M. A. BROOKE, A. ROGER AKESTER and D. R. BROTHWELL

INTRODUCTION

TREPPANING, trephining or trephination has a long history. As far as we know it was first practised in Europe during neolithic times; occasionally by the Early Danubians (c. 3000 B.C.) and frequently by the 'battle-axe' people who constructed chambered tombs in the Seine-Oise-Marne area of France around 2,000 B.C. So many skulls in their tombs have bee trephined that it seems probable that the operation had some ritual significance; roundels of human skull bone have been found in early prehistoric graves (fig. 1), suggesting that such objects were treated as fetishes by prehistoric man. Hippocrates, on the other hand, describes the use of trephination in classical times as a regular method of treating certain types of head wound. Among more primitive societies in recent time medicmen have performed this operation both as a rational surgical remedy and as a means of securing fragments of human skull — widely regarded as powerful fetish objects (Albert Schweitzer, On the Edge of the Primeval Forest, 1934, p. 51). Trephination is occasionally performed in modern hospitals, but whereas the surgeon of today uses a steel trephine (or more commonly a circular saw driven by an electric motor), and is aided in his task by anaesthetics and antiseptics, the medicmen manages to perform the operation without such aids, sometimes using the crudest imaginable instruments (fig. 2c).

Two accounts of trephinning by medicmen, one in South America, the other in North Africa, are reproduced below and serve as a colourful commentary on primitive surgery.

Two remarkable examples of ancient trephinning, involving a high order of surgical skill, were recently investigated in the Anthropological Laboratory of the British Museum (Natural History), and are described here by Mr. D. R. Brothwell. The first (Plate Fa), a skull with four trephine holes, was discovered in 1958 by Dr. Kathleen Kenyon in a Bronze Age grave in Jericho (c. 2,000 B.C.); the second (Plate Fb), a skull trephined no less than seven times, was collected by the late Dr. Donald Stafford Matthews in 1956.

* With Plate F and four text figures

from a Pre-Inca or Early Inca grave in the Cusco district of Peru (c. A.D. 1,000); all the trephine holes in this skull show signs of healing, indicating that the operation was successful and that the patient recovered on each occasion.

In primitive trephination, the piece of bone removed from the braincase is usually oval or circular, but the method now preferred is removing a rectangular piece by means of cross-cuts was already being employed in early times, as the neatly trephined skull from an Iron Age burial pit at Lachish (c. 600 B.C.) serves to illustrate (Plate Fe).

KENNETH P. OAKLEY

TREPHINING BY A MEDICEMAN IN BOLIVIA, 1950

In May, 1950, I stayed for a week or more at the Baptist Mission at Huatahata on Lake Titicaca in the Andes. There they had a capable trained nurse who had several clinics in villages further on; and during my stay she confided some of her troubles to me. We all became anxious over the outcome of one case.

At the next village there was a siesta while I was there. I took some photographs of the picturesque dances and costumes, but my camera was thrown down by a drunken man as it grew more rowdy. The Baptist Mission did not allow their converts to attend such fiestas, but one young man disobeyed the rule and was hit on the head with a broken bottle, which did a fair amount of damage. On returning home he was afraid to confess and ask the nurse to attend to his wounds, so he went to the local medicmen who opened a blood vessel on his temple as a remedy, and the man nearly bled to death. His relations were frightened and called the nurse who gave injections, stopped the bleeding and dressed the wounds. Either the following day or the one after, when she visited her patient she found that the medicmen had removed her dressing and was telling the boy that the trouble was blood under the bone, and he should let him trepan his head, removing the bone and the blood beneath it. For some days the discussion went on, the nurse doing all she could to stop the man. (I left before the outcome was decided.)

The nurse told me that when she first came to Huatahata two or three years earlier, the medicmen trepanned the head of another young man there and she saw him doing the operation. He first made both the patient and himself drunk, no doubt on chicha, the common Bolivian drink. He did the operation with a rusty nail and a stone (used I believe as a hammer). He did not put back the piece of bone he removed, but later on the skin healed over the hole. Although the patient recovered he was never able to work again.

Different medicmen, the nurse said, specialized in...
different cures; this one went in for opening veins and arteries and trepanning. He had opened the jugular vein to cure one patient of mumps! The Baptists had tried to get the police to stop the man as his practices were illegal, but they were afraid to take any action—possibly they believed in the man themselves. I was told elsewhere that some of the medicinemen are very good at setting bones. I met with one case of a man who broke his collarbone about 100 miles from the nearest doctor and refused to take the journey for treatment. About six weeks later the same man escorted me on a mule to a place where I could reach a lorry, and he seemed to be using his hand and arm on the damaged side quite well.

The people at Huatahata were mostly Aymara. I do not know for certain whether the medicineman who did the trepanning was Aymara, but I think that he was. There are Quechua around the end of Lake Titicaca, I believe; but the Aymara are usually in these highest villages and the Quechua lower down. Huatahata is at 13,000 feet.

WINIFRED M. A. BROOKE

TREPHINING BY A TIBU MEDICINEMAN IN TIBESTI, 1957

During the Cambridge Tibesti Expedition, 1957, a party composed of members of Cambridge University and of the 10th Armoured Division in Tripoli penetrated the region

FIG. 2. TREPHINING IN TIBESTI

A. The patient (a Tibu) who complained of headaches. B. Top of his head, showing oval trephining scar in the area of bregma; a second (circular) trephining scar further back is obscured by hair (note also the camel tick). C. The instruments used for trephining by the Tibu witch-doctor. D. The roundels of bone cut out of the patient’s skull, with the epaulette in which they were carried. Scale; the circular fragment is about the size of a five-shilling piece.
of extinct volcanoes which rise abruptly from the flat wilderness of the Sahara desert. After leaving the great crater of Emi Koussi, the rim of which forms the highest peak in the Sahara (11,150 feet), our biologists spent two weeks in the village of Yibbi Bou, where we set up a clinic for the local people, the Tibu (which means ‘rock-people’ according to C. G. Seligman, Races of Africa, 1939 ed., p. 150) and their camels. We came across a most remarkable case of trephining while we were there. A Tibu, with two huge scars in his scalp (fig. 2a, b), had been operated on seven years previously. He carried in his pocket two battered saddle tins telescoped together to form a box in which he kept two fragments of his own skull, wrapped in an old epaulette (fig. 2d). These fragments fitted the scars on his head perfectly. The ‘witch-doctor’ (said to be the only one in Tibesti) who had performed the operation was found to live three days’ march away. So we sent for him and to our delight he turned up. His name was Adlai. We were able to persuade him to carry out the same operation on a goat and we were able to film the entire proceedings. His instruments were amazing. They consisted of a penknife, four metal probes and a six-inch iron nail sharpened to a chisel point (fig. 2e). In spite of these primitive instruments and complete lack of anaesthetic, Adlai’s operative technique was very good; the bone fragments from the human patient could not have been more cleanly cut.

A. ROGER AKESTER

NOTABLE EXAMPLES OF EARLY TREPHINING

The literature concerning ancient trephining is now quite extensive, although there is still much to be learnt about frequencies, techniques, and reasons for this surgery. Occasionally, specimens appear in the museum which warrant special note, and two such cases are at present in the Anthropological Section of the British Museum (Natural History). The first is from the Eastern Mediterranean area, where cases are quite rare; the second from Peru, notable for the relatively high frequency.

The Jericho Skull (Plate Fa).

The specimen consists of cranium only, probably from a male individual. Degree of attrition on the molar suggests that he was a young adult, possibly 25±5 years. There is little evidence of disease except possibly the beginning of caries on the lower right first molar and slight traces of periodontal disease. No pre-mortem injury was noted, except the trephine holes, which is the first example of a Bronze Age date from this area.

On the frontal bone, and extending on to the right parietal in one case, are four trephined areas. Of these, the most anteriorly situated depression is some 34 millimetres in front of the bregma. In this and the other cases the excised fragment was removed during the operation. This injury would appear to be practically healed and it is possible that the cutting tool only just penetrated the inner table of the skull, the hole being perhaps not more than 2 mm. in diameter. However, the external diameter of the depression was clearly larger than the other three, being 30 mm. as opposed to 20-2, 23-3 and 15-4 mm. The other three trephined areas were cut some time later. As in the first, the holes are circular, the outer diameter being much greater than the inner, but the general inclination of the sides of the depression is steeper than in the first hole. The surgeon would appear to have gone some trouble to leave a certain amount of the inner table intact and indeed it shelled off very gradually. The diploë (middle table) was cut only a little time before death and there were no signs of healing on any part of the cut surfaces in these three. Unlike the first depression, a considerable number of tool marks (represented by numerous scratches) can be seen. Some of these marks were at right-angles with the marginal tangents which suggests that they resulted from last-minute trimming of the edges rather than marginal scraping.

Taking into consideration the sloping away of the inner table and small size of these three holes, it seems possible that they may have resulted from a single drilled hole taken down as far as the inner table and finished off by means of a flint or obsidian scraper. Around the three smaller depressions is a halo of osteoporotic pitting, which shows that the individual did not die immediately after the operations. This pitting may be due to osteitis and has been recently discussed by Stewart (1936). He considers that the borders of the osteitis correspond to the edges of the opening made in the scalp preparatory to trephining. However, it is still debatable whether this osteitis is a chemical or a septic phenomenon. The fact that it surrounds all three is perhaps evidence that they resulted from but one sitting with the local witch-doctor.

It is interesting to note that unlike the two definite cases of trephining from the tombs at Lachish (Risdon, 1939), these were not quadrilateral but circular. In this characteristic the Jericho form is similar to that found in many European skulls; the Lachish specimens (Plate Fe) are much more similar to a type of trephining found in Peru. They would also appear to be similar to a case of trephining from Tarkhan (Number F. 141) probably of early dynastic age (Plate Fd). This specimen, now at the Duckworth Laboratory, Cambridge, displays a hole at about the middle of the left parietal, and although healing has commenced, there is still evidence that the inner table sloped away gradually as in the Jericho specimen (see fig. 3). In size also it is similar, having a maximum diameter of about 23 mm. Surprisingly enough, this seems to be a clear case of an operation undertaken for medical rather than ritual purposes, for there is definite evidence of mastoid inflammation, with a perforation through to the external auditory meatus. Perhaps the Jericho operations were also remedial, for they could hardly have been undertaken in order to obtain roundels.

The Cusco Skull (Plate Fb).

The skull consists of a cranium (BMNH.1956.10.10.1) without the lower jaw. From the dental attrition and degree of suture closure it seems likely that the individual was a middle-aged adult, and other features suggest that the person was a male. In the remaining right half of the palate, only two teeth were present at death, one at least having a
cervical caries cavity. The other six had probably been lost through severe periodontal disease, although abscesses at 3, 2 suggest that other factors may have been involved.

The vault displays no less than seven trephined areas, two pairs being partially joined. Parry (1928) notes an Inca skull with five separate holes, but I have so far not been able to find a case reported in the literature with seven. All the openings are spherical, with the internal diameters less than the external. All show a similar degree of healing particularly as regards the diploic tissue. When a hole cut a suture, it was interesting to find that hardly any obliteration of the suture had occurred, although from the state of repair there had clearly been ample time for it to do so. The sutural tissues would thus appear to have remained independent even at the points of incision. Only faint traces of tool marks were left, and no idea as to the technique used could be obtained from them. The trephined holes (Fig. 4) may be described separately as follows:

1. A perforation on the left part of the frontal and just cutting the coronal suture above pterion. Maximum internal diameter: 43.3 mm.
2. Situated on the frontal some 10 mm. from bregma and nearly in mid line. Maximum internal diameter: 36.6 mm.
3. On the right side of the vault and cutting the coronal suture. The incision is slightly more ragged than the others. Maximum internal diameter: 23.3 mm.
4. Adjoining (3) and opening at one end on to it. Mainly situated on the right parietal. Maximum internal diameter: 34.7 mm.
5. The opening is one or two millimetres from bregma, with roughly equal proportions on both sides of the sagittal suture. Maximum internal diameter: 40.4 mm.
6. Perforation towards the centre of the left parietal. More diploic tissue would appear to have been exposed in this and (7) than the others, and the cutting gradient is less steep. Maximum internal diameter: 31.0 mm.
7. Adjoining (6) but situated closer to the squamus part of the temporal. The cut surface is a little more irregular than in (6). The two openings are separate at their internal margins but externally their margins overlap. Maximum internal diameter: 26.0 mm.

There were no signs of inflammation on the endocranial aspect of the vault, and very little externally, except for extremely slight osteoporosis. Although there is no clear evidence that the seven openings were not produced at one sitting, the degree of healing being fairly homogeneous throughout, it is nevertheless inconceivable that they were all cut at one and the same time. Clearly, the surgeon was an expert, for with each opening he ran considerable risk of either lacerating the meningeal vessels, producing fatal haemorrhage, or cutting into the dura and underlying brain tissue. We may speculate as to whether a circular tourniquet (Graña et al., 1954) was used to reduce scalp haemorrhage during the operation. Lastly, one wonders whether the apparent poor oral health had not in some way been connected with these operations.

DON R. BROTHWELL

References
A NOTE ON VISUAL NON-LITERARY METHODS OF COMMUNICATION AMONG THE MURUTS OF NORTH BORNEO

by

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Illiterate peoples have various ways of communicating with each other from a distance, using visual methods which do not involve writing. They may use drawings, message sticks or other signs. In the interior of North Borneo the most notable of these means of communication is an announcement stick on which certain types of information are conveyed by fixing various objects to the stick.¹

Many such announcement sticks were seen in the region around Dalit in the Interior Residency of North Borneo, at about Lat. 5° 5' N, Long. 116° 10' E. Dalit is the important centre of the territory of the Peluan or Dalit Muruts, who are one of the principal ethnic divisions of the Muruts of North Borneo. The Muruts are the pagan peoples who inhabit the major part of the Interior Residency of North Borneo, and adjacent parts of Indonesian territory. They are illiterate, and although there has been some development of schools recently, the latest census figures (Jones, 1953) showed that literacy among the Muruts was still under four per cent.

The study of such visual means of communication may throw light upon the Murut system of values. It might be expected that these people would take the trouble to convey only the more important sorts of information to one another by this method. However, as the Murut announces his identity and places his message in the most public places, it follows that all such messages are public announcements. Study of a few sticks suggests that only certain types of information can be spread in this way.

Announcement signs are set up beside the major paths. There was quite a forest of these sticks where the paths from Tenom, Keningau and Pohun Batu joined. Similar but simpler sticks were noticed on the path between Kembong and Tomani in the territory of the Semambu Muruts. (At about 4° 55' N, 115° 55' E.)

One of these announcements, which was seen in July, 1954, about half a mile south of Dalit, will first be described. Two sticks were seen, both about 5 feet long, and their centre parts are shown in fig. 1. They were stuck into the ground at the side of the path. There were a few leaves still remaining at the top of the stick which by their withering indicated the approximate age of the message. Various objects were fixed crosswise on the stick by wedging the object into the space made by an oblique downward cut into the stick.

Underneath the crowning leaves of the left-hand stick (1 in fig. 1) was a twig bent to an inverted V shape (2) which is the sign for a pig. The bark had been peeled from

¹ With two text figures

Fig. 1. Murut announcement sticks

These are the centre parts of announcement sticks describing the shooting of a wild pig, the offering of the meat to others and its acceptance.

cut obliquely and in the left-hand side four shallow notches were cut, indicating that the person was a male. A female would have three notches. The right-hand side of the twig was the same length as the left-hand side, indicating adulthood. For a child the right-hand side would have been about half the length of the left-hand side. It was known to my companions that the man was Usok the son of Kato, who lived two or three days' walk to the south. As was usual he had taken over his father's name sign when his father died. As all sons take over the name sign of their father, it would not be possible to distinguish between two brothers who were both adults or both children. The notched end of the name sign pointed in the direction the man had gone.
Underneath the name sign was a horizontal twig with several twiglets (4). The long branched part pointed to the right and this showed that there was some meat nearby that anyone could take. If the branched end had lain to the left it would have meant that the meat had all been taken either by the huntsman or by the people who were invited to take it. The person who finishes the meat must change the stick over. Below this twig was (5), a dead leaf rolled up cigar-wise. It represented a shotgun cartridge and showed that a shotgun was used to kill the pig. If it had only been wounded, a green leaf would have been used.

The message stick was bent over to point towards the pork, which was in the undergrowth about 40 feet away, hung up out of reach of dogs.

Beside the stick (1) was another smaller stick (6) made by a man who took meat. This stick had leaves on top and the name sign of the person, apparently a child, who had taken the meat (7). Below this was a forked twig (8) which showed that the taker had taken only some of the meat. If he had taken all the meat he would have had to turn the twig around. The inclination of the stick (6) shows the direction in which he had gone.

To examine the efficiency of this method as a means of public communication it is worth considering the effort involved in putting the information on the sticks into written English. It might be written as follows:

I, one of the adult sons of Usok, have shot and killed a female pig of such-and-such size with tusks two inches long, using a shotgun. It was shot about such-and-such a time ago, and I have since gone in the direction of Maling. There is some of the meat left over there for those of you who wish to take it.

I, the son of so-and-so, was here about such-and-such a time ago, and I took some but not all of the meat, and have moved along the path to Dalit.

It would take about the same time for a literate man to write the same statements as for a Murut to cut them in signs. The raw materials are always at hand in the jungle and everyone carries a knife. The message is semi-permanent, and may persist for several months.

The range of ideas which can be conveyed by this method is very limited. In terms of language the announcements consist of a series of nouns strung together. Actions are not expressed separately, but are implied by the context in which certain of the noun objects are arranged. Direction and time are also expressed, direction by the spatial arrangement of objects, and time by the use of a very rough time-indicator.

Whereas it may be possible to communicate using a large number of nouns such as the names of people, the possibility of conveying other parts of speech is limited, and prevents this method from having a wide application. The signs usually referred to hunting or to the material aspects of ceremonial life. These two subjects are very important to the Muruts, and occupy a great deal of their thoughts, being common subjects for conversation.

A few miles south of the message stick was a recent grave. Around it were representations in model form of all the wealth that the deceased had ever possessed. There were models of 15 large Chinese jars, 16 gongs, one spear, one blowpipe, five headhunting knives and one staff or walking stick. When I expressed surprise at this great wealth, it was explained that the deceased had three married daughters and one son, and had received much of the wealth as bridleprice.

Money for use as currency is a recent introduction to the Muruts, and is earned and spent at infrequent intervals. Wealth is accumulated in a more static form, chiefly as great Chinese jars used for fermenting beer, and brass gongs. This wealth, called rapu or dapa (Landgraf, 1936), is used to satisfy social needs, and changes hands especially at marriages. Cash is used mainly to buy goods, such as salt, cloth, kerosine and utensils on occasional visits to the distant shops. It would seem that representation of an object at a grave is an indication that it has a certain significance as wealth of social importance. It was, mentioned, for instance, that no signs would be made for dogs, fowls, pigs or ordinary working knives, while buffaloes, horses and cattle would be so acknowledged.

Similar collections of jar and gong signs were seen several times by the wayside and indicated the numbers of jars and gongs used at feasts.

Common and important types of signs are used to warn people of taboos in force, or dangerous traps nearby. Such a taboo sign is shown in fig. 2, and was used to keep out-

![Fig. 2. Sign blocking access to a house after a death](image)

used this method of communication with dumb or feeble-minded people, of whom there were many. This dumb show did not seem to be a formal, consciously learned method of communication. It was easy for a non-Murut to understand, and the Murut's facility was probably acquired by practice.

Summary

Peluan Muruts communicate with one another by announcement sticks which are set up in public places. Their meaning is conveyed by direct representation of various objects, and may be qualified by modifications of the objects. The announcements often refer to ceremonial life and to hunting, and are understood by everybody.

The messages are quickly and easily constructed out of readily available utensils, and are fairly long-lasting, but the range of ideas that can be communicated is limited.

References


Notes

1 These observations were made during a study of Murut Depopulation made at the request and with the help of the North Borneo Government.

2 The sidedness was described according to the hands of the observer when standing on the path and looking towards the message.

3 A wooden model gong is difficult to make, so models of the gong beaters were made.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

Recent Excavations at Old Oyo and Ife, Nigeria. By Frank Willett, Department of Antiquities, Nigeria. *Summary of a communication to the Institute, 5 March, 1958*.

During the dry season of 1956-57, the University of Manchester granted me special leave to direct a small archaeological expedition to Old Oyo and Ife on behalf of the Nigerian Antiquities Service and the Yoruba Historical Research Scheme. The primary purpose was to assess the archaeological importance of Old Oyo. This site lies 40 miles north-northwest of Ilorin and has been deserted since 1837. It covers an area of at least 20 square miles, and is overgrown with orchard bush savanna, which handicapped ground survey.

The city appears to have been defended by three concentric banks and ditches, and to have housed a substantial population. The sites of the palace, the house of the Aremo (the eldest son of the Alaafin or king), the Alaafin's market and many compounds can still be identified. There are houseposts still visible on the site of the palace and fragments of mud wall up to four feet high survive in some places. The town encloses an arc of rocky granite hills at the base of which, according to Clapperton, the occupation was concentrated. Rainwater rushing off the hills has eroded the surface soil nearby, leaving extensive deposits of broken pottery lying on the surface. In many places flat-topped outcrops of granite have been utilized as communal grinding places.

Only a small amount of excavation was carried out, intended in part to assess the technical problems of excavation on a dwelling site, since hardly any such sites had been excavated in Nigeria. The expedition camped in caves at first, and it was felt that the earliest settlers on the site would probably have done the same. Excavation in one of the caves showed an accumulation of Yoruba pottery and other debris up to three feet thick, overlying a late-stone-age occupation deposit consisting of quartz microliths of the type previously excavated at Rop Cave in Northern Nigeria and Bosumpra Cave 3 in Ghana.

A large quantity of pottery from other dwelling sites at Old Oyo as well as from the cave was taken to the Ife Museum for study in conjunction with a similar amount of material from Ife obtained by Mr. Bernard Fagg in 1953. The study revealed that none of the excavated pottery from Old Oyo was earlier than 1500 since maize impressions occurred at all levels, though the site might have been founded before, the earlier Yoruba deposits being as yet undiscovered. The pottery is superior in quality of paste and decoration to anything produced in Yorubaland today, though it is clearly ancestral to the present-day Ilorin pottery, the good quality of which is indicated by the wide area over which it can be bought. Many potters from Old Oyo settled in Ilorin after the city collapsed; the same maker's marks are found in modern Ilorin pottery as on pottery excavated at Old Oyo.

The Old Oyo pottery is quite different from that made in Ife in ancient times, although Oyo is supposed to have been founded from Ife. Perhaps only a ruling group moved north, and the pottery tradition at Old Oyo might be pre-Yoruba. At any rate the characteristic Yoruba lidded cooking pot, *ishausu*, was not used in Ife until very recently, whereas related forms can be seen in use among non-Yoruba people to the north of Old Oyo. Whether the *ishausu* was an Old Oyo invention or an inheritance from a yet older tradition remains to be discovered.

During the dry season of 1957-58 I was again granted leave to excavate at Ife for the Nigerian Antiquities Service. In November, 1957, workmen levelling the ground for a store for the Ife Cooperative Union found seven bronze objects, only one of which is similar to any of the previously known bronzes from Ife. This is the full-length figure of an Oni (or king) of Ife, 18¼ inches high, which is similar in many respects to the half-length figure found in 1939 in Wunmonie Compound. It appears to have lain in a pot resting on a pavement of broken pottery about 18 inches below the ground surface. With it were two ovoid maceheads each with a pair of human heads grafted with rope. Nearby were found a pair of staffs each topped with a human head, one of them grafted; a curious ritual vessel in the form of a royal figure coiled round a pot on a circular stool, the handle of which is supported on a rectangular stool; and a single casting representing an Oni and his queen, wearing full regalia, standing arm in arm with the man's left leg coiled round his wife's right. This is a very fine casting, the heads being only 1/16 inch thick, but unfortunately the labourer who discovered it struck off both heads with his pick, shattering the face of the male figure irrecoverably.

These objects were found at Ile Yemoo on the edge of the town close to the Ileasha Road and just inside the nineteenth-century town wall. The foundation trenches for the store revealed
a number of potsherd pavements at a depth of about 18 inches. An undamaged one was excavated, 31 feet by 12 feet, much larger than any previously excavated (which have mostly been fragmentary), and this has been preserved. These pavements afford valuable stratigraphical evidence since they seal in the lower levels most effectively.

Exploratory well-shafting revealed that the area of archaeological interest was about 60 acres, too much to excavate in a short season, so work was concentrated on the most threatened parts of the site. An important shrine, already partly destroyed, produced parts of seven terra-cotta figures, about three-quarters of life size, representing Onis in regalia, and their attendants. Four heads were excavated, two of them complete, and all of them as sensitive as the best Ife terra-cottas. They lay among worn-out grinding stones on a potsherd pavement, and had evidently been broken by the collapsing walls of the compound in which they stood. With them was a pot with a bronze bracelet round its neck and 260 beads inside, and a crucible for making glass containing 1,850 beads, both of stone and glass. These are perhaps part of the regalia of an Oni.

A smaller shrine on the other side of the Ilella Road produced a small terra-cotta head in a truly Yoruba style, with a rope gag like five of the heads on the new bronzes. With it were found parts of a ritual pot showing in relief a gagged head lying beside a decapitated male corpse. The gagged heads presumably therefore represent sacrificial victims. This head helps to demonstrate the continuity of tradition between the ancient Ile and the modern Yoruba styles. Moreover the new bronzes show markedly African proportions, and make untenable the hypothesis of a European artist working at Ile. Much work remains to be done in studying the history of the art of Ile, and Ita Yenoo is likely to afford considerable help with some of the problems, although the art objects appear to be in secondary associations.

Notes
5 Related pottery is, however, found in Modakeke, the section of Ile which was settled by Oyoos after the collapse of Old Oyo.
6 A small excavation in the Ore Grove at Ile, conducted during this season, 1956–57, was published in *Man*, 1958, 187.
7 Illustrated before cleaning in *Man*, 1958, Plate A.
8 Illustrated in Leon Underwood, *Bronzes of West Africa*, 1949, Plate XX.
9 One of them is illustrated in *Man*, 1958, Plate K.

**SHORTER NOTE**

African Pleistocene Pluvials. By Dr. Oliver Davies, University College of Ghana

136 In a recent note I tried to show that in most parts of Africa only three major pluvials and two interpluvials can be distinguished, a sequence which cannot be made to fit the European glaciations; in particular, the long warm Second Interglacial can hardly be identified in Africa. Wayland replied that in East Africa a third interpluvial is well marked, dividing the Second Pluvial (Kasabian plus Kanjeran) into two. It is possible that a region with local glaciations may have followed more closely the European pattern, while the rest of Africa was affected not only by events in Europe but by winds and ocean currents and by climatic changes in Antarctica.

Furthermore, evidence is accumulating that the First African Pluvial and Interpluvial did not correspond in time with the First European Glaciation and Interglacial. The Günz Glaciation cannot, under present reckoning, have started much before half-way through the Pleistocene, while the Kageran Pluvial may well be much earlier, even Early Villafranchian. The Günz-Mindel Interglacial is usually associated with Early Abbevillian, while pre-Chellian pebble tools still occur at the base of the deposits of the Second Pluvial (Kasabian I) in Oued Saouar (north-west Sahara), and the Chellian or Early Acheulian appears at the beginning of the Second Pluvial II (Kasabian II or Kanjeran). A site in Transvolta which I recently discovered contains nearly the whole pluvial sequence; it confirms evidence from other parts of West Africa that no true interpluvial divides the Second (Kasabian) Pluvial into two. It is the Dayi valley at Angeta. The upper slope (from 60 to more than 100 ft. above river) contains scattered pebbles in laterite, and represents probably the Kageran valley. About 60 feet above river is a concentration of pebbles, apparently marking the terrace of the First Interpluvial. No artifacts were found in this gravel; but in a corresponding gravel at Yapi there are very rolled primitive pebble tools (Kafuan rather than Oldowan). From this gravel an even slope, capped with block laterite containing scattered pebbles, descends to a deep gravel at 30 feet. Near its surface is unrolled Sangoan; in it are many slightly rolled pieces of a culture which might best be described as pre-Chellian with strong Chellian influence, and a little heavily rolled Acheulian. The gravel must therefore belong to the Second Interpluvial (Kasanian-Gamblian), a phase which is well represented in West Africa. The Chellian-like pieces were derived from just below the higher gravel, where several were found unrolled. There are many simple pebble tools, along with small picks of Chellian type and stone balls. The latter have been found probably below Chellian tools at Ain Hanech in Algeria, and in a beach at 55 metres at Tarit near Casablanca. The Moroccan beaches may have been anastomosed, and it is doubtful if true Oldowan material occurs as low as Sidi Abderrahman (14–18 metres); but Tarit can well be Oldowan (Beach II of the African sequence), and Kafuan tools have been found at a higher level in which is probably Beach I, where they should belong.

The Chellian-like material at Angeta must have been sealed in laterite, and only slightly abraded when derived into the Second Interpluvial gravel. The heavily rolled Acheulian will have lain above the laterite, exposed to weathering and the first material to be derived into the lower gravel as the Kasabian Pluvial drew to a close. Thus the Kasanian, here as at Oued Saouar, seems to be marked by slight climatic oscillations, insufficient to form a separate terrace like a true interpluvial:

A Advancing pluvial, causing erosion of valley bottom unprotected by vegetation. Chellian.
B (Probably heavy vegetation and gallery forest, stabilizing conditions.) This phase does not appear on the section.
C Slightly drier conditions, producing lateritization of slopes. Acheulian tools on the surface.
D Perhaps wetter conditions, inhibiting lateritization and abrading Acheulian tools on the surface.
E Declining Pluvial, with deposition of lower gravel.
F Dry. Erosion of laterite on slopes and derivation of Chellian into the lower gravel.
G Sangoan tools on the lower gravel.
Bronze Age Technology. Cf. MAN, 1958, 13, 39, 64, 171

Sr.—Absence abroad has prevented me from intervening in this correspondence before.

To one who is not a metal-worker, Mr. Underwood seems to have made a strong case for the use of bronze moulds for making wax models, although his cavalier treatment of Mr. Hodges's objections does nothing to prejudice me in his favour (see MAN, 1958, 173). Having examined about 200 socketed axes in this Museum and found casting seams on the whole lot, I feel that Mr. Hodges's observation No. 5 needs answering.

There is an object which may have some bearing on the matter in this Museum. It is a two-piece bronze socketed axe mould very similar to that shown in MAN, February, 1958, Plate C, i. Its museum number is 1905.6 and it was found in Cambridge. It has in it the remains of what appears to be a casting of an axe, but the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art at Oxford kindly analysed this for us and found it to be nearly pure lead. Its thickness is about 3 millimetres, which falls within the range of variation of the bronze axes in the Museum. It has broken along the junction of the two halves of the mould, and the lead has failed to run more than a very short distance into the loop mould. A considerable proportion of one half of the object survives but only a small part of the other.

In short it is an attempt, possibly abortive, to make a lead model of a socketed axe. I believe that parallels exist but I have no details of them at this time. I now ask Mr. Underwood what he thinks of the possibility of using lead instead of wax as a medium for making axes by a 'plumb perdu' method?

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

Note

1 The Hon. Editor of MAN regrets that the enclosure of this letter in an inappropriate envelope, by a clerical error at the time of its receipt last October, has resulted in some five months' additional delay in publication. — ED.

The Function of the Handaxe. Cf. MAN, 1959, 61

Sr.—Dr. Posnansky makes the following unjustifiable assumptions in his article 'Some Functional Considerations on the Handaxe':

(1) That generalizations can be made about 'the handaxe.' It is surely absurd to assume anything approaching functional identity between a Middle Acheulian S-twist ovate and an Abbevillian specimen.

(2) That 'the handaxe' is 'some form of unhafted all-purpose tool.' Although Abbevillian handaxes are probably impossible to haft, many examples from the Middle Acheulian onwards could easily have been hafted.

(3) The often rounded nature of the point and its unblunted condition in used but unrolled implements may indicate not that the point was not the most important feature but that the rounded point was needed to cut into fairly soft materials, jointing me, etc. The fact that handaxes are trimmed round both sides and the point indicates that both point and cutting edges were required. Importance and maximum wear do not necessarily correspond.

(4) Sarasin's disproof of any preponderant right-handedness has little if any validity, as must be since his method bears no relation to the function of the tools. The earlier works cited are of even more dubious worth though of impressive antiquity.

Note

5 6° 30'00" N, 0° 18' 55" E.
7 Bihberson, ibid., Vol. CCXXXIII, No. 17, p. 1227.

Even granted these assumptions it is probable that the asymmetry is in many cases caused by the handaxe being made on a sidestruck flake as the cross-section in his fig. 1 (below) would suggest. A subjective division into those 'easier to use' in one hand or the other prompts the question: use for what purpose? The handaxe which he labels left would be more easily used in the right hand for scraping in towards the person and again for cutting a piece off a log, the fixed portion of which was to the right of the woodcutter.

The statistics offered do show a certain agreement, but it is not noted whether the observers were right-handed or left-handed; surely such a division could be properly made only by an ambidextrous observer.

Trinity College, Cambridge

NICHOLAS DAVID


Sr.—There is one paragraph in Dr. Leach's interesting Curi Beshu Prize Essay on Magical Hair which calls for explanation. He says that 'it matters of libidinous import are brought into the open in the context of everyday life, there is danger to Society. But in the context of religious rite, where everything is formalized according to set expectations, the aggressive implications of symbolic action are under control. Phallicism in ritual is thus a form of cathartic propylaxy.'

Phallic rites are commonly regarded as intended to promote fertility, but it seems that in Dr. Leach's opinion this view is erroneous, and that they are really psychiatric devices for preventing breaches of the peace. If so, it is not clear in what sense the term 'religious' can be applied to them.

Ust, Monmouthshire

RAGLAN

A Negro Community in Yugoslavia. Cf. MAN, 1948, 231

Sr.—May I add a personal reminiscence to Dr. Alexander Lopashich's interesting and important article?

When travelling through the Hercegovina and Bosnia, studying folklore and folk dress in various parts of the country in 1911, I naturally paid a visit to Mostar, the ancient capital of the Hercegovina, one of the most picturesque towns of Europe, with the famous bridge across the green Neretva river and with its white mosques roofed with silver-grey sheets of lead. The largest was the celebrated Husrev Beg mosque, with a shabby little yard at the front surrounding the well, where pilgrims and other worshippers would rest and perform the ritual lavations. On my first visit, I noticed a colourful figure seated on one of the benches: it was a Negro, dressed in a blue gown, wearing the green turban of a baji and holding a staff in his hands. He was of striking, very dark complexion and gave me the impression of a full-blooded Negro. When I expressed surprise at the presence of an African in the Hercegovina, my guide explained that he was probably a pilgrim from Turkey or from overseas visiting the famous mosque. In fact a few days earlier, travelling through the Popovo-polye (then a green valley, whereas during the cold season it is a lake), I had seen a cavalcade of about 12 riders, one of them carrying a green standard, evidently pilgrims. Now, after having read Dr. Lopashich's paper, I am wondering whether the Negro whom I saw at Mostar was a member of the Yugoslavian Negro community after all.

LEONHARD ADAM

University of Melbourne, Australia

The first edition of Man in the Primitive World appeared in 1949, an admirable general introduction to anthropology, and this second edition brings it up to date in the light of the discoveries and new approaches of the past decade and of previous work unpublished owing to Hitler's war. The five parts into which the first edition was divided are now replete in four; the part dealing with prehistory has been rewritten, and the two parts on Primitive Society and on Society and Culture are combined as 'Part Four: Primitive Culture,' which occupies 470 out of the book's 678 pages, and is divided into eight sub-heads, a chapter on 'Language and Culture' having been added; there has likewise been an increase in the number of illustrations. It goes without saying that the excellent standard of the first edition has been maintained.

In a work of this scope by a single author some omissions, oversimplifications, and even errors are naturally inevitable. Thus a 'barrow' (p. 103) does not necessarily contain a 'dolmen,' and is simply a synonym of tumulus; the domestic animals of primitive man (p. 198) may not have included the cat in Europe or Africa (if the earlier Egyptians do not qualify as primitive), but pre-Columbian America seems to have had domesticated cats; the Padaung women who extend their necks to the separation of the cervical vertebrae by means of ringsed brass collars may live in Burma, but they are not Burmese; filial inheritance of wives (p. 298) is also practised in South-East Asia; 'So help me God' is not a conditional curse (p. 481) but a recognition of the difficulty of telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, which any conscientious person who has had to testify in a complicated case will well appreciate; witches are by no means non-material beings (p. 528), whatever one may think of their activities; it may be that there are instances of the junior levirate in which, as the author says, a married man 'extends the sexual favors of his wife to an unmarried brother' expects reciprocity after that brother's marriage, but that is certainly not so in South-East Asia, where the younger brother's wife, and widow, is nearly always tabu to the older; it is unsafe to dogmatize as to the priority of dry rice cultivation over wet (p. 192), as it may very well be that the former is derived from the latter, and so forth.

Chapter 30 is an excellent condensation on Animism, Mana, and the Supernatural, but it is a pity that room could not have been found for a notice of the theory of life-matter as a finite and transferable substance, which the whole head-hunting cult is based, as well as fertility cults and human sacrifice everywhere the world over. Again when dealing with incest the economic and dynamic motives for royal incest are not mentioned, nor Lord Raglan's ingenious theory of its punishment as a completion of ritual. So too, in the short but excellent chapter on housing, a reference might be added to the apparent development of the village street from the partitioned long house as observed by d'Albertis in New Guinea and Peal in Assam. Sometimes the need for compression has led to serious obscurity as in the remarks (p. 127) on the Rh and rh genes.

There are a few slips and misprints which might be corrected in the next edition: O for Y in the figure on p. 128; 'wife' for 'daughter' in the last line of p. 361; and the orangutan's skeleton on p. 42 still retains the two right feet which it wore in the first edition. There are also one or two mistakes which definitely cry for correction: the British never took any census of Tibet (p. 327); and the statement by direct implication (pp. 611, 612) that, among other nineteenth-century cultural evolutionists, Tylor, Westernmarck, and, miticide dictum, has hardly bothered themselves to raise a finger to add to factual knowledge by means of field studies, is outrageous. The Haddon expedition to the Torres Straits which set a model for subsequent fieldwork preceded the Jesup North Pacific Expedition which Boas organized.

Finally one must record a protest against Professor Hoebel's new word for 'bride-price,' 'progeny-price,' euphony apart, is every bit as inaccurate as 'bride-price.' No doubt such payments do in many cases compensate for the loss of the woman as progenitor and are so intended, but they are by no means always refunded if the bride prove barren, nor in such cases do they necessarily secure the supply of a substitute; to give a single instance, the Thado Kuki bride who dies childless and unpaid for still makes the bridegroom liable for a bull as 'the price of an empty tobacco pouch,' i.e. a barren wife, though the 'bone-price' which compensates for her loss as a source of fertility to the clan by burial in an alien grave is waived. Indeed the term 'progeny-price' is at variance with the author's own account (p. 125) of the Blackfoot Indian marriage market. Perhaps the least unsatisfactory term for such payments in general is 'marriage price' as used in Assam.

The volume is well illustrated with admirable photographs, with diagrams and text figures. It is well indexed, and has a useful bibliography, to which perhaps Sollas's Ancient Hunters (3rd edition) and Pirt-Rivier's Evolution of Culture could worthily be added. The whole is of a quality which will surely carry it to further editions in the future.

J. H. HUTTON


It is apparently becoming customary in anthropology that as one approaches the senior age grade one must, in an auspicious occasional lecture, take a stand in the controversy about whether our subject is science or art. Presentation in public lectures of one's view in the matter is, in fact, becoming a rite de passage—withdrawal to consider and write, renewal through self-revelation, and finally return to the podium in a new role: that of savant.

The most interesting point is not that a special realm of anthropology has been adopted by the senior age grade. It is, rather, that so many feel impelled to take sides in their dispositions. Professor Firth has come through his ritual firmly on the side of science. His William Evans Special Lecture before the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science tells us in what sense anthropology is a science. The arguments are closely reasoned and convincing. Unfortunately, it also tells us that anthropology is not art and that it is not history, and that to consider it either is little short of egregious obfuscation.

At first sight, it appears a little amazing that this subject continues to be chosen. In an attempt to determine the reason, I returned to the lecture. It was delivered before a group of scientists. Perhaps it was intended as an exposition of the anthropologists' task to men of science. That reasonable assumption is, to some extent, vitiated by a tone of special pleading and a host of implications, domestic to the subject and undoubtedly meaningless to outsiders, implicit in the statement of the viewpoint. In the end, I continue to be puzzled. In review after review, commentary after commentary, it has been said either that the subject is irrelevant (which it is to the progress of anthropological activity) or that taking sides in the issue is unnecessary.

The Mephistopheles in us all makes one believe that when most of the senior members of a profession are saying the same thing in what appears to be a hopeless deadlock of opposition, a new term may clear the air. Unable to resist, I should like to suggest a term which C. H. Waddington used in the title of his Pelican book describing The Scientific Attitude. Anthropology is more than just a discipline to be called either an art or a science. It is an attitude towards all social and psychic—and, indeed, many physical—phenomena. The anthropological attitude shares with the scientific attitude certain penchants for precision of method, and a rational 'logical' exposition, as well as certain fundamental notions about the nature of proof. But the anthropological attitude also shares other traits with other disciplines and attitudes: it has in common with history an interest in explaining the unique in terms of itself,
and in understanding the development of ideas and movements. It has in common with the arts the realization that communication of perception depends upon images. Obviously, many other shared traits could be pointed out.

To read Professor Firth's lecture is to appreciate anew his grasp of the scientific aspect of the anthropological attitude, to envy his exposition, to enjoy the wit of his anecdote. For these reasons, it should be read by all professional anthropologists. But it will not change the minds of any anthropologists who, either through habit or by conviction, prefer some other aspect of the anthropological attitude. And, of course, it is right that it should not.

PAUL BOHANNAN

The Idea of a Social Science and its Relation to Philosophy.


This stimulating little work, written by a lecturer in Philosophy at Swansea University College, argues that the social sciences must have a basically philosophical character (since social relations essentially involve concepts), and so the methods of analysis appropriate to them are those of philosophy and semantics rather than those of the natural sciences. Very briefly, the steps in the argument are as follows. Language, conceptual thought (which implies rules) and therefore our apprehension of the world, are essentially social (Chapter I). Both sociology and epistemology therefore share a common concern with 'the nature of social phenomena in general,' and social relations themselves are unintelligible apart from consideration of their conceptual or rule-oriented character. If this be omitted, we are left with only a 'rather puzzling external account of certain motions which certain people have been perceived to go through' (Chapters II and III). This points to the main difference between the natural and the social sciences, which is that the behaviour of the people whom social scientists study, unlike the behaviour of things which natural scientists study, only makes sense when it is seen as involving concepts and rules, like the behaviour of the investigator himself (Chapter IV). Thus social relations are more like relations between ideas than they are like the causal relations between the parts of a machine, and Mr. Winch unexceptionally concludes that historical and sociological explanation is more like 'applying one's knowledge of a language in order to understand a conversation' than it is like 'applying one's knowledge of the laws of mechanics to understand the workings of a watch.'

The thesis that conceptual thinking is a product of society, classically propounded in this century by Durkheim (to whom Mr. Winch is less than fair) in Les Formes élémentaires de la Vie religieuse, is perhaps more familiar to sociologists—if not to philosophers—since the idea also seems to think. And the idea that the subject matter of the social sciences calls for kinds of understanding different from those appropriate in the natural sciences is not in itself a novel one (though it can bear reiteration)—among others, Sir Isaiah Berlin in the historical field and the late Professor Nadel and Professor Evans-Pritchard in social anthropology have restated it in recent years, and so has another philosopher, Professor Dorothy Emmet, in a book published last year. But Mr. Winch's fresh and thoughtful treatment of these themes, in the context of Wittgenstein and other recent philosophy, is stimulating and lively, even if sometimes seems to prove too much (for social relations, after all, take place in space and time as well as in idea, and they do have consequences as well as meanings). His book has much in it to interest theoretically minded anthropologists. In my opinion, however, its main importance is for philosophers. If it leads a few more of them to undertake more intensive analyses of the sociological pre-conditions of conceptual thinking it will perform a useful service to both philosophy and the social sciences.

JOHN BEATTIE


Radcliffe-Brown was in many ways a remarkable man. He was an ethnographer of the first class. He had an unrivalled knowledge of the customs and institutions of savages in most parts of the world. He was a master of English prose, and he had a commanding personality which lent an air of mystery to all that he said. But he was no scientist, and in the first paper in this book, the one upon which all the others are founded, his ignorance of the principles of science is apparent.

Discussing biological evolution, he tells us that 'these successive stages are only really understood when we have formulated the laws by which they have been produced; only then can they be regarded as stages of a process of evolution' (p. 9).

Later he says: 'If social anthropology is to use the idea of evolution at all (and for myself I think it can and should do so) it must be in the form of a statement of general laws or principles from the continuous action of which the various past and present forms of society have resulted (in just the same way as the evolutionary theory of biology attempts to state the general laws of which the action has produced the various living and extinct species)' (p. 19).

All this is a complete misconception. There are not and cannot be any such laws. It was not in accordance with any law that at some time and place certain reptiles began to grow feathers. If there had been any such law biologists could not merely explain why this and other developments were bound to take place, but would be able to forecast the future course of evolution.

A second misconception is that a theory can be 'verified,' and so become a law, by 'the ordinary processes of induction' (p. 22). But however widespread a custom is found to be, its observance is not a law unless it can be shown to be necessary for the wellbeing of the community. He shows himself to be dimly aware of this in one of his proposed laws. 'In primitive societies any things that have important effects on the social life necessarily become the objects of ritual observances' (p. 20). Yet he does not suggest how the necessity arises. Incidentally he begs two questions: who are primitive and what is important?

Another of his 'laws,' the 'law of opposition,' merely boils down to the statement that statements remain apart as long as there is something to keep them apart (p. xxvii).

In fact, far from being, as the jacket assures us, the founder of the scientific study of social anthropology, he was merely the author of a method of concealing, by the use of high-falutin language, the fact that no science of social anthropology has yet come into existence.

RAGLAN

Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power.


'Despotism,' observed Adam Ferguson nearly two hundred years ago (An Essay on the History of Civil Society, 2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1766 p. 107), 'is monarchy corrupted, in which court and a prince in appearance remain, but in which every subordinate rank is destroyed; in which the subject is told that he has no rights; that he cannot possess any property, nor fill any station, independent of the momentary will of his prince.' Its rules, he continues, 'are made for the government of corrupted men... When fear is suggested as the only motive to duty, every heart becomes rapacious or base' (ibid., p. 369). These words might stand as an epigraph and partial epitome of this important book.

Specialists always approve comparative studies in principle and condemn them in practice under the guise of criticizing them in detail. This may well be the fate of Professor Wittfogel's theories. If so it will be a pity, but, for reasons which I examine later, the author will be in part to blame. Before examining these reasons let us look first at the argument.

Where agriculture can only be effectively conducted by the deliberate practice of irrigation there is an enormous economic premium on large-scale co-operation and control. Social control and external defence fall into the hands of the directors of communal hydraulic enterprise who are functionally distinct and socially separate from those over whom they rule. In societies where the economic order is largely based on a hydraulic system there are no groups which can resist the masters of the administrative apparatus, and society is ever weaker than government. Even mercantile and craft groups in towns—when towns are present—or large land-
owners—if they exist at all—cannot escape control or set up successful countervailing powers of the kinds with which the study of European history makes us familiar.

The result is despotism, with the consequences outlined by Ferguson, and the destruction of human personality in solitude, suspicion and fear. The only refuge is the 'Law of diminishing administrative returns,' whereby it is not worth while to police all socially peripheral or geographically remote areas of the society. The respite which this law gives to the family, cults, guilds, etc., is precarious: their effective opposition to the central power is impossible.

Yet those who wield power know neither peace nor security: they cannot trust those who serve them, and their surroundings are dark with the shadows of conspiracy and assassination. Where all are afraid, all are desperate, and any act, however monstrous, is possible. Only to escape the impasse is impossible: successful conspiracy or revolt can change personnel but not circumstance. And such despotisms take captive their conquerors as China absorbed the Tartars and the Manchus.

It is, of course, China which provides the background of these theories, but the evidence brought forward is not merely Chinese. The Chagga from Africa; the 'fertile crescent' and Egypt; the Inca, Maya and Pueblo Indians; Central and Southern Asia; Byzantium and even Russia are all laid under tribute. Immense learning is displayed, generalization and aporia alike stimulate, illuminate and provoke, but the essential thesis might have been better served by a narrower, a more specifically 'oriental' concern and concentration. But to do this a secondary purpose of the book would have been neglected. In my opinion such neglect would have been pure gain from the standpoint of science.

For this is, very deliberately, a fighting book—a polemic in what is often Marxist idiom, against Bolshevism and the Communist states. I love modern despotisms as little as Professor Wittfogel. I admit that at least one of his arguments is of central importance to the 'world's debate' as it at present ages, but almost every page is coloured, even confused by his concern with these matters. With a different intellectual history perhaps Professor Wittfogel could never have written this study. For all that can be said against it in detail or at large it is probably of classical importance. Yet the polemic is unfortunate in that it makes against readability, is often tedious, and affords an excuse for those of us who may most benefit from his arguments not to read him.

It is important that we should be reminded that freedom is a consequence, among other things, of social and political pluralism, and that conflict, including class conflict, is a source of life in society, and not something to be everywhere and always deplored. A book on oriental despotism may logically argue the significance of independent centres of power in society—local, professional, religious, economic and so on—but is it necessary to do this as a refutation of Marxism?

And the same question may be raised in two other contexts. It is simply not true that, in the words of The Communist Manifesto, 'all previous history is the history of class struggle,' or that societies proceed through a fivefold social evolution from 'primitive communism' to slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist orders. Any social science can refute such views from his own field of study. Those who hold such views are unlikely either to find or be convinced by Professor Wittfogel's long and necessarily technical investigations.

Again the chapter on The Rise and Fall of the Theory of the Asiatic Mode of Production devotes more than 40 pages to the history of muddle and suppression by Marx and his successors about oriental society. Surely all that is important today is to establish whether the category 'oriental society' is a meaningful one for the comparative study of social structure; the rest belongs to the history of ideas and of ideology, in the pejorative sense. The strength of the case for such a category has nothing to do with the weakness of Marxism—however much that matters in appropriate contexts.

The polemic, then, is the price which one pays for this very remarkable book. It is not possible briefly to argue the case for its general correctness. Broad categories like 'industrial society' or 'feudal society' are accepted and useful though no single society may perfectly satisfy their implications. Such categories are usually derived from the detailed study of some single exemplar—e.g. twelfth and thirteenth-century France for the concept 'feudal society'—and comparison and correction with what seem to be like cases. Oriental society with Imperial China as the example seems to me now to be established as such a category, even though the word 'oriental' is unfortunate and sets unreal limits of geography to a sociological concept.

One road to despotism is undoubtedly made easier by the state management of irrigation works. It is not the only one, nor, pace Professor Wittfogel, do I think it even indirectly the road that led to the Byzantine Autokephalia and Despotates, to the Tar of All the Russians, or Stalin, 'leader and teacher of progressive mankind.' And, of course, massive hydraulic endeavour does not of itself lead to despotism—consider the estuary of the Rhine or the valley of the Po. This point is several times mentioned but deserves a fuller treatment than Professor Wittfogel allows.

And surely the despots is always more limited by custom, administrative necessity and convenience, family attachment, religion or superstition and the scarcity of resources than is suggested. At the same time clanship, urban and guild independence and poor communication—however well organized the posts, spies and emissaries—must limit arbitrary power more than is here apparent. Nor will the wise autocrat forget the advice quieta non movere. Yet all this is to make points of emphasis rather than of substance, and it is essentially correct to see political life under a despotism as delineated by Ferguson and Wittfogel.

Lastly, in so long and wide-ranging a book, there are errors of detail and unanswered questions. What else is to be expected? If the book is of the importance that I believe, there is time for these to be corrected. I would, for example, like to know if the imperial role in China was so unvarying, bureaucracies recruited in such different ways so similar in attitude and operation, or such a society as Hawaii really 'oriental.' No doubt the commentators of the future will tell me. Some things, as I have said, I cannot believe. But of the value of this book I have no scepticism.

DONALD G. MACRAE


The idea of producing a single one-volume work on the institutions of advanced societies was an excellent one. The editor has placed the task in, so far as I can judge, competent hands. Yet the result is disappointing.

This volume consists of 10 studies of the leading social institutions in a wide range of countries, of which the most unfamiliar—Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece and Brazil—are inevitably the most interesting. These 10 chapters could all be criticized in detail but in general they are lucid, informative and remarkably full. Unfortunately, the authors have no real common conception of what are the leading institutions of society or of what constitutes social structure. The result is that strict comparison is usually impossible and always difficult. The introductory chapter by the editor is a sensible, but limited, survey of the problems of comparative study. One influence from which it might well have gained would have been that of the late Professor Nadel and the chapters on this topic in his The Foundations of Social Anthropology. Professor Rose's introduction certainly in no way serves to bind the contributions together.

Anyone who wants a short account of British, Australian, Israeli, or American life, in addition to the societies mentioned above, will find it here. The text can, and will, be used by teachers of sociology. Nevertheless, I feel that there is much more to be said, and that we are in a position to do something much more systematic than has been attempted in this volume.

DONALD G. MACRAE


In this exhaustive investigation of the nature, place and function of ritual in primitive society, almost every aspect of the subject is brought under review with innumerable examples culled from most of the available sources of information, rather in the Frazerian manner; those from among the Australian
aborigines preponderate. After a consideration of the various theories, sociological and psychological, which have been suggested to interpret the significance of this important element in primitive cult, and the rules governing the procedures adopted, the first part of the volume is devoted to an examination of ritual impurity and taboo conditions. Attention is concentrated on rites connected with birth and the naming of a child, unusual occurrences and sacred persons and states to prevent their becoming a disturbing element in the equilibrium of the "human condition" and to protect society from supernaturally dangerous influences. The contagion of the sacred and its symbols is then discussed in its manifold ramifications together with cathartic rites and sexual prohibitions imposed at critical junctures. Expulsion ritual involving a 'scapegoat,' or incinerator, is represented as occupying a transitional position between taboo and purification, while the function of rites de passage, it is argued, is that of a protection against harmful contacts and of giving stability to a human condition.

In the second part the definition, power, laws and function of magic as a consolidating force are considered in their ritual and psychological aspects in the context of demonology, witchcraft, divination and exorcism. Arising out of a description of the methods employed in the initiation of medicinemens and their cultus, metamorphoses and the associated occult phenomena, the magic art is surveyed and its relation to religion is assessed. It is recognized that the frontier between the two disciplines cannot be rigidly maintained as separate domains in the traffic with the sacred order and its forces. Nevertheless, throughout the volume the specifically religious attitude to the human and the divine of the Australian aborigine is clear. Partly, though not entirely, apparent in the last two parts of the book in which rites of consecration, the transcendence of the sacred, ancestral totemic mythology, the cult of ancestors, the annual festival, the Intichiuma ceremonies of the native tribes of Central Australia, and initiation rites as a repetition of the archetypal acts of the ancestors in the mythical past, are discussed as a prelude to the final section devoted to prayer and sacrifice.

In all these rites the same basic synthetic principle of transcendence and of participation is manifest in the sacralisation of the individual. Prayer as an essentially religious exercise is differentiated from spell and incantations as magical devices associated with taboo and purification. The complexity of the institution of sacrifice is recognized, and its main theories, those connected with gifts and with communion, are investigated in some detail, particularly as they have been expounded by Mauss and Robertson Smith respectively. It is open to question, as Mauss contended, whether the Intichiuma ceremonies can be considered as an 'act de déification,' a sacred and sacramental ritual, or that Robertson Smith's hypothetical totemic 'theanthropic animal' was an originating cause of sacrifice of the communal type. More fundamental is the gift theory, but this too requires a good deal of restatement to bring it into line with the available evidence. Nevertheless, although many controversial issues are raised in this compendium it is the most elaborate analysis of the data that has been attempted in recent years, and if it does not break very much new ground, it merits the serious attention of anthropologists in this important field of inquiry.

E. O. JAMES


The late Professor Révész was long concerned with the study of the sense of touch, and the psychology of the blind. In this work, originally published in 1943, he attempted to synthesize what is known of the human hand as the basic tool of our response to reality, and as an organ of perception in some ways superior to the eye as an arbiter of what is real. This small book touches upon most of the problems connected with the hand, including its phylogeny and significance for the Primate Order. The roles of the hand in the arts, as an expressive, communicative instrument, and as a maker and wielder of tools, are all discussed, though often all too sketchily. There is a section on the handicraft of blind sculptors. The last chapter deals with the symbolism of the hand in magic and religion. For readers previously unaware of the importance of the hand in these many aspects, Professor Révész's book is an admirable introduction, and even for the specialist its pages bristle with stimulating ideas for further research, or at least provocative of argument. Many of the footnote references are to works several decades old, though there has been more recent research on many of the subjects treated. The author has certainly managed to communicate his own great enthusiasm about the study of the hand and the immense variety of problems with which it can be linked.

However, one cannot regard The Human Hand as a definitive work, which could provide specialists with a solid foundation for further work. It is very far from being a companion volume to Dr. Dudley Morton's The Human Foot (1934), even though Morton did not attempt to embrace the religious, magical, linguistic and artistic ramifications of that less spectacular if more specialized human organ. Anthropologists are apt to be annoyed by several minor errors—e.g. 'Pygmies of South Africa and Ceylon' (p. 117), or by the statement on p. 5 that we lack a basis for judgment about Neanderthal hands, in view of the nearly complete woman's hand from La Ferrassie. The translator is probably to blame for the reference on p. 69 to a Palaeolithic handaxe as 'an unusually primitive stone vessel.'

Important as our hands are to us, an anthropologist may be inclined to attribute our special human qualities as much to articulate speech, involving the regular use of symbols, our conceptualizing and complex-problem-solving abilities, and even certain of our physiological, emotional and psychosexual features. Even without the capacity to thread needles or to execute other delicate digital movements, we would still greatly outshine our nearest Primate relatives. With respect to the use of implements and weapons, moreover, it is possible to look beyond the hand, which as a grasping organ is not so very much more adept than it is among other higher Primates, to our upright stance and the swivelling action of the trunk on the hominoid pelvis, as Dart has done (1954) in a dramatic reconstruction of the probable weapon-wielding habits of the predatory Australopithecine.

G. W. HEWES


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In recent years there has been a growing recognition of the very large numbers of people in Western Society who suffer from some form of neurosis or more serious mental disorder. Anthropologists have collaborated with social psychiatrists in a number of field studies. One of these revealed that in a small country town in North America 48 per cent of the inhabitants had suffered from a disabling psychical illness at some time in their lives: a further 17 per cent had experienced more neurotic symptoms. Another carried out in a section of New York showed that 75 per cent. of over 1,660 people who were interviewed exhibited symptoms of acute anxiety. If one takes a catholic view of the psychosomatic, or stress disorders—as does Dr. Alexander—a degree of psychological ill health begins to seem a mark of statistical normality in the American way of life.

Although these findings at first sight seem incredible, they may be well that mental ill health is now the greatest cause of morbidity in technically advanced societies: and as this fact becomes apparent, so does the total inadequacy of present-day psychiatry to deal with so large a problem. The situation is reminiscent of the early days of mass miniature radiography, which revealed many unsuspected cases of tuberculosis—at a time when the sanatoria had long waiting lists and no specific therapy existed. By good fortune, new potent anti-tuberculosis drugs were discovered a few years later, and now empty sanatoria are being turned over to new uses; but, in spite of the extravagant claims made by advertisers of the 'tranquilizing' drugs, there is no sign of any such despair of mental health.

It has long been a reproach against psycho-analysis that while it claims to be the only really thorough remedy for emotional illness its technique is so cumbrously, costly and slow that very few of the multitude of neurotic sufferers can ever hope to benefit from it. Dr. Alexander has always been keenly aware of this challenge, and
has been a pioneer of 'modified analysis' and of 'psycho-analytically oriented psychotherapy,' measures which would apply psycho-analytical knowledge to more general use. In the present book he recapitulates the stages of his experiments with various modifications of analytic technique and discusses his personal views, illustrating his argument with examples (not all of which are flattering to himself) from his clinical practice. He concludes that psycho-analytical teaching will take an increasingly important part not only in the training of psychiatrists but also in the general medical curriculum.

In spite of paying lip-service to sociology and psychology as 'the emerging sciences of our times,' the author remains curiously indifferent to the importance of social forces in the causation and relief of mental illness. This is so exclusively a guide for the clinician (and, perhaps, his private patient) that I find myself at a loss to know what place it has in the library of the A.I. Can I be that British monographs will shortly follow the example of a current work from Harvard, whose penultimate chapter is entitled: 'Towards a Clinical Anthropology'?  
G. M. CARSTAIRS


This bibliography, prepared under the auspices of the International Committee for Social Science Documentation, contains 3,163 items covering articles, books and documents published in 1955. It is arranged by subject and sub-divided regionally if necessary. The reverse principle is used in the subject index where the name of the racial group or geographical unit is stressed. This form of classification was adopted in order to draw attention 'partly to the fundamental subjects of contemporary anthropological thinking and partly to avoid overlapping with the admirable regional bibliographies already in existence.'

There are nine main subject divisions; some adjustment of the sub-divisions will probably be necessary. Section D, Monographs, apparently intended to cover general works on specific peoples, is unsatisfactory. The list of journals abstracted contains some omissions, among them: Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Taiwan University, Dominion Museum Records in Ethnology (Wellington), Folklore Studies (Tokyo), Gmskii Ethnografskii Muzea i Beograda, Kroha Anthropological Society Papers, NADA and Sierra Leone Studies.

Used, as intended, in conjunction with existing bibliographies this is a most welcome reference work.  
B. J. KIRKPATRICK


Ernst Arbman's pioneering investigations of primitive soul concepts have inspired several researchers in the field of comparative religion. Very important are Hultkrantz's studies of the soul concepts of the North American Indians. Paulson's book on the primitive soul concepts of the nations of northern Europe and Asia is evidently inspired by Arbman's and Hultkrantz's works. Paulson in a way supplements Hultkrantz. The two authors cover together the northern circumpolar world where an old cultural community has long been apparent. They have elucidated the soul concepts of the old northern circumpolar world, utilizing in their analysis Arbman's fundamental ideas.

Arbman has made it clear that the primitive soul ideology is dualistic or pluralistic. Primitive man believes in more than one soul. One of these, the psycho-soul or the free soul, acts in dreams, in states of trance and visions, but not in normal states when the owner is awake. On the other hand, one or several souls are connected with the body or with bodily functions or organs. One of these body-souls, the life-soul, is often identified with the breath. The geography of the wakings, active individual is represented by another body-soul, an ego-soul or several ego-souls. So the individual human being has a dualistic plurality of souls, an immaterial, spiritual kind, free-soul, and a material kind, body-soul. Of each of these two kinds, and especially of the material kind, the individual may have several souls.

The influence of higher religions has effaced the soul plurality and replaced it with soul monism. However, the old plurality does still exist among primitives, and it may be studied in the northern circumpolar world, as Hultkrantz and Paulson have done.

Paulson's book contains in its first part a well authenticated description of the soul concepts of the peoples of northern Europe and Asia, and in the second part a phenomenology of soul concepts, utilizing the material brought together in the first part. An important chapter treats of the soul concepts of shamanism.

The author has made comparatively little of the bone-soul concept which plays a great role among the Buryats, but seems widely spread in some form. It is often met with in the form of magical rites connected with hunting. However, it seems to be an old and important soul concept.

GUMDUNDI HATT


Professor Kretzchenbacher, of Graz, discusses the weighing of the souls since ancient Egypt and Biblical times as well as the beliefs associated with St. Michael from the days of the Early Church until the religious plays of the twelfth century. Early Christianity used the symbol of the scales, without associating the judgment of the good and bad deeds with the Archangel Michael. His cult as the victor over the Devil and the dragon, and also as the guide of the dead, started early in the Eastern Church. It spread in the Occident during the fifth century, and only towards the end of the first millennium did St. Michael appear weighing the souls. Very valuable is Professor Kretzchenbacher's explanation for the frequent occurrence of the scene on the western façades of cathedrals, where, in the Middle Ages, judges used to pronounce sentences on the living.

Noteworthy is the modification of the theme by the famous German sculptor Tilman Riemenschneider on the Heinrichsgrab in Bamberg (c. 1500). The Emperor Heinrich II is depicted standing next to St. Lawrence, whom he held in special esteem, whilst St. Michael is weighing his deeds; the good ones in the form of a golden can, which the Emperor had presented in honour of St. Lawrence, and the bad deeds in the form of a white disc, presumably meant to represent the millstone of sins.

One chapter is devoted to English mural paintings, with special reference to the Dextera Dei and the Mater mediteria graetiam. In connexion with the mural painting at South Leigh (Oxon.), the contribution made by the late W. L. Hildburgh might have been mentioned. The text is well printed and richly illustrated.

E. ETTLINGER


The merits of the first (1939) edition of this book are so well known that here it is hardly necessary to do more than indicate briefly the improvements that have been made in this new edition. Although the basic framework and subject matter remain unchanged, all the chapters except the third have been thoroughly revised, and more than half of them rewritten, that this is substantially a new book. Not only does the present version incorporate much fresh and up-to-date material, notably in the field of scientific dating techniques, but the whole approach is now more explicitly oriented, as indicated by the new sub-title, to the concept, which Professor Clark has himself done much to formulate in the intervening 20 years, that the ultimate purpose of prehistoric studies is the reconstruction of ancient societies as organic wholes. The measure of this new emphasis is most clearly seen in the expansion of the 37 pages of the 1939 chapter on 'Interpretation' to two chapters, totalling 81 pages, concerned with 'Reconstruction' of economic and of social, intellectual and spiritual life. In addition to the increase in length of text, there are 21 more well chosen figures and three new by plates.

Chapter VIII, 'Prehistory and Today,' provides as wise and humane an answer to the interrogating question, 'But what's the use of
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archaeology? as has yet been offered, and as a whole the book presents a most useful and illuminating survey of current aims and methods in archaeological research.

L. F. SMITH


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There has long been a need for a book such as this, for while Crawford, Poidebard, St. Joseph and others have amply demonstrated the archaeological value of air photography, there has been no thorough manual of the subject, setting out its principles, its limitations, the possibilities of deception, and the ways in which it can be used along with ground reconnaissance and excavation.

During his service in the Italian campaign of 1943-45, Mr. Bradford noticed the wealth of archaeological detail on photographs taken for strategic reconnaissance, and, after the war, Mr. Ward Perkins and he, with fine insight, secured the preservation of these archives for academic study. Since then Mr. Bradford has, with their aid, made notable contributions to four fields of study, those of the neolithic communities of Apulia, the cemeteries of Etruria, Roman centuriation, and city and harbour sites in the Mediterranean and elsewhere.

In this book he does not simply present his findings, but patiently takes the reader over the whole ground which he himself has traversed with so much labour. As a result, the study is correctly presented as a severe and specialized discipline. It requires in the first place a keen practical sense, and the author supplies many useful and unexpected hints; a windy day, for example, is bad for photographing crop marks. Second, it calls for a certain caution and humility, which come from long experience and many disappointments. Mr. Bradford throughout stresses the numerous possible sources of error, and the constant necessity to verify hypotheses by work on or under the surface of the ground. Further, the ideal practitioner should have not only an eye for the minutest detail, but also a broad topographical and historical sense, so that he can see the ground as a sort of palimpsest of past landscapes.

Now that 44 per cent. of the earth's surface has been photographed from the air, there must be very few regions where archaeologists can afford to neglect these skills.

The elucidation of the plans of ancient Rhodes, Ostia and Carthage is particularly memorable, but the entire book, whose text, diagrams and photographs are reproduced with excellent precision and clarity, is stimulating and absorbing.

W. C. BRICE

Hommage a l'Abbé Henri Breuil pour son quatre-vingtième anniversaire. With a preface by R. Lantier. [Paris], 1957. Pp. 100. Anthropologists and archaeologists celebrated the Abbé's eightieth anniversary by publishing a bibliography of his writings preceded by a tribute from the pen of M. Lantier that gives a rapid sketch of his great life work. The bibliography characteristically includes a list of projected publications which give all his colleagues a hope that his years of retirement may still be far in the future.

H. J. FLEURE


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This handbook is divided into three sections, on Collecting, Exhibition and Storage, and of the space available Exhibition takes the lion's share, nearly twice as much as the other two put together.

The first section is devoted largely to a discussion of policy in forming and adding to a collection, which is followed by a brief treatment of documentation. It is not concerned with collecting in the field. The section on Exhibition is perhaps the most useful, and it draws largely on the author's experience in rearranging the Pacific Section in the Ethnographical Gallery of the British Museum. The Solomon Islands case there, which is one of the best among many very good ones, is illustrated alongside a diagram of the balanced masses united by a sweeping curve on which it is based.

There is an excellent paragraph on backgrounds, and some interesting suggestions about fittings. Some of the labels suggested appear to fall into the category of very long ones, which the author fears that the visitor is unlikely to read. A little more might perhaps have been said about their actual execution; 'printing' for example is mentioned, but whether this means hand lettering or printing in a press is not stated. The former is probably the ideal, but the latter is a misuse of a process designed for reproduction in quantity. The final section, which includes preservation, contains many suggestions which are generally useful. One of them, the storage of spears and arrows by gripping each in a block hung from a wire mesh, seems excessively cumbersome, but the author disclaims actual experience of it.

Mr. Cranstone says that he has tried to keep in mind the requirements of ethnographical museums of all sizes, not at all an easy task. Some curators will think wishfully of the facilities which others enjoy, not least the large cellars available for storage in the British Museum, but all owe him a debt of gratitude for much stimulating advice.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL


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In addition to a collection of European musical instruments, the Horniman Museum possesses a number of non-European instruments. These include African, Asian, Middle and Far Eastern items as well as regional collections from the Belgian Congo, Morocco and Nigeria obtained by fieldworkers. This useful and inexpensive little book, written by the Museum's ethnomusicologist and based on a broad general survey of musical instruments, ancient, European and non-European, treated according to type. Classification is based upon the Hornbostel-Sachs system but technical terms are kept to a minimum. Photographs of 80 instruments are given and maps show the world distribution of some of the most widely used types of instrument such as single membrane drums, panpipes and bow-harps. Brief reference is made to the variety of materials from which instruments are constructed, and to the functions of musical instruments in different societies. The scope of ethnomusicology is roughly outlined and it is rightly pointed out that, whereas formerly our most accurate information about primitive music concerned only one facet of it, that of musical instruments, the advent of the portable tape recorder has now greatly extended the field of musical studies. A short bibliography lists useful books and articles and also ethnographical works which contain chapters on music, all of which are available in the Horniman Library.

DAVID RYCROFT


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An able and simple review of evolution of the earth and its forms of life. We welcome the account of man, which is careful and reasonably well informed. Homo sapiens as a paedomorph of some early hominids probably had a feeble beginning, but it would have been well to mention the Swanscombe, Fontéchevade and Steinheim skulls rather than to enlarge on the Pittdown fraud beyond a proper tribute to those who exposed it. The barren old controversy about negroids or non-negroids at Grimaldi should be buried. Dr. Oakley, on South African evidence, thinks that tools were a cause rather than a consequence of brain increase.

H. J. FLEURE


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The director of the prehistoric and ethnographical Museum in Rome discusses the various schools of thought about the origin and evolution of religion. The theories of Tylor, Spencer, Wundt, Frazer, Marenz, Preuss, Pettazzoni, Lévy-Brühl, Hubert, Mauss, Otto and Freud are attacked and often torn to pieces. Andrew Lang receives one page of praise as the forerunner of P. Wilhelm Schmidt, to whom 50 pages are devoted. Much printer's ink has been used to bring it home to the reader that there is no other theory beside that of primitive monothemism.

On p. 352 there is a short summary of the various groups of
scholars who escaped the author's pen, with a pat on the shoulder for the Viennese School. The fact that Professor E. O. James is not mentioned among the writers on comparative religion, that Julian Huxley is listed among American scholars and that Ruth Benedict has become 'Benedit O' Ruth' casts some doubt on the author's familiarity with recent English and American scholars. The well chosen illustrations will scarcely compensate the general reader, who finds himself unexpectedly confronted with a rather vehement polemical treatise.

E. ETTLINGER


160 This book on witchcraft is strictly limited to the ancient province of Berry, where the author, a member of the national scientific research centre, carried out personal investigations. Side by side he discusses the records of the sorcerers from 1582 to 1800 and les jeteurs de sort from 1880 to 1955. Many of their techniques, as well as the offensive and defensive means employed by the supposed victims, date from pre-Christian times. The use of salt in order to counteract magic, for instance, is much older than its ritual use in baptism (p. 115). I regret the author's reluctance to deal with pre-Christian survivals in the province, which Professor C. Lévi-Strauss, in his introduction, calls 'encore un peu la Gaule.'

The sociological and psychological approach to the subject is excellent. The sorcerers' relations to their families, the immediate neighbours and the inhabitants of neighbouring villages are as brilliantly sketched as the peasants' suspicions of the weaker craftsmen, orphan shepherds and the workers in the 'hostile' forests. The sorcerers' anti-social behaviour is explained as the malevolent reactions of outcasts. Some of the victims took to flight; some were actually paralysed or even died of sheer fright. Others were determined to resist until the last and were greatly aided by their attempts to convince themselves of their own superiority.

This short and unassuming book is to be highly recommended.

E. ETTLINGER


161 A world-wide survey of superstitions in 175 pages is such a formidable task that it would not be fair to pass judgment on the groups which have been included and those which have not been discussed. The title already reveals a regrettable shortcoming, namely, that the author was not careful enough with the terms which he used; surely 'superstitious' implies to a large extent 'survivals.' The statement that finger rings were the most ancient of all ornaments is contradicted by such grave goods as shells, fossils and beads. The explanations of the phrases 'a feather in his cap' and 'give him beans' are rather unsatisfactory. The question why 'whistling for a wind' should be said to have its origin with sailors can be easily answered: a calm sea often had disastrous consequences for the early seafarers.

The book may appeal to the general reader, but it has no claim to 'be useful as a Book of Reference."

E. ETTLINGER


162 The late Dr. Macneille Dixon's Gifford Lectures at Glasgow are here reprinted 21 years after their first publication. His conclusion that our simple duty is 'loyalty to life, to the ship's company and to ourselves' is as banal as his general presentation is charming. The book, almost an anthology of apt and artistically arranged quotations, is negligible as a contribution to professional philosophy, but as a literary essay is admirable.

D. W. GUNDRY


163 This is the report of the Second Symposium on Population Problems, held at the University of Minnesota in 1957. It consists of papers read, and comments on them, by representatives of the sciences concerned in one way or another with these problems.

While there are differences of opinion the general conclusion seems to be that the well developed countries should be able to sustain population increase at the present rate, but that the under-developed countries will have difficulty in doing so. Dr. P. M. Raup says that 'in a broad sense necessity appears not to be the mother of invention. People at the subsistence margin do not improvise, or pour forth inventions... There is a snowballing effect in the application of brains and capital to the production of food. It takes a long time to get the snowball rolling, but in much of the world this process has only just begun.' And, according to Dr. Thompson, three-fourths of the world's population have to spend 80 per cent. of their income on food alone.

Among much else that is interesting is the statement of Professor Karl Sax to the effect that though exposure to atomic radiation may produce mutations leading to defective births, it is unlikely to cause a statistically significant increase in the number of such births.

RAGLAN

AFRICA


164 This excellent study of limestone cave deposits is an outgrowth of the research programme relating to the Australopithecine finds associated with the names of Dart, Broom and Robinson. In fact the ground-floor laboratory in which Dr. Brain did the analytical work on which the monograph is based is next the room where Broom described Pleistanthropus and Paranthropus, and where Brain now contemplates Telanthropus.

In seeking to find mutual relationships between the various branches of the man-ape family, anthropologists have been plagued by uncertainty as to the precise relative ages of the almost contemporary cave fillings at Sterkfontein, Kromdraai, Swartkrans and the Limeworks Cave at Makapan. For the most part stratification is crude or absent, so that a simple stratigraphic sequence is non-existent. The faunal association is equivocal. The material dates from well beyond the extreme limit within which carbon-14 dating methods are applicable. Clearly some new line of approach was needed. At Dr. J. T. Robinson's suggestion Dr. Brain made an indirect attack on the problem with a new technique.

Pleistocene climatic fluctuations in South and Central Africa are becoming better understood thanks to the work of Leakey, Coke and others. True, glacial drift and beach-level shifts lie out of reach, but pluvials, interpluvials, and minor changes from wetter to drier are now recognized and tied in with alternations of erosion and deposition. It occurred to the Transvaal team that even minor moisture variations ought to be reflected in such things as groundwater levels, cave solution and fissure filling, and possibly also in variations of soil composition. Even in continental regions where denudation, rather than aggradation, had been the order of the day, limestone caves might preserve sealed samples of what had started as surface material.

After a discussion of the conditions under which caves may develop and subsequently become permanent repositories of critical evidence, the author proceeds to a particularly clear description of the several sites involved, before turning to the 'cave breccias.' These involve clastic material, blown or washed into sinkholes or, lateral cave openings, or fallen from the roof underground, subsequently cemented into hard rock by calcareous ground-water action. Study of sand grains in the soil component of such complexes might, it was hoped, permit correlation with the curve of postulated climate fluctuations.

By multiple sampling at five-foot vertical intervals from top to bottom of sections in the four localities, and then treating each sample with hydrochloric acid to separate the individual sand
grains from the matrix. Brain found that he could develop a chart based on percentage differences in grain angularity, chert-quartz ratio, grade of dolomite weathering, colour variation and the like. As a result he can write, for instance, of Sterkfontein that ‘the evidence of chert-quartz ratio and weathered dolomite blocks definitely suggests that the middle layers of the deposit were formed in a drier climatic interlude than were the lower and upper levels.’

By matching graphs thus obtained from the four sites with the general regional picture, a correlation was achieved. The sequence shows that Makapans and Sterkfontein were virtually contemporaneous, with Sterkfontein slightly the earlier. The Swartkrans deposit came next, and finally Kromdraai. The first three cover parts of the first major interpluvial, whereas Kromdraai falls in the succeeding pluvial stage. Dr. Brain might have added that it thus turns out that the two cave deposits which lie closest to each other—less than a mile apart on the same side of the valley and at identical elevations above the valley floor—prove to be the most widely separated in time. This conclusion is in accord with the latest ideas of the faunal associations, but it raises intriguing speculations of wider application in limestone terrains. Did minor climatic fluctuations re-initiate the process of solution activity or was it a matter of delicately balanced ground-water levels? Or does the difference turn on an accidental difference in depth of surface erosion and mode of breaching of the cavities?

The well organized presentation is supported by excellent illustrations and has a useful list of fauna prepared by Dr. R. F. Ewer with references to the original descriptions of the various types.

GEORGE B. BARBOUR


Over a large area of the eastern uplands of Southern Rhodesia, and stretching for some distance into Portuguese East Africa, the hillsides are covered with a bewildering pattern of stone-faced cultivation terraces, forts and pit settlements, parts of which have been described by Dr. Carl Peters, Dr. D. Randall-MacIver, R. N. Hall, A. L. Armstrong, H. A. Wieshoff, Mrs. Enid M. Finch, and others. In a region so vast, comprising, as it does, one great raise covering 3,000 square miles in extent, any single comprehensive survey is impossible and information can only be built up over a long period. In 1948 a fund was inaugurated to carry out further research in the area and during the years 1949 to 1951 a number of sites were excavated.

As a result of these excavations three separate cultures were isolated; two pre-Ruin Iron Age cultures and that associated with the ruins themselves. The two earlier cultures, named Ziwa 1 and Ziwa 2 from the gravelly catchment, belong to the Iron Age B of Summers which Schofield has ascribed to proto-Sotho peoples. The ruins, with their associated terraces, are regarded as the work of a group of related Nsenga tribes, the Barwe, Wesa and Unyama, and probably, in part, of the Hungwe.

Although a sequence of cultures was definitely established, an accurate chronology offered much greater difficulty owing to the absence of datable material. Two methods were employed; the use of a series of climatic changes based on Brook's work in Central Africa and an analysis of the beads. Both are far from reliable in our present state of knowledge. Schofield, in his section on beads, states that 'if an attempt is made to assess the age of a site on the evidence of the beads it has been found to contain, it may happen that their apparent date will be out of relation to that of the containing structure, and our enquiry will be reduced to absurdity.' After years of work Schofield could do no more than divide the beads of Southern Africa into two main groups; an earlier group of beads of self-coloured cane glass, representing a bead currency that circulated in south central Africa between c. 1550 and c. 1830, and a later group of cored beads. Similarly, the dating of the Ziwa cultures on climatic changes offers a choice of possible dates between A.D. 550–800 and 1200–1400.

The value of this book lies in the actual excavation reports which are presented rather than in the conclusions reached for, apart from establishing the relationship of the Ziwa cultures to the ruin complex, no definite new conclusions were possible on the information obtained. Full reports are given by Dr. Coke and others on the fossil animal remains, by Dr. Tobias on the human skeletal remains and by Dr. Wild on the seeds. An interesting section deals with the iron-working sites discovered.

Of particular importance is the publication in this volume of the late John Schofield’s researches on the beads of Southern Africa. Schofield was one of the first to make a scientific study of the proto-history of Southern Africa and his Primitive Pottery has been generally accepted as a sound working basis for all subsequent studies of the subject. His parallel study of beads seemed destined to remain unpublished until this opportunity arose. In it he gives a detailed account of the ancestral beads of the Venda, Pedi and Zulu and also of the beads recovered from archaeological sites in Southern Rhodesia and the northern Transvaal. His conclusions are of considerable interest in view of the stress which is placed on beads by some workers. 'Beads,' he writes, 'are not the heavy artillery of the archaeologist and are properly used for supporting tactics only. Therefore, the main lines of an archaeological setting must be decided, if sufficient evidence is available, by data other than that supplied by beads, which can only help to fill in the details, or to expand the scope of the inquiry after that has been done.'

The arrangement of this book renders it somewhat difficult to read by anyone not very familiar with the literature on proto-historic Rhodesia, as the author himself admits. It is essentially a series of excavation reports and, as such, is a very important contribution to the study of Rhodesian proto-history. Roger Summers, and his assistant, Keith Robinson, are to be congratulated on the amount of work which they were able to accomplish in difficult terrain without any assistance from amateur archaeologists.

JAMES WALTON


This book, according to its title and blurb, should present an authoritative and comprehensive collection of photographs of African carvings selected for their intrinsic plastic quality. In point of fact, some 130 of the 163 plates illustrate pieces in the author’s own possession, and this book, even more handsomely than African Sculpture Speaks, catalogues the stock of the Segy Gallery in New York. The actual reproduction quality of the plates is quite good, but spoiled by a strong tendency to cut the plates down too much, so that the objects illustrated come right up to the edge of the block, or are partly shaved off; in a rapid count I found 29 plates that had thus been over-trimmed, three bad ones being Plates XI, CXVII and CXXXII.

The text is composed of three 'Introductions' and a 'Conclusion' in which a few well-known generalizations on African art are padded out with a lot of verbiage. On page 20, Segy discusses the fertility symbolism of African carving, referring especially to the treatment of the genital organs, and cites Plate CXXXII, which shows in detail the phallic of Plate CXXXI, as an example of what he means. Examination showed that Plate CXXXII had been made far more phallic by being printed upside-down.

M. A. BENNET-CLARK

EUROPE


The first edition of The Dawn of European Prehistory was published in 1925. The sixth has appeared in 1957. More than 30 years separate these moments—with all that these years represent of advance in the knowledge of European prehistory, not least promoted by V. Gordon Childe.

The usual way of reviewing a new edition of a standard textbook
is to compare it with its predecessor. However, in this case, the new edition being the last (or the last prepared by the author), it seems appropriate to look for the difference between the beginning and the end of the sequence. For it is evident that the series of editions reflects an epoch in archaeological thought, or perhaps rather the transition from one epoch to another.

From some points of view, the book has not changed so much during the three decades. In a most positive way, the author's personality has given the work its character, in all editions. Of minor importance, but also in its way characteristic, is a rather negative trait: the majority of the illustrations, which were not good in the first edition, remain unchanged and consequently are no better, to say the least, in 1957.

Progress of work in the field and in museums is witnessed by the change in the type sites mentioned. It seems that only about half of the type sites of 1925 have survived into 1957, but twice as many new ones have been added. Themes for discussion which were actual 30 years ago have disappeared, and the names of leading archaeologists of an earlier generation have been replaced by those of their younger successors. It is striking to notice the vanishing importance of e.g. Kossinna and Montelius. How many authors of handbooks have been able to base a revision after 30 years almost entirely on a detailed knowledge of such an enormous quantity of new literature, and personal inspection of new finds, as Childe?

The overwhelming amount of available information has not made European prehistory easier. The problems of 1925 are by no means solved. Instead, there are many more. All this has had to be made as clear as possible within almost the same limited space. So, in my opinion, Dawn in its latest form is rather difficult to read. Some marvellous broad-outline sketches in the first edition have had to be replaced by rather intricate analysis: for instance, one remembers with regret some general reflections on the role of the Danubian countries in European prehistory, to mention just one of several comparably stimulating pages which were in the first edition, but are not in the last.

But there are other trends to be observed. One of them is the increasing insertion of interpretations of the evidence of finds, in terms of social and economic history, the hypothetical character of which must be understood but is seldom mentioned explicitly by the author.

Of deeper importance is a change in Childe's way through prehistoric Europe. As in 1925, after a mesolithic prelude he starts a long journey from the Near East to the British Isles. But the road between has changed. Though the different chapters have similar headings to those of earlier editions, they are arranged in another way. The 1925 reader of Dawn was first introduced to the Mediterranean world, from east to west, ending on the Iberian peninsula. Then he had to begin again in the east, this time north of the Black Sea, and through Scandinavian and Alpine digressions finally arrived in Great Britain. So two east-to-west movements were achieved, one in the south and one in the north.

After 30 years, different roads have to be followed. From the eastern Mediterranean world, the Black Sea region is reached, and from there northern and north-eastern Europe. After this eastern profile from north to south comes an analogy in Western and Central Europe. Of course, such a change in the plan of the work reflects a change in the general picture given. For instance, the earliest history of Occidental Europe is now seen more as one entire whole than in 1925, against a rather different east and north European background. This is of importance also for Childe's main thesis. For there is a thesis, concerning the development and existence of a special European civilization in the prehistoric periods covered by Dawn. This civilization should be characterized by a 'startling tempo of progress', and a diversity, partly as a result of 'possibilities of comparison and free choice'.

Even a reader who is not fully convinced that future research in non-European areas will allow this idea to remain unchanged, cannot avoid being deeply impressed by the ingenuity and monumentality of this construction. And monumental is the sequence of old and new, a veritable crescendo of Childe's work, and it has held its position, always met with respect or admiration, even if not everywhere with acceptance. It does not seem probable that any one else will be able to give us a picture of European prehistory comparable to Dawn. In this respect, V. Gordon Childe might be seen somewhat paradoxically as one of the last representatives of the heroic earlier generation of wide-ranging, all-round archaeologists, whose work he has done so much to replace in a positive way.

CARL-AXEL MOBERG


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This book is a welcome addition to the literature on Neandertal man, and is of particular interest as it is one of the few adequate descriptions of a Neandertal child. At present there are remains of ten children of Neandertal affinity described, but few are as detailed as this. Fragments of three children are known from Skhul, two from Krapina, and one each from Engis, La Quina, Gibraltarr and Teshik-Tash as well as Pech de l'Azé. Further fragmentary remains are reported from Kiik-Koba and Djebel Kazzech, but about the latter nothing is known, though they were discovered over 20 years ago.

Professor Patte's book describes the reconstructed skull, mandible and teeth of a 2-3-year-old child discovered by Peyrony in a Mousterian context at Pech de l'Azé in the Dordogne, in 1905. The description is detailed and complete, and like much of the author's most scholarly work, it is difficult to discover the salient points without minute examination of the whole text; but as a descriptive record, it can only be criticized for its lack of adequate figures. No publication of such important fossil Hominid material is complete without life-size drawings and sections, and the few small figures which are crammed onto the final page are most inadequate. The plates are clear but again too small.

There is one factor which must be considered in a publication of this kind, and that is the extent of distortion of the fossil bones, and the accuracy of the reconstruction of the skull. In this instance the author has accepted an earlier reconstruction without comment, and judging from the plates it would seem that either the bones are distorted or the reconstruction inaccurate, yet this important fact receives little comment in the text.

Notwithstanding this fact, however, it seems clear that this particular child's skull, like all those now known, has a less extreme Neandertaloid morphology than the west European adult members of the group, and approximates in certain features to modern man. This characteristic is important, and it seems a pity that with the material and time that the author clearly had to hand, he did not attempt a wider and more complete comparison with the other Neandertal children listed above; for a synthesis of Neandertal ontogeny would be of value in itself, and could throw important light on Neandertal phylogeny. The morphological evidence at present suggests that the current theory of the aberrance of H. neanderthalensis from the main stream of evolution leading to H. sapiens is likely to prove correct.

A description of a 2-3-year-old child's mandibular fragment from a Mousterian site at Chateauneuf-sur-Charente is added as a final section to the book. This is another useful addition to the data on Neandertal ontogeny.

BERNARD CAMPBELL


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This study can be regarded as a pioneer one in that it is the first attempt at a comprehensive analysis of the coloured communities in Britain. Coloured in Dr. Collins's sense means African, West Indian and Asian. A division is made between specifically Negro communities and those which are Moslem and Chinese. The areas in which the investigation was conducted were Lancashire, Tyneside and Wales. The pattern of development appears to be similar in each case—the first wave of immigration occurring prior to the 1914 war and consisting mainly of seamen. This pattern persisted into the between-the-wars period. Since then the development has been of a different order. Although seamen still constitute the "Old Timers", as they are known, the immigrants since the last war exhibit a pattern of skilled and unskilled labour drawn from ex-members of the armed forces, and, in the case of the West Indians, individuals who have been attracted to Britain.
by economic opportunities lacking in the Caribbean. Originally immigration was almost entirely male but the post-war stream has consisted of both men and women. This fact has changed the character of many of the original settlements.

The author rightly emphasizes that conflict exists not only between the coloured groups and the surrounding whites, but between the ‘Old Timers’ and the newcomers. What is perhaps of greater significance is that the discrimination and system of colour gradings which is characteristic of American Negro society is to be found in embryo in Britain. There are naturally differences. For example, whereas it is virtually impossible for a white-coloured couple to remove themselves from a Negro community in the United States, this is an ordinary occurrence on Tyneside. The result is that such couples and their children tend to be absorbed in white society.

Although all the groups considered have certain features in common, such as the lack of skill or a seafaring background, there are important distinctions between them. One, which the author considers fundamental, is in the field of religion. In the case of West Indians the overwhelming majority is Christian whereas Arab and Somali immigrants are invariably Muslim. The chapter which Dr. Collins devotes to the analysis of the role of religion in Muslim community life brings out the importance of this factor in creating integration in a community. The use of tribal languages and the persistence of tribal associations distinguish the Africans from the West Indians. In a similar manner the Chinese language and Secret Society serve to create a degree of separateness from other immigrants and whites. What emerges from a consideration of such differences is that the opportunities for assimilation in both a racial and social sense are much greater for the West Indian as he possesses the advantage of a common language with the host country, and a great similarity of custom and idea.

The author is to be congratulated on a lucid exposition of the social framework of coloured minorities in Britain. It is to be hoped that he will extend the field of his researches to London which presents somewhat different problems from those which he has discussed.

FERNANDO HENRIQUES


One of the most important duties of a regional folk museum is to collect material relating to the crafts and industries of the area that it serves. The value of this work is greatly enhanced when it is made available to a much wider public than casual visitors to the museum. Unfortunately, owing to the lack of funds, few regional museums have published any books or catalogues relating to their collections, but the Corporation of Luton Museum is one of the few that has done so. Some time ago, the Curator, Charles Freeman, wrote an excellent booklet on Luton and the Hat Industry; now he has written a companion volume on the other great East Midlands industry, pillow lace-making. The handbook is very attractively produced and contains a wealth of photographs and line drawings.

The first section is devoted to a brief account of the history of lace-making in the region and the author deals with such topics as the earnings of lace-makers, the marketing of their produce and the growth of the ‘lace schools.’ The second section is devoted to a detailed description of the methods of manufacturing lace in Bedfordshire and the adjoining counties. With the aid of illustrations, of actual examples in the Luton Museum, the author describes the various types of lace and the working in which they are made. He describes in detail the tools and equipment required in the craft and he devotes a number of pages to a valuable classification of bobbins. The handbook is excellent value and can be thoroughly recommended to anyone interested in the subject of British ethnography.

J. G. JENKINS


This volume is a notable contribution to North European studies. It is also of general interest in its discussion of ecology and settlement patterns, and of the sequence of changes by which a socially autonomous ‘peasant’ population is drawn into full participation in a complex modern society.

The ethnology of Finnmark, Norway’s most northerly Province, is fascinating and confusing. Three main ethnic groups are present; Norwegians, Lapps and Finns, the Lapps being subdivided according to their traditional ecologies into Mountain Lapps, Coast Lapps and River Lapps. Mr. Paine provides the first detailed analysis of the social system of a Coast Lapp group, setting their condition in the frame of a broader discussion of the sociology and history of Finnmark. His account is based on 14 months’ fieldwork in 1951-53, supplemented by extensive use of literary sources and by analyses of parish registers for information on marriage and settlement patterns in past generations.

The book describes the changing economy, settlement patterns and social relations of the inhabitants of Revsbotn fjord over 300
years, paying, however, special attention to events following the cessation of the Russian (Pomoar) trade which was crucial in the economy of Northern Norway from the middle of the eighteenth century until it ended abruptly in 1917. The Coast Lapps were traditionally migratory hunters and fishers practising some subsidiary stock-raising, with reindeer, sheep and goats. They were never economically fully self-sufficient, but for the period of the Russian trade specialized to an increasing extent in summer fishing and relied on the profits of this to support an apparently uneconomic pastoralism. Following the collapse of the Russian trade they gradually adapted themselves to a mixed economy of fishing and settled smallholding agriculture, their settlements first forming dispersed neighbourhood areas but ultimately, and especially since the Second World War, showing a tendency towards a consolidated village pattern. Mr. Paine’s analysis of the factors leading to a change-over to village settlement and the implications of this change in terms of kinship and of the relationship of the community to the outside world is particularly valuable. As the title implies, the book deals with ‘neighbourhood,’ i.e. inter- and extra-familial relationships; a second volume is to deal with family structure as such.

Unfortunately, in spite of its very real merit and originality, this is not an easy book to read. It is repetitive and somewhat over-weighted with generalized theoretical discussion, while the English is not always Oxford. Mr. Paine commits an unexpected heresy in his use of the term ‘agnate’. Also one regrets the limited use of flesh-and-blood ethnographical documentation, particularly since those incidents and comments which the author does report in extenso are interesting and apposite. But perhaps we may hope for more of this in subsequent publications. The Troms Museum authorities are to be congratulated on the hospitable encouragement which they gave Mr. Paine in his field research and in their publication of this volume.

RALPH BULMER


The customs of the ‘twelve days of Christmas’ are dealt with under four heads. The first is customs similar to those of our ‘wakes’ and Wassailers. Next come personifications. It seems that Father Christmas is now becoming general, and is replacing earlier gift-bringers such as the Child Jesus and St. Nicholas. For the latter’s gifts children in parts of Northern France put their shoes on the hearth, with a little fodder for his ass.

The third section deals with bonfires and torches. A remarkable custom was that at Pernot, where on the eve of 6 January a bonfire was lighted on a cart and driven fast round the town. It was called the Belle Etoile, and if it burnt well presaged a good harvest.

The last section describes many customs and beliefs associated with the Yule log, none of which seems to be known in this country. It must be of a special wood, usually of a fruit tree; it must burn for so long; presages are drawn from it; if sat on it inflicts boils; it produces sweets for the children; the Virgin comes to sit by it.

Most of the customs mentioned in the book are observed to some extent, but all are tending to die out.

The volume opens with a photograph and an appreciation of the distinguished editor, who died on 7 May, 1957, aged 84.

RAGLAN


This well written and interesting book describes every aspect of peasant life as it was lived in the past, and gives some account of recent changes. Most of the customs are similar to those general in Europe, but there are some exceptions. At the Lenten Carnival the young men, under their ‘king,’ engaged in dances and processions in the course of which women in general were coarsely reviled, and those found in the street were made to ‘kiss the horns.’ Action of various kinds was taken against girls considered haughty or loose, and against husbands accused of being cuckolded or henepecked. In Roussillon things were carried further, the girls being pelted with filth if caught having their faces smeared with lampblack. The whole tone of the proceedings was, as the author says, misogynous in the extreme, and forms a striking contrast to the May festivities, in which, as elsewhere, there was extravagant praise of women and love.

The author, like other French folklorists, realizes that folklore is not of folk origin. Current superstitions are found in Pliny; songs and tales are the products of medieval chivalry; folk remedies are found in the writings of seventeenth-century physicians. Most of the old customs have now disappeared, and the old games have been replaced by football in the eastern half of Languedoc Association is played, and in the western half Rugby.

The chapter on houses, which are of various types, includes 27 pages of drawings and plans.


Nobody could have written a better book on Swiss houses and landscapes than Professor Weiss, of Zürich, the champion of the view that folklore is the study of the interrelationships between man and nature, and also between man and objects. The diverse Swiss landscape, climate and humidity determine agriculture, cattle-breeding, vine-growing, large farms and smallholdings, as well as the different types of houses. The author, who deals mainly with the houses from 1600 to 1900, shortly explains the following three modern theories: no features can be traced back further than the Late Middle Ages or early modern times. At that period scarcely inhabited parts of the country were occupied by isolated farmers. The material of the house, whether wood or stone, depended entirely upon plentiful supply and easy accessibility.

The house, man’s most durable possession, reveals in many respects his position in his native country, his family life and hospitality, and also his attitude towards his possessions and domestic animals. The fundamental difference between the villagers and the inhabitants of lonely farmsteads is brilliantly sketched (pp. 293ff). Whereas the various languages spoken in Switzerland have no bearing on the style of the houses, the influence of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism is very noticeable. Roman Catholicism has created what the author calls a ‘Sarkalandschaft’ (pp. 318ff).

Interesting minor features are the long wooden poles erected to protect the roof by breaking the gusts of wind (fig. 29), the ‘soul window’ which used to be opened when somebody died (fig. 506) and the ‘Brennentafeln,’ wooden boards which are each weekend still passed on to the family of the deceased to dry the basin of the communal well during the coming week (fig. 91b).

Owing to the part played by Helvetia mediaeavis, the author had to discuss types of houses well beyond the Swiss borders. Thus his book, admirably illustrated, may well be regarded as a standard work for Central Europe.

E. ETLINGER


The second volume of the popular songs from the Molise (see MAN, 1953, 1958) is edited by the son of the highly esteemed Italian folklorist. Although the late Eugenio Cirese had almost finished the collecting stage, new information and material became available and had to be incorporated. The final volume comprises songs for the New Year, Carnival, the month of May, processions, dances and masks, as well as local satires, moving laments and some 30 religious and secular narrative songs. The larger part of the book is devoted to the popular songs of the Albanian and Serbo-Croat settlers, which required copious explanatory notes. In view of the frequent inaccessibility of the sources, Signor Alberto Cirese’s compilation of these notes represents a formidable and most welcome achievement. His publication of the tunes is now eagerly awaited.

E. ETLINGER
(a-d) Stones at Itinta
(e-i) Stones at Ibrigion
Photographs: J. H. Jennings

SCULPTURED STONES IN THE MID CROSS RIVER AREA, NIGERIA
A NOTE ON SCULPTURED STONES IN THE MID CROSS RIVER AREA OF SOUTH-EAST NIGERIA*

by

MISS ROSEMARY L. HARRIS
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177 The accompanying photographs† were taken at the village of Itinta, in the Atam village group, and in the nearby forest reserve of Ikrigon in the Nnam village group. Both these groups were formerly in Obubra District, but they are in the process of being transferred to the Ikom District. The quality of the workmanship and the rarity of such an art form in this region gives these sculptured stones considerable interest. I was able to visit each of these sites only once, when it was impossible to study them properly, but I hope that this brief account drawn mainly from unpublished sources may be of some value as a record.

Partridge gives the best hitherto published account of these stones. He mentions the occurrence of carved stones at Etingtinga (Itinta), Agba, Insemi (Abinti Nsene) and Anopp (which I cannot locate exactly on a modern map). All these places lie close together a little to the east of the Ayawong Creek, between the Cross River and the Bansara Creek (see fig. 1). Outside this area he found single stones

stones. Most of those that I saw there were about four feet high, but an unpublished report on the Atam ‘Clan,’ by N. A. C. Weir, which discusses Itinta in some detail, includes a sketch of a stone five feet tall, and Partridge measured one here five feet nine inches high, and noted that the stones at these villages were in general bigger than those elsewhere. Certainly the stones at Ikrigon were smaller. Here there were about 15 examples of which nine were in a good state of preservation. Of these eight were upright and varied in height from three feet five inches to four feet six inches. A fallen stone had a total length of five feet eight inches, but nearly 10 inches of this must formerly have been sunk in the ground. In circumference the stones varied from just over three feet to just over six feet. The shortest (three feet five inches) had a girth of six feet one inch.

From Partridge’s descriptions and as these photographs show it would seem that there is a strong similarity in general form and style between the stones wherever they are found. They are alike in that each one represents the head and torso of a human figure. There are of course differences in detail, particularly in the amount of attention given to facial markings, but as such cicatization in this area today is more the result of passing fashion than an important feature of group identification, this is not perhaps surprising.

Other differences in style, especially the apparent difference between the elongated forms shown in Plate Gb, c and the shorter broader type in a, e, g, are probably due mainly to differences in the materials at the artist’s disposal, which appear to have been boulders drawn from the local river beds. Perhaps the most important difference in style, because it shows the control of the workman over his medium, is the degree to which the design has been either incised into the stone (i), or left in relief by the removal of the surrounding surface (h). Such differences of style, however, occur at one site and they cannot therefore be linked with particular areas.

Almost all these figures are alike in two ways. First they strongly emphasize the beard. Secondly they show the navel but not the genital organs (the only possible exception that I found to this rule being the stone in Plate Gg). This is a surprising trait, particularly when these stones are considered in relation to modern wooden carvings and mud reliefs. It would suggest that these figures had primarily a memorial significance and were not connected with fertility cults (unless indeed the stones themselves are to be regarded as phallic).

This suggestion is to some extent borne out by other facts, although it is very difficult to discover the original purpose of these stones, and today they appear to have

* With Plate G and a text figure

Fig. 1. Sketch map of part of the Mid Cross River Area, Nigeria

(with one exception he found them more crudely carved)

among a few villages in the Mbebe groups of Osopong and Okum, and in the village of Okuni near Ikom, but on my visits to these places I failed to discover these examples.

In addition it seems that a cluster of stones may be found at the village of Abuntak Esam in the Akajuk village group of Ogoja District. At Itinta with its two neighbouring villages of Okurambang and Nevorokpa, there are at least 40 sculptured

† With Plate G and a text figure

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little ritual significance. When I visited Itinta one of the stones (Plate Ge) had clearly been used for sacrificial purposes, since the small stone resting on the top was marked with blood and chicken feathers, but the report on the Atam clan says that at the time of writing, in the early nineteen-thirties, no sacrifices appeared to be taking place; and I certainly saw no signs of sacrifices having been recently connected with the stones at Ikriogn. At the time when Partridge was writing, at the beginning of the century, periodic offerings of food were made before the stones in most villages, in connexion with the ancestral cult, but even Partridge met with considerable vagueness as to why the figures were made or who made them and he met no one who knew the art of stone-carving.

He was told that the stones had been made by the people's forefathers, or possibly by God. To Weir it was suggested that they might be the work either of their forefathers or of the Tiv, but this latter suggestion appears to have been made only because the people saw some resemblance between the facial marks of the stones and those of the Tiv, who come regularly into this area as farm labourers.

Despite this vagueness, those traditions that have been recorded seem to agree that the stones are connected with the graves of important men, and so support the deductions that can be made from their style. Partridge was told in Agba that each stone represented a former head chief; while according to the Atam Report, the people of Itinta say that it was their custom to bury important people in the bush and they claim that some of the stones mark the graves of named chiefs. The report also says that although the majority of the people thought that the spirit of a dead man remained in the world of the Dead, a few held that the spirit returned after a period to live in stones.6

Although the possibility must not be overlooked that these sculptured stones may have had originally a completely different purpose, it is interesting to note that to credit them with having some funerary significance would be quite compatible with the present practices and beliefs of local groups. In the first place through much of Ogoja Province many local groups have as their heads priest-chiefs whose burials are frequently surrounded by highly organized rituals which differentiate them from the rest of their communities. It is particularly noticeable that these office-holders are very frequently buried in the bush. At present in the area under discussion it is the general practice for people to be buried outside the settlements, but in the area to the south and west, where such burials are normally the fate only of the socially valueless and the unclean, certain important priest-chiefs are nevertheless buried in graves in the bush. It is a curious fact however that while today in the areas to the south and west graves are seldom ostentatiously marked, east of the Awayong Creek, although the people are no more sophisticated than their Mbembe neighbours, graves are frequently decorated with rococo monuments in concrete.

Nevertheless if it was indeed the ancestors of the present inhabitants of the area who carved these stones, the lack of interest that the people show in them today is striking. As I have said, I was able to find only one stone used at present for ritual purposes and in most cases visitors, even including Partridge, found many of the stones hidden in underground and apparently unregarded. The vagueness of the present traditions about the stones also suggests that they are unimportant to the people.

However even if a longer time in the area should reveal stronger traditions about the stones and their sculptors, the central problem would remain. This area of the Cross River appears to be one in which there has been for some considerable time easy movement of religious cults from one community to another, and a very free borrowing of the stylistic elements in ritual.7 Yet there developed here in this one small area an art form in a medium and a style that appears to have little connexion with surrounding areas and has left no living tradition today.

Notes
1 My acknowledgments are due to J. H. Jennings, Esq., of Enugu, for the photographs.
2 My thanks are due to J. Pollard, Esq., P.F.O., who told me of the Ikriogn figures and enabled me to see them.
3 Charles Partridge, Cross River Natives, 1905, pp. 269-277. For another account see P. A. Talbot, The Peoples of Southern Nigeria, 1926, Vol. II, pp. 347-50: 'The finest stone circle seen by me is in the country of the Nuamm at Nyerekpong, a few miles north of Atam ... It is about twenty-five yards in diameter, but only eight monoliths, composed of a shelly limestone, are now left, one of which has fallen ... The Nuamm stated they only knew under the name of Etal, "the Stones" ... They assured me that there are finer circles at Akokk [which Talbot equates with Partridge's Anogoo], a few miles to the east, in which the stones are bigger as well as better carved. Another ring, but of much smaller and uncut stones, is to be found at Ogomogon ... At Mandak in the Akaju country, it is stated that there are large stones sculptured with many faces. The chiefs of Atam informed me that there are circles of very well carved stones, about seven feet high, at Eting-naa a few miles distant—also at Ndoroakpe. They did not know who made them, but the Atam found them there on arrival and have been accustomed from time immemorial to sacrifice yams, palm-oil, salt and fowls to their ancestors at this spot ... The Olulumma said that at Mfam on the Cross River there are eleven big stones, "made like man with hands and feet joined to the side," mostly in the water, while in the bush near by at a place three hours from Agbokkum are three circles of stones, one of them life size but the others about three feet high, with hands and heads, made by Evurukpabi (God) ... Mr. Nutton ... informed me that in the Akparabong region there is a village, which is nearly surrounded by three rows of large monoliths rudely carved into human shape. A photograph of one of the Nyerekpong stones faces p. 348; further stones in neighbouring areas are mentioned.
4 An unpublished report on the Akajuk Clan by A. T. J. Marsh mentions large monoliths at the villages of Abunam Esam and Era. I was unable to visit these sites myself and therefore cannot say whether these stones are in fact of the same type as those illustrated or whether they correspond to the 'crude' outlying stones described by Partridge.
5 Partridge, op. cit., p. 269.
6 This remark may be viewed with some scepticism. Nevertheless there is today in this area a widespread connexion of stones with ritual practices. In particular ancestral shrines are usually formed of collections of small stones (six inches to a foot in length.)
7 There are numerous traditions in this area of short-distance movements from village to village, but there are no recorded traditions of long-distance migrations.
VARIATIONS IN THE FREQUENCY OF THE BASAL METOPIC SUTURE

by

PROFESSOR H. BUTLER and H. R. WATSON-BAKER

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Staurenghi (1896) investigated the size and frequency of medially directed outgrowths from the medial border of the frontal bones which obtrude between the jugum of the sphenoid and the cribiform plate of the ethmoid (fig. 1A and B). He called this projection the antosphenoid process of the frontal bone and found it in 62 per cent. of a collection of skulls of Mediterranean people. These skulls could be arranged in a series showing a gradual reduction in the distance separating the tips of the antosphenoid processes and this led him to search for examples of meeting in the midline, which he named the basal metopic or fronto-basal suture (fig. 1C). In 675 skulls examined he found only four such sutures, a frequency of 0.5 per cent. Later investigators have examined the frequency of this suture in various collections of skulls and, with one exception (Butler, 1949), have found that it is uncommon (Bovero and Sperino, 1896; le Double, 1903; Murphy, 1956).

It has now been possible to repeat Butler's (1949) observations on a further collection of 39 skulls from Bengal and also to examine 100 skulls from East Africa for the frequency of the antosphenoid process and the basal metopic suture.

Observations

(a) A further 39 skulls from Bengal were examined, by direct observation of the anterior cranial fossa, for the presence of antosphenoid processes and basal metopic sutures. Direct measurements of the cranial capacity, using mustard seed, were made by a technique as nearly as possible identical with that used in the original series. Ten skulls with a basal metopic suture were found and the relevant details are summarized in Table IA; Table IB summarizes comparable data for the six previously recorded specimens (Butler, 1949).

Table I. Details of Bengal skulls with a basal metopic suture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Cephalic index</th>
<th>Gnathic index</th>
<th>Cranial capacity (c.c.)</th>
<th>A/P length of suture (mm.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A, Present series</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>1070</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1080</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>101.5</td>
<td>1120</td>
<td>3.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>18–20</td>
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<td>101</td>
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<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>6.0</td>
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<td>18–20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>25–30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1030</td>
<td>5.0</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>98</td>
<td>950</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1050</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>25–30</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* With a text figure and three tables

B, Previous series (Butler, 1949)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Cephalic index</th>
<th>Gnathic index</th>
<th>Cranial capacity (c.c.)</th>
<th>A/P length of suture (mm.)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25–30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>1246</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12–14</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1126</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1397</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1413</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25–30</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1033</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two groups of skulls were purchased from the same source. The main characteristics of the original group of 25 skulls were defined as follows:

(i) The cephalic index ranged from 61 to 81; 19 of them had a cephalic index of 75 or less;
(ii) The gnathic (alveolar) index ranged from 90 to 107; 14 had an index below 98 and in 10 it was between 98 and 103;
(iii) The cranial capacity varied from 907 to 1414 cubic centimetres with an average of 1182 c.c.; 23 skulls were microcephalic, i.e., had a capacity below 1350 c.c.;
(iv) Certain dental characteristics, viz. large size of the teeth and marked protrusion of the incisors and canines; presence of the third molar in all specimens of sufficient age; signs of attrition of the premolars and molars at an early age and staining due to the chewing of betel nut;
(v) Characteristic features of the anterior cranial fossa, viz. relatively small anterior cranial fossa; a large crista galli; well marked upward convexity of the orbital plates of the frontal bones and, consequently, a sunken appearance of the cribiform plate.

Fig. 1. Diagram of sutural patterns in the anterior cranial fossa.

A, the usually depicted pattern with a broad sphenoid-ethmoidal suture.
B, the most commonly found pattern with antosphenoid processes encroaching on the base of the ethmoid spine of the sphenoid.
C, meeting of the antosphenoid processes to form the basal metopic suture.

The two groups of skulls show good agreement in the recorded metric characters with the exception of the cephalic index; the second group contains a higher proportion of mesatecephalic skulls. The two groups also agree well in respect of the non-metric characters, but again there is one exception. Nine of the 39 skulls of the second group showed delay in the eruption of one or more third molars. Furthermore, both groups show the same high frequency of the basal metopic suture, 24.0 per cent. and 25.6 per cent. respectively.

Both groups of skulls contained a number of specimens with obliteration of the sutural pattern in the anterior cranial fossa. In the original account of the Bengal skulls...
(Butler, 1949) this was not allowed for in calculating the frequency of the antesignenoid processes and basal metopic sutures. Correction will be made for this to facilitate comparison with other investigators’ figures; the effect of this correction on both groups of Bengal skulls is shown in Table II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table II. Frequency of Antesignenoid Processess and Basal Metopic Suture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antesignenoid processes Crude %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A, Bengal skulls: Previous series (Butler, 1949)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B, East African skulls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Through the courtesy of Professor A. Galloway one of us (H.B.) was able to make a less detailed examination of 100 skulls from the collection of ‘East African’ skeletal material in the Anthropological Collection of the Department of Anatomy, Makerere College, Uganda. Four examples of the basal metopic suture were found but 34 of the skulls had their suture pattern obliterated, thus giving a corrected frequency of 6o per cent. for the basal metopic suture and 83°o per cent. for the antesignenoid processes (Table II).

Discussion

The precise ethnic classification of the Bengal skulls is not known, but both groups of skulls were purchased from the same source and, in view of the substantial agreement in metric and non-metric characters, the two are regarded as one homogeneous group for purposes of comparison with other collections of skulls. Similarly, the East African skulls do not represent a pure ethnic group but are derived from a mixture of people reflecting the social pattern of migrant labour in Kampala (Allbrook, 1953). The two groups of Mediterranean skulls examined by Stauerreghi (1895) and Bovoer and Sperino (1896) are also probably of mixed racial origin and only the skulls of Australian aboriginals (Murphy, 1956) may be regarded as having a pure racial origin. Hence the available figures only permit the comparison of the frequency of antesignenoid processes and basal metopic sutures in various groups of skulls and in different races of mankind. Table III summarizes the available figures and, with one possible exception (Stauerreghi, 1895), they are corrected for obliteration of suture pattern. The extremely low frequency of basal metopic sutures recorded by Stauerreghi suggests that he had not made this correction, but, on the other hand, the frequency of antesignenoid processes is near to other corrected figures.

More or less well developed antesignenoid processes, either unilateral or bilateral, are found in more than half the skulls examined (50°o to 86°o per cent.). Thus the sutural pattern shown in fig. 1B is most commonly encountered and that in fig. 1A, the one commonly depicted in textbooks of anatomy. Extreme development of the antesignenoid processes produces the basal metopic suture, but there is apparently no correlation between the frequency of the two structures (Table III).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table III. Frequency of Antesignenoid Processes and Basal Metopic Suture in Various Groups of Skulls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Origin of skulls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stauerreghi (1896)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bovoer and Sperino (1896)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murphy (1956)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butler (1949) plus present series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present series</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* It is not clear whether Stauerreghi corrected for fused sutural patterns or not.

The frequency of the basal metopic suture ranges from 0°5 per cent. to 27°5 per cent. and we agree with Murphy (1956) that it cannot be regarded as ‘extremely rare’ (Wood Jones, 1929). The significance of the marked difference in the two groups of Mediterranean skulls, viz. 0°5 per cent. (Stauerreghi, 1895) and 3°5 per cent. (Bovoer and Sperino, 1896), cannot be evaluated because it is not known for certain whether the former author had compensated for those skulls with obliteration of the suture pattern.

The frequencies of the basal metopic suture fall into two groups: (a) those below 10°o per cent.: Mediterranean, Australian aboriginal and East African; (b) those above 20°o per cent.: Bengal and ‘Negro.’ The small group of ‘Negro’ skulls examined by Bovoer and Sperino (1896) are of very doubtful statistical significance since their number was small (17) and they appeared to be of very mixed origin. The four positive specimens are described as an Abyssinian child, a Bushman from Central Africa, a Negro from Joppa and one of unknown origin. The East African skulls are of mixed ethnic origin but are predominantly negroid and the figures suggest that, in respect of frequency of the basal metopic suture, they do not differ markedly from the Mediterranean or Australian aboriginal skulls. In this respect it is noteworthy that Allbrook (1953), as a result of his investigations into the variability of the vertebral column of this East African material, concluded that the statement that African material shows extreme variability needs modification.

The Bengal skulls clearly stand out from all other skulls examined for frequency of the basal metopic suture with a frequency of 27°5 per cent. and this must be regarded as a specific characteristic of these skulls. There does not appear to be any correlation of this feature with age, cephalic or gnathic index, but when the two groups are considered together there does appear a sex correlation in so far as the suture is found in 34°o per cent. of male
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. The frequency of anterioseptoid processes and basal metopic suture has been recorded in a further group of Bengal skulls and in East African skulls.

2. Both groups of Bengal skulls show similar frequencies of both these characters and there is general agreement in the other metric and non-metric characters. These skulls show the highest frequency of the basal metopic suture (27.5 per cent.) found in any group of skulls so far examined.

3. There is no correlation between the frequency of anterioseptoid processes and the basal metopic suture despite the fact that this suture is the result of extreme development of the anterioseptoid processes. The figures suggest that this suture is twice as common in males as in females.

4. The East African skulls show a high frequency of the anterioseptoid process (83.0 per cent.) but a low frequency of the basal metopic suture (8.0 per cent.).

AN ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE GUSII INITIATION CYCLE

by

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179 The annual initiation ceremonies of the Gusii of south-western Kenya have been described by Philip Mayer ('Ekeigoroigoro: A Gusii Rite of Passage,' MAN, 1953, 2, and 'Gusii Initiation Ceremonies,' J.R. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. LXXXIII (1953), pp. 9-36). The purpose of the present paper 1 is to report an abortive vision-inspired attempt to modify these rites in January, 1957, and to analyse the factors which determined its failure. Particular attention will be paid to the political significance of the attempted culture change, as an instance of informal 'legislative processes' in a stateless primitive society.

The Gusii, a Bantu-speaking people of more than 260,000, combine agriculture and pastoralism in the fertile highlands of South Nyanza District. Although fairly progressive agriculturalists, they are behind other Kenya Bantu tribes in westernization, owing partly to isolation and partly to cultural conservatism. One of the major foci of this conservatism is the initiation cycle, involving genital operations for boys and girls which serve now as in the past to distinguish the Gusii from their Luo neighbours who do not circumcise. Although missionary activity 2 and the use of European clothing have altered the ritual content of initiation to some extent, and school attendance limits its duration for some boys, there has been no general trend against initiation in Gusiioland, no long-term indication that its universality and cultural significance have been impaired.

The ceremonies, conducted by non-political personnel in each local unit, are performed in the autumn just after the harvest. Female rites generally precede male. In 1956 girls who were initiated in the communities studied were eight years old on the average, and boys ten to twelve. Considerable importance is attached to the amount of courage displayed during the genital operation, as disgrace and lifelong bad luck are believed to result from crying out or running away. This requirement is more difficult for boys, who must stand by themselves during circumcision, than for girls, who are held down tightly in the lap of an elder woman for clitoridectomy. A child must exhibit a certain amount of maturity and sense before his parents will allow him to be initiated, although the strong desire for initiation is itself taken as a sign of such maturity. Parents look for feminine competence, indicated by cooking and grinding, in a girl, and sexual modesty and self-reliance, indicated by sleeping outside his mother's house, in a boy. After the genital operation, seclusion, and coming-out ceremony, the initiate is no longer considered a child but is an adult with specified kinship obligations. Most important among these are the proper attitudes of respect and avoidance towards elders. In addition, initiated girls, young as they are, begin grooming themselves for marriage, and initiated boys seek employment or attend school, and live in houses apart from their parents. There is an age hierarchy such that initiated boys and girls may command the uninitiated, and the latter must not insult the initiated under pain of parental punishment. Thus initiation plays an important part in ordering the life of the Gusii individual and his relations with others.

In the autumn of 1956 Gusii initiation ceremonies were carried on as usual. They began in early October in western Gusiioland and were performed as late as December in the most culturally orthodox areas of eastern Gusiioland. Christmas, which has become a drinking feast even among pagan Gusii and which closes the initiation season throughout Gusiioland, was celebrated as usual. On 8 January I
returned from a one-week trip to Uganda and was told by a Gusi neighbour that the initiation of children had been resumed. He said that a youth of the MwaBogonko lineage who was bicycling past a river called Echarachani which divides Getutu from North Mugirango (two of the three most orthodox Gusi tribes), saw three old men with long hair sitting in the middle of the river drinking beer. They beckoned to him; he did not want to approach them but they insisted. In the river the old men offered him a drinking tube and asked if his father were alive. When he answered yes they told him to bring his father and insisted that he leave his bicycle at the river to insure his return. The youth brought his father to drink with the old men, who said to the father:

We are tired of living in the water. You tell the people of MwaBogonko and Getutu to resume circumcision of their children and continue until weeding time (April–June), then stop. After that do not circumcise children for nine years. This is to give us, the people of the water, a chance to circumcise our own children. Go tell all people in Gusiland to obey that rule.

The old men then disappeared, and father and son spread the story in Getutu. Substantially the same story became current in the other culturally orthodox Gusi tribes (Nyaribari, and North Mugirango); one version included as an additional detail the idea that any children circumcised during the nine-year period would die.

The mention of MwaBogonko in the story is politically significant. MwaBogonko is a large, shallow localized lineage in Getutu, largest of the seven Gusi tribes. Bogonko, founder of the lineage, was a greatly renowned hero of the eighteenth century and the more dominant of two political leaders (abakumi, sing. omokumi) of Getutu. When British administrators originally selected a chief for Getutu, Bogonko’s heirs were passed over in favour of the lineage of the present chief, who is still quietly resented in MwaBogonko. A pan-tribal pagan cult known as ‘Mumbo-ism,’ suppressed by the Government about 40 years ago, had considerable popular support in MwaBogonko, and it is thus not unprecedented for this discontented lineage to be involved in the origin of a radical cultural innovation.

Three elements in the vision story would make it particularly plausible to the Gusi. (1) The order for cultural innovation came from river spirits depicted as old men living in a world of their own. Gusi ancestor spirits are also conceived of as living apart at a place in Getutu but with no form or substance, ‘like wind.’ The men in the story appear to be a composite of ancestor spirits and living lineage elders, both of whom wield supernatural sanctions and are respected by the Gusi. (2) The area in which the vision took place has historical significance for the Gusi people. Getutu, especially in MwaBogonko, is a traditional source of cultural innovations. The heroes of Getutu are celebrated in myth and song in many parts of Gusiland, and it is regarded as the region where Gusi military success and civil leadership reached their greatest heights in pre-British days. Furthermore, visions have been experienced at that particular river before. In 1940 the river overflowed its banks in an extraordinary manner, sweeping away water mills and killing a woman. Soon after, someone reported having seen Hitler there, and held him accountable for the disaster. (The recruitment of Gusi men into the King’s African Rifles to fight in Ethiopia made them aware of the war in Europe.) Thus Getutu in general, and the river Echarachani in particular, constitute a likely area for culturally significant visions. (3) Informants claimed that a similar order had been issued in 1920, associated with the cult of ‘Mumbo-ism.’ Circumcision was to be suspended for several years (some say it was nine years then as in the present instance) while children were educated in special new religious ‘schools.’ Apparently circumcision was suspended, at least in Getutu and North Mugirango, for the year 1921. People were dissatisfied with this situation, however, and resumed initiation in 1922, when many children are said to have died in seclusion. Their deaths were attributed to the violation of Gusi custom in 1921. Thus, in spite of its previously disastrous supernatural consequences, the suspension of initiation ceremonies was a type of cultural innovation that had precedent in Gusi history. In summary, then, the 1957 story concerning the vision had considerable plausibility for the Gusi because of the power and prestige of the individuals ordering the innovation (ancestor-like elders), the tradition surrounding the place of origin of the vision, and the familiarity of the type of innovation ordered in the vision.

During the first two weeks of January, 1957, many people followed the supernatural instructions set forth in the vision. A circumciser of boys who lives in Nyaribari and is used by many residents of Getutu said that he was awakened on 1 January by some Getutu people with boys they wanted circumcised. He told them that circumcision was finished for the year, but they said, ‘Things have happened in Getutu and we are beginning to circumcise again.’ He did it for them, and from then until at least 10 January, a few boys from the nearest Getutu clan had been coming to be circumcised every day. Many people, including neighbours, schoolboys, court elders, and a British agricultural officer, reported on 8 January that circumcision had been actively resumed in parts of Getutu and North Mugirango as well as in one sub-clan of Nyaribari. Getutu women singing traditional girls’ initiation songs could be heard as far as the Nyaribari boundary. Several informants claimed that women were participating in the procession and singing for boys’ initiation but no explanation could be given for this unprecedented behaviour. It appeared fairly certain that the initiates were somewhat younger than usual. It was said that ‘some girls are being forced but boys still have to stand by themselves’ during the genital operations.

During this period, when the movement was at its height, many rumours circulated. One was a naturalistic explanation for the origin of the movement. A man who had been living in the city with his family for many years, it was said, came home to Getutu after Christmas with five children all of whom were over age but uncircumcised. He found that he had arrived too late to have them circum-
cised but neighbours encouraged him to have it done anyway. According to this rumour, the story of the vision cropped up after this man had begun to have his children circumcised. It was not possible to determine whether or not this naturalistic explanation was true. Another rumour alleged that the Luo inhabitants of Kasipul near the border of Gusiiland had begun circumcising adult men and women. One informant stated that the Luo rationale for taking up circumcision, which is not customary with them, was that at the Kisumu meeting of 20 October, 1956, H.R.H. Princess Margaret had advocated circumcision for Luo men and women! I was not able to obtain accurate information about whether any circumcision did in fact occur among the Luo of Kasipul or not.

After 11 January it became evident that initiation was not spreading in Nyaribari and other tribes outside the original area: less talk was heard of its occurring anywhere. By 17 January, when I visited the place of origin of the movement in Getutu, it had completely died out and was of little interest to anyone. Although the instructions in the vision were to continue the circumcision and initiation ceremonies through the spring, there was no sign of such continuation then or subsequently. The vision-inspired movement had lasted less than three weeks and had failed to effect a lasting innovation in Gusii culture.

Had the orders of the envisioned elders been dutifully followed, important changes in Gusii culture and social relations might have ensued. Boys and girls well below the usual age might have been circumcised. Their failure to fulfil the kinship and other obligations of adult status could have substantially altered many of the current meanings of initiation for the child and his family. The age-grading of children would also be confused. On the other hand, if a sizable number of pre-pubertal boys and girls had waited the nine years to be circumcised, some of them would probably have indulged in sexual relations and given birth, violating the traditional rule that initiation must precede serious sexual activity. Since disturbances of these firmly established traditions would have demanded a re-definition of interpersonal behaviour in Gusii culture, the 'force of custom' was undoubtably one factor in preventing the adoption of the innovation.

To what factors other than cultural conservatism and inertia can the failure of the movement be attributed? In my opinion the most important deterrent was discouragement by the chiefs and other persons in positions of authority. In the Nyaribari tribe, among whom I was living, this was explicitly stated. Elders said that they would not follow the dictates of the vision until they were told by the Nyaribari chief that they should do so. The chief never gave such an order, and it became common knowledge that he had refused to permit some of his own sons to be circumcised at the unorthodox time. Consequently, the movement was not taken up in Nyaribari except in one sub-clan which has special affiliations with Getutu tribe and lives at the border. The chief of Getutu was quick to disparage the movement, but this could have been expected since it had originated in Mwabogonko, the lineage which contests his family's right to the chieftaincy. Furthermore, the Getutu chief is a young man with considerably less control over his location than the chief of Nyaribari. The position taken by the chief of North Mugirango is not known.

In general, the chiefs were opposed to the new movement because of its association with the 'Mumbo-ism' movement proscribed by the Government many years before. The chief of Getutu, when he heard of the vision, immediately characterized it as an attempt to bring back Mumbo-ism, and elders in other areas took a similar view. Since the chiefs are Government servants who pride themselves on their loyalty to the Kenya Government in an era which has seen the violent Mau Mau revolt against it in Kikuyuland, it is not surprising that they looked askance at a possible resurgence of a proscribed religious cult. Any rebellious movement not originated by the chiefs themselves would not only bring punishment from the administration but would also tend to undermine chiefly authority among the people. Furthermore it is possible that the chiefs saw the visionary instructions as a threat to the custom of circumcision.

Although chiefs of some centralized Southern Bantu kingdoms such as Zulu and Pondo abolished circumcision schools, at least in part because the schools were not entirely under their control, the custom bears a different relation to chiefly authority among the achronymous Gusii. Before the area came under Government control in 1907, the seven Gusii tribes were independent and mutually hostile agglomerations of clans; at present each one is an administrative 'location' with its own chief. Lacking a paramount chief, the Gusii locations are administered within a district which includes numerous Luo locations under the same District Commissioner and African District Council. The major forces integrating all the Gusii as a tribe under present circumstances are their distinctive language and culture rather than administrative separateness (which they very much desire). Foremost among the cultural practices common to all Gusii which mark them off from the Luo is circumcision. Therefore the chiefs, whose desire for Gusii unity has been frustrated in the political sphere, could not be expected to be friendly to a movement demanding the suspension of circumcision, an important cultural factor in tribal integration.

Despite these forces militating against chiefly acceptance of the innovation, one chief said that he would have advocated following the dictates of the old men if only the persons who saw the vision had come forward. The chief of Getutu inspected the place where the vision was alleged to have been seen, found no old men, and derided the whole idea. Other chiefs relegated the vision to the category of unsubstantiated rumour, but only when no one could be turned up who would admit to having seen it. Their respect for the sanctions of the ancestor spirits is such that they would not take the chance of refusing to obey their supernatural dictates if they received a plausible eyewitness report of the vision. No such report was ever made, even after chiefs and elders asked that the persons who saw the vision or started the story come forward. Thus, with a lack of any evidence that would have confirmed the
validity of the vision in their judgment, the chiefs were able to yield to their own impulses to reject the cultural innovation which they felt might endanger their positions and damage the tribal unity which they advocate.

The short-lived movement appears to have gone through two phases, in which (a) the plausibility of the vision and (b) the chiefly opposition to it, respectively, predominated. When the original story first circulated, its plausibility, for reasons stated above, impelled immediate belief, and the sanctions threatened for not following orders of the river spirits spurred people to action. Those parents who had their children circumcised at that time undoubtedly anticipated convincing confirmation of the vision story as well as widespread adoption of the innovation. Many in Getutu were willing to ignore the young chief’s opposition in favour of what they thought to be supernatural guidance.

As days passed without additional confirmation and without identification of the persons who saw the vision, people became more susceptible to influence by the negative sentiments emanating from the chiefs. This wavering of the original conviction had already begun when I visited a female circumciser in Getutu on 8 January. Though I had met her in October, the circumciser was very distrustful of me and denied flatly that circumcision had been resumed. A large crowd gathered to see me, as I had never visited this area before. Several months later, a woman who had been in the crowd told me that she had intended to have her little daughter circumcised until the day I visited to make enquiries. Although I asserted that I had no connexion with the Government and did not want to prevent people from doing anything, this woman said she sensed disapproval in my having come so far to investigate, and thus did not allow her child to undergo initiation. Remarks opposing the new movement were also attributed to the District Officer, although it is far from clear whether or not he actually made them. As people became increasingly sceptical and uncertain, they tended to impute their own feelings to persons of prestige or authority. Eventually the adverse opinions of the chiefs were taken up by local elders, and the movement faded away as rapidly as it had arisen.

A salient feature of the incidents described above is the strong orientation to authority figures. In Gusii thought and rumour on the subject of whether or not to adopt the change in initiation customs, persons of supernatural power, political authority and extraordinary prestige figured prominently: the ancestral elders of the river, the chiefs, the District Officer, H.R.H. Princess Margaret, the ethnographer. Opinions attributed to them were used on both sides of the issue, as the Gusii view decisions of this kind as being made by important individuals independent of general public opinion.

Chieftainship proved to be the crucial authority factor in the origin of the movement and in its ultimate failure. Its origins, though never entirely clarified, definitely involved MwaBogonko, the lineage descended from the greatest Gusii political leader of the period immediately preceding British administration. MwaBogonko people, frustrated by the appointment of a Government chief of Getutu from outside their own lineage, have on several occasions since 1907 indicated their general dissatisfaction with the status quo. Their early and enthusiastic support for Mumbo-ism, which had strong overtones of pan-tribalism, was followed by visionary activity at the River Echarachani of which the 1917 movement is but the latest example. While the British punitive expeditions of 1907 and 1914 and the firm suppression of Mumbo-ism convinced MwaBogonko elders of the dangers of direct attempts to alter the political situation, these later incidents may be viewed as furtive efforts to re-assert political ascendency through cultural innovation. In the failure of the most recent innovation to gain acceptance, chieftainship was also crucial.

Of the two locations on which there is information, the one in which chiefly authority was stronger was the one in which the new movement made less headway. In Nyanbiri Location, where the chief has ruled forcefully for 30 years, most people suspended personal action on the issue until they were able to determine the chief’s attitude towards the innovation. In Getutu, a sprawling location with a population (65,579 in the 1948 census) 30 per cent. greater than that of Nyanbiri and a young chief whose authority is not fully respected in all quarters, the movement spread quickly beyond the area of origin despite the overt and immediate negative reaction of the chief. Even in Getutu, however, the innovation did not have a backing of supernatural authority that was strong or credible enough to hold out against the will of the chief for more than a short time.

Thus, as the attempt to change the Gusii initiation cycle appears to have had its roots in a long-standing dispute over chieftainship, so the reactions to the innovation varied with the degree of political control of the chiefs involved. The ultimate failure of the movement indicates that chiefs are accorded primary decision-making power in contemporary Gusii society. This analysis suggests that a movement towards culture change may represent political discontent on the part of the innovating group and that behaviour directed towards the movement reveals the pattern of decision-making prevalent in the society. The use of authoritarian rather than democratic or communal processes in the resolution of the Gusii situation exemplifies one type of informal decision-making pattern which can prevail in societies lacking formal legislative institutions.

Notes

1 The field work reported herein was conducted in 1953–57 with the support of a fellowship grant from the Ford Foundation, and the present paper written in 1958 at Harvard University with the aid of a fellowship grant from the National Science Foundation. I wish to express gratitude for comments and criticism on this paper to John W. M. Whiting, Beatrice Whiting, J. L. Fisher, Walter B. Miller and Michael A. Ames.

The Teaching of Social Anthropology at Oxford.* By Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, M.A., Ph.D., Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford

The following table shows the number of students who sat for the Diploma in Anthropology examination, including a very occasional Certificate in Social Anthropology, and those registered for the degrees of B.Litt. (and B.Sc.) and D.Phil. between the years 1946 and 1958. Eight Recognized Students, foreign students attached to the University but not registered for a degree, are not included.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Diploma</th>
<th>B.Litt. (and B.Sc.)</th>
<th>D.Phil.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946-7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948-9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953-4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Approximate Annual Average 8 18 15 42

The above table does not, of course, give more than an indication of the total number of students who have worked in our Institute during the past 12 years, for many figure in different years under more than one heading or for more than one year under the same heading. Nor does it show accurately the number of awards made, for some candidates did not complete the course or failed to obtain their degrees. The actual awards during these years are 58 for the grade of B.Litt. and B.Sc. and 38 for that of D.Phil. Of the successful bachelor candidates, 15 went on to take the D.Phil. at Oxford and six (not included in the 38 total) at some other university. Twenty-three of the students awarded the D.Phil. were permitted, for various reasons, to proceed to that degree without taking the B.Litt. or B.Sc. first. Of the B.Litt. and B.Sc. students, 37 did not proceed any further at Oxford, or have not yet submitted their D.Phil. theses.

Of the 99 candidates who sat for the Diploma (including four for Certificates) 84 passed and 15 failed—eight outright, seven being awarded a Certificate though they sat for the Diploma. Of the 84 passes, 22 were awarded distinction. In other words, we have had during the past 12 years about eight candidates a year, with an average of seven passes (with about two distinctions) and rather over one failure or partial failure (awarded Certificate).

It may be of some interest that from 1907 to 1958 458 persons were registered for the Diploma, though a number of these did not complete the course.

Of those awarded the Diploma or Certificate, 15 continued their studies by taking a B.Litt. or a B.Sc., three by taking a D.Phil., and five by taking first a B.Litt. or B.Sc. and then a D.Phil. Altogether the number of individuals who have been awarded the B.Litt. (or B.Sc.) degree or the degree of D.Phil., or both, during the last 12 years is 81. It is not possible to work out from these tables what has been the leakage—failures to complete theses or to obtain degrees—but it has been small and mostly dates from the immediate post-war period, when some persons had dropped out during the years of war though their names still appeared in the University Gazette as registered for degrees.

Being a post-graduate school, we are largely dependent on recruitment from outside Oxford and partly from outside the British Isles. Out of the 81 students who have obtained degrees in the last 12 years, 53 came from the British Isles, and out of those 53 only 17 had Oxford degrees; the other 36 came to us with degrees from other British universities, the largest number, 17, from Cambridge, or, in a few cases, without degrees of any kind but with compensating qualifications. The provenance of the 81 students is as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Isles (or naturalized)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is of some interest to note from which subjects people have come to us to study anthropology, as it is undoubtedly a fact that their outlook and their special interests within anthropology are to a large extent a product of their earlier training and that their later writings bear the stamp of it. I do not attempt to give details on this matter, partly because it is peripheral to the subject which I have been asked to discuss, and partly because our records on the point are incomplete, but I will observe that so far as I know only two of our 81 degree students have come to us from natural sciences (chemistry and biology). The others have come from a great variety of humanistic or semi-humanistic disciplines: classics, history, philosophy, economics, sociology, anthropology, theology, European languages, English literature, oriental languages, law, geography, and mathematics.

It is now generally taken for granted that a period of field research is a desirable final stage of a student's training before he takes up a teaching appointment, and it is usual with us at Oxford for a man to present for his D.Phil. thesis part of the results of his field research. Of the 38 D.Phil. theses successfully submitted 30 were based on field research and eight on literary research.

The distribution of field research conducted from the Institute is shown below, the figures representing the number of students who have done research in each area or, in some cases, have written up research previously done in that area while registered for a degree in anthropology. They do not include research carried out after the student has ceased to be registered for a degree here, nor research done by 'Recognized Students.' That the total of pieces of research is much greater than the total of D.Phil. theses based on field research is to be accounted for by the facts that some of the research was embodied in B.Litt. or B.Sc. theses, that some of the research has not yet been submitted, and that one student has worked in two areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Africa</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far East</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Africa</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Africa</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America (and West Indies)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near East (and Somaliland)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These pieces of field research were carried out on funds provided from the following sources, in so far as I have been able to discover them. Some research figures under more than one heading, having been financed by more than one body. Only D.Phil. students are listed.

* A paper read at the Summer Meeting of the Association of Social Anthropologists, September, 1958, by Dr. J. H. M. Beattie in the absence of its author
Of the 81 students who have taken degrees, 47 have obtained professional appointments of one sort or another within the general field of anthropology, the great majority of them university teaching posts in social anthropology. Of this number 37 have the D.Phil., obtained at Oxford or elsewhere, and 10 have not proceeded, so far as I know, beyond bachelor's grade.

The remainder of the 81 students who took degrees in anthropology were mostly people who had no desire to take up the subject professionally. Eight of them were, or have become, wives; eight held official positions, two are continuing university studies in subjects connected with their anthropological training, and 10 are in the field or are engaged in writing up their field notes. It may be assumed that at least half those in the last category will receive professional appointments soon, bringing the number of such appointments of those who have passed through our Institute to over 50. Of the remaining six persons only two ever contemplated a career in anthropology. From these figures we may conclude that prospects for a career for students of average to good ability have been, and still are, bright, and that the number of failures of those with degrees who have sought a professional career is negligible.

So much for the bare record; now for the teaching arrangements. It must be kept in mind that we are dealing with a post-graduate and not an undergraduate school. It is, indeed, possible to take the Diploma in Anthropology at the undergraduate level as one subject for a Pass Degree, but only one man has done this since I have taught at Oxford. In terms of examinations our course has now three fences to be cleared.

The first is the Diploma examination, which is usually taken at the end of one year's study, occasionally after two years. Let me say here that we do not regard our Institute as just a nursery for professional anthropologists. The Diploma course is intended for anyone who wishes to acquire some knowledge of anthropology, whatever his intentions may be, but since it is the career anthropologist whom our Association is, I take it, primarily interested in I make most of my observations with him in mind.

We try to maintain a standard of entrance to the course by insisting that a man shall have taken at least a second class in the course of studies which he previously pursued, but sometimes, especially with foreign students, exceptions have to be made. We have learnt by experience that it is a mistake to allow any student, even those with the highest honours in other subjects, who has not already a degree in anthropology from another university to attempt a higher degree without first taking the Diploma examination; and we have further learnt that we have likewise to insist that it be taken by all foreign students, even though anthropology may be among the subjects which they have studied, for it is usually too difficult to estimate the standards of their universities, and also because our teaching of the subject is often very different from what they have been accustomed to.

Only too often also such students lack a good general education. The Diploma course includes, besides general anthropology, ethnology, comparative technology, archaeology and physical anthropology. Almost without exception, our Diploma students are interested in social anthropology, and they sometimes resent having to take these other subjects as well. As we all know, the arrangement is not entirely satisfactory, but to get rid of it would, in my opinion, require a re-grouping of social anthropology with some other subjects, and this might prove to have some inconveniences too. Also, at least three-quarters of the course is taken up entirely with social anthropology, and once the Diploma fence has been cleared a student can devote himself exclusively to that subject, so I do not consider it to be a great hardship—though it may be an irritant—that he has to do the small amount of work required in the other subjects, nor do I believe that he will later have reason to regret having been compelled to acquire an elementary knowledge of them during the Diploma year. I do not discuss this question further, as at Oxford in present circumstances it would be unwise, if not impossible, to alter the curriculum to any extent, and none of us advocate doing so.

So far as social anthropology is concerned, the Diploma course consists, besides reading, of lectures, seminars, and weekly tutorials for which students prepare essays. We arrange our lectures informally among ourselves, so informally that I do not usually know what is to appear on the lecture list till it is published. However, in practice it works out that between us we cover a fair amount of the ground which requires to be covered, that being determined by the scope and content of the examination papers; and our lectures do conform to a rough plan, though this is at present upset by our having to lecture and tutor a large number of Colonial Cadets and Officers (an average of 29 a year during the last eight years) who require regional instruction in the first term of the academic year, an arrangement which can, we hope, be altered. The ideal, which we try to follow more or less, would be to devote the first term to elementary essentials: the history of social anthropology, its terminology, beginner's textbooks, and a few theoretical and fieldwork classics. The seminar during this term would generally be devoted to papers on some of the main sociological writers, and the tutorials follow the course of reading recommended for beginners. In the second term we would concentrate on regional teaching if it were not for the circumstances which I have mentioned. The most valuable paper in the examination is that on a Prescribed Area. This can be any region of the globe, but in practice it has to be selected by the criteria of available literature and specialized knowledge of members of the teaching staff. At present it is East Africa, for which there is adequate literature and in which five of us have done field research. The seminars would follow suit and be devoted to critical examination of papers on some of the better-known field monographs. Essays for tutorials would deal primarily with the prescribed Area. In the final term the lectures, which began very broadly with the subject and were narrowed in the second term, would be further narrowed to treat some single aspect of the social life of peoples whom we have personally studied, e.g., the political organization of the Banyoro, the historical background to Zanzibar institutions, or mortuary customs of the Anuak, or special topics, e.g., age-set systems, kinship system, marriage, or totemism. Tutorials would be largely directed towards enlarging the student's ethnographical knowledge beyond the material of the prescribed Area in relation to special topics. We have recently dropped the seminar for Diploma candidates for this final term to give them more opportunity to prepare themselves for the examination, which is conducted by three examiners, one of whom is a social anthropologist, one an ethnologist-cum-archaeologist, and one a physical anthropologist.

The papers are three on social anthropology, one general paper including all subjects, a paper on the prescribed Area, an essay, and there is a practical examination and a vivit voce examination.

There are no class lists in the Diploma examination, only passes, but a man may receive a pass with distinction, which is
roughly equal to somewhere between a first and a good second in an Honour School. If a man has done reasonably well in his major subject but has failed to reach the required standard in one of the others, the examiners can award him a certificate in that subject in lieu of the Diploma. A man can sit for the certificate alone, but we do not encourage him to do so as the Diploma carries more weight. A man who gets a distinction has a right to work for a higher degree, and we also permit those to do so who have obtained marks which would have got them a second class in an Honour School. However, we have no hard and fast rule, and a number of doubtful cases do in fact work for a B.Litt. or B.Sc. We have no hard and fast rule partly because a supervisor's opinion of a man's ability has to be taken into consideration, and for two other reasons. First, because colleges are often not willing to take a man for the Diploma but will take him for the Diploma and B.Litt., for two years but not for one, so that it is understood that the Diploma is to be regarded as Part 1 of a two-year course. Secondly, and this is a weightier consideration, we so regard the Diploma ourselves. In our view, for basic training in social anthropology the diploma year is in itself quite inadequate. It is completed by a second year working at a thesis, the basic training thus being a two-year course, which, for students who already have degrees in other subjects and are much more mature than the ordinary undergraduate, is comparable to taking a second Honour School.

The B.Litt. is a very important, perhaps the most important, stage in the student career of a young anthropologist. It is common experience that almost anybody who has had some anthropological teaching can do field research, and if he does it where it has not been done before he cannot fail to make an original contribution to factual knowledge. What one too often finds, however, is that, having collected a large body of material, a man has little idea what to do with it, how to put the observations which he has made together in such a way that he conveys an adequate impression of the people whom he has studied and brings to light significant features of their institutions, making an original contribution to theoretical knowledge. The writing of a B.Litt. or B.Sc. thesis reveals whether a student has this ability or not, for, though he is not expected to make an original contribution to knowledge, he is expected to show that he can read anthropological literature intelligently on a research level, which means that he is capable of selecting the relevant facts, and also that he can present them in a systematic and coherent form and show their significance. Most students can complete a B.Litt. thesis in a year if they work well (when I say B.Litt. I speak also of the B.Sc., the difference being a purely technical one which I need not, therefore, discuss). We leave the student free to choose his own subject, advising him only to select a subject for which there is adequate material and not to attempt what he cannot complete within a year. From time to time the student comes to his supervisor to discuss his thesis with him. As a rule, the better the man the less he demands. During this second year the student is not required, nor expected, to attend lectures and he will not do so unless a course is of particular interest for him.

The B.Litt. student is examined orally and by a written paper by one internal examiner (one of us) and one external examiner (from another university), and his supervisor, except in very rare cases, may not be his examiner, an excellent rule.

The B.Litt. or B.Sc. is the parting of the ways. We might be said to be fairly easy-going on these degrees, regarding them as something like a M.A. thesis at some universities, the second part of the equivalent of an Honour Degree course, but students who show no great promise are discouraged from proceeding any further in the subject. When we let a man go on to work for the D.Phil. it is understood, except in rare cases, that he is intending to make a career in anthropology and we think him able enough to do so. Since the D.Phil. is generally obtained on field research this is a critical point in a man's training, for, as we all know, money for research is no longer found without great difficulty, if at all. We must expect this situation to continue, and it is particularly a disadvantage to a predominantly research institute like our own.

If the D.Phil. student gets a grant he proceeds to whichever field he has selected—he follows his own interests in making the selection—and we see no more, and hear but rarely, of him for a couple of years or so. He then returns to us to write his thesis, seeking the guidance of his supervisor when he considers that he might profit by it. His formal participation in the activities of our department is limited to attending an advanced seminar. It takes a man about a year after his return to complete his thesis. He is examined by one internal and one external examiner, and, here again, except in very peculiar circumstances, his supervisor may not act.

When a man has taken his D.Phil., he is considered to be qualified for a junior teaching appointment. If, and when, he receives one we say farewell. Afterwards his career is his responsibility, not ours.

So much for the bare facts, many of which are as well known to you as they are to me. I now make some comments, and these may not be entirely agreeable to some of my colleagues.

It is true that I played a foremost part in trying to persuade Oxford to give us an Honour School. I felt that I was bound to do so, as this had been the aim of Tylor and Maret, and even Radcliffe-Brown advocated it at the end of his tenure of the chair. But I was always of two minds in the matter and now, after more experience in teaching, I am most glad that the University refused our request. I am now convinced that, at any rate in the present state of social anthropology, an undergraduate school is undesirable unless under a Tripos system the student is compelled to pursue another course of studies for his first two years. I have a number of reasons for this conviction, of which I mention four. First, I think that a boy coming from school should use all or most of his undergraduate years in a study more closely related to what he has done before and more intimately connected with his own civilization, whether in the humanities or in the natural sciences, before proceeding to a specialized and somewhat remote subject such as social anthropology. Secondly, I am of the opinion that social anthropology requires more than most subjects a more mature mind and temperament than is generally found among undergraduates.

Thirdly, I believe that persons who have taken another subject first make in the long run the best anthropologists. Fourthly, I believe it to be a mistake to allow, as there is a temptation to do where there is an undergraduate school, students to conduct field research as soon as they have taken a first degree. If they can be held back for another two or three years they are likely to understand much better what they are doing. There is a further hazard in an Honour School at Oxford and Cambridge, the College system. The Colleges do not have fellowships in anthropology, so the whole burden of tutoring falls on the Department, and if the supervision of research students, a heavy burden in itself, is added to the weight, it must be unendurable.

The positive corollary of this opinion is that I think that social anthropology should—I say once again at any rate in its present stage of development—be taught as a post-graduate subject, taught, that is, to persons who have already taken a degree, and preferably in another subject. I do not think that it very much matters from which subject a man comes to anthropology, though, personally, I prefer a man from the humanities rather than from the natural sciences, for I believe that such disciplines
as history, philosophy, law, and English literature give a man a better critical judgment than do the natural sciences in assessment of cultural and social phenomena and also greater skill in the presentation of the results of his research, which can be as important as the research itself. A previous degree seems to me to be useful to a man in that he has a second angle from which to view social phenomena, in that he has a standard by which to judge research and theory in anthropology, and in that it gives him a wider body of knowledge which may prevent him from putting forward, in some obscure jargon, as though it were an important discovery, what every intelligent and well read person takes for granted.

That seems to me to be one advantage of a post-graduate department. Another is that, whereas in an undergraduate school a large proportion of the students have no deep interest in the subject, regarding it merely as a way of obtaining a degree and without any intention of continuing their studies afterwards, no one takes a post-graduate course unless he is genuinely interested in it, and, in many cases, sufficiently enthusiastic to wish to give his life to it. A third advantage of a post-graduate department is that it does not have to cater for more than a few students at any one time. Our total of registered students—an annual average of just over 41—may look rather formidable, but I suppose that in fact there are seldom more than some 15 students actually working in our Institute in any term (excluding Colonial Cadets), and often less. This, taken together with the greater age and experience of the students, means that our personal relations with them are more intimate than is possible in an undergraduate school. The informality of our contacts with them is perhaps as important as any formal instruction which we give.

I find it rather meaningless to ask how anthropology is, or should be, taught to post-graduate students, which is what I understand that I am asked to do. Obviously, anthropology not being remotely like an exact science, you cannot instruct a man with textbook precision. You can do little more than tell him which books and papers you think he will profit most by reading, give him in lectures a summary of your own many years of reading about certain topics and regions and your observations in the field, and make him feel that what he is doing is really worth while. The test of good teaching in social anthropology, at any rate at the post-graduate level, is surely whether a man feels that he is beginning to understand something about the nature of human society which he did not understand before and feels further that what he has understood is of sufficient importance to him for him to want to learn more. These are rather trite remarks, but I have nothing better to offer.

The real problem facing us is not, it appears to me, one of teaching. We are adequately staffed and normally our students, who, it will be borne in mind, already have a degree in anthropology or in another subject before coming to us, are under academic supervision for several years before they obtain their D.Phil., so they receive adequate training in social anthropology. Also, the good post-graduate student does not require to be taught. With some guidance and advice, he teaches himself. The problem is to attract into anthropology really first-rate men. A committee of the Nuffield Foundation on which I sit has for a number of years been trying to induce men by the offer of grants to enter the social sciences, including social anthropology, first from the natural sciences and then from any subject, and has reluctantly had to conclude that, on the whole, their experiment has not been a success. I have told you that we have had during the last 12 years at Oxford 81 degree students and that a high proportion of them have obtained professional posts in anthropology, but I doubt whether more than a dozen would have obtained appointments in disciplines in which there is much greater competition. It is true, as I have stated earlier, that our examiners awarded 22 distinctions during these years, but, as I have also said, the distinction cannot be regarded as equal to a first in an Honour School, though in some cases it may be; and the standard is, I think, or has been till recently, set at a generous level. However, I believe that it is less the raising of the standard that accounts for there being 14 distinctions in the first six years and eight for the last six years, the number of candidates not having fallen, than the decline in talent.

We are, as you all know, in a somewhat peculiar position. It could be held that in an undergraduate school it does not very much matter if most of the students are of secondary calibre for they have no intention of pursuing the subject anyhow. But it is a serious matter in a department where an appreciable proportion of the students hope to make anthropology a career. The two most relevant considerations here are: firstly, the fact that the anthropological student has eventually to obtain a university post or leave the subject after having spent several years at it, there being no other career open to him in which he can make use of his specialized knowledge; and secondly, the fact that anthropology has been an expanding subject since the war, there still being too few men available to fill university posts, so that almost anyone can obtain one somewhere.

It is not easy to determine why in recent years the supply of really good students has fallen off, men who can not only do competent fieldwork but can also make original and significant contributions to anthropology. Money has something to do with it. Our main benefactors in the past, the Treasury (Scarborough) and Colonial Office, no longer keep men going during their research as they used to, and funds are hard to obtain elsewhere. But it is not just a question of money, as the experience of the Nuffield committee shows. Time has also something to do with it. Our course at Oxford from Diploma to D.Phil. takes about five years. Add three for a previous degree and two for military service, and that makes at least 10 years between school and the obtaining of a salaried post. A first-rate man can usually walk straight into such a post when he has taken his first degree, so why should he want to enter a new discipline and spend another five years as a student? I do not believe, however, that time, any more than money, is the decisive factor. I think that this is perhaps to be sought for by inquiry into the place of social studies in general in this country, sociology in particular. They are still considered dubious, if not suspect, and tend to be treated with either contempt or condescension. Much in this attitude is simply prejudice, but it would, I think, be foolish not to admit to ourselves that we have not yet attained the high standards of rigorous scholarship which an exacting student might require; and also that we have to some extent lost touch with other fields of learning, though this may have been unavoidable. However, to discuss this question further would take me beyond my terms of reference.
CORRESPONDENCE

Hominid Nomenclature. Cf. Man, 1939, 30

Sirs.—In his recent letter, Professor L. H. Wells discussed some aspects of hominid nomenclature and advocated the adoption of the term 'hominine' as the taxonomical equivalent of 'human' in the sense of 'Man the Tool-maker.' I should like to support the general adoption of this term—which is, however, not new, since it has been employed sporadically in the past. It is part of a nomenclature specifically adopted by me (Robinson, 1938a, b) some time ago. The latter paper was written first and contains a brief explanation of the reasons for the change from my previous usage.

As expressed, Well's case is not logical. For example, he objects to my former use of the terms 'euhominid' and 'prehominid'—which I redefined and used simply because they were already in the literature and because there seems little advantage in coining an ever increasing number of names for the lineage of man. It is implicit in the International Rules governing zoological nomenclature that the literal meaning of a word employed taxonomically has no significance—taxonomically it means purely what it is defined to mean. If this were not so taxonomy would be in a constant state of chaos. Some measure of the chaos resulting from ignoring this principle is to be seen in the alteration (illegal, according to the International Rules) of Australopithecus and Gigantopithecus into 'Australanthropus' and 'Gigantanthropus' by some German anthropologists. Furthermore, if Wells believes in using the literal meanings of terms employed taxonomically, then his suggested term 'prehominine' is useless, since it would then include all forms in the hominine lineage from the immediate ancestors of the hominines clear back to the beginning of things.

Wells also gives no secure basis for 'hominine.' The term is perfectly valid as long as the family Hominidae contains a subfamily Homininae—otherwise it is just an arbitrary term with no better reason for existence than those rejected by Wells. The subfamily Homininae has reason to exist only if there is at least one other subfamily within the family Hominidae. If there is no distinction at the subfamily level, there can be no subfamily names. Wells leaves the possibility of subfamily separation within the Hominidae entirely open.

The whole matter therefore depends on what affinities are to be accepted for the australopithecines. The most commonly employed basis of mammalian classifications used at present is Simpson's 1945 classification. In this the australopithecines appear as a subfamily of the Pongidae. Simpson has since abandoned this view and stated (1957): 'The accumulated evidence is now overwhelmingly in favour of hominid affinities for the australopithecines.' This is in agreement with the majority of modern published opinions. It is therefore logical to base hominid nomenclature on a system which accepts the australopithecines as members of the family Hominidae. The subfamily Australopithecinae must thus be transferred to the Hominidae and this, on the face of it, necessitates the erection of a subfamily (Homininae) to include those forms which previously had alone occupied the family Hominidae. The mere fact that the australopithecines were first placed in another family seems justification enough for subfamily distinction within the Hominidae. This does not necessarily follow and the matter thus needs appraisal.

All known forms of australopithecine can be distinguished from all known forms of tool-making man and each group can be defined by a small number of characters. The australopithecines do not represent simply a slightly earlier stage of a single line of descent of which tool-making man is a later stage. None of the known australopithecine species could be directly in the lineage of modern man, although the genus Australopithecus could conceivably have provided such a lineal ancestor. It seems extremely improbable that this can be true of Paranthropus. The australopithecines thus appear to be a diversified group with their own characteristics and not simply a temporary, polymorphic intermediate between one grade of organization and another. Furthermore, far greater even than the morphological is the behavioural difference between the two groups. The latter difference involves the matter of culture and represents a major evolutionary step. It cannot be ignored taxonomically.

The fact that the members of one group probably descended from a member of the other group cannot be held to invalidate subfamilial separation between them. The situation commonly occurs in biological classifications and is simply a result of the fact that Linnean taxonomic principles apply validly only to classifications confined to a single time horizon. As soon as lineages are involved, as is well recognized, the Linnean system is inadequate.

It would thus seem to me that there are more than adequate grounds for grouping the australopithecines and tool-making man in separate subfamilies. If this is accepted, then in order to conform with the Copenhagen (1953) modification of Article 4 of the International Rules, the two subfamilies should be Australopithecinae and Homininae respectively. The vernacular equivalents would be 'australopithecine' and 'hominine,' and these would be precise, thus avoiding any confusion. Because of the clumsiness of the former term, I use an obvious term, 'prehominine,' as a synonym. This is simply a matter of personal preference. It is desirable that anthropological taxonomic nomenclature should be in conformity with general biological practice. The above scheme is not only a step in that direction but logically provides an adequate supply of Linnean and vernacular terms with precise meanings.

Transvaal Museum, Pretoria

JOHN T. ROBINSON

References


REVIEWS

AFRICA


Malgré l'influence sensible des travaux régionaux de M. Fortes, E. E. Evans-Pritchard, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, H. Labouret et autres, le texte que l'auteur définit lui-même comme interim report, garde une parfaite originalité quant à son plan du travail, et fournit des vues inédites sur les différents éléments constitutifs de la société particulariste appelée provisoirement 'LoWilli.'

Le petit groupe ethnique que l'auteur désigne ainsi et qui est identique à celui que M. Delafosse, L. Tauxier et autres africains français de la première période appellent respectivement 'Oulé,' 'Oulé-Oulé' ou 'Dagari Oulé,' occupe des agglomérations clairsemées aux environs de Birifu, bourgade située au bord est de la Volta Noire, à 15 kilomètres de Lawra, centre administratif du District du même nom, dans les Territoires du Nord de l'actuel Ghana.

Au point de vue linguistique, les LoWilli appartiendraient à la section des langues dagari faisant partie de la grande famille des langues voltaïques que J. H. Greenberg a récemment nommée 'mossi-gourounsi.'

D'ailleurs, comme cela arrive assez fréquemment dans les civilisations mélano-africaines, le groupe ethnique étudié ignore lui-même son nom générique (que Goody désigne comme actor name...
LoWiili dii graines de mil et de maïs, à part quelque quantité d’ignames, d’arachides et même de riz.

La cueillette garde cependant une certaine importance, alors que la chasse appartient aujourd’hui aux occupations ‘de prestige’ ; sa participation à l’alimentation courante est relativement faible.

Comme dans les civilisations dites de pasteurs, le troupeau matérielise moins un bien économique au sens propre qu’un signe d’importance sociale ; les beaufs servent, en outre, de valeur traditionnelle d’échange et jouent notamment un important rôle social, constituant la seule compensation matrimonialement admise par la coutume. Un beauf, s’il sert fréquemment aux sacrifices, n’est jamais abattu uniquement pour consommation.

Les LoWiili forment de nombreux collectifs (sarming group) dont l’auteur donne une analyse détaillée, accompagnée de tous les enjeux. Dans deux chapitres suivants, très fournis et qui représentent certainement l’intérêt essentiel du livre, Goody définit les règles qui régissent le système de parents, la structure des ‘groupes résidentiels’, le coutumier du mariage, les grandes lignes du système matrilinéaire caractérisé par un régime matrilinéaire tantôt patrilinéaire tantôt matrilinéaire, enfin les principes auxquels obéissent l’héritage et certaines institutions particulières telles que l’‘alliance à plaisanteries’, etc....

Le sol, ayant pour les LoWiili un caractère éminemment sacré, fait l’objet de nombreuses précautions rituelles et un culte très vivant est voué aux diverses divinités agrestes. De plus, un important nombre d’interdits se rapporte à la Terre divinisée, et les champs de LoWiili sont parsemés d’autels qui, périodiquement, reçoivent des offrandes. L’unité territoriale attribuée à tel ou tel groupement correspond au terme ‘aire rituelle’ de Goody.

Le dernier chapitre du rapport récapitule la traçabilité des caractéristiques de l’organisation sociale des LoWiili, en les confrontant avec des expériences faites par d’autres auteurs tels que Labouret, Forde, Nadel, Fortes, Radcliffe-Brown, Rattray, Eyre-Smith, Baumann, Westermann et autres.

Une bibliographie rigoureusement établie complète ce précieux petit volume qui doit être considéré comme une mise au point d’un sujet sociologique particulièrement complexe et par conséquent difficile à analyser sans un outillage perfectionné. Sur ce dernier point, le parfait vocabulaire et le langage nuancé de Goody garantissent, à part sa connaissance parfaite de la matière elle-même, la valeur des renseignements qu’il nous fournit.

Il n’y a pas de doute, au demeurant, qu’il serait hautement intéressant de confronter ces derniers avec les Nouvelles notes sur les tribus du rameau lobi, dernière publication de Henri Labouret, paraît dans la série des Mémoires de l’I.F.E.A.N.

B. Hолос

AMERICA

When the author leaves his own special field (he is Professor of Geography in Johns Hopkins University) and presents archaeological evidence in support of his thesis, his arguments are rather woolly and unconvincing. He claims that certain fractured quartzite and porphyry pebbles and flakes in the terrace gravels exposed at Texas Street, San Diego, are artifacts. I was a member of a small group of archaeologists and geologists who had the privilege of examining a representative collection of these specimens at the headquarters of the Wener-Green Foundation in New York, in 1956. None of us had the least doubt that the ‘cores’ and ‘flakes’ were due to natural spalling agencies.

The author also claims that the deposits in question contain the hearths of early man. I had the opportunity to visit the Texas Street cutting with Professor Carl Hubbs in June, 1956. Reddened and cracked boulders are scattered profusely throughout the coarse stream-laid beds of gravel exposed here. If these reddened boulders are due to fire they seemed to me to occur on a scale too vast to have any connexion with the camp fires of the early hunters. They are more likely to have been swept from a vegetated alluvial fan that had been affected by a large-scale brush fire. Fire was the most probable cause of the flaking of the boulders which the author interprets as artificial. Professor Hubbs drew my attention to one of the so-called hearths. To me it appeared more probably a lens of reddened clay which
together with some specks of sooty matter from brush fires had been washed into a small hollow on the floor of the alluvial flat.

There is undoubtedly much in this book that will interest specialists in particular fields, for instance the attempt to apply radiocarbon dating to the processes of soil formation. But to the untrained anthropologist seeking the latest evidence for the antiquity of man in the New World this book is likely to be most misleading. It is indeed probable that man reached the Americas during Upper Pleistocene times, but the authentic evidence to prove it is not to be found in this book.

KENNETH P. OAKLEY


This latest edition of Les Origines de l’Homme Américain, has been brought up to date in the sense that new information has been incorporated in the text, but not in any other way. M. Rivet continues to prefer the more difficult or complicated hypothesis in preference to any simpler one in attempting to explain the data which he presents. He shows few signs of being able, or willing, to distinguish between tribal migrations on the one hand and the diffusion of ideas or the exchange of items of material culture through trade on the other. Although he uses data from physical anthropology, linguistics, and material culture to support his thesis, his methodology in each of these fields is, to say the least, hopelessly out of date.

In comparison of crania, for instance, it is usually possible to find a few from any tribe which deviate from the norm to a considerable degree in several characteristics. Some American Indian crania, for instance, look more like Melanesian crania than do other American Indian crania; this provides no justification for setting up a Melanesian type in America, and then claiming that such a non-existent type proves that Melanesians settled in, for instance, Brazil and Baja California (p. 107). The same criticism applies to the attempt to demonstrate the settlement of Australians in Tierra del Fuego (Plates VII and VIII). The most elementary knowledge of genetics would prevent the author from discussing blood-type material as he has: apparently he believes in genophagy, and also that Negroid characteristics are, as such, recessive to contrasting ones, whether Mongoloid or Caucasian (p. 124). Consequently he is able to dismiss the glaring fact that blood-type frequencies in ABO, Rh, MN, Duffy, and Diego show no appreciable similarities between American Indians of any tribe yet tested and Melanesians, Australians, or Polynesians. Linguistic material is also distorted in an outrageous fashion. There are many native Australian languages; nevertheless, on pp. 93-95 we are presented with lists comparing ‘Australoan’ words with words from the languages of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego. Kangaroo is kula in the first, couger is gol in the second; water is kunu and the sea is kono; mountain is goorin and stone is agora. What can this possibly prove? Syntax and grammar are not mentioned, and apparently M. Rivet has never heard of glottochronology. He admits that the problem of transporting Australians into South America presents difficulties, owing to the lack of adequate technology for crossing several thousand miles of ocean, but does not rule out the possibility of migration via the coast of Antarctica which, he supposes, may have been much warmer a few thousand years ago. It would need to have been. The hypothetical Hokan-Siouan super-stock, by similar evidence, is related not only to Aymara and Quechua in South America, but also to Melanesian: Melanesian in particular, rather than Malayo-Polynesian in general (pp. 116f.). If this be so, Melanesian must have differentiated before the various American Indian languages derived therefrom came into existence, or well over 6,000 years ago at a minimum. In both of these cases the author accepts the provisional speculations of other scholars, and passes them on to his readers as actualities.

M. Rivet refuses to accept the idea of a recent and extensive connexion between the peoples of South-East Asia and the Maya or Peruvians, citing the lack of rice, of the arch and of the wheel among these High Civilizations in America: he believes that these efflorescences of culture are autochthonous. It appears to me that the same criticisms which Rivet makes of others must apply also to himself. If racial, linguistic and cultural connexions do exist between the American Indians and the peoples of the South Pacific, he has not proved it, and the nature of his argument is such as to leave the critical reader profoundly sceptical.

FREDERICK S. HULSE


The data for this book were collected during an expedition in 1948, sponsored by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. The purpose of the expedition was a comprehensive study of the inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands, numbering in all 1,759 souls, the last volume of evidence to determine if possible whether the population had migrated to the islands from Siberia or Alaska and whether the islands had been used as stepping stones for the peopling of the New World from the Old. Dr. Moorrees’s examination covered tooth morphology and odontometry, tooth emergence, the prevalence of occlusal anomalies and dental disease and certain aspects of jaw morphology. His aim was to see how closely the Aleut dentition conformed to the known characteristics of the Mongoloids, and also to show whether the dental characteristics of the Eastern and Western Aleut groups differed from each other, so supporting Laughlin’s hypothesis that the Eastern and Western Aleuts are separate genetic breeding isolates. In all the accepted characters, the Aleut dentition shows Mongoloid affinities. They are: a high incidence of shovel-shaped incisors, relatively little difference between the mesio-distal crown widths of the maxillary central and lateral incisors, a low prevalence of cusp of Carabelli and a high incidence of Torus Mandibularis. Furthermore, using Dahlberg’s interpretation of Butler’s ‘field’ concept and its application to the human dentition, Moorrees shows that the Aleut dentitions are modified to a lesser extent from the hypothetical basic human pattern than the dentitions of other racial groups, and in this character they resemble American Indians and the East Greenland Eskimos. With regard to differences between Western and Eastern Aleuts, the only statistically significant one is that for Torus Mandibularis, which is present in 61 per cent. of the Eastern Aleuts and only 20 per cent. of the Western Aleuts. However, an analysis on the basis of intensification, retention or simplification of basic characteristics reveals distinctive trends. The Eastern Aleuts show more intensification in greater prevalence of markedly shovel-shaped maxillary incisors and of more prominent maxillary tori and more retention with a higher incidence of Y pattern in the mandibular first molar, of five-cusped second and third molars and of four-cusped mandibular second molars. On the other hand the Western Aleuts show a greater simplification in the bi-cusped form of the mandibular second premolar and five-cusped form of the maxillary third molar. These divergent trends, therefore, strengthen Laughlin’s hypothesis according to which the population of the Aleutian Islands consists of two different breeding isolates.

In analysing his morphological data, Moorrees discusses previous evidence for and against any relationship between function and the presence or absence of Torus Mandibularis. Then on the evidence from the Aleut data he says that the findings strongly suggest that presence or absence is not purely a functional response; one of his reasons being the statistically significant difference in the incidence of Torus Mandibularis between East and West Aleut groups. He also points out that the differences between the Eastern and Western Aleuts would seem to suggest that the Western Aleuts are less admixed with later Eskimo migrants and have retained their Palal-Aleut traits to a greater extent.

With regard to tooth emergence, it was found that the Aleut children between the ages of 6 and 10 years of age were on an average 1-19 years advanced in dental age in relation to their respective chronological ages as compared with the European White standards. The difference was only 1-6 of a year in the 10-12-year-olds. The Aleut children were found to be advanced in physiological development when their stature was expressed in percentage of that of the adults. This again was particularly so in the 6-10-year-olds. With regard to tooth position in occlusion, five Aleuts over 40 years of age revealed occlusions characteristic
of the classic Eskimoid dentition, that is a perfect tooth alignment, broad dental arches, marked wear of the teeth and edge-to-edge relationship of the incisors.

With regard to malocclusions, 30-2 per cent. of the Aleuts investigated showed a marked Class III malocclusion. It is interesting to note that all these Class III malocclusion Aleuts had one or both parents belonging to the Eastern Group. There is complete absence of this abnormality in the Western Aleuts; this indicates genetic determination.

The investigation into the incidence of dental caries brought out an interesting fact. The oldest age group, that is 40 to 65, had an average of 19 per cent. sound teeth, whereas the 20 to 45 only had 15-6 per cent. sound teeth. This is in spite of the fact that the teeth of the older age group have been exposed to risk for a much longer time. Moorrees suggests that this is because the teeth of the older Aleuts have been able to withstand detrimental influences better than those of the younger Aleuts and further suggests that this is quite possible due to the structure of the teeth; those of the younger Aleuts being less satisfactory because of the change of diet. The one piece of histological evidence which they have seems to support this suggestion, although they admit that it was very meager.

As the dust cover says, the book presents valuable material for the odontologist and physical anthropologist regarding the comprehensive study of the dentition, and it is probably the most complete investigation that has ever been carried out on the dentition and oral condition of a racial group. It is only lacking in one respect, and that is a radiological cephalometric analysis of skull and jaw form. It was not possible to use X-ray apparatus because of the uncertainty of the electricity supply. Not only is Dr. Moorrees’s analysis a valuable guide for future investigators, but it also emphasizes the importance of carrying out such investigations on other racial groups before they either disappear or become swamped by admixture.

C. F. BALLARD


This book consists of 31 coloured plates of gold objects from Colombia, with a brief introduction. With one exception, from the Vatican, the objects come from the famous gold museum in the Banco de la República in Bogotá. The photographs show them against the vivid red, blue or green backgrounds with which we have become familiar in recent publications of ancient American works of art, and these are generally pleasing in effect. It is claimed in the dedication and in the introduction that these photographs are reproduced for the first time, a statement which needs some modification, since it is almost certain that the plate on p. 37, showing an object in the form of a conch shell, is taken from the same photograph as Plate V in Perez de Barradas, Orfebrería prehispánica de Colombia, Estilo Calima, 1954. Three other objects in the book appear to have been reproduced in colour before from other photographs, together with a large number of similar objects, in various publications of the Bank. This is worth mentioning since it gives an indication of the quality of the colour reproduction, and for this purpose the sumptuously produced work of Perez de Barradas gives the best standard of comparison. The diadem on p. 35 is the subject of Plate XIX in that work, and both it and the conch shell mentioned above are printed much darker in the book under review than in the other. Although the plates on the whole are not at all bad, this dark printing results in a slight tendency for some objects, which the analyses show to be of very pure gold, to take on the reddish tone of the gold-copper alloy tumbaga of which many Colombian objects were made.

In his introduction, the author has used and acknowledged what sources there are, and on the whole he has used them well. Little is known of the chronology of Colombian aboriginal cultures, and Perez de Barradas has made some speculations about the priority in time of what is called the Calima style of gold-smithing. As not seem to me to be soundly based, but the author can hardly be blamed for quoting them and he rightly says elsewhere that chronology is a matter of hypothesis. There are a number of minor inaccuracies. Our old friend Thomas Joyce of the British Museum has become ‘the American Thomas A. Joyce,’ Selzer has become Saler, and the grave-robbing guaquero is changed into guaquero. On the map we find the odd combinations of Western, Central and Eastern ‘Cordiglieri,’ and the Rio Attrato is rendered ‘Artato.’ On p. 21 tumbaga is called a casting technique, though it is correctly described elsewhere as a gold-copper alloy.

Although this introduction is brief, I consider it adequate for its purpose, and its brevity has the merit of reducing speculation to the minimum. Readers may feel, however, that in spite of the cost of colour reproduction the book is dear at the price.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL


The contemporary Yucatecan Maya Indians make pottery at the towns of Lerma, Tepakán, Becal, Maxcanú, Ticul, Mama, Uayma and Valladolid, in the States of Campeche and Yucatán in Mexico. These memoirs are the results of a study made of the potential archaeological significance of present-day pottery manufacture and provide the ethnographical detail necessary for successfully informing parts of the cultural and ethnic history of the prehistoric pottery in the area. In addition, they contribute to an experimental analysis which enables some observations to be made on the nature of archaeological inference. The author is of the opinion that archaeologists often lose sight of the overriding importance of inference as an interpretative device in their discipline and he discusses ‘The Inferential Process’ at great length in the first part of the book. He has produced a most comprehensive study which he has termed ‘an intellectual venture,’ as indeed it is.

D. H. CARPENTER


Dr. Barbeau has a romantic touch which is given full scope in the material of this book. The first hundred and fifty years of the history of the North Pacific, from the Aleutians to the Fraser, reveals all the cupidit and idealism of exploration. The story opens with the Russian sea-otter trade which supplied pelts to the northern Chinese market and ends with the story of William Duncan, the Yorkshire lay preacher who founded the Tsimshian ‘utopia’ of Metlakatla.

The value of the account lies not in any single section but in the fact that so many parts of the total story are brought together. An especially interesting angle is given by emphasizing the role of the Russians in the opening-up of the northern areas. Until the final Russian withdrawal in the mid-nineteenth century, contacts between Indians and Russian traders, the conflict between Orthodox priests and the Czarist representatives and, finally, the rivalry between the Russian posts and the Hudson’s Bay Company, are all given prominence. Another angle stressed is the role of the Indians themselves. Few historians have had sufficient attention to the Indian actors in the economic struggle. Developments in the whole Northwest were influenced very largely by the personalities and ambitions of a handful of Indian nobles and this is well suggested by Barbeau’s treatment of ‘Shaiks’ of the Stikine.

The fur and China trade are given due and then the story moves on to the part played by the whalers and the Gold Rush. In discussing the former, Barbeau notes the importance of scrimshaw. Historians of folk art, and of primitive art, will be interested to see that he draws no conclusions about the mutual influence of scrimshaw and Northwest Coast art, saying scrimshaw is ‘capital’ ‘whether from the grass roots among the white whalers or derivative yet transfigured among the Indians’ (p. 126). This quotation gives some idea also of the style. As with so many books of the genre, one is impressed by the joy which the author obviously took in compiling it. There can be little doubt that many will read it with equal delight.

MARIAN W. SMITH

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This small book is the first in a series designed by the Quetico Foundation to aid the traveller in Quetico Provincial Park, Ontario. It gives a generalized picture of the Ojibwa, following standard monograph form. The writing is unfortunately pedestrian, but the account is accurate.

MARIAN W. SMITH


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What is significant about Miss Clarke's study is that she has attempted an analytical study of different communities in Jamaica. It is a point of some importance as sociological studies in the Caribbean have not hitherto been sufficiently broadly based to make their generalizations valid. The three communities discussed are based on the seasonal sugar economy, one with a reasonably balanced economy, and a poverty-stricken village. The result of these analyses is to create a fairly detailed picture of Jamaican rural life.

Possibly the most interesting part of the book is the detailed description of the system of land tenure which is extremely complex. For example the discussion of the two principles of distribution of family land, group inheritance and inheritance through choice of individual kin, illustrates the importance of this factor in assessing the functions of the kinship system in Jamaica. It is an importance which has not always been appreciated by sociologists in this field.

Although Miss Clarke devotes a chapter to Sex and Concubinage it is surprising to discover no reference to the operation of 'colour' as a determinant in sexual relations. In fact there is only one reference in the whole book to 'colour' and that is a historical one. This omission is serious as other fieldwork in Jamaica has shown that colour discrimination cannot be discounted as a factor in the system of economic and familial relationships.

We should be grateful, however, to Miss Clarke for a broadly based descriptive analysis of Jamaican rural society. Jamaica today is in the throes of rapid economic and social change so that the real value of a book of this kind is in its portrayal of a society which very shortly will have ceased to exist.

FERNANDO HENRIQUES


191

Both these unpretentious monographs are valuable contributions to Zuni ethnography; the first, moreover, is a first-rate analysis of the relationship of terminology to the structure of a kinship system. Schneider and Roberts consider the function of Zuni kin terms to be role-designating rather than classifying or ordering and show the compatibility of this type of terminology with the Ego-centred bilateral kinship discernible (despite lineage) among the Zuni. The second monograph consists of five very detailed observational records of Zuni daily routine. The method of reference to persons in the records seems unduly complicated and leads to such incongruities as 'FaSiSo474Adal2e giggles' (p. 35).

LORRAINE LANC ASTER


192

This book is about 'the implications of status terminology as a technique and as a method.' As a method it is expected to enable 'the concepts of socialization, stereotyped attitude formation, status personality and life career line to be 'efficiently approached.' As demonstrated in this monograph the method consists in taking examples from a set of related culture areas (the nine into which Kroesber has divided the American continent north of Mexico) and listing the terms in the language of each which denote status. This word, which up to now has been used of the position of individuals in relation to other members of their society, is extended by Mr. Edmonson to include 'associational statuses,' and this does not mean, as one might imagine, names for natural groups, but abstractly recognized small-scale status groups. This procedure is held to be justified by 'the corporate fiction under which such entities are treated as pseudoinviduals.'

He then explores the relation between the number of terms and 'cultural complexity' by correlating the total number in each of his nine cases with the total population, density of population, and 'cultural intensity' as measured by Kroeber. He finds a significant positive correlation between number of terms and population density, and an unexpectedly high correlation between number of terms and intensity.

It is not entirely clear to a reader unacustomed to this sort of manipulation of ethnographic data how it may contribute to the results which Mr. Edmonson promises for his method. On a more naive level confidence in its rigour is shaken by the notable absence of rigour in his use of ordinary language. Status is described as 'a phenomenon' which 'we have discovered'; 'ceremonial organization is difficult to analogize'; 'associations differ from achieved and ascribed status'; 'determinants [of ascription? the word order logically gives 'of structuring criteria'] include the appearance of defensive systems'; 'cultures structure authority systems.' But why go on?

L. P. MAIR


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This book is the fruit of a community study carried out in a small mining town (population 2,300) in the United States of America. Because 'Coal Town' has existed as a mining community only since 1914, it is possible for the description of life to stretch over the whole of its history. Beginning with an account of life in the pre-industrial period and of the early coal-camp years, the author proceeds to the division between native and immigrant families in Coal Town. In this way a rough-and-ready historical background is built up for the study of the specific way of life of Coal Town today, which is presented as an interplay of these historically formed factors in the context of mining. Mining itself is not a constant factor, however, and has oscillated between security and insecurity in its impact on the miners and their families. Today Coal Town's colliers are almost completely abandoned so that even the feverish insecure-security of the nascent industrial community is shattered.

The consequent fragmentation of lives that in any case found difficulty in achieving integration is the outstanding impression left on the reader by this book. Chapters 6-10 (A Wide-Open Town, The Meaning of Mining, Family Patterns in Coal Town, Prosperity and Decline, Social Class Structure in Coal Town) constitute the core of the book, and contain a series of fascinating extracts from interviews. These are selected with the aim of showing, in different spheres of activity, the influence and interaction of those attitudes into which the author chooses to break down the general disorientation of Coal Town's people. In a final chapter, the author attempts to synthesize the 'themes' running through the town's life; these themes are psychological abstractions such as impersonality, self-effacement, resignation, suspicion, etc.

While the interviews recorded do suggest that all of these values are characteristic of the personalities of Coal Town's individual men and women, the reader is faced with the long-old difficulty of trying to conceive of culture in the terms of individual psychology. What is remarkable is that despite the unsatisfactory nature of its theoretical framework, this book does convey something of the tragedy of a social-economic system which pitchforks human beings into circumstances beyond their comprehension or their capacity for adaptation. The author's view of this tragedy points to another contradiction in his theoretical assumptions. He seems to waver between a mechanical 'objectivism'—e.g. the cynicism of which we speak has been nurtured in an environment where the influences for constructive human growth were few; where hope was crushed by the circumstances of life itself and by the impoverished human
relationships—and an idealistic theory that a society ‘ought’ to tend towards equilibrium, healthy cooperation and human dignity.

Theoretical inconsistencies apart, this book will be important to non-American readers as an insight into the lives of some less publicized practitioners of the American way of life.

C. SLAUGHTER

ASIA


Little more than two decades ago, the code of Hammurabi could properly be described as the earliest law code in history. Now we know that it was but one of many collections of laws issued by kings of different Mesopotamian cities at various epochs; so far from being the oldest, it is at present the most recent of a series of such collections, some surviving in a fragmentary condition only, but all of them showing striking similarities. The scholarly publication under review is concerned with one of these earlier codes.

The laws were inscribed on two tablets, one almost complete, the other fragmentary, found during the excavations of the Iraq Government’s Department of Antiquities at Tell Abu Harnal, near modern Baghdad. This small town was probably the ancient Shaduppû, a dependency or outpost of the kingdom of Eshunna whose importance during the second millennium B.C. is beginning to be realized since the publication of the Mari letters. On textual evidence the author concludes that the tablets are copies of an earlier text, which may be some generations older than the reign of King Dadusha whose name appears on the later tablet. The 60 surviving laws deal with a variety of subjects. Tariʔî is fixed for the price of staple commodities, for the hire of land and water transport, and for labourers’ wages; there are regulations limiting sales and purchases, others concerning loans and deposits. Slavery and adoption are the subject of several laws. Of special interest are the laws pertaining to betrothal and marriage; several deal with the bride price (terākātum) and require its return if the marriage is dissolved, but it is clear that a man is free to divorce his wife only if she has borne him no children; if he deserts her and her family, he forfeits house and property. As in the code of Hammurabi, willful neglect is treated as a crime and to allow a wall to fall and kill someone is tantamount to murder and is punishable by death. Burglary is more severely punished than house-breaking.

This is a specialist’s book. Professor Goetze’s edition of the laws is an expansion and revision of his earlier publication in the journal Sumer (Vol. IV (1948), pp. 63–102); it is liberally supplied with photographs and a transcript of the text, as well as with a most valuable philological and legal commentary and a full glossary. But the non-specialist reader too may extract from these commentaries a wealth of information on such aspects of life in ancient Mesopotamia as marriage, slavery, economic conditions and social structure, and he will find especially interesting the striking points of agreement and no less significant dissimilarities between these laws and other ancient codes known to us, such as the Hittite code from Boghazköy and the Hebrew laws of the Covenant Code. Thus the lex talionis, applied in both Babylonian and Israelite law for bodily injury, is in the Hittite code and in that of Eshunna replaced by a scale of fines.

M. S. DROWER


In this book Professor Duchesne-Guillemin passes in review the whole history of Zoroastrian studies in the West from the sixteenth century to the present day. In his interpretation of Zoroastrianism he follows Dumézil who sees reflected in all Indo-European religion a tripartite order of society consisting of the functions of sovereignty, warriorhood, and peaceful work. Dumézil’s arguments are here compressed into a small compass, and their restatement adds little to what has already been repeatedly said by Dumézil himself. As far as Indo-Iranian religion is concerned Dumézil’s version of the tripartite order does not seem to correspond to the actual order of the Indian castes. ‘Brahman—(ruling), ksatriya—(military), and vaśya—(working),’ is the author’s description of the castes in India, but in actual fact it is of course the ksatriya (first called rājasya—, cf. Lat. rege) who fulfil the ruling function in India, not the Brahmans who are the priests. The caste system as it is actually found (priest, warrior-king, and plebe) is not the same as Dumézil’s three functions of sovereignty, warriorhood, and peaceful peasantry.

The problem that faces all who have studied Zoroaster is how to account for his amazing originality. No religion springs up ready-made, yet Zoroaster’s Gathas have defied all attempts to derive them from any of the known Indo-Iranian data; and even if we accept Dumézil’s interpretation of the Amesha Spentas as reflections of a tripartite order of society, as ‘replacements’ of older functional gods, this still merely by-passes the central problem of how it came about that Zoroaster speaks in terms of Truth, Good Mind, Wholeness and Immortality, etc., not of Varuna, Mithra, and the other ancient gods. The core of the revolution in religious thinking which Zoroaster represents is not touched by any theory which merely finds more or less plausible antecedents to his ethical entities.

Professor Duchesne-Guillemin has chapters on Iran and Greece, and Iran, Israel and Gnosticism; and these only serve to show how little we really know about the mutual influences at work between these different cultures.

The book is, however, a most useful and workmanlike account of the present state of Zoroastrian studies and will be most welcome to all interested in the ancient Iranian prophet. ‘The West has not said its last word on Zoroaster,’ are Professor Duchesne-Guillemin’s final words. I am afraid that he is right.

R. C. ZAEBNER


This monograph, which is one of a series honouring the centennial of the Universitets Etnografiske Museum, Oslo, is a study of plaited baskets from the Borneo collection presented to this museum by the explorer Lumholtz. Carl Lumholtz, after previous explorations in Australia and Mexico, left Norway in 1913 on an expedition to Dutch New Guinea. The outbreak of the First World War compelled him to abandon these plans and instead, during the years 1914–17, he explored the rivers of south-eastern Borneo, notably the Katingan, Ibarito, Mahakam and Kayan. The baskets discussed by Mr. Klausen were collected by Lumholtz from inhabitants of these rivers. Mr. Klausen makes no attempt to survey the basketwork of the numerous other indigenous peoples of Borneo.

The art of a primitive people, Mr. Klausen tells us in his introduction, is a dependent part of a world of symbols and concepts, and so should be studied in this general setting. His intention, he says, is to analyse ‘the relationship between the natural environment, the world of ideas, and art among various Dayak tribes.’ This is a sound and promising method.

Unfortunately, the Lumholtz collection is insufficiently documented for an analysis of this kind. Mr. Klausen makes resourceful use of the morsels of information that Lumholtz provides but these are never really adequate to his purpose and again and again he is led into speculation and conjecture in making his interpretations. Mr. Klausen seems to have been well aware of the difficulties confronting him: he admits the mediocrity of the Lumholtz collection from the point of view of systematic ethnography, notes the considerable linguistic difficulties under which Lumholtz laboured, and complains of the often incomprehensible and seemingly inconsistent entries in Lumholtz’s catalogues and diaries.

By skilful use of the fragmentary observations available to him Mr. Klausen does succeed in throwing light on a number of basketry distributions and patterns, and his book (which is very well illus-
The book written by Mr. Klausen falls far short, however, of presenting an adequate analysis of the relationship between the world of ideas and art among the Dayaks. Such an analysis, if soundly based, would be a valuable addition to both Borneo studies and anthropological theory; but it will never come from work on museum collections alone. What is also needed is research in the field: detailed discussions with the artists themselves leading to full documentation of their relevant concepts and beliefs. This is the kind of research that ethnological museums would do well to support, for it would bring new life and meaning to the specimens that crowd their galleries. Without such a different and illuminating book, Mr. Klausen might have written had he been able to work on his field. Amongst the Dayaks in Borneo, instead of amongst their baskets in Oslo.

J. D. FREEMAN

**Paleosiberian Peoples and Languages: A Bibliographical Guide.**


This carefully compiled bibliography of nearly 2,000 entries is arranged in five sections: bibliographies, general works, the Glyks, the Chukchi group (Chukchi, Koryaks, Kamchadals), the Yukagir group (Yukagiry, Chuvantsev, Omoks), and the Evenese group (Kety, Koyt, Asany, Ariny). The Eskimo, Aleuts, and Ainu are omitted, although sometimes classed with the Paleosiberians (a term which the authors prefer, with some justification, to the older Paleosaitic). Each section is subdivided into publications with authors, anonymous and collective publications, and archival sources. The many accounts by travellers and administrators, rather than by ethnographers and linguists, are a particularly valuable addition because so hard to trace. The book will be essential to all working in this field.

T. E. ARMSTRONG


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This volume is the third in the series 'Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary,' of which the first two (Sargonic Texts from the Diya Region and Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar) appeared from the same author in 1952. It offers a picture of the available Old Akkadian lexicographical material from the earliest times to the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur, omitting items written logographically only for which syllabic spellings are unknown or uncertain. Onomastic material is included for the pre-Sargonic and Sargonic periods in full, but for the Ur III period in selection only. All entries are arranged in order of consonantal skeleton, which would usually be called (but which is distinguished by the author from) 'root.'

Quid plura? The book is indispensable to specialists in the fields which it touches.

P. HULIN

**EUROPE**

**Stowieściyczyzna Wczesnosredniewieczna (Early Medieval Slav Culture: An Outline of Material Culture).**


In this work the author gives a picture of the transitions of the early medieval material culture of the Slavs, drawing attention to the fundamental importance of the agricultural economy in the transformations of various Slav countries. Political circumstances were certainly an important factor causing the final victory of cultivation by ploughing to take place comparatively late among the Slavs. The development of technique brought about an increase in foodstuffs and exerted a decisive influence on social progress, at the same time leading to an intensification of social differences and evoking the need for the formation of a state organization to defend the interests of the possessing classes. In turn, the formation of state organizations created conditions favouring further technical development in Slav communities. We may boldly say that the development of new systems had a formative influence on the economic development of Slav countries. It should, however, be remembered that agriculture is only one of the branches of Slav economy. We see different transformations taking place simultaneously in other fields of this economy, and an enormous interdependence in the development of the different branches of life. Various impediments and disturbances took place, mainly as a result of different political events. In proportion as the differences in wealth became more marked, there naturally arose greater social differences, and an intensification of the class warfare ensued. This emerged particularly distinctly in the earlier phases of the early Middle Ages. The Church sanctioned the feudal order not only in the general activity of the Church but also in sacred edifices.

It would be extremely interesting to ascertain the causes which led to development in some Slav groups and to failure to develop in others. In any case, the downfall of certain Slav peoples was not a result of their low economic level; for instance, certain Slav territories on the Elbe, which showed a high level of economy, were soon deprived of independent nationality, partly through their native feudal overlords. It may be supposed that they fell in the struggle not only with a foreign power and nationality, but also with an alien church, in defence of their heathen faith. The native feudal overlords, however, sided with the new Christian Church.

On the other hand, other Slav peoples, of low standing as regards their economic level, kept their ethnic aspect for a long time, being disarmed by their enemies because of their low level of social development. It may be said in general that a complex of various causes prevented Slav culture from developing with any sort of uniformity.

No doubt some of the Slavs were overcome by certain peoples, which naturally could not have had a favourable effect on their culture; nevertheless a considerable majority of them lived from the end of the fifth to the middle of the tenth century in different conditions, and it cannot be said that they were as backward as might appear from some written sources. On the contrary, certain centres of development of Slav culture (e.g. Bulgaria, Croatia, Moravia, Ruthenia, Poland and Bohemia) may confidently be compared with the leading countries of those times, partly even surpassing them in certain branches of production, but standing somewhat lower in others. Again, it should be stressed that the word 'West' is not a term which permits the assumption that all Western countries stand on an equally high level. We must also bear in mind the relation between the cultural levels of the West and of Byzantium in order to evaluate the situation correctly.

Recent archaeological investigations show the ancient Slav culture in a new light. It appears that the belief that the Slavs (or at any rate certain groups of them) had a low culture may be regarded as a propagated myth. There is no doubt as to the creative contribution of the Slavs to the task of forming a new social order. Without the share of the Slavs it is impossible to imagine the attainment over a great part of Europe of the further stage of social and economic development in the form of feudalism, and so the achievement of a system which constituted an advance in relation to the previous period.

The material culture of the early medieval Slavs shows distinct links with the older culture, especially that which we know from the territories lying between the Odra, Vistula and Dnieper. We may therefore speak quite seriously of its native pedigree. Independently of its native features, a number of traits may be found in it showing from what varied cultural centres the Slavs drew incentive for further development. Here should be mentioned their contacts with the Goths and various nomadic peoples as well as with the peoples of the West and North. Finally, the development of the
Slavs was markedly influenced on the one hand by that great centre of civilization, Byzantium, and on the other by the whole of that cultural region which drew its inspiration from the sources of ancient Rome. At one period the influence of Chorasm and Slavic Sarmatian was not without significance, as well as the hitherto underestimated Arab influence. Again, mention should be made of the influences of the Ugro-Finnies and Baltic peoples on some Slav groups.

Slav culture in the early medieval period cannot be treated as a uniform entity, chronologically, geographically or socially. Here it should only be mentioned that the average standard of education of the Bulgarian, Ruthenian, Polish or Czech populations in the early Middle Ages was in reality much higher than was formerly realized. This is shown by the rather rich collections in the libraries of the time. It should also be emphasized that almost all written documents speak of the great skill of the Slavs in the art of warfare. They mention not only many victories over the attacks of foreign armies, but also the undertaking of successful forays on German soil, or on the lands of one of the contemporary military powers, namely Byzantium.

From the reckoning of the German historian Schinenmann it has been shown that out of 170 Teutonic expeditions (Franconian, Saxon and German) organized against the Slavs in the period between the incursion of Charlemagne in A.D. 789 and the raid of Frederick Barbarossa against Poland in 1157, scarcely one-third brought the results anticipated by the Germans, and twenty of them ended in complete disaster for the Imperial armies. (K. Schinenmann, 'Deutsche Kriegsführung im Osten während des Mittelalters,' Deutsches Arch. f. Geschichte des Mittelalters, Vol. II, 1938, pp. 55-84).

The military successes of the Slavs depended not only on their skill in warfare, both in attack and in defence, but also on their possession of suitable arms and fortified strongholds on sites well chosen for defence, taking advantage of natural obstacles. Finally, various other data show that the Slavs won their victories by their marked ability in adopting a higher military technique and deliberately developing it. It is known that even as early as the wars of the Slavs with Byzantium they made use of various mechanical devices when besieging towns; in this way the Slavs took Salonica, and Gall-Anonim relates their use of siege machines during the struggles of the Poles with the Pomerians. It is also known that the Slavs used Greek fire (from an account of Wolin written in the eleventh century).

Statements as to the lack of military skill amongst the Slavs should therefore be relegated to the deliberately fabricated propaganda of bourgeois German historians.

The important military achievements of the Slavs from the South and from the Elbe are well known; as are those of the Poles, especially during the reign of Mieszko I and Boleslaw the Bold. The sea battles of the Baltic Slavs in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, waged with great fleets, were also full of glory, and testify that in many cases the Slavs were antagonists equal even to such experienced seamen as the Vikings, so that in this field also the Slavs were not unduly retarded.

Ibrahim ibn Jakub also remarked on the military skill of the Slavs in the tenth century, writing that if it were not for the disagreement provoked by the manifold divisions of their branches and subdivisions into tribes, no people would equal them in strength. In any case, there are no reports which would permit of any suggestion being put forward that the Slavs, and particularly their leading groups, were in any respect economically or socially backward in relation to the Western European peoples.

KAZIMIERZ STOŁYHWO

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OCEANIA


Miss McConnel is to be congratulated on this book.

It is seldom, if ever, that any Australian writer has succeeded so admirably in producing a work that is accurate in content, has retained the style of the aboriginal story-teller and is pleasant and easy to read. This excellence is due to several factors; Miss McConnel's years of training, her long association with the people about whom she writes, and her obvious affection for and understanding of them. Also, Miss McConnel's ability to use the short staccato sentences of the aboriginal story-teller and his continuous repetition of the same phrase, and yet to escape monotony in the narrative, indicates her natural skill as a writer.

The task of recording aboriginal myths is by no means an easy one, most writers either giving a factual account of the myths, and sometimes the associated ceremonies, or relating the myth in the form of a European fairy tale. Although both approaches, each in its own way, are admirable, neither of them conveys to the reader, as Miss McConnel has done, the dramatic quality of the myths and the vital place that they take in the minds and lives of the aboriginal people.

In her preface and introduction, Miss McConnel has set the stage, so to speak, for the myths which she later records, by giving a short, concise description of the toponography of the country of the Munkin tribe of southern Cape York, north-eastern Australia, a toponography which has determined their techniques of food-gathering and their way of life.

The myths are arranged according to their dominant motifs: economic, technical, dramatic and ritualistic. They are, to use the author's own words: 'stories that tell of a time when men, with miraculous powers, ... by their intelligence and skill, brought into existence everything that now is: sea, moon and stars, thunder, lightning and the rainbow, fire and cyclone, trees, animals, fish, birds and plants, and all those human characteristics with which men and women are endowed. ... They are realistic word pictures of the exploits, the ingenuity and the personality of these creative beings who gradually assume the characteristics of the material objects with which they later became incarnated.'

The only criticism that I have to offer about this interesting and particularly well produced book is the absence of an index, a serious omission in a work so filled with accurate ethnological data.

CHARLES P. MOUNTFORD


The complete journals of Captain Tetens cover his seafaring career in many parts of the world, but the translator of the present volume has abstracted those sections dealing with his trading expeditions to the western Pacific between 1862 and 1868. The remainder of the journals probably have no special interest for anthropologists, though they must make good reading. Tetens' activities were centred on Palau and Yap, and it is in relation to these groups that his journal is mainly valuable, but he sailed as far east as the Nomoi group and south-east to the small islands of the western Bismarck Archipelago. Though a few errors are indicated in footnotes it seems to have been an accurate observer and a brave and humane man. Mrs. Speoehr has performed a useful service in making this work available in English, which has involved re-editing as well as translating from the German.

B. A. L. CRANSTONEN


This admirable museum handbook is similar in size and format to the same author's Australian Aboriginal Decorative Art. In the space of 68 pages it has been impossible to give any detailed account of the social and religious functions of painted or incised rock art but it provides a clear summary of the styles, methods and motifs and their distribution in Australia, with suggestions as to the relative ages of the more distinctive forms, and breaks some new ground in doing so. It is attractively produced and generously illustrated and is furnished with an extensive list of references.
SPECIMEN PAGES FROM THE ‘PEKING’ (ABOVE) AND ‘URGA’ EDITIONS OF THE ‘ANATOMICAL DICTIONARY’

The representation of the ‘Snow Man’ is included in each case; cf. figs. 1 and 2.
OLD LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR THE EXISTENCE OF THE
"SNOW MAN" IN TIBET AND MONGOLIA*

by

EMANUEL VLČEK, M.D.
Archeological Institute, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague

In 1958 the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences sent an expedition to Mongolia which started its first research project in co-operation with the Scientific Committee of Mongolia. The first task of the Czechoslovak—Mongolian expedition was the investigation of ancient Turkish memorials on the river Orkhon, dating from the first half of the eighth century. The expedition, led by the Czechoslovak archaeologist Dr. L. Jisl and the Mongolian archaeologist Serosjub, further included, on the Czechoslovak side, a physician and anthropologist (E. Vlček), a technical assistant, a surveyor, a photographer, a driver and an administrative worker, and on the Mongolian side archaeologists Perle and Navan and ethnographer Badamkhatai. Twenty-five students of Choibalsan University, Ulanbator, worked at the locality investigated.

In addition to the main task of investigating the memorial of Prince Külütehine, the Czechoslovak—Mongolian archaeological expedition also had a secondary anthropological task—to establish conditions for anthropological research in Mongolia. The anthropological programme included in principle three main questions: in the first place, the characterization of the main population of Mongolia, the Khalkha, from the viewpoint of physical anthropology; secondly, to find out the presence and percentage of the Red Indian component in this Khalkha population in the sense of Hrdlička’s migration theory on the arrival of North American Red Indians from the Asian continent; and finally to trace possible remnants of ancient stock in the present Khalkha population which reached as far as Central Europe, during the proto-historical and historical periods, especially the Hun and Tatar elements.

The expedition succeeded in ascertaining important facts and in gathering material on all three points. This subject will be discussed elsewhere.

The results of field work were also intended to be supplemented by anthropological, anatomical and other medical data from Tibetan and Mongolian literary sources which might have contributed to the history of anthropological investigations in Mongolia and Tibet.

While investigating Tibetan books in the library of a former lamaistic university of Gandan, I found a book, by Lowsan-Yondon and Tsend-Otcher, entitled in free translation Anatomical Dictionary for Recognizing Various Diseases. It was a typical Tibetan book, printed from woodcuts on long, narrow strips of paper. Each leaf was printed on both sides and each page was from a separately cut wooden plate (Plate H). In the systematic discussion of the fauna of Tibet and adjacent regions I found on p. 24, in a group of monkeys, an illustration of a wild man. This illustration

* With Plate H and two text figures

(Fig. 1) shows a biped primate standing erect on a rock, with one arm stretched upwards. The head with the face and the whole body, except for the hands and feet proper, are covered with long hair. The illustration is realistic, only stylized according to the conception of lamaistic art. Trilingual captions, sandja in Tibetan, bitchun in Chinese and Künchim görügü in Mongolian, denote this creature in translation as man-animal. The book was published as a so-called Peking edition at the end of the eighteenth century in Peking.

FIG. 1. THE WILD MAN AS SHOWN IN THE 'PEKING' EDITION

While studying the literature in the central library of the Scientific Committee in Mongolia I found, in the Tibetan department, another, more recent, edition of the above book, printed a century later in Urga (now Ulanbator) (Plate H). The author of this edition was Jambaldorje. An illustration of the above biped primate, along with
monkeys, appears in this book also as part of a systematic discussion of Tibetan natural history on p. 119 (Fig. 2). The trilingual names are, moreover, supplemented with explanatory notes in Tibetan. Here, the creature is called osodrashin in Tibetan, peeyi in Chinese and zerleg khoon in Mongolian, which in translation means wild man. The illustration of the wild man, from the thematic viewpoint, is absolutely identical with the 100-years-older copy of the Peking edition, though it is effaced in a less stylized and far more credible manner. Again, the upright position of the figure on the rock is identical, even the upraised arm and the slightly bended knees. The head is covered with hair and the face with a full beard, and the rest of the body, excepting the hands and feet proper, with a short fur that does not conceal the proportions of the body, such as the configuration of the large thoracic muscles. Left of the picture there is a Tibetan text which in free translation runs: 'The wild man lives in the mountains, his origin is close to that of the bear, his body resembles that of man and he has enormous strength. His meat may be eaten to treat mental diseases and his gall cures jaundice.'

Both illustrations of the wild man document in a remarkable way the existence of this creature known for at least two centuries to the natives of Tibet and to the monks who used to meet him from Tibet to the present Mongolia and therefore included him in a kind of standard textbook of the natural history of Tibet applied in Buddhist medicine. The Mongols themselves no longer knew of this illustration, so that our search was the first to reveal these interesting documents of the ancient knowledge of the natives and monks of Central Asia, concerning the still obscure wild man in Mongolia and the rest of Central Asia.

The authenticity of these illustrations of the wild man is supported by the fact that among tens of illustrations of animals of various classes (reptiles, amphibians, birds, mammals) there is not a single case of a fantastic or mythological animal, such as those known from mediaeval European books (dragons, water monsters, demons, etc.). The creatures mentioned here are actually living animals observed in nature. If this illustration is so realistic that it may be zoologically exactly determined up to the species even without reading the texts, there is no reason to disbelieve in the authenticity (except for the above mentioned stylization, of course) of the illustration of the wild man.

An interesting detail which even further supports the ecological characteristics of the creature described consists in its being placed on a rock, which indicates the environment in which the animal lives, in contrast, for instance, to the arboreal habit of the monkeys shown on the right.

On Mongolian territory, the question of the occurrence of wild man, called here almas or alhoosty, is being studied by the Mongolian scientist, Dr. B. Rinchen. He has already gathered a number of testimonies of encounters with this almas (Sovremennaya Mongolia, 1958, No. 5, pp. 34-38).

It is not yet possible to say what the relation of the wild man of Mongolia, almas, to the so-called snow man from the Himalayas may be, but in view of the fact that he has spread over the vast area of the whole 'Roof of the World,' the existence of certain relations must be anticipated.

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**DEATH AND SOCIAL CONTROL AMONG THE LODAGAA**

**by**

JACK GOODY, M.A., PH.D.

*University of Cambridge*

In this paper I want to discuss the social function of burial customs and beliefs in a future life. Such institutions appear to be found in all known societies. All groups formally dispose of their dead, and this is in most cases an occasion for elaborate ceremonies. As for beliefs in a future life, one of Frazer's vast ethnographical compendia was devoted to demonstrating the universality of this idea. As far as I know this contention has not been seriously challenged. Why should these institutions be of such wide distribution?
Let us first turn to what earlier writers have had to say on this subject. The main sociological contributions to the study of funeral ceremonies were made by Van Gennep in *Rites de Passage* (1909) and Hertz in an article in *Année Sociologique* of 1907. Both writers were strongly influenced by Durkheim. Van Gennep viewed death as one of a number of situations which involve major changes of status and which are implicit in the passage of an individual through the social system. Such changes cannot be effected suddenly, by a wave of a wand. They require some formalized public statement and they require a period of transition during which the individuals undergoing the change and those with whom they have social relations can adjust themselves to the new situation. This transition is marked by what Van Gennep calls rites of passage. There are the rites of separation, whereby an individual is cut off from his earlier status; this is followed by the intermediary stage (*période de marge*) and the series of ceremonies is concluded by the rites of aggregation whereby he is inducted into his new status.

A large number of these rites centre around the key points in the continual turnover of membership of human groups, namely, birth, marriage and death. Funeral ceremonies are the final rite of passage in the life cycle, public statements of the separation of the dead from this world, and of the bereaved from the dead, and finally of the aggregation of the ghost of the deceased to the community of the dead and the bereaved to the community of the living.

Hertz was in some respects more aware of the critical role of funeral ceremonies than Van Gennep and linked them directly to the cult of the dead and beliefs in a future life. This he did by isolating another 'universal,' the double funeral, the first part being the mortuary ceremony when the corpse is disposed of, and the second the obsequies, a service corresponding to the end of the period of mourning, to the final phase of the change in status from a living to a dead member of the society and, according to Hertz, to the physical dissolution of the corpse. Through the double funeral, the problem of the disposal of the body was seen to be associated with the cult of the dead and with the belief in a future life. In most primitive societies death, as Hertz pointed out, is considered ‘unnatural,’ an occurrence which has to be explained by what we would regard as supernatural agencies. It is not only unnatural but unacceptable. A future existence is postulated as a supplement to this present one, a land of the dead as a counterpart of the land of the living. Malinowski in his Riddell Memorial Lectures speaks of the belief in the immortality of the soul as one of the two principal sources of religious inspiration, the other being the belief in providence. ‘It is the outcome of the deepest human cravings, the result of that desire for continuity of human life and the traditional relationship between the generations, which is the very essence of human culture’ (1916, p. 29). Like much of Malinowski’s writings on religion, this account displays a not entirely happy blend of Durkheim’s sociology with the psychologizing of the English ‘intellectualists.’ The influence of the latter is seen in the attempt to explain social institutions in terms of fixed psychological elements. We require a more sociological formulation. From such a point of view, this universal belief appears to arise from the basic contradiction which exists between the continuity of the social system—the relative perpetuity of the constituent groups and of their corpus of norms—and the impermanence of its personnel. This conflict between the mortality of the human body and the immortality of the body politic is resolved by the belief in a future life. Perhaps only situations of rapid social change can admit widespread scepticism in this field.

In addition to this generalized function, I want to suggest that beliefs in a future life have specific functions in maintaining social control, in affirming the basic norms of the community. The same may also be said of funeral ceremonies; not only do they provide opportunities for acting out typical conflict situations but they furthermore place strong sanctions, of both a positive and a negative kind, on certain acts of members of the group. Moreover, the actual method of burial may itself act as a sanction on behaviour.

These institutions perform such functions by providing for the differential treatment of the bereaved in the funeral ceremonies, the corpse at burial and the dead in the after-life. Such differences may of course be related to status distinctions of a relatively permanent kind; a king has a different funeral ceremony from his chamberlain. But they may also be related to the manner in which an individual has conducted himself within a given role.

Consider the case of burial practices. Here we often find that royalty is accorded different treatment from commoners, and these special procedures may be related, as among the Ashanti, to the sacredness of kings and to their ‘divinity’ after death. In addition we frequently find that wrongdoers of one kind or another, parricides, suicides, witches, are given particular forms of burial.

Before I offer any detailed evidence to support this proposition, let me consider some general points in the analysis of cultural similarities and differences. Funeral ceremonies, including burial customs, and eschatological beliefs display many remarkable similarities throughout the world, despite the fact that the possible combinations and elaborations in this field of ritual and belief would appear to be so numerous. To take just one example, Tylor attempted to show the universality of the body-soul dichotomy and of the many points of resemblance in these beliefs. There would seem to be two main ways of exploring these convergences. Either they arise by diffusion from a common source or they derive from certain similarities in the structure of human societies generally, from certain problems which confront all social systems. Tylor firmly rejected the diffusionist explanation of the universality of the body-soul dichotomy and I think rightly so. Many resemblances in the institutions centering around death may be similarly treated. In this field too the principle of economy of explanation renders assumptions of a diffusionist nature unnecessary.

In dealing with differences between societies the question of diffusion becomes more relevant to archeologists and
ethnologists who are attempting to explain the distribution of certain artifacts and institutions among human societies. In archaeological studies, for example, a great deal of attention has been paid to burial practices and a number of deductions have been made from the distribution of the various types of graves and of the goods which they contain. In some cases it may be said that hypotheses of diffusion can be established with a certain degree of credibility. But this first hypothesis often carries with it certain less explicit assumptions. The objects and institutions are often implicitly identified with the people with whom they were first associated and the distribution of the objects then tends to be attributed to the migration of the peoples. Thus Childs in his well-known studies of the Bronze Age speaks of the Megalith-Builders, a phrase which implies a identification of a material object with a social group. Prehistory is full of Beaker and such like peoples where the same association is made. I am not competent to assess the detailed evidence for these assumptions. But I would insist that they are much more speculative than many archaeologists seem to realize. Indeed from the anthropological point of view, they are suspect on two grounds. First there are sound sociological reasons for expecting different types of burial customs side by side in the same society, a principle which I will illustrate by reference to the LoDagaa. And secondly, even supposing that such differences have to be accounted for by diffusion from neighbouring societies, the majority of known instances occur not as the result of permanent migration or invasion but through the temporary contacts between peoples usually made in the course of trade.

It is a salutary check upon reconstruction of societies of the distant past to consider a contemporary society and ask what the prehistorian would make of the evidence left behind after a century or so had passed. What indeed would remain of the beliefs and practices of the LoDagaa which we are considering here, that is to say, the methods of disposing of the dead and the beliefs in an afterlife?

The LoDagaa have three main types of inhumation: in a chambered tomb, in a mound grave and in a trench grave. A new chambered tomb is normally dug for each group of full brothers and their wives. A small opening sufficient to permit a man to enter is dug in the earth and this is widened out into a bell-shaped chamber. Inside two earth benches are left for the corpses, with little piles of soil for headrests. Into this chamber the body is lowered, facing west if a woman and east if a man. Should the dead man be the last of a group of full brothers, the grave is then closed with an upturned pot never to be reopened; otherwise it is a stone that is placed over the opening.

Chambered graves are usually situated in a cemetery. But old men and their wives whose sons have themselves borne children are buried in the courtyard of their own house, a special place of honour indicating the value attached to continuing one’s line.

The second type of inhumation is above, not below ground. The LoDagaa do not consider a child to be a human being in his own right until he has ceased to be orally dependent upon his mother and until he can walk and talk. An infant who dies before this, that is, before the age of about three, is buried under a mound of earth beside the first crossroads on the path leading to the mother’s home. The pile is covered with thorns to keep the dogs from digging up the corpse; on the top is placed the dead child’s cradle through which a thick stake is driven. I cannot here disentangle the many strands of meaning woven into these acts, but I would like to call attention to the striking similarities with the burial of the blood-guilty in mediæval Europe—and indeed later, for the last crossroads burial occurred outside Lord’s cricket ground in 1823. Clearly here is a case in which diffusionist explanations would be somewhat irrelevant and the historian, be he ethnologist or archaeologist, can provide little in the way of an answer. Can the sociologist offer any account of these similarities? I think that this is possible. Murderers, and in particular witches, in mediæval Europe and infants in West Africa who die an early death are both considered types of being which it is imperative to get rid of and to prevent from returning to this world. The LoDagaa believe children who die not to be potential human beings at all, but some sprite come to plague the mother. Unless precautions are taken the sprite will try again to re-enter the mother’s womb. The corpse is buried at the crossroad because this is a point of dispersal; moreover it is thought that the sprite may be confused should it attempt to return. The stake is driven through the cradle to destroy it utterly and through the corpse to prevent it returning to the mother. The same ritual themes are common to both these forms of burial, LoDagaa infant-burial and mediæval witch-burial; both acts can be seen as rites to separate certain socially disapproved categories both from the ordinary dead and from the living.

The third type of burial demonstrates this principle in a yet more definite manner. A trench grave is dug for those whose sins against the local Earth shrine have not been expiated. These sins include witchcraft, murder, suicide and sexual intercourse outside human habitation. Such a sinner’s grave is dug in the side of a watercourse so that when the rains come the impurity may be washed outside the parish and not remain to impair the fertility of the earth.

An archaeologist examining the material remains of the LoDagaa might be tempted by these different forms of burial to construct a hypothesis to explain their diffusion from neighbouring peoples. He might then be led to speak of the trench peoples and the chamber peoples, and possibly to suggest that one of these had conquered or displaced the other. The sociologist sees the co-existence of these different customs in another light, corresponding to differences within a single social system rather than between such systems. The various forms of burial given to infants, to adults and to grandparents correspond to the valuation placed by society upon these statuses. And whilst certain achievements are positively rewarded in this manner, other acts are negatively sanctioned. Those who disobey the basic norms of the society are treated as outcasts at their funerals and are punished in the afterlife.

We in our own society are equally familiar with this mechanism of social control, with the positive and negative sanctions involved in the burial of the dead. Those who
achieve fame are buried in Westminster Abbey; others purchase a plot in 'the best part' of Highgate cemetery. As for negative sanctions, one has only to recall that the Christian Church formerly refused, and in part still refuses, burial in its churchyards to unbaptized children, to suicides, to lunatics (thought to be possessed by the devil) and to all those who had been excommunicated. Even within the churchyard differentiation occurred. Whereas in the south, east and west the gravestones are often packed as closely together as space will allow, on the north side there are sometimes few or no headstones to be seen. For this area was reserved for those who had transgressed the moral norms of the community. Acts such as homicide and suicide necessarily threaten the existence of a group. One would therefore expect the burials of those who disobey the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill (members of the group)' to be marked by different features of some kind. The Romans, who normally cremated the body, buried both the suicide and the murderer, whilst the particide, the worst of sinners in a patrilineal society, had the further indignity of having a cock, the emblem of impiety, sewn up in the sack in which the body was interred.

The material remains of the LoDagaal would reveal that the dead are treated in several ways. These, it has been suggested, can be explained in terms of the social structure itself without any resort to hypotheses of diffusion, certainly diffusion by the migration of peoples. What evidence would there be of any beliefs in the afterlife? The archaeologist would discover no record of such a belief as grave goods, other than the white smock in which the corpse is arrayed, are never placed in the tomb. The bereaved do in fact offer certain objects during the course of the funeral ceremonies to provide for the journey to the land of the dead but these are taken by those who remain behind. The apparent inconsistency in such a procedure derives from an inherent contradiction in all relationships with the supernatural and is equally evident in most sacrifices. The only model on which such relationships can be established is the pattern of relationships between human beings, and these in the nature of things cannot be applicable in their entirety. Hence the contradiction in the nature of sacrifice, a gift which cannot be received, a sacramental meal in which the deity cannot participate. One offers to the deity that which he cannot eat and the communicant has therefore to consume it himself.

Although the graves of the LoDagaal would provide no material evidence of any belief in an afterlife, it has already been suggested that there are strong sociological reasons for assuming this to exist in all human societies. In fact the LoDagaal have such a belief and in a form similar to those found in many parts of the world. There is the river of death, the ferryman to carry the dead across, and a series of punishments meted out to sinners. Indeed so striking are the similarities to Mediterranean myths that the cultural historian might be inclined to assume that there had been diffusion from that source, a fertilization of the barbarian cultures of Africa from the Fertile Crescent. However, the similarities in the concepts of the afterlife, like the similarities in the concept of the soul noted by Tylor, can better be explained in a sociological framework, in terms of the structure of the situation. The alternative, diffusionist, account of religious beliefs is often based upon an ethnocentric approach which divides religions, like societies, into two distinct and separate categories, the primitive and the advanced. Any feature of primitive religions reminiscent of our own tends to be thought of as derivative from the 'great' religions. For example, whereas the 'great' religions, particularly in their concepts of the afterlife, are considered ethical, primitive religions are not. That such an idea of concepts of the other world still persists among students of comparative religion can be seen from E. O. James's recent book, _The Beginnings of Religion_; that it lives on among anthropological writers can be seen from the recent Frazer Lecture, given by Raymond Firth.3

This dichotomy I believe misconceived. How can a future life be conceptualized by a social group except within the framework of their own system of moral judgments? Like the deities themselves, concepts of the afterlife are necessarily standardized projections of the objects and relationships existing in this world. Tylor classified these ideas into two varieties, those based upon the 'continuance-theory' and those based upon the 'retribution-theory.' He further suggested that in the evolutionary sequence the retribution theory developed from the continuance theory, that future life as a reflection of present existence was superseded by the idea of it as a compensation for this world.

LoDagaal beliefs lend no support to Tylor's evolutionary sequence, nor to his classification. I do not wish to maintain that the LoDagaal are oppressed by the thought of retribution in the other world; they are certainly no more so than we ourselves. In both cases it is easy to overemphasize the importance of such beliefs in the total system of social control. But the idea of punishments and rewards is present and appears to me an intrinsic part of all concepts of a future existence. Sociologically it is an extension to the supernatural plane of the system of social control, a standardized projection of the moral and jural norms to a level which serves to place them past human questioning. The idea of retribution reinforces this code through the belief that even death itself will provide no end to the system of rewards and punishments.

The total system of social control in a society consists of three types of sanctions. First, there are those which are exercised by the living over the living. Secondly, there are those which are supposed to be exercised by the dead and by other supernatural beings over the living. This is a type made quite explicit in ancestor-worship, cults of the dead and appeals to the authority of past members of the group, in particular the father. Thirdly, there are those which are thought to be exercised over the dead by the dead themselves as well as by other supernatural beings.

In this last category LoDagaal beliefs include the punishments meted out by the ferryman at the river of death to debtors, witches, thieves and those who have refused legitimate requests. In addition there are the punishments inflicted in the land of the dead by the high god himself.
Finally, and falling halfway between this and the first category of sanctions, lies the threat and actuality of differential treatment during the funeral ceremonies. There are a great number of such differences in the funeral ceremonies and I have only been concerned with one, namely the various methods of disposal of the body, that is to say the one which would be available for scrutiny by future anthropologists.

Beliefs in an afterlife and elaborate funeral customs exist in all human societies and arise from the contradiction which exists between the perpetuity of a social system and the mortality of its personnel. In each society human beings are differentially treated both in the funeral ceremonies and in the afterlife according to their acts in this world. In other words these rituals and beliefs form a particularly important part of the total system of social control because of the differential treatment of the dead in this world and the idea of retribution in the next.

Notes
1 This paper was given in a joint symposium of archaeologists and anthropologists on 'The Disposal of the Dead and the Beliefs in an After-Life' at the Bristol meeting of the British Association in September, 1955. The content of the paper is based upon my doctoral thesis but the form was dictated by the audience to which it was directed. I carried out fieldwork among the LoDaga of northern Ghana between 1950 and 1952.
2 A large trench grave is sometimes dug for the victims of a serious epidemic.
3 E. O. James, The Beginnings of Religion, p. 131; R. Firth, The Fate of the Soul, 1955, p. 5, ... as a rule the fate of the soul is not associated with any concept of rewards or punishments after death. The doctrine of retribution on a moral basis after death is generally lacking. In this there is a strong contrast to the beliefs of followers of most of the major religions.'

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
PROCEEDINGS

Some Problems of Social and Economic Development in Fiji. By R. R. Nayacakalou, M.A. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 19 March, 1959

Fiji has been undergoing a cultural change for over a century. Trade had begun by the turn of the nineteenth century; Christianity was introduced in 1835 and a colonial form of government in 1874. The process was greatly accelerated during the Second World War when Fijians enlisted for military service at home and abroad, and large numbers of New Zealand and United States troops were stationed in Fiji.

During the post-war years the influence of money upon village social life has been very pronounced. In the less accessible areas money is obtained by agricultural production, but in areas more accessible to the urban centres wage employment is the principal source of income. While the former tends to preserve and strengthen the authority structure within the household, the latter exhibits strongly individualistic tendencies and has a disruptive effect on household and village authority. And when the Fijians employ the wage system among themselves—as they often have to do in connexion with commercial production—there is a clear reversal of the principles which formerly governed labour organization under which relatives were merely asked to assist and were feasted in return. The wage principle enables the employer of labour to pierce the circle of kinsfolk and hire labour from outside it, thus weakening the social relationships which lay behind economic relations in the traditional form of organization.

Alongside the influence of money must be placed two important demographic trends of the post-war years. The first is that Fijian population increased by 25 per cent during the decade 1946–56, so that in some areas severe land shortage has been felt. The force of this will be seen more clearly if we consider (a) that 169,000 Indians (compared with the Fijians' 148,000) have also to be accommodated on the same 7,000 square miles of land; (b) that Fijian agricultural production increased very greatly during and after the war; and (c) that Fijian lands are held in terms of social groups, which restrict optimum land-distribution because it is highly inflexible in the face of considerable demographic variation within the owning groups.

The second demographic trend is partly a result of the first: there has been a marked movement of population from less accessible areas to those where greater opportunities exist for wage employment.

Two summary statements may be made about the latest trends in social change: (a) the principles which traditionally governed the ordering of interpersonal relations (such as kinship and locality of residence), as well as traditional loyalties and allegiances, have weakened as social horizons expand and demand new principles of alignment such as religious, occupational, recreational and neo-local affiliations; (b) the new circumstances favour a reshuffle of population—a trend which continues, and which is known in its most problematic manifestation as the urban drift.

Government policy must be considered in relation to these trends. Its guiding principle in both the social and the economic fields is that of encouraging development on the basis of the village system. Movement away from the village is strongly discouraged, and individualist farming on village lands but outside the village system is regarded with disfavour. Village development projects, on the other hand, undertaken either by villages as wholes under traditional leadership, or by co-operative societies of the Rochdale type, are fully encouraged.

It seems clear that the present lines of Government policy, and the present trends in social and economic change which stem from factors generally operative in culture-contact situations, run counter to each other. Either there will have to be intensified activity and propaganda to give efficacy to the lines of development envisaged by the Government, or its policy will succumb to the force of factors much more subtle, pervasive and powerful than seems to be realized.

Nsaw Political Conceptions. By Dr. Phyllis Kabeby, University College, London. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 7 May, 1959

The 'Nsaw chieftdom in Bamenda, Southern Cameroons, is of interest to social anthropologists for several reasons. First it is an example of a relatively small conquest state which, at the height of its power towards the end of the last
century, had developed a governmental machinery of considerable complexity and efficiency. Secondly, Nsaw political institutions have proved remarkably tough and adaptable during the vicissitudes which have beset the country over the last 50 years. One explanation lies in the fact that Nsaw was, until about the mid-nineteen thirties, 'lighty administered' and there was no large-scale draining-off of adult males to the plantations in the south. Another factor is to be sought in the Nsaw conceptions of authority—of a chieflyship which is both sacred and paramount and yet, in the last resort, accountable to the nation.

In the opening decades of the nineteenth century the ancient capital of Koviem was sacked for a second time by raiders who came from the direction of Banyo. A new capital, Kumbo, was established—probably in the early eighteen-twenties in what is now the centre of Nsaw territory. Under the rule of three great Paramount Chiefs (afon; sing., fon), Nsaw conquered a number of small chieflydoms in the south, west and north-west, and incorporated them into the state. Towards the end of the eighteen-eighties, they inflicted a major defeat on an invading Bamum army, and were also successful in warding off Fulani raids. An extension of power to the north was checked by the defeat of Nsaw at the hands of the Germans in 1906.

Among the Nsaw proper, as distinct from descendants of slaves and members of tributary chieflydoms, three categories are distinguished: royals (wondo and wir djiy); retainers (nishlaf); and, lastly, commoners (wir mtar)—descendants of men who became voluntary allies of the Fon and his followers in the early days and have certain privileges, and who are often spoken of as ‘the real people of Nsaw’ or ‘the people of the earth.’ Princesses are given in marriage to commoner lords who, on their side, present daughters as wives to the Fon. Only a prince who was born after his father succeeded to the chieflyship, and whose mother is of commoner status, is eligible for the chieflyship. There are about 20 important commoner patricians dispersed throughout Nsaw villages, in addition to royal and a few retainer lineages. Patrilineages are the smallest political units, and the heads of lineages (afal; sing., fal—best translated as ‘lord’) had and still have considerable authority. In addition, most of the important offices of state are vested in lineages, and appointment involves consultation of members of the respective lineage and of influential neighbours, and final ratification by the Fon.

The Fon lives at his palace in the capital, and nearby are the headquarters of the former police society (nguwerong), recruited from men of retainer status; the senior clubhouses of the two sectors of the military fraternity (manjong), open to all adult males; the market; the compounds of senior palace stewards and some of the senior councillors (vibat). In the hearing of cases and the administration of his country, the Fon is assisted by a group of hereditary councillors and by the Queen-Mothers (aya); while the organization of labour, hunting and tax-collection is in the hands of manjong officials at the capital and in the village clubhouses. The system of communications is most efficient, the Fon receiving information and transmitting orders through manjong, nguwerong, councillors, assemblies of lords at the palace, and the market.

The Fon is overlord of all Nsaw territory, though de facto control of large tracts of land is vested in lineage lords. He has his own mensal lands for farming, stands of raffia palm, areas reserved for thatching grass and hunting grounds. With the high priests and priestesses, he performs sacrifices to the royal ancestors and to God. One of his praise names is ‘God,’ for on him the welfare of the country depends, and through his performance of sacrifices the fertility of the country and its people is ensured. He is also ‘Father’ of his people, and in this role he not only commands obedience but is also expected to display the solicitude and give the assistance of a ‘father of the lineage’ towards his dependents. Lastly, though he is paramount, and has the right to initiate and make the final decision in all matters affecting the country, he is also responsible and accountable to his people. Both nguwerong and manjong may call him to account and fine him if he acts in a way contrary to the ideals of chieflyship or the interests of the country; his Queen-Mothers and Councillors should advise and restrain him; and his Commoner Lords, when these agencies have failed in adversity or crisis, have the right to intervene and give advice, admonish, instruct or, if necessary, support him.

The Nsaw system, like most centralized systems, is one of checks and balances, but the sanctions are not merely negative. The relationship between the Fon and his people is a moral one. The Fon himself often says: ‘What is a Fon without people? I am in the hands of my people.’ And the Nsaw have two sayings which epitomize their conceptions of chieflyship: ‘The Fon has everything; the Fon is a poor man;’ and ‘The Fon rules the people, but the people hold the Fon.’

**SHORTER NOTES**

**The ‘Mocabone.’** By Harald von Sicard, D.D., Church of Sweden Mission, Southern Rhodesia

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In the old descriptions of the Monomotapa Kingdom published after 1657 it is repeatedly stated that it extended southward towards the Cape of Good Hope,1 but so far no facts have been produced to substantiate this assertion. Evidently it was based on information elicited in 1657 at the fort of Cape Town from some Saldanha Hottentots, ‘some of it of a rather fabulous nature and responsible for the many false hopes and errors which became current for some considerable time after.’2 Maingard mentions especially ‘the marvellous story about an Emperor or King called Chobona who ruled over the Cape people. He lived far inland, was rich in gold. . . . His people sowed rice, planted vegetables, lived in stone houses, and spoke a different language from that of the Cape people.’ A few days after, when questioning another group of Hottentots, Commander van Riebeck ‘trusting his former informants insisted that the Chobonas were the supreme rulers of the Hottentots.’ In the instructions left by van Riebeck to his successor the Chobonas are mentioned again in a list of Hottentot tribes then known to him, and van Riebeck conjectures that they are the people of Monomotapa.3 Yet neither the expedition of Jan van Dankaerts which reached the Olifants River (1660–1) nor the more successful one led by Pieter Cuythoff found any Chobonas or gold.4 Nor does the list of tribes living about 1815 to the north-east and east of the Kalahari and compiled by J. Campbell5 contain the name of Chobona. The same applies to the enumerations of A. Smith6 and D. Livingstone.7

On the other hand the Nama told van Meerhof (who kept Cuythoff’s journal) that the Coboynas traded with the Cabonnaas of Monomotapa. They could tell clearly that the Portuguese lived there, whence all their copper and beads came.8 And in 1787 Father J. de Lacerda saw on the Kunene River a Negress captured in the hands of Acabona, three leagues from the

In spite of all this information there is only one single instance in the Portuguese records of a reference to the Cabononas, but it is for just this reason all the more valuable. Describing the 'Rivers of Cuama,' i.e. the Zambezi Delta, and the wars against Mozura, P. Barreto de Rezende states about 1655 that the fort of Kilimanc, dominates the neighbouring lands, 'along the sea 20 leagues of coast, to the north as far as Icungo and Casungo, . . ., ten leagues toward the interior, and five leagues up the river, as far as Mocabone, where is a Moorish chief in some lands very fruitful in rice, which is a constant annoyance to Mozura, who says that these lands being on the side of Bororo belong to him.' 9 Mozura is in 1686 called 'the chief Kaffir lord in the territory of Bororo.' 10 His town, south of Lake Manganja (Lake Nyasa, discovered almost two and a half centuries later by Livingstone), was called 'Marauy,' 11 and a Portuguese, travelling from the Zambezi through his country to Kilwa, 12 bought at Inhamuppy's village 'in the lands of Bororo . . . a thousand bracelets of copper wire, which are made by the Kaffirs of that place, there being much copper there.' 10

It is evident from these indications that Mozura ruled over the Roro and Ravi countries and that this 'Moorish chief' had contacts with Kilwa, the capital of the Zeni Empire that once stretched from Pemba in the north to Sofala in the south. Kilwa had become rich 'due to its flourishing trade in gold with Sofala and in ivory as well as slaves with the interior of Africa.' 13 The connection of the different parts of that vast empire was, however, not stronger than that between the different parts of the Turkish Empire before the First World War. 14 At any rate, in the beginning of the sixteenth century the kingdoms of Monomotapa ('Vealanga') and Buwa-Torwa ('Toola') must have recognized the ruler of Kilwa and in the second place that of Sofala (his vassal) as their overlords. This is clear from a passage in Alçação's report written to el Rey in 1506 to the effect that peace between Monomotapa and Torwa could not be made except through the king of Sofala or through the king of Kilwa. 15

Throughout the history of the Monomotapa Kingdom there were constant communications between the Monomotapa rulers and those of the Ravi. 16 The Budiga of Mtoko reported to Wieschoff with reference to the Tere ruins 'that their great chief Makati or Mutapa (sometimes Motapi or Matapi) had come into this country from the north and had occupied these ruins.' 17 The Ravi were 'les maîtres primitifs de Chidima,' one of the most important provinces of the future Monomotapa Kingdom. In the sixteenth century the Ravi Kingdom developed a considerable strength and the Ravi were the lords of both the Roro and the Makua. 18 Tete was regarded by the Portuguese as 'the port of the Maravi . . . and of Mocanaga.' 19 They were very bellicose and dreaded by all neighbouring tribes.

The connexion between Makati and the Zambezi Delta is established: describing the Mozambique country in 1788 an anonymous author mentions after Licungo the country of 'Inha-macate' which 'parte pelo sul com os palmeras de Villa Quilhlimane, e pelo Leste com Chirringane, Quizungo, e Licungo, pelo norte com Bororo.' 20

The Arab or semi-Arab traders penetrated far into the interior, from the Zambezi Delta as well as from Sena and Tete. Our old conception, viz. that they stayed a long time is partly based on Alçação's erroneous statement that 'they do not attempt to go farther inland, as the Kaffirs rob and kill them.') and that they did not go far before the nineteenth century, has to be revised. 31 On their expeditions they carried rumours of the Ravi and Monomotapa Kingdoms so far that these could reach the Cape.

Yet it is not easy to explain why the name of Mocabone became known there. The only explanation which I can offer so far is based on a short note of James Stewart in 1862. On his expedition up the Shiré River he arrived at 'Mankaou's village,' and then, he goes on: 'From the hills at Kulubwe, near the Rice village, where Bona, the spirit of some departed chief (or some myth) is supposed to reside, there had come a party of men . . . They brought with them pumpkins and corn which Bona had blessed and to which he had promised rain so that there would be no more hunger. They also brought Bona's (sacred) spear. In accordance with established and time-honoured custom, a wife was to be provided for him.' 24 Though Scott and Hetherwick explain Bona to mean 'a gathering at a mourning, for prayer, at a ceremony, or perhaps the ceremony itself,' 25 it is clear that this is a transferred sense of the word and that in Stewart's time the original Bona was still better known and that he was a defied ancestor. Mocabone or Makabona would thus mean 'those of Bona,' in conformity to Makalanga, etc. The Bona cult may have been of such prominence that the name of his adherents, Makabona, in a distorted form was carried as far as Cape Town. But this is only a conjecture, because the divine Bona seems so far not to have been mentioned by anybody but Stewart.

**Notes**


11. 'La ville de Maravi qui a donné son nom au principal royaume de cet endroit, peut être éloignée de Tete d'un peu plus de 60 lieues. A demi lieue de cette ville, on voit un lac qui va en serpentant au Nord Est.' (N. de Graaf, Voyages aux Indes Orientales . . . depuis 1639 jusqu'en 1687, Amsterdam, 1719, p. 261).


Dental Anomalies in Guanche Skulls. By Miss Rosemary Powers, Anthropology Section, British Museum (Natural History)

In the course of compiling the British section of the Pan-African Congress Catalogue of African Osteological Material, it was noticed that a remarkably high proportion of the adult Guanche skulls examined had unerupted canines. The position of the unerupted tooth varied, one being in a vertical position in the antrum against the nasal wall, and others lying horizontally across the roots of the incisors. A frequent situation was just behind the persistent socket of the deciduous canine, with only the tip of the crown projecting through the bone. Of 47 Guanche crania examined, seven showed this anomaly; in two the right canine was affected, in four the left, and in one both upper canines. (As some of the crania were incomplete, these figures may be too low.) In a series of 30 mandibles, two showed an unerupted canine (one right, one left). Two more showed rotation of both canines. This might be regarded as a milder form of the defect, as in one of the cases of unilateral non-eruption the opposite, functional canine was rotated.

The specimens examined were mainly those in the British Museum (Natural History) Collections, which included many that were formerly in the Museums of Oxford University Anatomy Department and of the Royal College of Surgeons. Some of the Guanche skulls in the latter collection were destroyed by a bomb in the Second World War, but it was possible to include them in this survey as their dental condition was recorded. Dr. E. Ashworth Underwood, Director of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, was kind enough to allow examination of the two Guanche crania in his charge, one of which is the only case of bilateral non-eruption.

Abnormalities of all kinds are likely to be frequent among museum specimens, owing to selection of the most interesting skulls by collectors, but this can hardly account for the unusual frequency of this particular anomaly. Wormian bones and lack of third molar were observed in a number of Guanche skulls, but no supernumerary teeth. The only other dental anomalies observed were as follows: one skull had only two lower incisors (the same skull showed an unerupted upper canine); enamel pearls occurred on teeth in one of the other skulls with unerupted upper canine; persistent roots of the deciduous molars were observed in an otherwise normal maxilla. Barnard Davis described 26 of the Guanche crania belonging to the Royal College of Surgeons (in *Theaurus Cranium*, 1867, pp. 188-191). He recorded three cases of unerupted canines among them, but he failed to recognize the fourth, which was only noticed when bomb damage destroyed the malar bone and revealed the canine still in the antrum. (This case at least could not have been deliberately selected.) It would be interesting to examine Guanche crania in other museums from the same point of view, to see if this anomaly is equally frequent in a longer series than that here discussed.

CORRESPONDENCE

Bronze Age Technology. Cf. MAN, 1958, 13, 39, 64, 173; 1959, 117

Sr,—I am grateful to Dr. Bushnell for drawing my attention to a bronze mould at Cambridge with a part-cast in lead within it. His dislike of what he calls my 'cavalier treatment of Mr. Hodges' does not impress me. After all, my 'treatment' was in reply to Mr. Hodges' treatment. There may be little justification for either, but surely there can be no less for defence than for aggression.

Dr. Bushnell's second point (and Mr. Hodges's No. 5) concerns his 200 socketed axeheads, 'the whole lot' of which exhibits cast seams. These will appear alike on direct bronze casts and upon wax models cast in two-piece moulds to be inserted in one-piece clay moulds. Complete removal of these seams is far easier in the bronze than in the wax. The only exceptions to the presence of seams will be (there are very few) bronze axeheads upon which chasing after casting has entirely removed them. When such examples are found I have seen one or two, they exhibit a first step taken to give a perfection of form far beyond the practical requirement demanded by this tool's normal function; the first step in fact towards those more elaborate non-functional features of the ceremonial tool form.

What interests more than the seams at Cambridge is this part-cast in lead, which I hope to be able to examine on the first opportunity. Lead is one of the substitutes for wax in the reproduction of models formed in moulds, which no doubt was experimented with if not used where and when beeswax was in short supply. I have used lead in place of wax in casting my own sculpture, and found that it has limitations for my purpose. But it is possible that these limitations do not apply to forms so simple as the axehead. In any case the use of lead or other substitutes for wax in no way affects the advantages offered by the *perdue* process, though lead does give evidence of the indirect use of bronze moulds, of a kind which could not be expected from perishable wax.

Another reader of MAN wrote to me suggesting tallow fat as a substitute for beeswax. I have been unable to obtain any and would be pleased if any other reader could help me to obtain a small quantity—say 1 or 4 lb.

There are of course tallow and stearine (obtainable from mutton fat) and shell casting in beeswax to eke out its short supply. When I have seen the lead cast in Cambridge and repeated what I conceive to have been its purpose in my studio, I will give my views on it in a subsequent issue of MAN.

About 10 years ago I began casting my own bronzes, after chasing for about 20 years commercial casts of my models made in art bronze foundries. My researches led me back to the practices in the bronze ages and to the realization that these were first and best—if we set aside all modern economic considerations. As I proceeded, it became ever more clear to me that there was only one ancient practice at a time between both tool-maker and sculptor; and that in pursuing the technique of one craftsman I arrived at that of the other. There is some difference of course if one bears in mind the tool-maker's greater urge to facilitate quantity production on a far greater scale than the sculptor's.

LEON UNDERWOOD

Note

Mr. William Fagg, British Museum, adds the following note with reference to the last paragraph of his contribution to MAN, 1958, 173: 'I regret that, relying on the internal evidence of his letter, I did Mr. Hodges an injustice in implying that he had perhaps not examined the axehead from Ur before contradicting Mr. Underwood's interpretation of it. But the knowledge that he was in fact quite familiar with it serves, I am afraid, only to deepen my amazement: I do not see how one can accept his interpretation (however defensible it may be in terms of the physical sciences) without attributing to the corrosive forces of nature an anthropomorphic purpose and thus subscribing to the pathetic fallacy.'—Ed.

Phallic Rites. Cf. MAN, 1959, 139

Sr.—Lord Raglan has a way of asking brief questions which call for long answers. The purpose of my essay on 'Magical Hair' was to emphasize (i) that many layers of interpretation are possible even for the simplest of
ritual acts, and (ii) that the anthropologist needs to consider carefully the relationship between such levels of interpretation.

Lord Raglan states that 'phallic rites are commonly regarded as intended to promote fertility.' This is an adequate explanation of why such rites are performed only if one considers that Frazer's view of magic was inadequate and final. Those who feel that Frazer did not say the last word on the subject may also feel that irrational behaviours are not adequately explained in this way.

That explicitly religious rituals may often have a psychologically cathartic effect upon the participants is, I should have supposed, the common experience of both psychologists and anthropologists. As a relevant instance of a religious rite in which hair is an explicit phallic symbol but the overt purpose is not concerned with the promotion of fertility I may cite the Institutes of Manu (as quoted by R. S. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, 1860, p. 112): 'By the tonsure of the child's head with a lock of hair left on it... are the seminal and uterine taints of the three classes wholly removed...'

I presume that Lord Raglan will agree that the Vedic rites of Hinduism are properly classed as 'religious.'

E. R. LEACH

Faculty of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Cambridge

Anthological Attitudes. C. J. MAN, 1959, 37

Str,—In his review of *Pageant of Ghana*, Dr. P. T. W. Baxter regards that anthology as revealing as much about the various writers' attitudes as about Ghana.

Rather is it the anthropologist's attitude which any anthology reveals. I was among the writers who were asked to contribute to *Pageant of Ghana*. I declined because I thought the passages selected by the anthologist for reproduction were chosen with journalistic frivoliety and revealed neither my own 'attitude' to, nor anything noteworthy about, the people of whom I had written.

Dalverton, Somerset

M. J. FIELD

REVIEWS

GENERAL


This book consists of four papers, united only by the title and by the occasion on which they were read.

The first paper, 'Some Possibilities for Measuring Selection Intensities in Man,' by James F. Crow, is entirely theoretical and mathematical and is one for reference by the specialist rather than for general reading. No specific genetic system is mentioned anywhere in the paper and the sole contact with the real world is a table illustrating overall selection due to mortality in the United States.

'The Influence of the ABO System on Rh Hemolytic Disease' by Philip Levine is a very clear account of a phenomenon which is of considerable medical importance. Ultimately the complex interaction between the Rh and ABO blood-group systems must have a considerable effect on the composition of populations, but it is difficult to interpret this in anthropological terms.

'An Anthropologist's Excursion Around the World' by Carleton S. Coon is an account in 14 pages of a world tour of concentrated activity possible only to a man of superabundant energy such as Professor Coon. Apart from Soviet Russia, China and South America he seems to have visited nearly every important inhabited land area of the globe. The paper is a valuable as well as an exciting account, in the author's inimitable style, of much of the work at present in progress in anthropology and prehistoric archeology throughout the world.

'The Study of Natural Selection in Primitive and Civilized Human Populations' by James V. Neel is an admirable account, clearly based on simple facts, of the way in which natural selection is taking place in man at the present time. To anthropologists who wish to understand natural selection this is the most valuable paper in the symposium.

A. E. MOURANT


'The polymorphic nature of human populations is the special feature which makes physical anthropology so fruitful.' This statement from one of the ten authors, L. S. Penrose, can be utilized with minor recasting to describe the contents of this deceptively brief symposium volume. Upon the initiative of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute a number of scholars were invited to speak on chosen topics and the contributions of ten (Le Gros Clark, L. S. Penrose, A. C. Stevenson, J. Z. Young, A. E. Mourant, N. A. Barnicot, J. S. Weiner, K. P. Oakley, J. M. Tanner and S. Zuckerman) were indexed and published.

In addition to valuable historical references the variety of data referred to are extensive. Appropriate treatments of data are cited, often with specific detail. Teaching programmes are delineated and attention is given to physical anthropology as an autonomous discipline. The role of museums and research centres is described. The span of topics could only be accomplished with rigid economy of expression. The result is a handbook of general applicability in all countries with a university system. It is sufficiently brief to be lent to persons in related disciplines with the realistic hope that it might be read.

One critical focus is that of field work (Le Gros Clark, Penrose, Mourant and Barnicot). The ancillary point is made that familiarity with experimental studies, necessary of themselves but sometimes inapplicable to humans, may help in looking for ready-made situations which approximate to experimental ones and in making the kind of field observations most pertinent to experimental findings.

Another focus is upon the extension of genetic and morphological continuity between vanished and living populations. This is being facilitated by means of serological techniques on bones, one of the projects maintained by the British Museum (Natural History). Lack of personnel clearly handicaps detailed anatomical investigations of important collections. Continuity between living populations is recognized in many references and no space is wasted upon anachronistic classificatory schemes.

Among the deficiencies in current research tabulated by these authors are comparative anatomical studies of subhuman primates, neurological research, curiously in desuetude the last several years, and behavioural studies on both primates and humans. In this connexion possible termination of the Nuffield Blood Group Centre is noted by Zuckerman as a national tragedy. This is manifestly incorrect for it would be an international tragedy.

Biochemical genetics, racial physiology and human growth and constitution are deftly treated, both from the standpoint of research and of training. The values of co-operation with other fields of anthropology are both recommended and demonstrated. Practical and theoretical problems in the study of small communities are illustrated with the review of a study of deaf-mutism (Stevenson). At least two authors (Weiner and Tanner) note the absence of
suitable textbooks. Of critical importance is the remark that physical anthropology can be taught at an elementary level as a 'liberal' discipline, and at an advanced level as a professional subject (Weiner). This volume will certainly aid the prosecution of teaching and research in physical anthropology at all levels.

W. S. LAUGHLIN


This book, as its title implies, deals with the whole of biology, especially zoology, from an evolutionary and genetical standpoint, with particular reference to the evolution of man. In the first chapter the author considers the nature and origin of life. Then follow three chapters summarizing, with admirable conciseness and yet accuracy, the greater part of genetical theory. It is most satisfactory, because so unusual in books of this type, yet not surprising in view of the author’s reputation, to find a thoroughly clear and accurate account of chromosome behaviour during sexual reproduction and normal cell division.

The next two chapters show how genetical theory explains the processes of natural selection and evolution. The brief mention here of the work of Fisher might not convey to the reader the importance of his share in the early development of this explanation.

Another two chapters lead, always in terms of evolution, from the individual through populations and races to the concept of species. Four more chapters on various aspects of evolution are followed by one on the evolution of the primates and of man, and the book ends with a semi-philosophical chapter on chance, guidance and freedom in evolution, in which stress is laid, as it is throughout the book, on natural as contrasted with supernatural explanations of evolution. Finally the author looks, not without optimism, towards the future of the human race.

Like all Dobzhansky’s works this one is lucid, profoundly interesting and original. To anyone who wishes to grasp the way in which evolutionary theory has been modified by genetical discoveries since the time of Darwin, and to understand, without entering into too much detail, how the human species has evolved, the book can be recommended without reserve.

A. E. MOURANT


This is the Centenary Edition of a book whose name has passed into the realms of general literature, apart from its fame amongst both the ancestors and siblings of our medical brethren. To review it in the canonical way would be much as if the Sunday Observer were to review the complete works of Shakespeare at one go. To make a century is itself admirable; it is all the more so when the thing is done by a book.

Gray bears the name of his father; its mother was the firm of Parker & Son; but after two editions it was taken into the care of a most pious nurse, today deservedly proud of the size and lusty vigour of its charge. A succession of editor-governesses has preserved the educational ideal of Henry Gray and kept this book a very English thing, a scholarly body of brute fact informed and ordered by the soul of science. This edition has taken full account of most of what is new without an undue increase of print, illustration and consequent cost, for the body of this edition is only two per cent. bulkier than the body of the last. Remembering that money is worth but a third of what it was before Europe was divided, the book is relatively much cheaper than it was in older days; a feat of publishing of which Longmans may be proud.

In a book primarily intended for medical students the sections on osteology and the nervous system are probably those in which the anthropologist will be most interested. They form admirable and accurate sources of reference for both a general conception and particular detail. I prefer the texture of the illustrations of bones found in the last edition to those in the present one; the difference appears to lie in the more glossy paper of the present as compared with the rather matt surface of the last, which was less dazzling to look at.

A centenarian should not race Time. Some such attempt may account for the unusual number of printers’ errors in this edition, resulting in the introduction of such hitherto unknown organs into the body as the ‘thamatus’ (p. 1003) and the nerves called ‘intercepter’ (p. 925). There is much to be said for farming out the
views (although they may not be eternal either). The volume under review, and indeed the total work of which this volume is only the twelfth part, certainly should compel even the most exacting critic to admire the perseverance and the undying diligence of the author and his devotion to true scholarship: what Schmidt says is based on careful research, always on the sources; nothing is second-hand. The work is a mine of information.

 Granted, it is dated. That very fact makes it a monument of its time. It is no less representative of a certain phase in the history of anthropology than are for his time the similarly voluminous and learned writings of that other great scholar—Frazer.

 -- PAUL LESER


Professor James begins by tracing the cult of goddesses in the Upper Paleolithic as evidenced by the 'Venuses.' He goes on to describe the worship of the mother goddess in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Anatolia, Iran, India, Crete and Greece. A chapter on the syncretistic cult of the Magna Mater leads to another on the Mater Ecclesia and the Madonna, and the last chapter deals with the Goddess and the Young God. Professor James' knowledge of the literature is encyclopedic, and the book is a mine of facts admirably marshalled and clearly set out.

Some of his views may be open to question. Thus he says that a primitive matriarchal social organization is by no means improbable, and gives as an reason for this that woman has been a mysterious person, at once sacred and tabu (p. 229). Not to herself, surely, but to men, and if so the prevalence of the idea must be due to male supremacy. If there were phallic symbols in the Paleolithic (pp. 18, etc.), the fact of physical paternity can hardly have remained unknown till much later (p. 257).

It is regrettable that this excellent book is marred by a number of misspelled names and other slips; by the absence of illustrations, which in some instances are clearly called for, and by an inadequate index.

RAGLAN


In a recent comment on geography and culture, Morton Fried wrote: 'A tide swept through the sciences in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and eroded one of the basic concepts of the past, the idea of simple causal relationships ... ' (Readings in Anthropology, New York, 1959, Vol. II, p. 81). This is a dynamic way of saying what most social scientists have long recognized. But judging by Religious Behaviour the tide has not reached Michael Argyle, or he is immune from erosion. The ease with which he moves from 'variables' (p. xi) to 'genuine causal relationships' (p. 15) is breathtaking. It does not really help to find that he defines causes as 'empirical conditions' (p. 1); his statements on causal interpretation still sound remarkable and must astonish the statistician.

But this idiosyncrasy of the approach should not be allowed to interfere with appreciation of the fact that this is a careful survey of statistical investigations of religious behaviour in Britain and the United States. A final chapter relates these studies to several psychological theories of religious behaviour. The discussion here is apt and critical, 'cause' is abandoned, and any serious scholar of religion will wish to check his hypotheses against the implications which Argyle has drawn.

MARIAN W. SMITH


The greater part of this book deals with anti-government movements and organizations in Sicily and Southern Italy. In spite of the title we are told that none of them is very old, and that some of them, and in particular the Mafia, consist of gangsters and parasites rather than rebels. But Dr Hobbsbaum shows that there has been a tendency for poor and oppressed peasants, in such countries as Spain and Russia, as well
as in Italy, to become millenarians or revolutionaries, and in varying degrees to combine idealism with violence.

He has chapters on city mobs, on nonconformity and trade unionism in England, and on ritual in social movements, but these, though interesting, are of necessity sketchy, and he might have done better to omit them and instead to give us a fuller account of the movements in Italy. We are too often referred to Italian writers, or told what people 'would' do rather than what they did.

RAGLAN


In this book, which was written in 1930, the author sets out to compare the British and Soviet colonial systems. Since the book was written, the British colonial system has changed very considerably; in fact, the change has been and still is so rapid that it would hardly be possible to write a book about the British system which, by the time it was published, would be anything like up to date.

In the preface, the author states that communism has a strong appeal for colonial peoples not least because of its attitude to racial matters. Events of the last eight years provide no evidence of any such appeal, apart of course from the immigrant communist organizations in South-East Asia.

The book gives an accurate and fair account of the British colonial system as it was in 1930.

As for the Soviet colonial system, one is left with some doubt as to whether the government of the Central Asian Union Republics can correctly be described as a colonial system, and one has even greater doubts whether these republics can properly be compared with places like Malaya, Nigeria, Kenya and the West Indies.

G. BERESFORD-STOKE

AFRICA


This is a collection of papers prepared for the Thirteenth American Assembly; the Editor recognizes the unskillfulness of the subject and points out that the writers have been somewhat reluctantly deflected to their present task of drawing a forest through 'by training and temperament more prone to examine trees.' The seven papers deal with the character of American interests in Africa, with African political systems and external pressures on Africa today and with certain economic and social aspects of Africa considered as a whole but in relation to the United States.

A highly significant remark occurs in the first lecture that 'under present conditions the one sure-fire stimulant for greater American attention to Africa would be an increase in Communist activity.' (p. 18). With this should be read the reflection that at present the African economy is still relatively unimportant to America: from these two points the conclusions drawn in later sections seem to follow inevitably, that it would be as well for America to take 'a somewhat more relaxed attitude' towards Africa, not striving officiously to enlist African states in her own camp so much as taking a friendly interest in their existence; that what Africa needs is 'not so much a patch-work of foreign aid programmes as a sustained demand for primary products'; that Africa must be expected to develop political systems and culture that will not be mere copies of those in Europe and America; that Americans will do well in criticizing what has happened in Africa to remember their own racial difficulties.

All this is sensible and is stated with accuracy and moderation; it will no doubt be of value in an America whose awareness of Africa is still rudimentary. It is unlikely that any reader of MAN will find in these sober generalizations much that is either new or unfamiliar, but they will be useful if he has not turned his attention to the question of how Africa looks from the other side of the Atlantic.

There is a useful appendix on the operations in Africa of United States government agencies and some tables of statistics of the very general nature appropriate to so wide a discussion. The final report of the Assembly is as carefully worded as such documents usually are, its fundamental premise being that the African peoples will determine their own relationships with each other and with the rest of the world and that the United States must continue to 'further the principle of self-determination.' There is an interesting recommendation that the United States should develop 'a permanent career service for technical and economic assistance abroad.'

PHILIP MASON


This book is based on observations made over a period totalling 16 months between 1934 and 1939, in the course of a much longer expedition primarily concerned with other enquires. During these 16 months the author actually lived with a band of Tindiga, who are nomad hunters living in the neighbourhood of Lake Eyasi in Tanganyika. He was largely interested in the technical aspects of their culture, and his long chapter on hunting deals with methods rather than organization. The Tindiga lack a number of devices known to other hunting peoples; they do not use nets or slings, nor dig pits to trap large animals as the Bushmen do. They rely on their poisoned arrows; the manufacture both of arrows and poison is described in detail.

The Tindiga are divided into three bands (Horde), which at that time numbered respectively about 90, 200 and 150 persons. These are organized in small lineages (Grassfamilie); there were ten of these in the smallest band. To the question whether the band was exogamous the author received an ambiguous answer. The marriage payment consists in beads, poisoned arrows, a knife and an axe. The author tells us that monogamy is not only nearly universal but is the ideal norm, and rather naively offers as evidence of the people's attachment to it the rule that an adulterer taken in the act should be shot by the offended husband on the same day with a poisoned arrow. The leader of the band with which he lived had two wives, but he interprets this as an exceptional case showing the influence of the neighbouring Issandu. Nevertheless, he records that the Tindiga practise the levirate.

Each band has a leader, the position being hereditary in the male line, but we learn little of the fields in which his leadership is exercised. Retaliation is the appropriate response to injuries, of which theft is the most common. The victim beats the thief, whose kinsmen rush to his aid, and there is a fight between 'all the kin, male and female' of both parties. Sometimes this is held to settle the score; if not, the leader orders the thief to restore the stolen goods, and if he fails to do so his close agnates are liable. There is no blood feud.

LUCY MAIR


The author's theory is that all incest prohibitions arise in the unconscious and are due to the Oedipus complex. With this in mind he reviews the custom in many African kingdoms by which the king has to marry a half-sister, and also has intercourse, usually symbolic but sometimes actual, with his mother or full sister. He disposed of the theory that royal incest is due to a desire to keep the blood pure by pointing out that the king in Negro Africa is never allowed to have children by his half-sisters, though this was not so in Egypt and elsewhere, where siblings mated for generation after generation. But what he fails to note is that the king's whole conduct is regulated in accordance with an elaborate system of cosmic symbolism in order that he may be able to fulfill his functions of bringing rain, fertility, victory, freedom from disease and so on; that his sexual activities form a part of this system, and cannot rationally be divorced from it and given a separate origin.

The author goes on to discuss matrilineal societies, and particu-

Here is a book for which one can find nothing but praise. In the first place it is well written and easy to read. Secondly, the author has taken a lot of trouble not only to get his facts right, but also to assemble all the available data. Thirdly, he has investigated his subject with an impartiality that contributes much to the value of the book and which will be of great help to the reader who wishes to form an independent judgment of the issues involved.


This is the first of two volumes to be devoted to Oriental works of art collected over a period of more than 40 years by Professor and Mrs. Seligman, and recently presented by the latter to the Arts Council. A second volume dealing with the ceramics is in preparation. In this book 99 Chinese bronzes are described and illustrated, including splendid groups of ritual vessels of the Shang and Chou dynasties, weapons, chariot fittings, a fine range of mirrors and several pieces of bronze sculpture, of which the outstanding piece is a Buddha figure inscribed and dated 1396. This is an important document for a period in which dated Buddhist bronzes are very rare. The second section is devoted to a small but interesting collection of bronzes from the Ordos Desert, Central Asia and Luristan. There are 40 Jades, including a number of typical mortuary and ritual pieces of Shang and Chou, and a group of later carved pieces which the author, with commendable caution, does not attempt to date at all precisely. The last section comprises sculpture in stone, wood and iron. This group is not quite up to the standard of the rest (the Han-style relief No. C.1, for example, has all the hallmarks of a modern and not very skilful fake), but it includes a fine and typical Korean Bodhisattva in iron of the Koryu period. The detailed catalogue descriptions contain much valuable material, notably on the bronzes, and have been clearly prepared with great care. In discussing the origin and meaning of the ya-lang, the square cauldron which often encloses a pictogram in Shang bronze inscriptions, the author abandons his usual caution and comes down firmly on the side of Hentze and other scholars who believe that it is a plan of a Shang tomb; though why this should be represented on bronzes, unless they were made expressly for burial (which has not been proved), is not explained.

The book is a historical study of European settlement in Southern Russia. It is divided into three parts. The first describes the country and its native inhabitants as they were seen by the first European travellers. The second reports the arrival of the European settlers, their conquest of the country and the rebellions which followed. The third relates how the new masters settled down to the job of administering and developing the country which they had conquered.

One might almost describe this as a story of race relations in the raw. No two races could be more different from each other in almost every way than the European and African. Nor could the conflict be more fierce, nor the continuing tensions more difficult to break down.

The dilemma is 'the first basic dilemma that confronts every conqueror: maintain the position by force and make certain of hatred in the end, or sim from the start at an equality which involves an immediate sacrifice of power.' Assimilation or segregation?

This is the first of a series of books sponsored by the Institute of Race Relations, and for which the research was financed by the Rockefeller Foundation. Two more are already on the way. They could not have a better harlequin.

Anyone who wants to try to understand what is going on in Southern and Eastern Africa today should read this book.

G. BERESFORD-STOKE


The Seven Books of Wisdom, edited by Dr. Evans-Wentz and recently reprinted after 23 years, are: The Supreme Path of Disciple (the Precepts of the Gurus), The Nirvanic Path (the Yoga of the Great Symbol), The Path of Knowledge (the Yoga of the Six Doctrines), The Path of Transference (the Yoga of Conscious Transference), The Path of the Mystic Sacrifice (the Yoga of subduing the Lower Self), The Path of the Five Wisdoms (the Yoga of the Voidness). All are translations from Tibetan block prints or manuscripts.

In the Foreword, Dr. Maret gives a brief sketch of the work of the editor who was one of his former pupils, testifying to his diligence, acumen and veritable abandon in the search for truth. In the Preface of the second edition, Dr. Evans-Wentz expresses his messianic conviction that the Occident is at the early dawn of an age of a truly New Science, that which is now called occult, as he states, because it is transcendental. Translator-Professor Chang Chen-chi (whom I knew well in Calimpong in 1950, and with whom I used to play tennis when the learned Buddhist scholar was not in retirement (sam) as he often was), in his Yogic Commentary, makes a very clear and logical exposition of the substance of the book, dwelling principally, however, on the practical aspects of yoga and of Buddhism rather than on the doctrine.

Dr. Evans-Wentz's contribution to knowledge is indeed very serious and important as can be seen from the ample and exact fashion in which he expounds the virtues of the Seven Books of Wisdom and comments upon their contents in innumerable footnotes. In the General Introduction, he gives a most remarkable and clear account of the doctrine. The book is agreeably ornamented.
as were others which he has edited, with poetic citations and apt quotations from Buddhist literature. Further on in the text, he describes in interesting fashion the relation between the Ka-gyit-pa sect and Bhutan, gives excellent and varied accounts of the origin of the so-called devil (masked) dances of Tibet, and exposes the contents of the Prajna-Paramita in magisterial fashion.

The doctrine of the Seven Books of Wisdom is, briefly, that matter is crystallized mental energy which, because it is merely a reflection of the mind, can be shaped and disposed of at will by the mind. The purpose of the yoga exercises and disciplines is then to teach the disciple how this can be achieved, under the guidance of a guru or spiritual master. The secret of the practices lies in the control of unawakened nervous centres believed to exist in everyone in order to stimulate the circulation of energies which appear largely to be of sexual origin.

Thus in the production of Psychic-Heat in the yoga of that name (one of the yoga of the Six Doctrines), we read (p. 198, No. 122): 'Entering the median-nerve, at the navel nerve-centre from the region of the perineum, the vital-force moves through the middle of all the psychic nerve-nerves, and becoming the fire-force of the Wisdom of the Psychic-Heat, permeates all the neural nerve-nerves, and thus unites the nerve-centres.' The vital force is next described in the Fundamental Practice 3: Transcendental Psychic-Heat, pp. 200f., as moving upwards into an invisible protuberance on the crown of the head, whereupon (No. 143): 'the upper extremity of the median-nerve is set into overwhelming vibration of a blissful nature.' In this manner (No. 145): 'one attains the transcendental boon of the Great Symbol.' And (No. 146): 'Simultaneously with this realization, the white fluid issue in an intensified manner from the base of the organ of generation and floweth upward to the crown of the head and permeateth it completely.' In Applied Practice 1: Obtaining the Benefit of the Bliss, p. 204, in the same yoga, it is recommended that in the Preliminary Practice one should visualize the Spiritual Consort of One's Mind as follows (No. 164, p. 204): 'In front of thee visualize a human female form, endowed with all the signs of perfect beauty and so attractive as to fascinate the mind.' In note 3 on the same page, Dr. Evans-Wentz makes the sexual aspect of this practice even clearer when he remarks: 'This visualization is particularly intended to excite the moon-fluid (the seminal-fluid) 'through arising desire.' Obviously, what is being sought is to create a state of near-orgasm which quite plausible is generative of heat. Besides, the yogin must observe the strictest sexual continence before beginning the exercises, we are told on pp. 157f.

For anyone familiar with orthodox Freudian psycho-analysis, a very obvious interpretation of this doctrinaire outlook and these practical exercises is immediately suggested. It is that, in the hope of controlling the phenomenal world (the outside reality) which is so very inimical and indifferent to man's aspirations, the Indian, and after him the Tibetan, yogin projects, in the same manner as psychopaths, the order of his own mind outwards and attempts to influence it through mental activities of a high, esoteric quality. Sexual energy is called upon principally to influence outside phenomena (identified now as noumena) because, called libido by Freud, it is the source of man's vitality and enjoyment. The error of this outlook is, of course, that the phenomenal world is not the noumenal one, and that taking the latter for the former will not help to influence it at all. Only an objective scientific outlook which, by definition, consists in the dispassionate observation of facts can ever be of use in this way—actually the way Western thought has been going even since the individualizing pragmatism of Aristotle was formulated. It has since led to the amazing material achievements of which man is capable today.

For this reason, it is difficult to agree with Dr. Evans-Wentz when he states on the last page of the book (p. 164) that the Prajna-Paramita or 'Boundless-Wisdom' (the Path of the Transcendental Wisdom: the Yoga of the Voidness) represents a method 'as scientific and rationalistic as any of the laboratory methods employed by our scientists of Europe and America.' The latter is an unfortunate method of observation through experimentation, while the yoga is merely subjective and can only be tested in accordance with the personal reactions of the disciple. It thus seems absolutely fantastic for the editor even to imagine, as he does at the end of note 2, p. 211, that: 'There yet remains for the physicist the discovery of mechanical means to materialize, or give objectivity to, thoughts, in the same way as the yogin does by natural means. A further step will be for the scientist to invent a method not only to integrate matter round a certain thought model, but to disintegrate any material object, and, in its electronic, invisible form, transmit it from one place to another, and then reconstitute its objectivity, or aspect as a solid.' It is difficult to take Dr. Evans-Wentz seriously when he says that the West is at the threshold of a New Science, whether the occultism of the East will at last be accepted and proved correct. Actually, what is happening really is that the West is beginning to understand what is the objective, scientific explanation of Eastern occultism and, in terms of experimental, clinical observations, to analyze and to grasp its physical and psychological mechanism. This is indeed an advance which can only be welcomed by all true scientists of Hellenic tradition.


When Dr. Geddes was doing field work in Sarawak in 1949, a Land Dayak informant, Rash, spent 'nine Dayak nights' telling him the story which forms the central theme of this book. It tells of the exploits in love and war of the hero Kichapi, and the great headhunters' festival with which he is welcomed back in the village of his betrothed. A somewhat abbreviated translation of this tale is given at the end of the book. It is preceded by eight chapters which, besides being an aid to understanding the story, also give a survey of Land Dayak life, and outlook on life.

These introductory chapters are not primarily meant for the anthropologist, as they hardly contain anything that is not to be found in the author's The Land Dayaks of Sarawak, but they make a very readable popular account, well written and clear, humorous and lively without sensationalism. In fact, one of Dr. Geddes's aims in these chapters has obviously been to combat sensationalism and ethnocentric feelings of superiority towards the 'wild men of Borneo.' He makes it clear that the Dayak are not murderous savages, nor are they rag-lettered by various irrational fears and 'taboos,' but perfectly normal and, in fact, very likable people. To my mind, his aims, sympathetic as they are, have even led him to adopt a rather too matter-of-fact attitude, and to play down the religious aspect of Dayak life and thought.

For one thing, it does not become clear whether the Kichapi story itself is, or is not, a myth. Any reader at all familiar with the archaic religions of Indonesia will immediately recognize various familiar mythical features in it, for example the theme of death and rebirth, i.e. initiation; it deals largely with headhunting, a practically undeniable religious; and Rash, the teller of the tale, was the leading spirit medium of the village. However, Dr. Geddes merely calls it 'a traditional tale' (p. xxix), and does not give any information indicating that the story has, or had, any religious significance, and thus actually played the social role of a myth. But he does not reveal much of the religious significance of headhunting either, when he describes the captured heads only as 'a choice among the many possible symbols by means of which success in the past could be used to give confidence in the future,' 'powerful symbols of village unity, and finally 'symbols of supernatural support' (p. 52).

On the one hand it may very well be that among the Land Dayak many former myths have been secularized (Geddes's informant Nyandoh, in Sarawak Mus. J., Vol. V, p. 414, gives an unmistakable lunar myth with the comment that it is a 'story told to children'). On the other hand, one is left with the feeling that more could have been said of the religious side of the culture than has been said, and, what is more important, that what was said is only too vaguely described in terms of their utilitarian function. This Malinowskian outlook, very noticeable in Dr. Geddes's The Land Dayaks (e.g. pp. 22, 52,
76, 79) comes to the fore again in *Nine Dayak Nights*. My objection is that, if religion plays a part in Land Dayak culture at all, it deserves to be described in its own terms. However, I should repeat that it may well be that Dr. Geddes's secular attitude towards religion agrees to some extent with that of the Land Dayak themselves. This was then to be one more point on which the anthropologist and his 'subjects' proved congenial to one another. There were many such points, so it is no wonder that Geddes's accounts of the Land Dayak are so sympathetic. This book, too, must have been a pleasure to write; it is certainly a pleasure to read.

P. E. DE JOSELIN DE JONG


In this work, the product of a Fellowship held under Chicago's enterprising Philippine Studies Program, Dr. Phelan attempts to reconstruct the history of 'the Philippine people' in the early Spanish period. It may be doubted that it is legitimate to speak of such a people, or of a 'Filipino' anything, in that period, and in fact the authors and therefore this account describe almost solely the Spanish side and not the tribes of the islands and their responses to conquest. Nevertheless, the authors have compiled from multifarious fragmentary evidence in scattered and recombinant sources a coherent and highly instructive account of the establishment of Catholicism and Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines. In his delineation of the economic and political effects in particular he makes illuminating use of the contrast with the Hispanization of Mexico. He has added to the value of his unpretentious and competent history by appending maps of the distribution of the missions, and a most helpful bibliographical essay on manuscript and other sources for the history and early ethnography of the region.

The particular interest of readers of *Man*, however, make necessary a minor criticism of the author's claim to have employed 'anthropological techniques' in his study. However these exiguous procedures may be conceived their effect here is negligible. Advice in social anthropology could have improved the inexact and uncertain characterization of the indigenous societies, and prevented such flaws as the ascription of ancestor cults to Chinese influence. In such areas, history written by the social anthropologists is more satisfactory (cf. Evans-Pritchard, Eggan, Leach) and ultimately essential; but this consideration does not lessen our appreciation of conventional monographs as conscientious as this.

RODNEY NEEDHAM


This is an excellent and useful book within its limits. The American author seems to have a thorough knowledge of Russian and Turkish and his own renderings of Kazakh verse display good craftsmanship and feeling for language. The treatment of the subject is comprehensive. The author ranges from citations of the Orklon inscriptions (which reflect the poetry of the Central Asian Turks of the sixth to ninth centuries A.D.) and the eleventh-century *Diwān lugāt ā-Tūrk* of Mahmud al-Kāshgari to the modern censored poetry of the Soviet propaganda machine in Kazakhstan.

The *dombris* have been tuned to 'red' lays and new versions of old themes are relayed through radio and cinema. In commenting on the ever growing volume of Kazakh verse, the author finds that the Kazakhs have developed a vital art which has drawn from their rich oral tradition (p. 234). To many it will seem only a frightening prostitution of the innate taste of the Turks for poetry and song. For instance: 'An eagle flew against the wind... this eagle was Stalin. The eagle flew where the stars were shining—o'er Tamfermos, a Finnish town' (p. 206). Or: 'Stop! 'The House of Soviets' [a hotel in Alma-Ata]. How welcoming and bright it looks' (p. 223). The author has drawn widely on printed Soviet sources—usefully since he cites many works difficult of access. Further, as he indicates in his introduction, he has consulted some of the Kazakh intellectuals who are refugees in Germany. In the circumstances of today, it would have been difficult for an American to study the Kazakhs in their own environment. Moreover, the author might have caught something of the authentic flavour of the old oral tradition of the Turks, the marvellous *tinbre* of their singing, the moving surge of the language, by visits to remnants of the Kazakhs, who managed to reach refuge in Turkey, or even to some of the Turkmen villages in Anatolia. The author ignores the studies of the Turkish epic and oral themes by Köprüli, Çaferoğlu, and others and he does not utilize the great work on the Central Asian Turks by Zeki Velide Togan (himself a Bashkir) which treats at length of Kazakh literature (*Turkîli Tarihî*, 1931). Again, the recent important study by Hayit Baymirza, a Turkistan philologist of distinction and a pupil of Professor Bartold, is overlooked (*Turkistan im XX Jahrhundert*, 1956).

The brief treatment of the early historical period is unsatisfactory. It is not correct to say that the cult of fire among the Kazakhs 'probably' originated in 'influences from the Persian Mazdaists' (p. 11). As Tolstov has shown, the cult of fire and its association with the 'mother' concept was very old in central Asia. It was widespread also in the Aryan and Danubian worlds. Indeed, Mazdaism was a late and sophisticated expression of the cult. The ethnic background of the Kazakhs is not treated—although from it derive their epic and oral traditions. An Aryan element survived, certainly into the thirteenth century (cf. Vernadsky, *Russia and the Mongols*). The name of the joker-hero Aldar Qos (Winner, pp. 47, 50) recalls perhaps this influence (cf. *O., aldâr, 'noble'). The author believes Aldar Qos to be 'an adaptation of the Osman Turkish Hodža Nəsr-ed-din.' The borrowing could have been in reverse direction since most Turkish cultural influences in Anatolia came from central Asia through the Turkmen tribes east of the Caspian. Here, ethnic and cultural elements were very complex during the later centuries of the first millennium A.D.—as indicated by the Khorezmian excavations of recent years (Tolstov) and the parallel historical and linguistic researches (Minorsky, Tolstov, Bailey, Henning). The Os-Alanic element is evident. The Kazakh Aldar Qos and the Osman Nəsr-ed-din seem to belong to the circle of the Caucasian Syrdan and, perhaps, Scandinavian Lokî (cf. Georges Dumézil, *Les Dieux et les Hommes*, Vol. I, Lokî, pp. 188-90, for comparison between Nəsr and Syrdan). They derive from a background which was Eurasian and 'Sarmatic' rather than purely Turkish.

The author is not free of the moral quasiness which seems to afflict both American and Soviet social anthropologists in describing the facts of life among primitive people. 'The woman was considered an economic asset in terms of the work she could accomplish... A woman in this culture was always subject to the will of a superior' (pp. 135). The same conditions, indeed, apply in an American or Soviet 'typists' pool.' The attitudes towards women and the arduous work required of them, which included tending and watching the cattle, cleaning the yurt, cooking, milking the animals, making felt rugs, and in general carrying out the most menial tasks, in addition to the duties of rearing children, made their position difficult' (p. 14). And so what? Surely these chores are part of the comradship of the common life beyond the frontiers of the Mom Culture. Thus, only last week, an Irish 'mountain' farmer remarked of his ugly, cheerful wife: 'She's a fine woman. Milks sixteen cows and does the work of two men.'

W. E. D. ALLEN


In 1949-50 Dr. Freedman undertook fieldwork which resulted in the publication of his book *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore*. In the course of this field study Freedman collected material of general sociological importance about the Chinese homeland of Fukien and Kwangtung, and this book is the result of this study. It would, however, be a grave mistake to dismiss it as only a collection of published material (as the author has never had the opportunity of visiting the two provinces of which he writes so well). The written material is presented so systematically that sinologists as
as anthropologists can profitably read this book as a preliminary to further studies of the area. The book depends largely for its raw material on the work done by other anthropologists and sociologists prior to the control of the mainland by the People's Government. The main sources quoted are the books written by Fei Hsiao-tung, Hu Hsien-chin, Lin Yüeh-hwa, J. J. M. de Groot, G.-E. Simon, D. H. Kulp, J. L. Buck and Chen Han-seng. To these basic authors Freedman adds information from other sources as he requires them in the course of his main argument. Many of the authors cited have fallen into traps in their thinking. The author dexterously analyses their arguments, replaces them with one or more alternative hypotheses and ties them all together into a coherent argument. The argument, distinguished as the family and household from larger units in the agnatic lineage system, shows that they are differently organized and tries to relate the size of the larger unilinear kinship units to the degree of differentiation ritually, politically and economically within itself and within the larger society. He shows that other relationships between and across lineages arising from voluntary associations and the needs of defence against other similarly constituted lineages, determine the size and organization of the lineage as much as its economic wealth. The degree of segmentalization within the lineage is partly a degree of the amount of differentiation between the members. Freedman puts forward these theses as hypotheses only. Where the evidence is inconclusive as in the vexed question of the prevalence of bilateral cross-cousin marriage in South China, he puts forward all possible points of view from such evidence as there is. Yet many of the larger questions in the area still remain unresolved. For example, why the clan system should be more established in South than in North China, or what may be the relationship between the secret societies and the lineage system. The material on which any conclusions can be based has still not been collected although a further knowledge of written Chinese sources may throw more light on these questions in the future. Freedman has stated these problems without fixing on any conclusion.

The book is a small one on so vast a subject, but the systematic way in which the material has been organized to show alternative methods of proceeding to further research makes this an important book. I very much enjoyed the section where the earlier writings of Lin Yüeh-hwa were contrasted with his later to show the effect which theory had on the fieldwork which he produced. There is a useful bibliography. The book will undoubtedly stimulate further theoretical thinking on the nature of lineage organization in differentiated societies.

W. H. NEWELL


This volume, the eighth in the series Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations, makes a companion to the first volume, Studies in Chinese Thought. It is written about a theme which could be summarized as the sociology of political ideas in China. In his introduction the editor deplores the neglect of the 'field of Chinese political thought' by political scientists, and explains how he and his colleagues undertook the present studies with the help of a consulting sociologist, Dr. Herbert Goldhamer. Also by way of introduction there is an essay by Professor Benjamin Schwartz, 'The Intellectual History of China: Preliminary Reflections.' Anthropologists might well begin their reading of this volume with the first substantive chapter, 'The Political Functions of Astronomers and Astronomers in Han China,' which is written by the thoroughly sociological sinologue Professor Wolfram Eberhard. The essay examines the activities of astronomers, astrologers, and meteorologists in the Former Han period (last two centuries B.C.) in relation to political life. On the basis that abnormal natural happenings were thought to be connected with social life, 'there grew up a practice of utilizing this belief as a tool in the political struggle.' The emperor or members of his government could be held personally responsible for a portent or natural calamity, so that interest in the universe was politically and not 'scientifically' inspired.

Similarly, the calendar can be shown to have been primarily a political instrument, astronomy being used 'to develop a calendar which expressed the magical powers which the dynasty represented' and not, as one might have imagined, to produce an instrument adapted to the needs of an agricultural society. Furthermore, the study throws light on the structure of political power in the period, for Professor Eberhard argues that in the attribution of responsibility for calamities and portents we can see that the ruler was not the sole source of power.

In 'The Formation of Sui Ideology,' 581-604 Professor Arthur F. Wright discusses Sui Wen-ti's use of the Taoist, Confucian, and Buddhist traditions in gaining approval of and support for his rule. In particular, Professor Wright here, as elsewhere, advances our understanding of the place of Buddhism in Chinese society. Professor James T. C. Liu in 'An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chunyen' deals with Confucian idealism among the rising scholar-officialdom of the time. For the anthropologist there are some interesting remarks on attempts to strengthen 'clan' organization and a good deal on bureaucratic factions. Professors Charles O. Hucker ('The Tung-lin Movement of the Late Ming Period'), W. T. de Bary ('Chinese Despotism and the Confucian Ideal: A Sixteenth-Century View') and John K. Fairbank, the editor ('Synarchy Under the Treaties') write on further aspects of 'the role of ideas in the exercise of state power' (the title of the first part of the volume).

Part II is called 'Thought and Officialdom in the Social Order.' Professor T'ung-tsu Ch'u begins with an essay ('Chinese Class Structure and Its Ideology') which traces 'certain general patterns of social stratification' back to Chou and Han times. With Professor E. A. Kracke's essay, 'Region, Family, and Individual in the Chinese Examination System,' we return to a topic which continues to hold its grip on the Western imagination. But there is nothing hackneyed about the essay which, studying 'the variation in interpreting the concept of free opportunity and the differing results of this for the several regions of the empire,' is clearly an important contribution to Chinese institutional history.

Professor C. K. Yang's paper, 'The Functional Relationship between Confucian Thought and Chinese Religion,' is a useful introduction to the connections between Confucianism and Chinese religion in general, but it is too brief for several important aspects of the problem to be properly argued out. Anthropologists are likely to be more excited by the prospect of reading the next essay, 'The Concept of Pao as a Basis for Social Relations in China,' by Professor Lien-sheng Yang, for it deals with the theme of reciprocity. (Eyebrows may be raised at the first note to the essay: 'For a general discussion see Marcel Maus,' 'Essai sur le don ...' I am indebted to Professor Wolfram Eberhard for this reference. But better late than never.) Unfortunately, Professor Yang's paper is rather vague and rambling, and does not seem to me to come to grips with the problem of distinguishing between different forms of reciprocity and the contexts in which they are appropriate.

The penultimate paper, 'The Scholar's Frustration: Notes on a Type of Fu' by Dr. Hellmut Wilhelm, is likely to be rather remote from the anthropologist's interests. In the final piece, 'The Amateur Ideal in Ming and Early Ch'ing Society: Evidence from Painting,' Professor Joseph R. Levenson takes us back to scholar-officialdom in order to demonstrate the amateur in office. One is likely to close the book a little overwhelmed by the patient industry of its contributors and happy in the knowledge that studies of Chinese society are in the hands of many imaginative and enterprising scholars.

MAURICE FREEDMAN


This volume aims at depicting the character of the Hindu as a generalization whether in the ideal or in practice. This is an end notoriously difficult to accomplish. Ruth Benedict's ingenious patterns of culture may satisfy some of us, but by no means all, though most of us find Buffon's 'les classes n'existent que dans notre imagination ... ils n'y a que des individus' perverse in the extreme. An admirable cautionary of the pitfalls in such an undertaking as this is thoughtfully provided by
the author in an appendix of opinions on National Characters, which includes, after a pertinent quotation from Herodotus, a number of shrewd, witty, controversial, or merely fatuous assessments of the characters of American, British and Continental nations. It would not have been a wise selection for Hindus. A further difficulty in such a work is that it must inevitably be coloured by the character and outlook of the author, but this is a circumstance of which he is clearly conscious himself. At any rate he has produced a book which can claim to give as satisfactory a description of the Hindu character as could be expected from anywhere, and one singularly free from prejudice. After discussing his theoretical approach he goes on to deal with the ethos of cultures and then with themes—e.g. happiness, humour, femininity—in Hindu culture. He then rightly evaluates the very important role of the Bhagavad Gita in determining Hindu ideals and outlook. After that he adds an analysis of the plots of Indian films to indicate characteristics admired in hero or heroine; a study of Indian proverbs; and an examination of childhood in India to throw light on the formation and nature of the Hindu character. A short chapter on conclusions is followed by the appendix already referred to, by a 'select' bibliography which runs to ten pages of print, and by a useful index. In the bibliography, Studies in Indian Life and Sentiment should be ascribed to Sir Banerji not to 'S' Fuller and it was published in 1910, while the list of errata on p. 234 is very far from complete. These are small defects, and, although one may feel that generalizations as to national character may or may not be psychology or sociology but are not anthropology, the author deserves our congratulations and thanks for an illuminating volume on the Hindus.

J. H. HUTTON


Many books have been written on the relation of archeological discoveries to the history and text of the Bible, but few have been so comprehensive and reliable as this volume. Professor Wright combines a practical knowledge of field archeology gained in Palestine itself with experience of university teaching (he is now Professor of Old Testament Studies at Harvard) and a ready pen which has long been used to good effect in making discoveries known to the non-specialist in his capacity as editor of The Biblical Archeologist, published quarterly by the American Schools of Oriental Research.

Since the book follows the general framework of the Bible story and the subject matter is treated chronologically, a brief introduction to Biblical archeology, not omitting its theological implications, is followed by a survey of prehistoric man in Palestine. He thus avoids some of the current chronological debating on the relative antiquity of Jericho with the earliest sites of Syria (Byblos) and Iraq (Shanidar caves and Jarmo) and gives a fair summary of the evidence. If the giant 'sons of Anak,' the Nephilim and the Rephaim of the Bible, remain a mystery, Wright clearly describes the dolmens and menhirs found in Transjordan and other areas, Neanderthal man of the middle paleolithic age and the Natufians of the Mesolithic and, especially interesting for earliest Palestine, the neolithic remains of Jericho.

Most of the book is devoted to the historic field marked in the ancient Near East by the advent of writing and the foundation of large cities e.g. 3200 B.C. Throughout, details from excavations are closely knit with inscriptive evidence of which relevant translations are given. The book has, of course, to cover much old ground but it has the merit of balanced presentation whether the subject is a new interpretation of a find or the summary of rapidly increasing, and sometimes controversial, material like the Dead Sea Scrolls or the Vatican explorations below St. Peter's. The matter includes discoveries up to the end of 1956, and for this reason alone, the book must supersede others in view of the continual fresh evidence arising from the Biblical period and places.

The chapters on the Israelite conquest of Canaan, where accumulating evidence supports the thirteenth-century dating, and on the

The first edition of this book under the title Korean Games, with Notes on the Corresponding Games of China and Japan was first published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 1895. This original edition was limited to 550 numbered copies and between 1895 and 1958 there has been no new edition or reprint. This edition is a photographic reproduction of the earlier work even to the extent of the same footnotes. In the intervening 60 years there has been a noticeable advance in the classification and description of Asiatic games. For example, H. J. R. Murray’s two monumental works, A History of Chess (1913) and A History of Board-Games other than Chess (1952), both include all the games from Culin dealing with these two types and it seems doubtful whether a photographic reprint of this work is justified without entirely new re-editing. Culin himself collected the original games from diplomats and immigrants in the United States, especially Koreans. Thus his original selection of games was to some extent arbitrary so Culin supplemented these games with similar games from China, Japan and sometimes the United States itself. This type of approach is no longer justified in view of the great advance in classification since 1895.

The publishers are, however, to be congratulated on the high quality of the reproduction, the good-quality paper used and the firm binding. Any schoolboy, given the equipment, can have many hours of enjoyment with this book.

WILLIAM H. NEWELL


The author establishes a correlation, based on his own investigations and on data from the literature, between the anthropometric characteristics of the Dinaric race and a certain frequency of the B gene, insisting on a closer collaboration between the physical anthropologist and the serologist. His results suggest the existence of a common stock in the ‘Dinaric zone’ in spite of big linguistic and ethnic differences.

The book is written in a vivid style and the author does not hesitate to take a definite stand upon controversial subjects. He does not admit any relationship between blood groups and disease and strongly condemns those scientific opinions with which he disagrees. In every case, however, in which he attacks a theory, he clearly explains his reasons for so doing. His attitude towards the questions of the ‘latinity’ of the Roumanian people and of the blood groups of the Hungarians in Transylvania shows that he does not regard these problems from the point of view of belief in a racial theory, but from that of scientific objectivity.

The monograph will be a useful source of information for everyone concerned with the study of the ethnic-racial characteristics of the peoples of Eastern Europe and more particularly with that of the Roumanians.

E. R. GOLD


It is not perhaps generally realized that Yugoslavia, in spite of the drive towards industrialization and the Welfare State, is still basically (70–80 per cent.) a peasant community, ideologically and materially, being slowly and painfully integrated within the federal system. Regionalism, local autonomy, cultural variations, dialect differences—all these are still powerful, change-resisting forces in eastern and south-eastern Europe today. It is precisely the task of the social anthropologist to study these factors and attempt to illuminate them, not as dry, academic data, but as a dynamic

oven within the body politic. The past merges with the present; the stream of tradition joins the broad ocean of revolutionary processes.

Dr. Halpern, in this 300-page book, meticulously, carefully documented, containing ample tables, diagrams and illustrations (as well as a useful selective Bibliography), has fulfilled this mission of the social investigator by broadening his canvas to include all the details relevant to a field study. He selected for his study the village of Orašac in Šumadija, the traditional ‘heart of Serbia,’ where the first Revolt of the Serbian people against its Turkish oppressors broke out in 1804. Orašac (population over 2,000) interests the historian both for its past as a place of the junction with present policies and for its place in the programme of the United Nations; its interest lies in its deep roots of ancient folk-pot, customs, primitive superstitions, and social organization, all of which have been painstakingly investigated by the author, both from the records and from persistent questioning of all classes of people on the spot.

History and anthropology on the one hand, ethnography and descriptive sociology on the other, reveal early settlements and colonization of the Moravo-Danubian basin, rapid shifts and increase in population, including that of Orašac, and general economic expansion in the early nineteenth century. Among others, the Turkish influence was paramount, and retarded the growth of a market economy. For, as Dr. Halpern points out, in spite of the evolution of a merchant class between 1829 and 1839, ‘Serbia continued to be a peasant state with strong Turkish influences.’

A rigid social structure has been the cement of this community, as of thousands like it. The author describes in detail the close-knit nuclear family (porodiča) and household group (domaćinstvo, kuća), the clan system, stronger than in Scotland, the place of the patriarch and of women in the complicated kinship pattern, the division of labour, agricultural techniques, etc. He examines the special role of the Ždruža (defined as ‘two or more nuclear families sharing a common homestead and economy’), and shows how its influence has waned during the last hundred years. The reasons for this and for the challenge to patriarchal authority by the womenfolk and youth, the impact of economic independence and Communist ideology—these things, and many others, repay close study in this scholarly work which, while satisfying the expert, should not prove too technical for the layman.

P. D. SOSKICE


Early Victorian New Zealand is at once a scholarly and an eminently readable account of the early years of colonization in New Zealand and more particularly of the vicissitudes of the New Zealand Company settlements in the Cook Strait region, from their foundation up to the achievement of Responsible Government in 1852. Events in the north are sketched in briefly as they affect developments in this central area, with the exception of the signing
of the Treaty of Waitangi, which surely merits more than the oblique references accorded it.

In the early chapters Dr. Miller makes a detailed examination of Edward Gibbon Wakefield’s ‘design for a colony,’ that strange mixture of idealism and self-interest, the blunders and chicanery which marred its application by the New Zealand Company, and how the Company’s failures exacerbated the inter-racial tensions produced by the sudden influx of settlers in numbers not anticipated by the Maori. Other factors were the settlers’ imported convictions of European superiority and the leadership of men like the Wakefields and Dr. Featherston, who openly looked forward to the day when the ‘natives’ would be ‘crushed like a wisp in the iron gauntlet of armed civilization.’ The chapter on changes in Maori life is unfortunately brief and presents little that is new; it is, however, a useful summary of the major trends in a crucial period of contact. The second half of the book is concerned mainly with changes within the colonial society—the breaking-down of class distinctions, the rise of the squatter-pastoralists and the campaign for self-government.

Dr. Miller presents with satisfying clarity the important issues and trends of the period. He writes vivid and diverting prose which brings the people and the times graphically to life. If his assessments of the personalities and influence of the prominent men of the day sometimes appear unduly harsh, as in the case of the Wakefields, or more favourable than the popular verdict, as in that of Fitzroy, he supports his case with a wealth of evidence from contemporary letters, diaries and archives. In fact, his use of quotations is highly effective throughout and in the first four chapters nothing short of masterly.

JOAN METGE


This Leiden doctoral dissertation is a product of some two years’ fieldwork between 1951 and 1954 in the service of the government of Netherlands New Guinea. During this period Dr. Pouwer made a survey of the entire Mimika area of southwestern New Guinea, from the eastern shore of Etma Bay in the east to the Otokwa River in the west, but devoted the last six months of his stay there to an intensive study of the villages of Kaokonao and Ipiri in the central part of it. The present book, however, as its title indicates, contains only a part of the data collected and is concerned mainly with social structure.

The first chapter describes the physical environment, the people, their distribution and general way of life. The area, bounded inland by the Charles Louis and Carstensen Mts., is low and swampy and is traversed by numerous rivers. The landscape is a continually changing one owing to the influence of strong maritime currents, tides and flooding rivers. Various zones, however, are distinguishable. Sandy beaches extend over three-quarters of the coast, from the Wana River to a bit west of Etma Bay. Right behind it is swamp, which further in gives way to marshy jungle. As one proceeds inland the ground gets firmer and the trees larger.

The inhabitants of this region are semi-nomadic. Nowadays they are required by the government to live along the coast, but formerly their semi-permanent settlements were some distance inland along the rivers. Further upstream they had temporary huts where they gathered sago and others on the coast, where they went for fishing. The area is thinly populated, there being some 8,600 people, now settled in 31 villages, along a coastline of about 190 miles.

The second chapter is concerned with material culture and food-production.

Then follow three chapters on social structure. The first of these deals primarily with tribal and family organization, kinship structure and terminology and other related matters. The tribe consists of a number of matrilineal groups called taparu (the author noted 50 tribal and 160 taparu names). The taparu, whose membership is local, is composed of other matrilineal groups called pereko. The latter consist of a single generation of several extended families related either traditionally or actually through mother’s mother. The women of the group occupy a common territory, which they inherit from their mothers. The taparu can either be formed from related pereko groups of various generations, in which case they are named and exogamous (these are found primarily in the small villages of the western and central part of the Mimika area), or from several pereko of the same generation not matrilinearly related, in which case they tend towards endogamy (these are located mainly in the large villages of the east). Often a tribe consists of two sets of territorial groups or two taparu, and the number two is said to play an important role in the social structure.

The smallest matrilineal group is that of the extended family, consisting of parents, their unmarried children and married daughters with their husbands and children. An exogamous cognatic group with a slight matrilineal bias is formed by one’s close relatives: grandparents, parents, siblings, children, grandchildren, father’s and mother’s siblings and their spouses, children and grandchildren and mother’s female matrilineal parallel cousins, their children and daughters’ children.

The kinship terminology is bilateral, distinguishes generation and age, but makes no distinction between cross and parallel cousins. Marriage, though this subject is not treated extensively, is normally of the brother-sister—sister-brother exchange type. People claimed that the three most easterly villages had a preference for mother’s brother’s daughter marriage and that in the rest of the Mimika area there had been one for marriage with a classificatory mother’s brother’s daughter. However, the author could hardly find any present traces of the custom.

The next chapter deals with the organization of the local community and is followed by one on property, which varies considerably and irregularly between collective and individual ownership. Chapter VI is a general one on the principle of reciprocity and its application to various aspects of the culture. The final chapter gives a survey of the contacts between the inhabitants of the area and outsiders from about 1600 to the present and includes a discussion of the evolution of the natives’ attitude towards foreigners.

The book concludes with a useful English summary.

Dr. Pouwer has compressed a great mass of information into this book and has made many keen observations on the people whom he studied. I cannot help but feel, however, that the book would have gained considerably if much had been left out and it had been organized differently. It was Dr. Pouwer’s original intention, he says, to write a general monograph including all aspects of Mimika culture, but he was prevented from doing so by lack of time. It seems to me, however, that it would have been preferable in the circumstances to have confined the book, aside from a general introduction, to social organization, in which a chapter on marriage, which he so much regretted having left out, could have been included. In this way many things about the groups into which the society is divided and the roles which they play might have been clearer. For example, two sorts of taparu are distinguished and are associated with different areas, but this distinction does not appear to be consistently followed and account is not always taken in discussing the taparu of the particular type. Furthermore, although the social groups are discussed in relation to several aspects of the society in various parts of the book, they are not treated comprehensively in one place, so that the ramifications of their functions and their relative importance could be easily seized. Although a very full index is provided, the reader must often do a lot of searching before he can find the answers that he is looking for.

Nevertheless this is a valuable book and the more welcome in that it deals with a hitherto neglected area. It is to be hoped that the author’s official duties will allow him sufficient opportunity to publish the rest of his material in the near future.

R. E. DOWNS
Dimple-based pots from Kasai, Belgian Congo

(a, b, and fig. 1) Pot No. 1; (c) pot No. 2; (d) pot No. 3; (e, f) pot No. 4. For measurements and descriptions see the text.

Photographs: Musée royal du Congo belge
DIMPLE-BASED POTS FROM KASAI, BELGIAN CONGO*

by

JACQUES NENQUIN

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The origin and development of the so-called 'dimple-based-pottery culture' are certainly amongst the more discussed topics of Central African proto-history. During the Pan-African Congress on Prehistory at Léopoldville in August, 1939, one session is being devoted to the origins, evolution and diffusion of metallurgy in Africa, and it is hardly to be doubted that the problem of the 'dimple-based' pottery will be raised there.

Sherds of this pottery are known and have been published so far from the region of the Great Lakes (Kenya, Ruanda-Urundi, Kivu). In a letter which I received a short time ago Dr. L. S. B. Leakey mentions a number of other sites in Uganda, on the islands in Lake Victoria, and even as far as Khartoum in the Sudan. In a work shortly to be published, Professor Dr. J. Hiernaux, Rector of the State University at Elisabethville, does not take the view that Ruanda-Urundi can be regarded as the probable genetic centre of this culture, but reaches conclusions which rather seem to point to the Niger—Chad—Upper Nile region.

Director of the Forminière, for this gift and for the valuable information which he has given about this and other sites. In a letter dated 2 June, 1959, he writes: '... ces poteries découvertes dans la partie supérieure du gravier... de la mine de Lupemba en juillet 1939... je suis malheureusement incapable de faire une description complète de la disposition des objets et de dire s'ils proviennent d'une ancienne tombe ou s'ils ont été enfouis dans des conditions naturelles...'.

Pot No. 1 (fig. 34, Plate 4a, b), reg. No. 37.535. Pot with everted lip and horizontal rim; pronounced dimple; brownish-grey, black centre; exterior and interior surfaces smooth. Decoration: incised before firing. That on the lip consists of a rather wide and oblique cross-hatching, above a series of oblique incisions to the left. Decoration on the neck: two times eight concentric circles, opposed; two opposed motifs each consisting of a group of six curved and parallel grooves terminating at each end in a closed scroll, the area between the two scrolls being filled with 8–10 parallel festoons; the area between the scrolls and the concentric circles is filled with ten curved and parallel grooves. Under this decoration—but not under the scrolls or the concentric circles—runs a line of elongated points. Dimensions: height, 140 millimetres; diameter of rim, 142 millimetres; diameter of neck, 132 millimetres; diameter of body, 165 millimetres; diameter of dimple, 40 millimetres; thickness of sides, 7–8 millimetres.

**Fig. 1. Basal view of Pot No. 1**

These few lines are enough to show the importance of the small collection which was recently found in the reserves of the Musée royal du Congo belge at Tervuren. The four absolutely typical 'dimple-based' pots of which a description will be given in a moment were discovered in 1939 near Tshikapa in Kasai, in the mines of the Lupemba Valley (fig. 2), nearly 1,000 kilometres as the crow flies from Kivu, where the nearest comparative material comes from. Thanks to a generous gift from the Forminière (Société internationale forestière et minière du Congo) these interesting pieces now form part of the collections of the Congo Museum. I wish to thank M. Parmentier...

* With Plate 1 and three text figures

**Fig. 2. Map of part of Kasai**

Pot No. 2 (fig. 3b, Plate 1c), reg. No. 37.533. Pot with everted lip; no dimple; dark grey colour, black paste; exterior and interior surfaces smooth. Decoration: incised before firing. That on the lip consists of a horizontal herringbone to the left.
That on the neck consists, from top to bottom, of a zigzag line formed by incised triangles, five parallel and horizontal lines, a zigzag line, and a horizontal line. Dimensions: height, 103 millimetres; diameter of rim, 103 millimetres; diameter of neck, 94 millimetres; diameter of body, 127 millimetres; thickness of sides, 6-7 millimetres.

Pot No. 3 (fig. 3e, Plate II), reg. No. 37.534. Pot with everted lip; no dimple; dark grey, brownish; exterior and interior surfaces smooth. Decoration: incised before firing. That on the lip consists of a wide and rather irregular oblique cross-hatching; a discontinuous line of shallow, short and horizontal oval grooves separates the lip from the neck. Dimensions: height, 106 millimetres; diameter of rim, 116 millimetres; diameter of neck, 102 millimetres; diameter of body, 129 millimetres; thickness of sides, 6-7 millimetres.

Pot No. 4 (fig. 3d, Plate Ia, f), reg. No. 37.527-57.532. Rather short pot with everted lip; pronounced dimple; brownish-orange, grey in places; exterior surface originally smooth, but granular now because of weathering; interior surface smooth; no slip; rather small grit, a few particles larger (2-3 millimetres). This temper is mainly composed of grains of quartz and feldspar, with fewer particles of granite; no mica is visible, which seems normal if the clay had been washed before the pot was given its shape. In short, what we have here is a granite sand typical of the Tshikapa area, which seems to indicate that the pot was made on the spot, and not imported from the north-east. Decoration incised before firing. That on the lip consists of a rather wide oblique cross-hatching. That on the neck consists of 9-12 more or less parallel grooves; in four places the two bottom grooves end in a half-scroll; a zigzag line separates this decoration from the undecorated part of the vase. Dimensions: height, 65 millimetres; diameter of rim, 77 millimetres; diameter of neck, 69 millimetres; diameter of body, 90 millimetres; diameter of dimple, 25 millimetres; thickness of sides, 3-5 millimetres.

It will be noted that neither No. 2 nor No. 3 possesses the characteristic dimple at the base, but this is not sufficient reason to exclude them from the series. In fact, both Leakey and Hiernaux and Maquet describe similar examples. The typical bevelled rims are absent, and the rims are rather similar to fig. 1 of Leakey, Owen and Leakey. On the other hand, the decoration is very characteristic: parallel grooves, cross-hatching ('gaufage'), points and dots, chevrons (herringbone), scrolls and circles, as known from the examples of the Great Lakes area, are present here. Contrary to the findings of Hiernaux and Maquet, no indications of metal-working were found at Tshikapa. No decorated bricks, heaps of slag and ashes, or tuyères have been recorded, but this, in the circumstances of the discovery, is perhaps only to be expected.

The pots from Tshikapa are small to medium-sized, which again does not altogether agree with the examples described by Hiernaux and Maquet. On the other hand, both at Tshampa and at Mukama sherd only were found, while from Tshikapa three specimens in a perfect state of preservation are now known, the fourth having been reconstructed without much difficulty. Again it is not impossible that the sherds, if any, were missed by the collector. In any case, the undoubted existence of typical elements of the ‘dimple-based’ pottery in Kasai enlarges considerably the known diffusion area of this culture and proves conclusively the necessity of a thorough study of this proto-historic population.

Notes
1 I am grateful to Dr. Leakey for this information, and to Professor Hiernaux for permission to make use of his manuscript.

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FICTITIOUS KINSHIP AMONGST GIRLS OF THE VENDA OF THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL*
by

JOHN BLACKING

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I. At Traditional Puberty Schools for Girls

At the onset of their first menses or as soon after as is convenient, Venda girls are sent to vhusha, the traditional puberty school. vhusha is held at the kraals of headmen and chiefs and controlled by Nematei, an elderly and important woman of the district: it is not held continuously, but is set up for a period of six to eight days whenever there is a new initiate. The procedure at vhusha is always the same, but every initiate (mutel) must attend three times before she graduates as midabe—one who has been initiated and is expected to take part in the instruction of the neophytes. To mark her progress through the school, the initiate is said to pass three stages, mahu, u lata matavha, and tshishakwakwathwa. The important Venda social distinction between nobles (phakololo, i.e. children or patrilineal descendants of a chief) and commoners (phasiwana) is observed, and nobles attend separate schools, at which they must also graduate through three stages called by the same names.

Nobles merely ‘wash’ (tsha), whereas commoners ‘dance’ (tshina) and are ‘sung for’ (inbelwa). Commoners may not attend the nobles’ schools, but nobles who have passed mahu are entitled to attend any commoners’ schools that may be held, in order to learn the songs and dances. They are not considered to be midabe, however, until they have passed all three stages at their own schools.

On the first night of every session of vhusha, the initiate who is beginning mahu is given a ‘mother’ by Nematei. The ‘mother’ and ‘child’ are called mene and nuna wa vhukomba respectively (vhukomba = the state of being a nubile girl). There is a subtle linguistic variation in the title which shows that the kinship term is fictitious: the usual possessive concord for mene is simply a (thus mene a nuna), and the use of wa suggests that the speaker is not referring to a real mother. This explanation was given to me by the Venda themselves.

The choice of ‘mother’ for a ‘child’ depends entirely upon Nematei, who will invariably select the most senior girl available from those waiting to be given ‘children.’ There are no rules governing the selection, except that a commoner can never become the ‘mother’ of a noble, though a noble may be given a commoner ‘child’ if she comes to the commoners’ school. The choice is governed by seniority of maturity rather than by kinship, though some say that they are pleased if the ‘mother’ chosen for a girl happens to be a relative, but I found that in only two out of 38 cases studied were ‘mother’ and ‘child’ related.

One might expect that there would be an even flow of girls graduating through the third stage both in nobles’ and commoners’ schools, since vhusha is held whenever there is a new initiate, and for only one girl at a time. There is, however, often a surplus or a shortage of senior girls waiting to be given ‘children,’ owing to certain irregularities. Cases have been recorded of girls who by-pass vhusha by going directly to domba, the pre-marital initiation school which only takes place at intervals of about five years in each district; other girls have been taken in marriage by their husband’s families as soon as they have passed the third stage, and some even before they have passed the second stage of vhusha.

Once the ‘mother’/‘child’ relationship has been established by Nematei, each girl has certain obligations towards the other which must be carried out during the course of vhusha. As in many Venda relationships, the onus rests chiefly on the senior partner. The ‘mother’ must shepherd her ‘child’ through vhusha, helping her to learn the dance steps and the laws (milayo) that must be memorized, accompanying her wherever she goes both during and after each stage of vhusha for a specified number of days. When the ‘child’ returns home after the first stage, for instance, she is not supposed to talk to any man other than her father, so that her ‘mother’ may act as her spokesman. Her ‘mother’ cuts her hair in a special way, anoints her head with ochre and frequently keeps her company until her period of confinement is over. When a ‘child’ passes the final stage and becomes midabe, it is customary for her ‘mother’ to give her some soap. The ‘mother’ also gives her ‘child’ clothes or cooks beer in her honour, and both ‘mother’ and ‘child’ visit each other’s kraals. A ‘child’ must kneel and salute her ‘mother’ whenever she meets her during her period of initiation (though I have noticed that
some girls do not always observe this custom), and she must also collect firewood for her ‘mother’ once during each stage of vhusha. There is no ritual to celebrate the relationship, and if the ‘child’ takes a new name she generally chooses it herself (dii-rule").

A ‘child’ sometimes calls her ‘mother’s mme wa vhukomba ‘grandmother’ (makulu) and is in turn called ‘grandchild’ (mudiulu), but fictitious relationships are rarely extended further than this. Although several generations of ‘ancestors’ are alive and often living in the same district, I have never found a woman who knew or even cared about the name of her ‘grandmother’s mme wa vhukomba. This is in keeping with the general forgetfulness and lack of interest of the Venda in the names of lineal ancestors beyond the second or third generation. On the other hand, girls sometimes extend the field of fictitious kinship to include their ‘mother’s real sisters and brothers, whom they call mmame and malume respectively, and even their ‘mother’s’ husbands, whom they call ‘father’ (khoti).

After passing vhusha, it is customary for a ‘child’ to keep her ‘mother’ informed and even ask her advice about her own marriage matters. For instance, a ‘child’ came to tell her ‘mother’ that her husband’s people had come to take her to his home; she had not yet finished vhusha, she wanted to postpone the marriage, and so she insisted that she could not be married before her ‘mother.’ She was acting according to custom, as the visits of the husband’s people should always be reported, and it is not etiquette for a ‘child’ to be married before her ‘mother.’ This aspect of the relationship as a marriage insurance policy for the ‘mother’ is hardly necessary in Venda society, where almost all women are married and there is no word in the language to describe a spinster. If a girl is married according to custom and the affair is not rushed by the husband’s people, her ‘child’ comes to help in her home for a few days before she is taken to her husband’s home: the ‘child’ will then go as one of her ‘mother’s’ bridial companions (pheletshedzi). After a ‘mother’ has been married, she may call her ‘child’ to visit her, and her husband may bring back a present from town for her ‘child.’ When a ‘child’ is married, her ‘mother’ should give her a present; and after this the relationship is maintained or allowed to drop according to the fancy of the two girls. In fact, however, many women like to maintain the relationship, visiting each other and occasionally sending gifts, especially from ‘mother’ to ‘child.’ This is not altogether surprising, since most women who have been so brought together at vhusha have as children gone to the river, danced and played together. A ‘child’s’ close association with her ‘mother’ at a time when she is undergoing mental and physical stress, cements the friendship that has already been partly established by the coincidence of living in the same district.

II. At Modern Primary and Secondary Schools
A similar institution exists in Venda Primary and Secondary Schools, but in this case girls may have ‘mothers’ and even ‘children’ before they reach the age of puberty. A girl chooses her own ‘play child’ (niwana wa u tamba) or, less frequently, she chooses a ‘play mother’ (mme wa u tamba): some accumulate as many as four ‘play mothers’ and two or three ‘play children,’ but this is exceptional. The only criterion of choice is that the person chosen should be a schoolgirl who wears European dress: otherwise Venda, Lemba, Shangaan, Sotho, noble and commoner all mix freely, and my ‘kinship’ charts show a striking disregard for any of the traditional distinctions of clan, tribe and class. Though the ‘play mother’ is always older than her ‘child,’ the pair are quite often in the same Form at school when the relationship is established. Some girls even collect ‘mothers’ or ‘children’ from schools outside Vendaland, as for instance when school choirs go to Pretoria to compete in the annual Eisteddod.

Some relationships arise out of continual association in the same forms at schools, whilst others spring up suddenly when two girls meet and take an immediate fancy to each other. The older and more sophisticated often cement the relationship by writing each other formal letters (in English), in which they declare their love for each other and their wish to remain firm friends. One girl met a Sotho girl at the Eisteddod in Pretoria and was immediately captivated by her smart clothes, her fair complexion and her cheerful disposition: she asked her to be her ‘play mother,’ and the matter was settled verbally. As soon as the Venda girl came home, she wrote a letter full of extravagant clichés and declarations of affection: when I asked why she had not written a single item of news—not even a word about her journey home—she said that this was a ‘letter for opening the friendship’ and that news would follow in later letters.

As with the traditional relationship at vhusha, the ‘mother’ is the dominant partner, though seniority is not rated so highly in school relationships. She buys sweets, trinkets, bloomers and even dresses for her ‘child’ if she can afford it; she asks her to stay at her home during the school holidays; she teaches her how to write love letters in English and advises her on her relations with boys. Some ‘mothers’ even act as match-makers for their ‘children,’ or arrange meetings with boys who are afraid to approach the girls on their own.

‘Play children’ give or lend things to their ‘mothers,’ especially when the ‘mother’ is studying at another school and their meetings are infrequent. Inter-school sports and music competitions provide the stimulus, and ‘children’ busy themselves baking cakes and preparing food to take to their ‘mother.’ The ‘child’ may return home with a necklace lent by her ‘mother,’ having lent her in return a wrist watch or a hat. Sometimes a ‘child’ may leave school and earn money, say, as a student nurse, while her ‘mother’ is still studying at school: in such cases as this, it is not bad form for the ‘child’ to give the ‘mother’ a generous present. One ‘child,’ for instance, gave her ‘mother’ ten shillings to spend in Pretoria during the Eisteddod.

Some girls like to call their ‘mother’s’ real siblings mmame and malume (mother’s sister and brother respectively), but the fictitious kinship terms are rarely reciprocated, especially when the siblings are adults. A relatively recent
innovation seems to be the taking of female ‘play wives’ and little boys as ‘play sons’; these relationships are not taken very seriously and girls are rather shy about admitting them. Two girls may sleep together under the same blanket as ‘husband’ and ‘wife’, but they do not indulge in any form of sex play.

When a girl is married, her ‘play child’ will be amongst her bridesmaids. There is nothing to stop a ‘child’ being married before her ‘mother,’ and this happens—though more often by accident than by design. It is too early to say whether or not the relationship persists throughout a woman’s life, since the kinship game does not seem to have been played by the older generation: but all younger married women whom I have questioned say that they still maintain, and always will, the close relationship with their ‘children’, even though they too may be married and have real children of their own.

Discussion

One is at first tempted to see the school kinship game as an extension of a traditional feature of Venda society. This may be the reason for its persistence and popularity, but evidence suggests that it does not account for its existence, since the game appears to be a school ‘craze’ that has spread from the towns. Today, it is played in Primary and Secondary Schools in Vendaland. In 1952, it was confined to two Secondary schools, and in the middle nineteen-forties it appears not to have been played at all. It arrived in Vendaland from the towns by way of a Teacher’s Training College near Louis Trichardt, and there is no doubt that one of the reasons for its taking a hold on Venda girls is that it came from the more sophisticated South. To a certain extent, a ‘play mother’ initiates her ‘child’ into the mysteries of modern life.

The Venda seem to be very interested in seniority, and women at beer parties often argue about who is senior to whom, and who passed the domba initiation school first. The interest in seniority is also expressed in the kinship terms recognizing seniority of siblings of the same sex—mukomana and muruthu, older and younger sibling. The school kinship game is, however, more than an extension of the sibling group and the relationship between ‘play mother’ and ‘child’ is more intense than that which is normal between mukomana and muruthu.

It is probably no accident that the girls who seem most keen about the relationship—and there are many who spend an enormous amount of time and money on the game—are those whose parents are working in town, or those who spend most of the year away from home, boarding either at school or with relatives. In spite of the communalism of Venda life, most Venda children and even adults strike one as being fundamentally lonely people, always ready to grasp at the smallest indication of affection. This applies particularly to the girls who go to school: they exclude themselves or feel excluded from the numerous social activities which enhance the life of girls who do not go to school; few of them have a close relationship with their parents, and there are relatively few boys at school with whom they might contemplate friendship.

Girls at school are in a minority and usually come from the more prosperous homes; they are keen to better themselves and are not easily satisfied with the schoolboys, many of whom are rather uncouth and in any case have only one object in being friendly with a girl. A few girls content themselves by succumbing to the fatuous proposals of married teachers (‘How can I refuse, when he gives me things?’ such girls will say); but more generally they turn to each other for the love and affection which they crave, and the extent of affection is expressed in the giving of gifts and the exchange of letters full of extravagant phrases of love.

Girls sometimes say that they love their ‘play mothers’ more than anyone else in the world; a girl may change her mind and abandon plans that she has made, simply because she has received a letter from her ‘mother,’ suggesting that they should meet briefly at some place. It may be argued that such action indicates submissive respect for seniority rather than a genuine desire to meet a much loved friend; but there is no suggestion of this in the way children talk about their ‘mothers.’

There is nothing actively homosexual about these relationships, although they are in part substitutes for a more intensive relationship with boys. Girls mix freely with boys on many occasions, and some even fight over love letters received from them; but generally speaking, the ‘play mother/child’ relationship helps to keep the uncouth lads at bay and control the course of a girl’s relationship with the man whom she loves and hopes to marry.

The relationship is thus a voluntary friendship which has been partly formalized, and then intensified by a series of social factors which create tensions for the average schoolgirl. Although there are superficially many structural similarities between the traditional mme/nwana wa vhukomba and the modern mme/nwana wa u tamba relationships, the latter does not appear to be a mere extension of the former into the field of modern school life. The traditional relationship exists primarily to help an initiate through vhusha, and apart from this one does not see ‘mothers’ and ‘children’ associating any more than other friends who are brought together because they are related or live in the same area. Moreover, the ‘mother’ and ‘child’ are not separated from their friends and relatives in the same way as the ‘play mother’ and her ‘child’, who by the very fact of their going to school and wearing dresses are sharply distinguished from those of their friends and relatives who follow the traditional way of life. This factor helps to make the school relationship a stronger one.

The chief factor that distinguishes the whole complex of the school from the traditional relationship is the matter of individual choice. Girls insist that they must choose their own ‘mother’ or ‘child.’ Most schoolgirls have attended either the traditional vhusha or one designed for Christians, and they have been given a mme wa vhukomba by the old woman in charge: they never pursue the relationship with the ‘mother,’ however, since she was chosen for them, and invariably they have not the slightest interest in her. Once a girl has rejected conformity and followed her
own inclinations, it is hard for her to turn back and rely on the prop of traditional institutions. Thus she must face the dilemma that she has created by an act of individual choice: it is not surprising, therefore, that schoolgirls devote themselves to the 'play mother/child' relationship with far more enthusiasm than that which uneducated girls expend on the traditional relationship.

Traditional Venda society is predominantly patrilineal and women are theoretically very servile. In fact, however, they have much influence in political and religious matters through the offices of mahadzi, the father's sister, who is responsible for praying to the ancestors of her brother's clan, and who controls all matters of succession in royal families. Moreover, there is a complex structure of girls' and women's initiation schools, from which men are excluded: because of the constant flow of initiates, women come together regularly to see the girls through their period of initiation and to indoctrinate them. The influence of women in Venda society depends on their maintaining these institutions, and one who chooses to flout the conventions does so at her own risk, and loses the prop of moral and social support from other women.

Paradoxically enough, the Christian women who have been 'liberated from the tyranny' of such 'primitive servility' are generally far more servile and insignificant than their 'primitive' counterparts, and quite unable to control the arrogance of those men who feel themselves no longer bound by traditional Venda values. Christian women have no say in political or religious affairs and little or no control over the amorous intrigues of their husbands. There is nothing to draw them together other than various Church organizations and Women's Leagues; as socially binding forces, these are but a pale reflection of the traditional institutions. Venda women who have forsaken their traditional life in order to strike out as individuals have as yet no effective means of checking the activities of their menfolk, so that it is necessary for them to club together as much as they can. This they do at Church and at all social gatherings, but there is no formal organization to help them maintain their solidarity as a group. The growing popularity of the school kinship game, with a series of formalized relationships which are created when a girl is young and persist after marriage, may well represent the beginnings of an unconscious movement on behalf of 'educated' Venda women to regain the power and prestige that they have lost by forsaking their traditional ways of life.

**Notes**

1. *Vhusha* is described in H. A. Statt, *The Bavenda, O.U.P., 1931*, pp. 106–10, and N. J. van Warmelo, *Contributions Towards Venda History, Religion and Tribal Ritual*, Government Printer, Pretoria, 1950, pp. 37–51. The *n/neuana wa vhukomba* relationship has not, to my knowledge, been described before; but old women assure me that it existed when they were children. I have found and am following up fictitious kinship systems in other 'European-sponsored' institutions in South Africa.

2. A commoner whose mother is a noble, or who is betrothed to a noble, can, if her family wishes it, go to the noble's *vhusha* and be treated as a noble. By no means all commoners avail themselves of this privilege, as they fear that it might cause unnecessary jealousy amongst their fathers' commoner relatives.

3. Ironically enough, one remarkably close relationship between a mother and her 'teenage' daughter was upset by the girl's 'play mother', who told her 'child' that she was a fool to discuss her boy friends with her mother and show her love letters.

4. Current ratios of boys to girls at school are: Standard V, 7:2; Standard VI, 4:1; Form I, 4:1; Form II, 5:1; Form III (Junior Certificate), 1:1.

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**SHORTER NOTES**

**The Problem of Middle Stone Age Man in Southern Africa.**

By Dr. L. H. Wells, Professor of Anatomy, University of Cape Town, South Africa

A recent critical paper by Singer (1958) on the antiquity and significance of the fossil human skull from Boskop near Potchefstroom, South Africa, points to the need for reconsidering what skulls may be assigned to the Middle Stone Age of Southern Africa.

In a paper read at the First Pan-African Congress on Prehistory in 1947 (Wells, 1952a) I listed as possibly Middle Stone Age the crania from Boskop, Tuinplaats (Springbok Flats), Border Cave (Ingwawuma), Florisbad, Skildergrat (Fish Hoek), Kalk Bay and Philippa (Cape Flats), three skulls (M.R. I, II and X) from the deepest levels of the Matjes River Cave, and an uncertain number of specimens from the Ziwizika Caves. It was evident that these skulls could not be regarded as representing a single type. Moreover, although the Middle Stone Age was not then clearly subdivided chronologically, it seemed wrong to regard all skulls belonging to it as broadly contemporary. A subsequent study by Malan (1949) suggested that the Middle Stone Age as then understood might be divided into Early, Typical and Final phases, and the human remains grouped accordingly. The division into Early and Typical phases is explained by the 'Protostillbay' and 'Stillbay' stages in Rhodesia; the Final phase corresponded broadly to Malan's 'South African Magosian.' This grouping was adopted in a subsequent review (Wells, 1952b), the Skildergrat, Kalk Bay and Border Cave skulls being assigned to the Final phase, and those from Boskop, Tuinplaats, Philippa and Matjes River more or less confidently to the Typical phase. The Florisbad skull was assigned to the Early phase, with the reservation that it might be even older.

The Third Pan-African Congress in 1955 defined a Second Intermediate Period to include the 'Magosian' industries, so that remains associated with this period must now be differentiated from those of the Middle Stone Age properly speaking. The Border Cave, Skildergrat and Kalk Bay skulls apparently belong at earliest to this Second Intermediate Period. In the case of the two former specimens, there is considerable though not conclusive evidence for assigning them to this period; the Kalk Bay specimen, though not securely dated, is morphologically so close to that from Skildergrat that the two can only be taken together.

Since 1947 no new Middle Stone Age human remains of consequence have been recorded; although typical Middle Stone Age (Stillbay) and probably also a few Second Intermediate Period (Howicson's Poort) artifacts have been found on the Hopefield...
site, all the indications are that the human cranium from this site, with the bulk of the fauna, belongs to the First Intermediate Period (Singer and Crawford, 1958). During this interval also, revisions of dating have steadily depleted the earlier list of attributions, until Middle Stone Age man seems at times to be on the point of vanishing completely.

Oakley's (1957) chemical analysis of the Philippi (Cape Flats) remains indicates that they are very unlikely to be as old as those from Skildergerg, so that this specimen is almost certainly later than the Second Intermediate Period. This brings the Philippi skull into closer chronological relation to those from the 'Wilton' level (Layer C) of the Matjes River Cave deposit which Keith (1934) has compared with it.

The position of the material from the deepest levels of the Matjes River Cave has unexpectedly become doubtful in the light of further excavation of the site by Dr. A. C. Hoffman of the National Museum, Bloemfontein. Most of the Middle Stone Age artifacts from these levels appear to have been reworked in the Late Stone Age, and it is not now certain that a definite Middle Stone Age occupation layer exists in this cave. In this area it is also difficult, though not impossible, to distinguish the Second Intermediate Period from the typical Middle Stone Age; consequently the earliest Matjes River Cave skulls may not be older than the Second Intermediate Period. Morphologically, a dating which would bring the oldest Matjes River remains (M.R.I and M.R.II) into close proximity to the Skildergerg and Kalk Bay specimens has a specious attractiveness. With these specimens would fall the main support for the belief that the specific Bushman type was already present in the Middle Stone Age in South Africa.

The possibility of Middle Stone Age artifacts having been systematically re-utilized during the Late Stone Age has also been taken into account in interpreting the material from the Zitzikama caves. In view of the unsatisfactory recording of this pioneer excavation, it cannot be affirmed that a definite Middle Stone Age horizon existed in any of these caves, still less that any human remains can be attached to such a horizon. The whole group of Zitzikama Cave remains must now be regarded as undatable.

This leaves as potentially associated with the typical Middle Stone Age only the Boskop and Tuinplaats finds. Both of these are open to question in that they are derived from unsealed sites. Singer's forceful arguments for regarding the Boskop find as a burial would apply equally to the Tuinplaats skeleton. However, it seems probable that in both cases the burials were made not from the present-day surface but from an older surface very little above the level at which the remains lay; these surfaces might belong to the Middle Stone Age or to the Second Intermediate Period. In the case of the Boskop find, the evidence of a Middle Stone Age horizon on the site is stronger than casual reading of Singer's critique might suggest, but the skeleton can only be indirectly associated with this horizon (van Riet Lowe, 1954). At Tuinplaats typical Middle Stone Age artifacts were recovered at levels considerably higher than the human remains (van Riet Lowe, 1929); the grounds for still considering that this specimen may belong to the Typical Middle Stone Age are thus perhaps stronger than in the case of the Boskop find. Morphologically the Tuinplaats skull is the less easily to be matched among skulls belonging to later periods, though it displays certain features which appear to be unquestionably Bushmanoid. Even if the Boskop and Tuinplaats specimens can be taken together, it is very difficult to characterize them more exactly than as large robust skulls possessing certain Bushmanoid characters.

If the Boskop and Tuinplaats skulls were eliminated from consideration, the typical Middle Stone Age would become a blank in physical anthropology. It could then be supposed that heavy-browed types comparable with the Florishad and Hopefield skulls continued through this phase; while the weight of evidence at present favours assigning the Florishad skull to an earlier, possibly much earlier, period than the Typical Middle Stone Age, this cannot be regarded as conclusively proved. If more refined human types made their appearance only with the Second Intermediate Period, the Border Cave skull, which has points of affinity with the Florishad as well as with the Tuinplaats and Skildergerg specimens, would find its natural place as a hybrid between the earlier and later types. Many anthropologists will, I suspect, confess a subjective reluctance to associate the Florishad skull with the very sophisticated industries of the typical Middle Stone Age.

The evidence available from other parts of Africa is scanty and ambiguous in its indications. Dr. Desmond Clark (Clark et al., 1950) found only Proto-Stillbay and Stillbay artifacts in the material from the Broken Hill cave; it was concluded that the Broken Hill skull probably belonged to the earlier phase. On the analogy of the Hopefield find, Singer and Crawford (1958) have argued that the Broken Hill skull is probably older than Proto-Stillbay. However, Oakley (1957), pointing out that a stratified sequence of advanced Earlier Stone Age, First Intermediate Period, and Middle Stone Age has been demonstrated outside the cave, argues that the cave was probably not open to man before the Proto-Stillbay, although the First Intermediate Period is not absolutely excluded. The remains from the Mumbwa Cave (Wells, 1950) are too fragmentary, and insufficiently exactly correlated with the stratigraphic sequence, to afford any evidence regarding the physical characters of Middle Stone Age Man in this region.

No human crania have yet been associated with the 'Stillbay' group of industries in East Africa; the only remains assigned to the 'Levalloisian' group (equivalent to the earlier Middle Stone Age) are those from Eyassi (Leakey, 1946) which, if not of identical type with the Broken Hill and Hopefield skulls, are at all events closely related to them. This would support the view that the Broken Hill skull need not be earlier than the early Middle Stone Age. On the other hand, the skull from Singa in the Sudan, which is plausibly associated with a 'Levalloisian' industry (Lacaille, 1951), appears intimately related to both the Boskop and the oldest Matjes River skulls, and must be considered in a broad sense 'Bushmanoid' (Wells, 1951). It may, however, be argued that the artifacts from Singa, though crude in aspect, are not on that account necessarily early; the assemblage might not in fact be earlier than the 'Stillbay' or even the Second Intermediate Period.

I have argued elsewhere (Wells, 1952b, 1957) that both the Broken Hill and the 'Bushmanoid' types are divergent derivatives of a basic African Homo sapiens stock. If this view is correct, there is no difficulty in accepting the possibility of strongly andromorphic or acromegaloid, and relatively gynecomorphous or even pedomorphic types, existing simultaneously even in one area and without any notable difference in cultural development.

The impression formerly current that the Earlier, Middle and Later Stone Ages were separated by clear cultural breaks is fostered by the assumption that the advent of new population groups coincided with these breaks. With the recognition of cultural transitions, more emphasis has been laid on continuity of population, at all events between the Middle and the Late Stone Age. The possibility that one type may have supplanted another with no conspicuous cultural change has not been equally weighed, but would be an inevitable consequence of the proposition stated in the preceding paragraph.
References

Note on Two Trade Beads Found Inland in Tanganyika.

By Miss J. R. Harding, King George V Memorial Museum, Dar es Salaam. With a text figure

The object of this note is to record the finding of two trade beads (common on the East African coast), at two inland localities in Tanganyika. For the purpose of description I call these Bead I and Bead II respectively.

**Bead I.** This is a somewhat worn bead which I picked up off the surface at the Gare Mission near Lushoto in Tanga Province. It is a drawn bead in blue opaque glass and has the following measurements: diameter, 8.5 millimetres; length, 4.5 millimetres. It is one of the sixth-to-sixteenth-century A.D. 'Trade-wind' beads described by Dr. van der Sleen in MAN, 1956, 27, and may be matched exactly with specimens in the King George V Memorial Museum from Zanzibar, which were recently submitted to him for examination and identification. Similar beads have been found at Kilwa Kisiwani and on the coast at Dar es Salaam.

**Bead II.** This, also a drawn bead, is of the opaque-red-on-a-clear-green-base variety so frequently found on the coast of Tanganyika. The measurements of this bead are: diameter, 6.5 millimetres; length, 4.75 millimetres; 5 millimetres. I found it in gravel beside a mountain stream in Morogoro, 26 miles east of Dar es Salaam. Identical specimens in the King George V Memorial Museum have been examined by Dr. van der Sleen. He considers that these beads reached Africa about 1750, but points out that they are known from much earlier times in India. They are also described by Beck in Miss Caton-Thompson's The Zimbabwe Culture; he states that exactly similar beads were sent out from England by the shipload during the eighteenth century and 'probably more recently.' In a footnote Beck draws attention to the opinion of Sir Hercules Read who considered that the Rhodesian examples were 'almost certainly of fairly modern Venetian make.' In the same note he also states: 'Similar beads occur among the treasure of beads secured from Premph's house at Kumasi, among the spoils of a wreck on the Irish coast about 1820, and among a number of miscellaneous beads from the East brought by the Rev. Greville J. Chester.'

Small-Grain Maize in Asia. By Baron U. R. von Ehrenfels, Ph.D., University of Madras

Professor R. von Heine-Geldern drew my attention to recent results of researches regarding small-grain maize in South-East Asia and its diffusion. The role which this plant plays in the ritual of the Khasi, a mongoloid, megalithic and matrilineal people of Assam, is in this connection significant. 1

The Khasi word for maize is u riew hadem. It is now used for both the varieties, small-grain and large-grain maize. The former,
according to my Khasi informants, has been used for 'a very long time'; the latter seems to have been acquired comparatively recently, like the potato which was introduced into Khasi economy by David Scott in 1830.

The Khasi word for maize, *riew hadem*, consists of the following three elements: *u*, the definite article, masculine gender; *riew*, grain, seeds, a term which occurs also, e.g., in the Khasi word for the once widely cultivated Job's tears (*Coix lacryma*), *sah riew*, *sah* meaning fruit, as for instance in *sah plun* (plumfruit), etc.; and *hadem*, the name of one of the Bodo tribes in North Cachar (east of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills), from whom the Khasi believe themselves to have learned the cultivation of (small-grain) maize. They do not, however, distinguish between it and the large-grain maize, which they also call *u riew hadem*.

The English (and recent Khasi) literature on Khasi life does not, so far as I am aware, refer to any traditions connected with either of the two maize varieties. An elderly Khasi from the Khasi State of Nongkrem, however, told me that he remembers death ceremonies, conducted in his young days, when a string of fried maize was fastened to the forehead of the corpse before cremation. Nowadays small-grain maize is used for frying, whereas large-grain is either ground in a hand mill, or pounded in a paddy mortar and then boiled, along with rice—not fried. It would thus appear probable that the string of fried maize referred to above was of the small-grain variety, whilst large-grain maize is not known to be connected with traditional ceremonies.

Santals, Khonds and Urya-speaking aborigines in the region from West Bengal and Orissa up to Koraput cultivate small-grain maize in fenced gardens, not in open fields, and this is also the Khasi way of cultivating maize. The word for maize in Urya and Telugu is *mokka* and in Hindi *bhuuta*.

Note

1 Grateful acknowledgments are due to the Wenner-Gren Foundation, New York, for two grants in aid of the field research on which these observations are based.

Horniman Museum Lectures, Autumn, 1959

247 Among lectures to be given on Saturday afternoons at 3.30 this autumn at the Horniman Museum, the following will be of interest to anthropologists:
17 October, W. T. O'Dea on 'The Social History of Lighting';
21 November, Miss C. Dolmetsch on 'The Crwth and the Harp';
5 December, Dr. C. R. Bawden on 'Outer Mongolia Today.'

CORRESPONDENCE

Courage and Pacifism among American Indians. Cf. MAN, 1959, 68

248 Sir,—Dr. Marian Smith's comment on my review of Murphy and Quain, The Trumai Indians of Central Brazil (MAN, 1958, 226), arises out of a misunderstanding of what I wrote. I was not puzzled because the stress on virility and hardness in men among the Trumai was apparently unaccompanied by any special ascription of prestige to *warriors*, but because '... there is no mention of corresponding activities in which these characteristics could find their expression.'

Courage and pacifism are not, of course, logically antithetical, nor are they found to be mutually exclusive in ethnographical literature; and valour in warfare is clearly not the only possible expression of virility. My point was that, since male hardness was encouraged among the Trumai, one would expect to find an institutional expression of it. In the absence of details as to how this trait was expressed in Trumai culture, or how it fit in with Quain's characterization of the Trumai as timid and anxiety-ridden, it is not possible to know what sort of men became leaders in Trumai society and exactly what such leadership meant.

This has a wider implication in any study of social disorganization, in that without a proper knowledge of the means by which prestige is acquired and leadership exercised in a given society it is difficult to understand the processes which lead to a break-up of its institutions.

DAVID MABURY-LEWIS
Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford


249 Sir,—In the postscript to his essay about the mother's brother and the sister's son in West Africa, Dr. Goody refers to my description of this relationship in Bunyoro (*Africa*, Vol. XXVIII, Part I, pp. 1-32). He says that I appear to have fallen into 'the chicken-and-egg fallacy,' and accuses me of accepting 'a hang-over from the ontogenetic assumption ... that in intergroup relations marriage has some kind of structural primacy over ties of extra-clan kinship.' I'm not quite sure what he means by the chicken-and-egg fallacy (surely none of us is now much concerned with the origins of the institutions which we study, and Dr. Goody is presumably not denying that the two groups concerned in any mother's-brother—sister's-son relationship are linked by affinity, and that this link is antecedent, not consequent, to that relationship?), nor is it clear to me what a hang-over from an assumption is (is it itself an assumption, or is it something else?). But if Dr. Goody thinks that I said that any one aspect of the mother's brother—sister's-son relationship in Bunyoro has 'primacy' over any other, I can only suggest that he read my paper again. What I said, I think quite clearly, was that a Munyoro's attitudes to his mother's brother and his sister's son have an ambivalent quality; he thinks of these relatives both as blood relations and also as in a sense 'strangers,' members of groups other than his own, to which he is linked affinally. What I was describing was the way in which real live Bunyoro think and talk about this relationship, and I produced plenty of evidence that they do think and talk in this way. Is Dr. Goody asserting that they do not, and, if so, what is his evidence for this assertion?

J. H. M. BEATTIE
Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford

The Gypsy Bender Tent. Cf. MAN, 1958, 118

250 Sir,—In Mr. Walton's article on the Gypsy bender tent of England he comments on its similarity to the *tambu* tent of the Gypsies of Central India and to the Masai *tembe*. He does not mention that the Gypsy bender tent of England is also known as the Gypsy 'winter tam.'

It can hardly be coincidence that 'tam,' *tambu* and *tembe* denote the same type of tent.

Dulverton, Somerset

M. J. FIELD
REVIEWS

GENERAL


In this short paper—his inaugural lecture—Professor Garigue notes the increased practical importance of the social sciences at the present day, and discusses the new kinds of responsibilities which this imposes upon those concerned with social research and teaching. He stresses that the social sciences are now 'scientific,' in the sense that they study their subject matter, the relations of people with other people, methodically and rigorously. The various social sciences have, in a surprisingly few years, become indispensable in a wide range of practical contexts, from administration and public affairs to advertising and propaganda. This means that from being merely academic subjects they have become of extreme practical concern, and the author points out that here lie grave dangers. For social science, regarded as a means to something else and not as an end in itself, is particularly susceptible to corruption in the service of advertisers and governments; between propaganda and advertising and 'brain-washing' the difference is only of degree. To meet this danger two things are needed. First, universities must be able to encourage and sustain 'pure' social science independently of any usefulness it may have. Second (and most important), social scientists must be able to preserve their scientific 'objectivity,' and they must, in particular, be aware of the social and moral implications of what they are doing. Professor Garigue develops, especially, this latter point, and the chief importance of his paper lies here. He rightly rebuts the old idea that science—especially social science—can ever be completely objective; the values of the researcher, which are usually implicit, affect in important ways his conception of his subject matter, his choice of theme, and the kind of analysis he adopts. This being so, it is incumbent on the social scientist to assess and declare the values in terms of which he works, as it is proper for him to be explicit about the methods and techniques which he employs. But this should not mean, Professor Garigue argues, that social science is to become 'personal' and idiosyncratic: the values underlying social research are in the last resort universal; for human nature is not infinitely variable, and there are certain common functional conditions of all human social life everywhere. If social scientists were not only to evaluate the uses to which their findings are put, but were also to assess the values which underlie their own researches, the social sciences themselves might come to act as a guide and a check on social change, and might ultimately contribute to the creation of 'un nouveau domaine l'esprit, où pourra s'accomplir la fusion convergente de la sagesse de saints et de la sagesse des savants.'

Even if we discount Professor Garigue's Utopian (though admittedly speculative) conclusion, what he says is important for all social scientists, not least for social anthropologists. It is certain that the social sciences are playing an increasingly important part in affairs, and social scientists would do well to consider what this state of things implies and, especially, to articulate more clearly the values implicit in their researches. This is especially so in social anthropology, where human values provide a main part of the subject matter, as well as conditioning the study itself. On this point Professor Garigue weakens rather than strengthens his case by his insistence on a common epistemological basis for the social and all other sciences. In fact, what social scientists study (people) differs from what natural scientists study (things) in that the people who are studied, no less than the people who study them, are, unlike 'things,' endowed with understanding, and any adequate explanation of what they do must take account of this. But what Professor Garigue has to say in his paper is important. Everyone who is professionally concerned with the social sciences should read it.

JOHN BEATTIE


This text contains an argument about the relations between biological heredity, individual and group psychology and culture, and not, as in such a text on anthropology as Beals and Hoijer, an account of genetics, prehistory and social anthropology. The question whether men differ in hereditary psychological traits or not must be regarded as being open for the time being. Not all the statements of social anthropologists about cultivated psychological traits can be regarded as being satisfactory; for example, Malinowski wrote in one reference that amiability was a character trait more frequently found in the Trobriand than in the Dobuan islands and Benedict in another reference endorsed Malinowski's statement. This volume contains a chapter in which views that a Japanese character is set by early and severe toilet training and that a Russian character is set by infant swaddling are discussed and criticized together with Benedict's and E. and R. Beagles's theories about cultivated psychological traits in tribes. The argument about the relations between physical anthropology, biology, psychology and cultural studies is vague and unsettled, and the author of this text employs secondary sources on the Dobuan islanders and neglects to criticize Malinowski on that people. Incidentally, the text follows Malinowski in assuming that a statement of Dobuan laws regulating some social roles in Sorcerers of Dobu, pp. 11–19, is meant to demonstrate that the maternal descent line role is more important than the spouse and the father and child roles combined. That is not the meaning of the passage in reference. In discussing tribal or national incidents and theories of character the author of this text criticizes Benedict and Margaret Mead for not defining which of the persons whom they discuss are tribally representative and which are not in personal traits. But in discussing representatives of groups subject to nasty incidents in subjects which are arts and not exact sciences historians have some reason for dissociating personalities from the causes, parties and creeds which they served, and social anthropologists might do worse than follow their example. To illustrate the muddle that ensues otherwise, it may be noted that Madjike of Subebi lineage, Arapesh tribe, mentioned anonymously on p. 157 of Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies with reference to fighting in 1910, was probably representative enough in being embroiled in fighting, whatever his personal traits were then or in 1932. With reference to fact it is said in the above reference that the relatives of a lad whom he killed over sorcery did not retaliate; in fact they did retaliate.

The text offers one interpretation of anthropology. Its interpretation is restricted to social relations as a topic in its discussion of culture and personality or relations between subjects it is not always matter-of-fact. The book is well produced. As a minor slip it is printed that the battle of Waterloo was fought (sic) on the playing fields of Eton. The author who wrote that the Duke of Wellington said that it was won there is not a reliable authority.

R. F. FORTUNE


The decade of this book is 1945–55. Its subject is not sociology in general, as its title suggests, but American sociology only or sociology in—and primarily of—America. To refer to France, for example, Gurvitch is mentioned twice, Aron once, and Lévi-Strauss not at all. The contributors are Gittler and Manheim, Stouffer, Kiser, Kaplan, Blumer, Gist, Beers, Lloyd Warner, Stuart Chapin, Foot Whyte and Miller, Winch, Bales and Hare and Borgatta, Williams, and Cloward. They discuss,
respectively theory, quantifying, population, personality and social structure, collective behaviour, the urban community, the rural community, stratification, social institutions and voluntary associations, industrial sociology, marriage and the family, small groups, racial and cultural relations, delinquency and crime. The final 65 pages are bibliographical appendices, Wayne Gordon, Gusfield, Macklin and Pittman commenting on education, politics, culture change and religion. Pittman also surveys the decade's sociological study of art. There is no unanimity of purpose from chapter to chapter: the first, for example, eschews 'prognostication and prediction,' while the second seeks both the present and future significance of the chosen decade.

With the abundance of sociological journals of abstract, bibliography, and more general commentary that have gradually appeared since L'Année surely the main occasions offered by such books as the one presently under review are for bold and sweeping surveys, impressionistic in the best sense. From this point of view, it is the essays of William, Stouffer, Kaplan, Blumer and Lloyd Warner which commend their editor's suggestion that similar volumes of survey and analysis should appear regularly.

If in Britain, generalizations tending toward the manner of the editors of L'Année are to be found more in the writings of social anthropologists than of sociologists, in America, this volume is the reverse situation exists, and it is probably from this viewpoint that Gittler's edition holds the most interest for subscribers to Man. Possibly the most striking divergence which this book shows between the chosen decade of study of society in America and in this country is an aspect of this difference. If in American sociological studies for instance marriage and the family is a far cry from 'kindship' (as it were, the 'sociology' and 'social anthropology' of a single dimension of society), in sociological inquiries here there is not this schism; similarly, an essay from this side of the Atlantic on a decade of study of social institutions would seem overspecialized, at least, if it cited only three or four sociological studies by social anthropologists. But such issues are not to be stated at length in a short review, especially if it be granted that the volume concerned confines itself to sociology in America during the chosen decade. And they are not intended to detract from the merits of a useful compendium of descriptions and assessments of recent advances in its field, but rather to provoke a sociologist in England to write his impressions of sociology in Britain, 1945-55.

R. J. APTHORPE


In 1938-39 the author spent nearly a year studying the Hazaras, a tribe of Mongol origin whose ancestors settled in Afghanistan at the time when Chinggis Khan and his successors were overrunning Western Asia. They are now Muslims and speak a dialect of Persian. They are organized in groups known by the Arabic words gauin and talia, but the author has adopted the word obok, used throughout Mongolia for the same type of group. Her purpose is to show that this type of group, though often called a clan, is very different from a clan. She deals with these differences at length, but her conclusions may be summarized as follows: (1) The obok is usually, but the clan never, associated with a territory. (2) The obok is always patrilineal, and traces its descent to a named man, whereas the clan is often matrilineal. (3) The obok is often endogamous, whereas the clan is always exogamous. (4) A wife not born into her husband's obok is absorbed into it, whereas a clanswoman always remains a member of her clan. (5) Clans, but not obok, have their symbols and special religious observances.

The author examines in some detail the social organization of the Mongols as described in the literature, and then goes on to find the obok in Rome, Germany, China, etc. Though somewhat diffuse she seems in general accurate, but obscurity in a quotation of Tacitus must be ascribed to the edition used by the author. On the same page the Anglo-Saxons are called 'Britons.' Readers who may be vague about Adam are directed to the Holy Bible, Book of Genesis, but must find chapter and verse for themselves.

RAGLAN


The Nuffield Foundation made possible the institution of the Blood-Group Centre at the Royal Anthropological Institute and it has been maintained at a high grade of efficiency and initiative under Dr. A. E. Mourant as Honorary Adviser, with Dr. Ada Kopeć as expert statistician with a wide knowledge of languages as well, and Mr. Richard Mucke in anthropology as a. Germanic and expert translator. The coding of over 400,000 cards of observations in Britain will give a hint of one of the minor aspects of the work. Articles in many languages have to be read and their results analysed and, now that Russian workers are permitted to study blood groups, the value of familiarity with Slavonic languages will rapidly increase. The present work is monumental, with over 230 pages of statistics admirably set forth and reference to 1036 sources of data. The authors have helped all students by their courage in adding a series of maps of A, B, and O groups in Europe and in the world. These maps are inevitably tentative, but we can refer back easily to the statistics on which each part of a map is based. The data are inevitably those for relatively large areas, but a brave attempt has been made to go deeper than mere acceptance of more or less transient political boundaries. The percentages chosen as limits of grades seem to be reasonable and make the maps intelligible if they are used with appreciation of their limitations of value. They at any rate mark a leap forward.

Students of physical diversities among men will find that the blood-group data are usually helpful in interpreting biometrical and other older observations. The world O map with its high percentages in Latin America, a part of the central Sahara and Australia, and a fairly high percentage for Scotland and Ireland, suggests the likelihood that O blood has been very important from very early periods of humanity. Approximately the same area of the central Sahara has rather low percentages of A and B, a telling fact. The difference between north and south Arabia shown is likely to be emphasized and clarified as data accumulate. The reduction of B percentages as one goes from Mongolia north-eastwards deserves much consideration in studying the question of successive arrivals of human waves in America. The complementary distributions of O and A in Australia help us to banish old erroneous fancies about uniformity among the aborigines. The relations of the A and B maps of Europe to Danubia are intriguing. Had the Magyars gathered unto themselves north Europeans on their way westwards? Had they come in as groups of men taking wives from the pre-Magyar people? Probably both interpretations are possible, but one must keep in restraint to some extent the stimuli to speculation which the basic maps and careful tables supply.

H. J. FLEURÉ


The author studied history, geography, ethnography, and statistics at the University of Dorpat (Tartu), before he obtained a position at the Latvian University of Riga. He is strongly influenced by his Dorpat Professor, Joh. Richard Mucke, of whose opinions he gives a true picture. Professor Mucke's books were probably never much read, but some of them may still be found in some libraries, e.g. his Urgeschichte des Ackerbaues and der Viehzucht (Greifswald, 1898) and Das Problem der Völkerverwandtschaft (Greifswald, 1904).

Haensel thinks that the Geisteswissenschaften are very much behind the Naturwissenschaften, and that the Geisteswissenschaften ought to learn something from the more successful natural sciences. This might already have happened long ago, because his beloved Professor Mucke had clearly shown the way. Haensel is hardly aware of the fact that cultural sciences actually are in intensive co-operation with natural sciences. The prehistory and history of agriculture owe essentials to the science of botany and the history of vegetation. Think of what pollen-analysis has done for...

This book expounds Darwin’s pioneering in many fields with his majestic breadth and depth of thought inspired by utter integrity; the discovery of the process of evolution, of the methods of fertilization of flowers by insects, of the origins of coral reefs, of the origins of our British mountain floras and of those of South-West Ireland, and the brave effort to free anarchy from frustrations due to authoritarian dogma. The only pioneering not given a chapter in this book is his work on soil studied via the earthworm. Alfred Russell Wallace (natural selection), Dana (coral reefs), Edward Forbes (our mountain floras), Sprengel (insects and flowers) and others are duly honoured in this book for their work, as they were by Darwin himself. Strangely, Darwin’s work on snapdragon flowers came near to Mendel’s conclusions but somehow failed to realize the implications. Only rarely did Darwin venture upon value judgments; he was a naturalist, not a moralist. One of the book’s most appropriate chapters is by Dobzhansky and it reviews the ways in which species become distinct. Two chapters discuss recent thought about cytoplasmic inheritance and environmental influence on the chromosomes of the germ cells; they suggest a return to an intermediate position between Lamark and Weismann, but now with data from microbial experimentation and biochemistry. Subsequent works have verified and enriched Darwin’s view that the gorilla and chimpanzee are our nearest cousins and Africa the probable birthplace of *Homo sapiens*. Darwin’s views on sexual selection are strengthened by recent work on the fly *Drosophila*, as well as to some extent modified by the interpretation of sexual ornament as recognition marking. Pedunormosis is brought in to interpret several human characters and might be used still more to interpret some characteristic differences between populations of *Homo sapiens*. Applications of natural selection to interpret human affairs often allow too little for spread of novelties by speech and for inheritance of tradition. Evolution, as it were, reached a new plateau with the emergence of human self-consciousness, and factorial analysis must be thought out anew. Darwin was on the whole hesitant and cautious, but students of society need to remember his fundamental principle that forms of life and their environments influence one another cumulatively. This makes doubtful many a general theory of social development and emphasizes the importance of ‘the past in the present.’

H. J. FLEURE


Cuénot writes as a detached friend, so devoted that Teilhard would have smiled gently at some phrases implying limitations in friends (of Teilhard) who did not share his particular religious adherence. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin was the son of a family of noblesse de campagne in Auvergne with strong ecclesiastical leanings, and in early manhood he entered the Jesuit order, devoting himself to geology and palaeontology. Of his work in north China much might be said; he became one of the stars in the international constellation of genius which has transformed our knowledge of early man in the Far East, and of the evolution of man generally. But for Cuénot this is secondary to the development of Teilhard’s mysticism. The idea of a continuing universal evolution—cosmogenesis is a favourite term of his—seized him on to attitudes which caused tension with ecclesiastical authority. Cuénot wisely makes as little as possible of the sad story, which led, *inter alia*, to Teilhard’s being constrained to decline an invitation to a professorship at the Collège de France, an ideal rostrum for his expositions. A critical assessment of Teilhard’s thought would take one too far into the philosophy of religion; his place in this journal, but one may say that, again and again, he expresses ideas like those of spirituality, that his idea of continuity of inspiration is much like that found among many members of the Society of Friends, that his friendship and cooperation with Sir Julian Huxley helped him greatly. Perhaps in his attitude to the process of evolution he inclines towards the discarded hypothesis of orthogenesis. My main concern, however,
is to pay a tribute, from a very different standpoint, to the sincerity and depth of mind of Teilhard.

H. J. FLEURE


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As usual Professor White provides us with food for thought, and as usual this food proves indigestible. His account of social origins is concerned largely with the institution of exogamy. He assures us that 'when man became possessed of articulate speech he formulated explicit rules for the regulation of his social life' (p. 91). This is of course impossible. Our only knowledge of early man’s social life is based (very insecurely) on that of modern savages, and they have no explicit rules. It is true that ethnographers deduce rules, in much the same way as statisticians deduce averages, but illiterates have only customs, and these are never formulated and never consciously altered.

‘Unions between relatives will be permitted, required or prohibited in terms of their relationship to the welfare of society’ (p. 93), but the ‘welfare of society’ is not a phrase which could be translated into any unwritten language, nor could the idea be intangible to illiterates. Illiterates are far more conservative than we are, but imagine one of ourselves suggesting a law that nobody might marry anyone born in the same country, on the ground that it would achieve what Professor White supposes the early rules of exogamy to have been intended to achieve! Professor White’s early man was indifferent to his own interests and traditions, and solely concerned with the establishment of a Utopia the nature of which his prophetic instinct enabled him clearly to foresee.

Not only are the customs of illiterates unformulated, they are often ill observed. This is seldom noted, because ethnographers tend to believe what they are told, but Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf followed up among the Chenuke some cases in which what were regarded as incestuous marriages had taken place, and though he was told that fearful consequences would ensue, he found that the guilty parties got away with it. Modern illiterates are, in short, as different from Professor White’s ‘primordial man’ as chalk from cheese.

‘It is fairly obvious,’ he tells us, ‘that the social organization of a people is not only dependent upon their technology, but is determined to a great extent, if not wholly, by it, both in form and content’ (p. 19). He spares us, however, the easy task of refuting this theory by providing his own refutation with examples from the Plains Indians and Australian Blacks.

Technology progresses, it seems, independently not only of human genius and originality, but even of human volition. An invention is like a shower of rain. When certain meteorological conditions are present and in proper conjunction rain will fall and when certain cultural conditions are present in proper conjunction an invention will take place’ (p. 16). ‘You deserve credit for inventing the zip fastener!’ we can hear him saying, ‘What nonsense! It would have been invented last Tuesday if you had never been born.

Two great problems face the student of culture. The first is why cultures change at all, and the second is why people adopt different means to achieve what are assumed to be the same ends. The first Professor White never considers; the second he attempts to solve by the too familiar method of explaining the particular by the general. Of the Chinese custom of binding women’s feet, for example, we are told ‘society must have some way of assuring itself that men will behave as men and women as women’ and that people who objects to this custom ‘fails to understand this necessity’ (p. 226). He must be horribly shocked if he goes to a garage and sees a man and a woman dressed alike and both issuing petrol.

His method of dealing with the supernatural is the same. Supernatural philosophies are the result of a failure to distinguish between the self and the not-self. The philosophies of primitive peoples are predominantly supernaturalistic; they consist, for the most part, of myths. The myths of primitive man provide him with answers to all the fundamental questions of life and being’ (p. 263). It is quite simple! You have only to confuse self with not-self, and you will automatically produce a mythology which will tell your descendants all they want to know about life.

In the latter part of the book Professor White contrasts the virtues of savagery with the vices of civilization, and assures us that ‘The type of social system developed during the human-energy era was unquestionably the most satisfying kind of social environment that man has ever lived in... By this we mean that the institutions of primitive society were the most compatible with the needs and desires of the human primates’ (p. 367). Professor White seems to have done all his field work in the anthropological zoos of the U.S.A. From them many of the unpleasant features of savagery have been eliminated, and those that exist can plausibly be attributed to the disruption caused by the Whites. Had he, like myself, taken over a previously unadministered area of Central Africa, he would have formed a different idea of the savage in his native state.

One last point. Professor White says that the importance of writing has been much exaggerated; ‘it was not writing that produced civilization’ (p. 356). It is surprising that anyone who has thought about the matter should fail to realize that without writing there can be no science, no law, no history, no philosophy, and even no general ideas or propositions, and that in illiterate society these are not merely non-existent but inconceivable.

Social anthropologists are strongly recommended to read this book, for in it they will find explicitly set out the errors and impossibilities implicit in the writings of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown.

RAGLAN


The author is a professor of philosophy, but the nature of his philosophy is not easily deducible from his book, which consists largely of obiter dicta. To some of these, such as ‘Men live always in a limited world, not a world of boundless choice,’ we can readily assent. Others, such as ‘Metaphysics is the science of existence as existence,’ or ‘It is a fundamental fact that the world is radically and ineradicably plural,’ are more obscure.

RAGLAN

AFRICA


Since its appearance in 1933, Mr. Bovill’s Caravans of the Old Sahara has been highly regarded as a valuable secondary source book of Western Sudanese history. In response to a long-standing demand for a new edition of this work, he has now given us The Golden Trade of the Moors. The Preface describes the need for a somewhat different treatment of the theme—one which would stress the point that the Sahara dominates the history of the north not less than it does that of the south. Mr. Bovill has now focused his attention on Western Sudanese influences in Maghrebine and European affairs through the centuries. His revision of the earlier work is mainly a rearrangement of chapters, considerable pruning and regrouping of material, without much new interpretation or evidence. There is a more attractive consideration of the Sahara as a barrier to, or highway of, intercourse. Most of the assessment of the Arabic sources has been placed in one chapter. The descriptions of the rise and fall of Western Sudanese states, always a cumbersome task, have been thinned out, especially for the period immediately preceding the establishment of European hegemony. Footnotes have been cut, and the bibliography truncated. Some of the chapters now have less erudite titles, and the division of the earlier work into four major sections has been abandoned. These changes have been made to serve the clarification of a theme which was only a part of Caravans—Jobson’s summary ‘The golden trade of the Moors in Barbary was the first encourager and beginning
of this business." Although the motives and methods of European and Maghrebine interests in the Western Sudan are analysed in a way which stresses the sustained political and economic importance of the Golden Trade, this is but one side of the problem, complicated though it is. The indigenous production and marketing of gold, and the relations of this to the demand for salt and consumer goods, is treated in one tantalizing chapter, "Wangara," in which it is inferred that the Bamouk and Lobi goldfields were the principal sources, but that 'Wangara' (as Denham pointed out) referred to 'all gold countries as well as any people coming from the gold country.' It is a slender golden thread which holds the book together. The new book is clearer, more attractive to read, than Caravans. But it is doubtful whether one can so drastically alter the theme while using the old material, however well organized. As a reference book, I prefer Caravans; but this does not mean that the old story told in a new way will not hold new readers absorbed.

DERRICK J. STENNING


Coming after two books on Islam in Africa which have already become standard works, Islam in the Sudan, 1949, and Islam in Ethiopia, 1952, the present volume will also no doubt occupy an honoured place in the literature on its subject. It does not, like those, cover both the history and the present-day situation of Islam in the territory named in its title within the boards of a single volume: the historical background has this time been excluded, as the author is planning to publish a separate volume on the history of Islam in West Africa. The subject matter of the present volume is organized with reference to a central problem: the impact of Islam on African society, and this concentration makes for greater clarity and easy reading. The author does not lose himself in the infinite detail, but always keeps his central theme in focus. Whereas the anthropologist is led by his method of his discipline to consider this or the other closely knit society separately, and examine the interrelation of a particular African society and Islam in minute detail and always considering his object as an individual case, the author of the present book approaches his subject from the point of view of Islam itself and (relying on the monographs of anthropologists and a year's personal survey of the field) tries to arrive at more general conclusions.

After a chapter on the geographical and social setting, he offers general reflections on the 'process of religious change,' examining the complicated interplay between the animist social, political, economic and religious culture, the Islamic social and religious culture in the form in which it impinges upon the African, and the western culture in the form in which it affects the African. Here the author expounds some of the guiding ideas of his book: how there is a gradual transition, sometimes lasting for centuries, from paganism to Islam. His conclusions are summarized in striking sentences at the beginning of his next chapter (p. 43): 'The sketch of the process of islamization given in the last chapter shows why such contradictory statements are made regarding the ratio of Muslims to pagans in a particular region or within a certain people and also about the depth of their Islam. For instance, one book states that all Songhay are Muslim, due to the fact that the majority claim to be so before an administrator, whilst in another book one who had studied the beliefs of the Songhay of the middle Niger writes, "half the are not islamised and the rest in general have only a thin transparent Islamic veneer." It also shows why it is generally impossible to state that a people became Muslim at a particular date or even century. Sometimes it is stated that the Bozo became Muslim in the fifteenth century, whilst others say that they changed in the nineteenth century. It depends upon the crisis of the student. An anthropologist studying their social institutions may regard them as pagans for they exhibit the characteristics of an animist society influenced superficially by Islam. Yet the Bozo claim to be Muslims. Islam has been infiltrating into their life for centuries and they are an example of the coexistent parallelism of two religious outlooks.'

The next chapters analyse the basic changes which take place owing to the influence of Islam and what elements of native religious culture have been retained: there is one on the 'influence of Islam upon ideas of the supernatural and human personality,' and others on the role of institutional Islam (organization of the Islamic cult, the Islamic calendar, the training of the clergy, the influence of Arabic upon indigenous languages, the influence of the pilgrimage, the influence of the religious orders), on the elements of old religions which are eliminated and those which are retained (cults of spirits, magical beliefs and practices, sorcery and witchcraft, divination), on the influence of Islam upon social structure (the family, social differentiation, Islam and the state, the juridic sphere), on the 'life cycle' (naming, education, circumcision, marriage, death rites), and on the influence of Islam in the economic sphere and upon material culture.

The last chapter deals with the third element which came to complicate the picture, the influence of modernism, while a few particular points are taken up in appendices. The volume ends with a glossary-index of Arabic and African terms, and an index.

The student of Islam will have here a fascinating account of the role of Islam in one of its more recent missionary fields, while the anthropologist will derive much instruction from an examination of the subject by a scholar who looks at things mainly from the point of view of Islam.

S. M. STERN


In this essay Professor Fortes examines the notions of Fate and Supernatural Justice as they occur in the context of Tallensi religion and society. It is a methodological exercise in the author's own variety of socio-psychological determinism in which the filio-parental relationship continues to play a major role. It provides a clear indication of his present theoretical position and marks an important advance in West African religious studies. As one would expect the thesis is rigorously argued and Professor Fortes once again demonstrates his ability to make the same point from a number of points of view so as to extract the maximum significance from them.

The Tale notion of Justice emerges most characteristically in the relations of the individual with structurally determined configurations of ancestors who interact with him in terms of the statues and roles assigned to him on the basis of kinship and descent.

Destiny, on the other hand, relates to the uniqueness of each individual life history. It has two aspects. Nuer Yim, 'evil prenatal Destiny,' is what a child wishes for itself in the process of being created. It is recognized only in its evil manifestations and its supposed victims prove to be children or persons (mainly women) with 'incurable physical or psychological defects that put them in danger of leaving no children and of thus becoming socially forgotten.' Evil Destiny is invoked as explanation when appeals to ancestral justice have failed. The victims have wished their fate upon themselves before birth and neither they nor society need, therefore, feel guilty. Nuer Yim is thus symbolic of 'irremediable failure in the development of the individual to full social capacity.'

Yim or 'Good Destiny' also springs from the individual's prenatal wishes but is paradoxically a 'unique configuration of ancestors who have ... elected' to watch over his life and to whom he is accountable. It symbolically identifies the fact of successful individual development along the road to full incorporation in society.'

At this point the psychological component in Professor Fortes' theory becomes predominant. Nuer Yim, it is argued, symbolizes the possibility of failure in the filio-parental relationship and the hostility that arises from the supplanting of one generation by the next. Good Destiny has the opposite effect. This leads on to the thesis that 'all the concepts we have examined are religious extrapolations of the experiences generated in the relationships of parents and children.'

The value of this essay, however, lies not so much in the postulation of common psychological origins for widely held religious concepts as in the analysis of the form which they take in a particular social context. In Tallensi society the range of economic and social
achievement is narrowly circumscribed. It would, I think, be possible to show that in more differentiated West African societies the symbolic emphasis of Destiny and similar notions is not merely on 'full incorporation into society' but also on individual competition for social recognition through political, economic and other kinds of success. Here the filio-parental relationship may be less crucial. It will certainly, as Professor Fortes says, not be so directly symbolized. In Tale religion even Nuor Yin is ultimately subject to ancestral will and Good Destiny is itself a configuration of ancestors.

In Benin belief, to take another example, success or failure in life depends on the supreme deity and on the individual personality itself, symbolized in the head, the hand and a spiritual 'other-half,' all of which are worshipped. Professor Fortes's more challenging generalizations can be tested only in the light of comparative material equally rigorously analysed. The problems which he has raised will no doubt exercise those of us who have been stimulated by this exciting book for some time to come.

If any criticism of the presentation is to be made it is that Professor Fortes sometimes seems to achieve an almost mystical identification with the Tallensi world view and leaves the unassimilated reader in some doubt as to where to draw the line between Tallensi notions and Cambridge concepts. In this respect it is worthwhile to look up the references to Yin in The West of Kinship.

R. E. BRADBURY


When the late Professor Seligman first wrote *Races of Africa* in 1930, he performed a great service for all students in pulling together thousands of scattered references to give a comprehensive, succinct statement of the peoples, cultures and societies of Africa, as they were then known. The book was published just after the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures had begun work, so that, of the several leading British scholars of Africa who emerged between the wars, only Evans-Pritchard and Schapera, besides Seligman himself, had even done their field research. If we set against this trio the large number of senior and junior Africans now in Britain, we can appreciate the increase in our knowledge. There has been a similar increase in Africanists in Europe, and since the last war many Americans have done research in Africa, where previously Professor Hershkovits virtually stood alone.

The original *Races of Africa* nevertheless remained the best summary account in English of African peoples. A completely revised edition, still following Seligman's lay-out, has now been prepared by Professor Schapera, with the aid of 17 British anthropologists. It is invaluable to have this handy reference book brought up to date, and particularly so in a form which allows it to remain in a sense the book of C. G. Seligman, who, with his wife, Mrs. B. Z. Seligman, was the first professional anthropologist to carry out studies in Africa. All students of Africa, and even of all tribal peoples, require this book.

MAX GLUCKMAN


Exhibition catalogues are worth collecting. During the past year African sculpture has been shown in special exhibitions at Basel, Besançon, Brussels (Exposition Universelle), Coburg, Hanover, London (A.I.A. prior to Sotheby's), Paris (Cernuschi), not to mention museums in Africa and America.

A new exhibition in this rather competitive field has to earn its laurels in several ways: by the novelty and artistic merit of the exhibits, by the full and accurate description of them, and by the care and imagination with which the objects are lit and displayed. These standards were successfully met, as the illustrated catalogue shows, in Margaret Plass's latest show of African sculpture. Those who went works to the exhibition at the Toledo Museum in Ohio were 24 private collectors, 12 museums in the United States and one in Canada. The intelligent use of private sources is in itself a guarantee that many of the objects will be unfamiliar, but the high quality of these pieces comes as an extra surprise. Mrs. Plass intended this to be mainly an exhibition of wood carvings, with only token specimens in ivory, bronze, stone and terra-cotta. So that Bini art, for once, is here represented more in wood than in bronze.

All but four of the 188 exhibits are reproduced in the catalogue. The descriptive notes are arranged down the margins of the pages in a well balanced layout. Most of the photographs are unavoidably small. It is a tribute to Eliot Elisofon and Reuben Goldberg, amongst others, that out of so many photographs in small format only one is too obscure to be useful.

In an otherwise excellent system of indexing there are a few typographical gaps and errors: notes for Nos. 3, 4, 55, 184 are missing; No. 5 is misnumbered as No. 3 on p. 6 (to judge from the note on p. 24); the ancestor head in illustration 95 is described as 'box in form of spirited mudfish,' a description which more properly belongs to its neighbour.

GUY ATKINS


This is another large, luxurious publication of the Musée d’Ethnographie de Neuchâtel, the second in the series based on the Gabus expeditions to the Sahara and Western Sudan. Vol. I was reviewed in MAN, 1956, 179. This volume deals with Saharan Moorish, Tuareg and Fulani art, and includes 322 illustrations of decorative themes in amulets, tattooing, weapons, saddlery, clothing, furniture, utensils, and architecture. The ethnographical background does not add much to what was said in the earlier volume, and there is a certain repetition in the drawings which almost makes the production of a museum handbook, as I am sure that it is not intended to be.

In this volume, as in the first of the series, the reader feels close to the objects. He might have felt closer to their context if photographs showing the production of designs or the use of the objects they embellish were included. But open it at the plates facing pp. 28, 200 or 208 and it seems as though all that is required for these to be real pieces of Moroccan leather is the characteristic smell of pigment, hide and preservative.

DERRICK J. STENNING


Ce livre consacré aux Dogon était attendu avec impatience: l’abondance même des travaux qui leur ont été consacrés (la bibliographie, malgré des lacunes, compte encore 160 titres) fait qu’on ne savait plus ce que les Dogon nous ont appris d’eux-mêmes et ce qu’on ignore encore. L’étude de Mlle Palau Marti remplit son office dans la mesure où elle permet une mise au point de nos connaissances. J’avouerai ma déception devant le bilan.

Sans parler de la préhistoire et de l’anthropologie physique, on constate l’absence de tout document démographique (le chiffre total de la population varie entre 142,854 et 200,000 au minimum). Un gros travail sur la langue secrète, mais pas d’étude linguistique. Plus grave encore serait l’absence d’enquête systématique sur la vie économique: la seule référence dans ce domaine reste mon Organisa
tion sociale ..., basée sur des documents recueillis en 1935 à titre purement complémentaire. Rien sur les difficultés matérielles, les ressources trouvées pour y parer; rien sur les changements survenus depuis 1945; en sorte que les Dogon paraissent exemptes de toute préoccupation autre que spirituelle. En fait, le souci majeur de ces gens, tributaires d’un sol quasi-desertique, demeure celui de la nourriture quotidienne. Chaque année, la soudure pose un problème de vie ou de mort. Si Griaule a droit à la reconnaissance des Dogon, c’est d’abord — le Hogon d’Aru, chef religieux suprême, le rappelait dans son éloge funèbre — parce qu’en obtenant la construction d’un barrage, il leur a assuré l’eau, bienfais sans prix.

Il ne viendrait à l’idée d’aucun ethnographe de diminuer l’intérêt et la nouveauté des recherches poursuites depuis vingt ans par Griaule, Mme G. Dieterlen et Mme S. de Ganay. Nous leur devons à tout le moins de savoir que des Noirs ont été capables d’élaborer un système du monde. L’acquisition n’est pas mince. Mais j’attirerais l’attention sur le danger que présente une étude menée sur le plan métaphysique à l’exclusion de tout autre et dans l’ignorance de toute réalité économique. Faut-il ici rappeler l’importance que
Maus attachait au respect des proportions dans l'étude des phénomènes sociaux ? L'ouvrage de Mlle Paular Marti, dans la mesure où il reflète l'état de nos connaissance sur les Dogon, donne l'image d'une société proprement monstrueuse. Ce reproche est le plus grave.

Au crédit des enquêteurs, nous porterons évidemment, avec l'étude sur les Masques qui demeure un modèle, l'étonnante mythologie que nous ont révélée Dieu d'Eau et les travaux qui ont suivi. Dirai-je mon embarras devant l'absence de toute enquête linguistique ? Nous ne connaissons des textes que leur traduction : comment le mot traduit dans les Masques par 'affaires' ou 'choses' en est-il venu à désigner les 'paroles' successives constituant les chefs de voûte du système de la métaphysique dogon, pour boutir au seul 'Verbe' ? Les textes en langue indigène et leur traduction littérale fournissent des documents irremplaçables aux africains et aux historiens des religions. Leur écésage peut rénover notre connaissance du continent africain et des relations qu'il entretient à diverses époques avec le Proche Orient.

Avec ces textes, nous connaîtrons la métaphysique dogon : ontologie, cosmologie, angle sous lequel on appréhendera non seulement les problèmes théologiques, mais, dans une certaine mesure, les notions d'espace et de temps, de causalité, les relations sociales (voir pp. 58-60) du remarquable chapitre sur le neveu et l'oncle utéris dans le Mythos) ; corrélation entre les éléments de la pensée mythique et les techniques, qui sont des gestes à la fois symboliques et efficaces. Tout ceci est considérable. Aucune enquête n'a été envisagée concernant la logique (critères d'évidence, principes de définition et de généralisation, théorie éventuelle de la connaissance), non plus que la psychologie (normes du comportement, théories concernant l'éducation, types de personnalités idéales ou représentatives, psychologie sociale, ethnopsychologie). Enfin la lacune la plus grave parait être l'absence de recherche sur ce que peut être l'échelle des valeurs morales. Ainsi, après vingt ans d'études, sommes-nous toujours incapables de distinguer sans équivoque la culture des Dogon de celle de leurs voisins Peul, Maliké ou Senoufo.


DENISE PAULME


The experience of the Mambwe of Northern Rhodesia is a challenge to think again about the effects of labour migration. They profit materially from work in the Tanganyika sisal plantations, and in the mines of the Copperbelt, and, contrary to what is reported of other tribes, the vigour of their tribal institutions is unimpaired. Dr. Watson places his study squarely in a comparative frame of reference, as he tries to explain why the Mambwe have made a happier adjustment to industrial work than other tribes, notably the neighbouring Bemba.

One reason, he suggests, why their village economy is not ruined by the absence of half its active males is that men and women are largely interchangeable in Mambwe grassland agriculture. However, he mentions that the woodland Mambwe, who practise an agriculture similar to that of the Bemba, are equally well adjusted to labour migration.

Another reason, which nicely confirms Dr. Richards's earlier findings, is that a village based on a core of agnatically related men forms a better co-operative group than a Bemba-type village.

Much the most significant variable is the motive for migration. In Mambwe country there is no real over-population or erosion. They have never known the regular hungry months endured by the Bemba. Labour migrants go, not for their very subsistence, but in order to buy clothes and durable goods. If the writer had given more weight to this point he might have drawn his comparison with Irish migrants in the eighteen-eighties more cautiously, and have focused more sharply his comparisons with the Bemba and other African migrant labour situations.

He successfully demonstrates that, in spite of labour migration, Mambwe are loyal to their chiefs, especially, it seems, when these encourage them to resist Colonial government orders. That the chiefs as a whole have retained their old authority is less obvious. Formerly each little village was an independent, fortified state. Its head had monopoly of trade and control of religious sanctions and, of the position of chief. Using a private bodyguard, he could kill, mutilate and be renowned for cruelty. He stayed in power because external enemies forced solidarity upon his village. Now the scale of political activity is wider, and the role of external enemy fostering internal loyalties is played by the British, affecting the Mambwe as a whole. Some chiefs have wider powers than before; but one found his only redress against insult in committing suicide, and villages can now be ruled by commoners. The disputes which the Mambwe formerly had with one another have been replaced by disputes with whites. Whether this should comfort administrators is not clear. Dr. Watson pipes in tune with the optimism of his colleagues who have often shown that apparent conflict and disunity promote real unity on another scale.

From the many and illuminating references to the research of other Manchester and Rhodes-Livingstone Institute anthropologists, whether they have worked in Central Africa or in other fields, it is evidently time to saluté a "school" of anthropology, whose publications are developed through close discussion, and enable each individual, his work is enhanced by his focus on a common stock of problems.

One of the most interesting of these common interests is the notion of 'perpetual kinship' in chiefly class, originated by Dr. Cunnison. For the Mambwe we are given a first-rate account of the process of shortening genealogies, together with their interesting system of succession through brothers and younger sons, with compensating arrangements for elder sons.

The Mambwe case also challenges the view of some economists that communal land-ownership impedes economic progress, and should be replaced by individual ownership. The backbone of their political system is the land, with the chiefly titles through which the people living on it are organized. The land is the guarantee of tribal life, as well as of subsistence, and the writer makes a good case for communal land tenure.

There is also a discussion of how traders live in isolation from their kin, consistently with trading conditions in other parts of Central Africa, but it would gain from comparison with West Africa, where greater density and better market arrangements enable whole populations to become akin amicably.

Many other important matters are discussed, but here I cannot do more than recommend the book unreservedly as a thought-provoking study. The reviewer's task has been facilitated by Professor Gluckman's admirable foreword, which places it in the perspective of other work.

MARY DOUGLAS


This essay by a former Tanganyika government sociologist is a clear and succinct account of changes in land use and tenure and their social repercussions among a tribe with one of the highest population densities and one of the greatest degrees of land pressure in East Africa.

The first chapter is a brief account of the traditional village organization and land tenure (fully described elsewhere by Godfrey and Monica Wilson). The second gives an outline of the modern changes that have affected the Nyakyusa. Rice is now the major cash and food crop, and there is now virtually unencumbered land left for an increasing population. Living standards have increased and there is a correspondingly greater demand for what land there is. Non-Nyakyusa immigrate into this rich area, to be welcomed by chiefs who wish to build up their following despite land shortage; and there is also a new wealthy class of large land-owners, although as yet they are not an important factor as regards the general shortage of fields for individuals.

The third chapter lists some of the main effects of land shortage.
These include a change in the pattern of inheritance from inheritance among a group of brothers to that by the eldest son only, with consequent changes in kinship attitudes and obligations; an increase in the authority and activities of the village headmen, who traditionally allocate village land; a greater tendency for individuals to claim absolute rights over their holdings; a greater sense of the exclusiveness of the village and an insistence on the traditional principle of land-holding by residence only, and with these an increase in inter-village opposition. Yet despite this, the traditional age villages are now 'almost obsolete,' owing largely to the changes in the system of inheritance. There is over-grazing and some erosion, due to the importance that is attached to the possession of large herds. Younger men are forced to go away as labour migrants since there are no fields available for them to earn the money which their living standards demand. And many chiefs try to increase their authority and wealth by claiming the non-traditional right to allocate land, which weakens the position of their own headmen.

The contradiction between political and economic ends is thus implicit in every sphere of social life, although the Nyakyusa are not as yet aware of this. In his last chapter the author makes suggestions for ameliorating this situation. He suggests better use of

the land and less dependence on rice mono-culture. He also suggests that village residence should no longer be the only qualification for land-holding, and that land-sale (though not lease) should be permitted. Despite the sentiment attached to the village as the traditional basic social unit, the village system and the attitudes and values which it fosters are not adequate to provide for the future. The author considers that besides facilitating freer inter-village movement, helping labour migrants to settle themselves when they have earned money to buy a plot and assisting efficient cultivators to enlarge their holdings, 'it would help to bring to the Nyakyusa a realization of the implications of the new money economy which they have inevitably and irretrievably entered, and would demonstrate the value of holdings in relation to other commodities and activities, while retaining the rights of what is valuable in the traditional village system.' I do not agree with this last qualification, and would suggest that it would necessarily involve radical changes in the relative statuses of chiefs and headmen: these are already occurring, it is true, but they would be hastened.

This is a valuable essay. It contains a wealth of quantitative material, valuable for comparative purposes. And throughout it the basically sociological nature of the problems under consideration is never forgotten.

JOHN MIDDLETON


Dr. Li Chi began his archeological investigation of Anyang in 1928 and continued the excavations until he was obliged to leave owing to the Japanese invasion in 1937. While the bulk of his findings have been published in Chinese, these three lectures form the only brief summary of his work in English.

The first lecture gives a short account of the known prehistory of China—the skeletal remains and types of pottery in neolithic China. At Hsiao-t'un in the Anyang district a new type of culture appears. It is characterized by a new type of pottery; bronze tools, weapons and sacrificial vessels; a developed system of writing; chamber burials and human sacrifice; chariots and stone carvings. This is the period of the Shang dynasty, about the middle of the second millennium B.C., but, together with the Hsia dynasty, before these excavations it was regarded as mythological by most western scholars.

Dr. Li Chi notes that there is a complete gap between this culture and that of the neolithic period. It is a pity that he has not given a summary of the work carried out by the Chinese since 1937, as it has not yet been translated into any European language, and may eventually fill this gap and establish the Hsia dynasty as a historical period.

The second lecture deals with the Shang period, and in it he considers the various cultural streams that may have combined to form the Shang complex. From this period, as well as the bones of domestic animals belonging to the previous era, bones of many wild animals are found, and on some of the inscribed oracle bones there are texts stating the number of tigers, deer, foxes and hornless deer killed in royal hunts. Men and dogs were sacrificed and burned in the royal tombs. Dr. Li Chi notes the stylized animal designs characteristic of the sacrificial vessels of the period. He suggests that the type where one head surmounts two bodies, with intertwined tails, has a Sumerian derivation. Jars with phallic-shaped handle, paralleled at Mohenjo-daro and at Jemdet Nasr, also indicate some connexion with the Near East, while the royal love of hunting, unknown among the indigenous population, suggests a western Mongolian origin of the Shang conquerors who absorbed and developed the indigenous culture. While the forms of the found bronze vessels can be seen to be derived from the old pottery forms, quite new rectangular bronze sacrificial vessels are first found in the Shang period.

The third lecture, entitled 'The Bronze Age of China,' deals exclusively with the Anyang finds at the dwelling site of Hsiao-t'un and its cemetery site Hou-chia-chuang, the former to become the royal capital circa 1384 B.C. Four cultural stages are defined. The late neolithic (black pottery), the pre-dynastic Shang (early bronze), the dynastic Shang, and the post-Shang period. Chemical analyses of the bronzes are given, and a detailed account, with illustrations, of the development of the bronze type of stone or jade blade to the typical bronze halbert, a process which Dr. Li Chi considers to have covered about 1000 years, and continued in size in its perfected form for another 1000 years.

Besides numerous text figures there are 50 excellent plates.

B. Z. SELIGMAN


Dr. Ch'eng Té-kun, Lecturer in Far Eastern Art and Archaeology at Cambridge, has embarked upon an eight-volume account of China's archeology, of which the first part has now appeared. Some measure of the problem which confronts him can be had from the fact that the prehistoric section of his study of the archeology of Szechwan occupies 135 pages while it cannot, of necessity, be allotted more than a page or two in the wider work. But there is need for a summary of what has been achieved since Anderson wrote Children of the Yellow Earth, and Dr. Ch'eng must be congratulated upon his industry in reducing to manageable form the mass of material in western languages and, above all, in Chinese, which has appeared in the past 30 years on the prehistory of China. As Dr. Ch'eng points out, the Chinese themselves have, until recently, had no sense of the prehistory of their country, and yet their country is rich in remains of man's earliest activities as a tool-maker, of skeletal material from the early phases of human evolution, and though much work still has to be done, it is possible to present the outlines of this period in the history of China. It may even be possible to relate it to the history of the Chinese, but Dr. Ch'eng wisely eschews too much speculative interpretation in this field. Instead he presents a conception of the material from the pre-metal phase of his country's prehistory so that it is possible to see, almost for the first time, what types of culture are to be found in China and the extent to which, at the present state of our knowledge, these represent truly distinctive developments.

It may be thought that Dr. Ch'eng's treatment of the paleolithic cultures is somewhat summary, and that it is inadequately illustrated. It is also noticeable that although he touches upon the paleontological material, his bibliography is quite inadequate here.
One has the impression that the writer is not at home in this period and that it does not really interest him. The Neolithic period is clearly more to his taste, and his presentation of the complex array of sites is a most useful presentation of material which has long remained little known to western prehistorians, and to those elsewhere in Asia who tend to be better informed about Western Europe than about the early cultures of their own continent. It is to be hoped that Dr. Chêng’s book will serve to redress this unbalance. It may be legitimate to suggest that they will draw the attention of their governments to the amount of work which Dr. Hsia Nai and his colleagues have carried out in the post-war years under the auspices of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and that the Chinese government has done more for prehistory than that of China.

Dr. Chêng has presented a catalogue, carefully and conscientiously compiled. The various tables and the index will allow the worker who wishes to use his volume to find most of what he needs. But he will find little attempt to synthesize the vast amount of material with which he is presented, and he may well find it difficult to determine the methods by which Dr. Chêng has arrived at the dates which appear in the margin of Table III. (Those who specialize in Pleistocene problems will be able to substitute their own ideas for the marginalia of Table II.) It is a commonplace of reviewing to demand a book other than the one which the author has written, and Dr. Chêng may well argue that anything more than a catalogue would be to indulge in ‘premature canonization.’ Yet canonization follows upon long investigations and discussion, and it may be thought that the presentation of these tables, while admittedly convenient, is in itself a form of suffocation which is undesirable unless the compiler is prepared to argue his case, in speculative terms where this is necessary. I would therefore have welcomed a somewhat longer book in which Dr. Chêng had undertaken a section of synthesis, presenting his own picture of the cultural complexities and relations of China. This he has attempted in his Szchen Studies, and though his arguments and conclusions are open to question—and what conclusions in prehistory are not?—he has there achieved a picture of a region of China which does have a vitality, a sense of human beings behind the artifactual, which seems to me to be lacking in Prehistoric China. This is a pity, because so few prehistorians have Dr. Chêng’s ability to handle the literature which is so rapidly accumulating about China and its early cultures. Perhaps he may feel emboldened to include a section in his volume on the Shang in which he will tell us what his own picture of this formative period is.

**ANTHONY CHRISTIE**


The book before me covers the period following the Neolithic, when the Bronze Age Culture of Dong-son (Indo-China) had spread over large parts of Further India and Indonesia. After a short history of research, the author discusses a great number of stray finds. These include beads, of which the Jakarta Museum possesses a large collection, as well as a variety of bronze objects, such as socketed celts, ceremonial axes, vessels, statuettes, ornaments and finally the Dong-son Drums, which are of paramount importance in connexion with the problem of cultural origins in Indonesia. More than a dozen of these early kettle drums (Heger type I), cast by the cire perdue method, are in the Jakarta Museum. These were all found in Java.

Of particular interest is the reference to the excavations by W. Rothpletz at Dago, north of Bandung in Central West Java during the Second World War, which yielded clay moulds for the casting of socketed celts, socketed spearheads and bracelets. These finds show that certain bronze objects were manufactured locally at some stage, in addition to being imported into Indonesia from the mainland of South-East Asia.

Other chapters deal with the Megalithic Monuments and the Urn Cemeteries of Java, Sumatra, Celebes and other islands. The author, who was engaged in excavations at a number of sites, has studied many more on the spot, gives a comprehensive account of all these monuments, supplementing the text by good illustrations and including a full bibliography. A map shows the distribution of Metal Age antiquities throughout the area.

It may, however, be noted that ancient iron objects are rather rare in South-East Asia. At Dong-son and other archaeological sites in Indo-China only a few have come to light. In Malaya I found that the iron tools from the slab graves in the Batang Padang district of Perak cannot be connected with the bronze period of Dong-son, but must be ascribed to a much later date, probably to the end of the first millennium A.D. The author of the book under review figures a single dagger with bronze hilt and an iron blade from Pradjesan, Java. A few isolated iron objects are mentioned as having been found in one near stone-cist graves, belonging to the younger megalithic cultures. The most important find of this kind, at Goenoeng Kidoo, Central Java, was described by van der Hoop in 1934. Yet, reading the report and taking note of the fact that ‘a few pieces of coarse fabric were attached to some of the iron objects,’ one is inclined to ascribe the site to a date rather later than ‘a few centuries A.D.’ (van Heeckeren, pp. 51f).

In the light of the foregoing it may well be asked whether the term ‘Iron Age’ or ‘Bronze-Iron Age’ is a very happy one.

There is a final chapter on the Dong-son Culture and Heine-Geldern’s thesis on the Pontic migration and the origin of this culture.

To sum up, one can say that van Heeckeren’s book contains a great wealth of information and will no doubt prove of great value to prehistorians interested in South-East Asia. The author’s departure from Java, announced in the preface, is to be deeply regretted, for it marks the end of a long and brilliant era of Dutch research in Indonesia’s past.

**PRINCE JOHN LOEWENSTEIN**


The season was devoted to clearing an extensive building (about 90 x 50 metres) to the west of the tell of ‘Alayiq. This proved to have been in all probability a gymnasion with two baths, a hypocaust, a reservoir and a hoard of unguentaria. It was constructed in the later part of the first century B.C., in the reign of Herod I, and perhaps occupied until the middle of the first century A.D. The west end of the building, which yielded some 60 Islamic coins, was probably re-occupied in the eighth century. Quantities of Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery were discovered, and the foundation trenches of the building were presumably cut through strata accumulated in these periods. The architecture, pottery, coins and glass are illustrated and described with meticulous care and clarity; only the flints, which are photographed but not described (except for a note on their colour) would seem to call for fuller treatment. The work provides a substantial appendix to the corpus of prehistoric and Roman pottery in Palestine, while the gymnasion is an important addition to the list of Hellenistic buildings of this type.

**W. C. BRICE**


Miss Garrod’s paper gives a comprehensive review of the Natufian in Palestine and Syria, bringing us up to date by including the recent work being done in Israel. In view of the work at Jericho and in north Iraq dealing with the beginnings of village life, this paper is a very welcome contribution.

The Natufian, which overlies the long palaeolithic sequence in this area, is more than a counterpart of many mesolithic industries which gave way to or were absorbed by incoming agriculturists; it is, in fact, the immediate predecessor of what appears to be the beginning of this economic revolution, and for this reason alone is of considerable importance. The recent excavations at Jericho have opened up a complexity of early settlements whose extent was hitherto almost unsuspected. In the lower levels were found communities occupying an extensive area surrounded by solid walls, with possibly domestic animals and almost certainly agriculture,
but with no pottery; their stone implements, however, showing no appreciable advance on those of the Natufians, whose own equipment included sickle blades, pestles, stone bowls (many inset into the floor of their caves) and the domesticated dog. While the Natufians' use of stone consisted of little more than rough dry-stone walling and flat stone pavements in caves, the recent excavations in Israel have revealed extremely complex tomb structures, including the use of clay-mortar plastering with indications of red paint. This evidence points strongly to the possibility that, while the Natufians may not have inhabited settlements as well built and extensive as those of early Jericho, they were, at least in part, static.

It has been assumed, largely on typological grounds, that the early inhabitants of Jericho were the direct descendents of the Natufians. This may be partly true, but it is also possible that to some extent they overlap. This is a problem which can only be cleared up by further excavation and very accurate dating, but Miss Kenyon's Jericho reports and Miss Garrod's very timely summary of the Natufian must be read together, as they are complementary.

J. WAECHTER

The Ancient Library of Qumrân and Modern Biblical Studies. By Frank Moore Cross, Jr. The Haskell Lectures, 1956-57. London (Duckworth), 1958. Pp. xvi, 196, Price £1.5. In the prevailing confusion of theories about the date and significance of the Dead Sea literature, this careful account of what is now sure and what has still to be decided is most welcome. Mr. Cross is a member of the international team at work on the scrolls, and his book is an annotated edition of his recent Haskell Lectures. He tells clearly, with the aid of a map and some very evocative photographs, the complicated story of the discovery of the scrolls, and gives an up-to-date catalogue of the library. He then sets out the importance of the new discoveries for the studies of Palestinian history, the Old Testament and early Christianity. His arguments are scholarly and lucid, and supported throughout by careful footnotes.

Mr. Cross leaves little doubt that the community which produced this literature was the Essenes, that Kibbutz Qumrân is the ruins of their 'city in the wilderness' mentioned by Pliny and Dio Chrysostomus, and that they originated as a branch of the Hasidic party which took refuge there in the second half of the second century B.C. There is a strong possibility that the Wicked Priest was the Hasidee, the high priest Simon. The Righteous Teacher, or the other high priest, may also have been named, but appears to have been, like the Baptist, a forerunner of a messiah; there is no secure evidence that he was martyred. The scrolls have vindicated the faithfulness of the Septuagint to its Hebrew original in the historical books, and have proved that the Johannine literature springs from Jewish rather than Hellenistic roots. Both the Essenes and the early Christians lived in an apocalyptic atmosphere, and much can manifestly be learnt from a study of the earlier community about the later. But the one was still awaiting its messiah, while for the other the New Covenant had been sealed. Mr. Cross dismisses the treasure inventory of the copper scroll as folklore, but happily for the romantic there are still strong arguments for treating it as factual.

W. C. BRICE

Village Life in Northern India: Studies in a Delhi Village. By Oscar Lewis. Urbana (U. of Illinois P.), 1958. Pp. xiii, 384. Price $7.50. The Jâts of North India raise one of the most interesting wide-scale problems in the study of caste. They are found as agriculturalists from the Indus to the Ganges. The scattered and fragmentary information which has been obtained suggests a degree of organizational homogeneity which is more than merely cultural. They have evidently preserved some form of tribal political organization which is reflected in their village groupings and at the same time have entered the world of caste to occupy a dominant position in almost all areas. In the survey reports of the last century we can observe some Jât lineages losing their land, changing their occupations, changing their names and sinking in the caste hierarchies of the areas they inhabited; some even became low-caste Brahmans or jogi. Such groups even though today they neither remember nor claim a Jât origin nevertheless present us, in historical terms, with the most dramatic form of the actual sociological problem. What is the sociological reality which is more than merely cultural and yet subordinate in any precise locality to the exigencies of the caste system? It is possible that the affinity of the Jâts to the Râjputs, claimed by the one and admitted by the other, may provide a clue. The relationship is essentially that of hypergamy, and marriage amongst the Jâts themselves is hypergamous in principle, the preferred marriage being that in which the family of the bride is inferior to that of the groom. It is then possible that this tribe has preserved some sense of identity, allowing at the same time for considerable variety in economic and religious status precisely by the mechanism of hypergamy. This allows for a relationship of inequality between those who are, at another level, equal. At the lower economic levels we know that the Jâts take wives from yet inferior castes just as, at the higher levels, they give wives to the Râjputs. One would not wish to suggest that the Jâts are peculiar, indeed the evidence suggests, if it does nothing more, the contrary. The Telugu Reddi and the Kôli of Bombay spring to mind as providing variants of the same problem. If before it is too late we could plot the relations between the local hierarchies playing within the area of any one of these large castes, and the Jâts seem the most suitable for various reasons, we might be able to extend the sociological analysis beyond the local hierarchy.

It will be evident that in these circumstances any book giving further information on the Jâts is welcome and Oscar Lewis's book contains a number of useful facts, but there are considerable disappointments. Some years ago the author published a pamphlet on certain kinship groupings in his village, which he chose to call factions. He said, but did not demonstrate, that these 'factions' operated across village boundaries. At that time it was refreshing to find the deadening conception of village solidarity criticized and one confidently expected that Lewis would later relate the factions of his village to those of others and also to their influence on their relation to marriage. Jâts either formally or effectively practice hypergamy within their own village and of contiguous or related villages and this involves a village such as Rampur, in this study, in affinal relationships covering some 400 villages. It would be too much to expect one man to plot so vast a field in eight months, even with a team of assistants, but something might have been done in a small compass to indicate the lines along which future research might run. As it is we must accept with gratitude the 40 detailed pages describing marriage negotiations and relations.

The book is based upon information collected for the practical ends of government and is therefore useful on the economic side of caste interrelations, the jâmâni system and participation in festivals. These details together with the accounts of the festivals themselves and of marriage are the best part of the book. There is a very brief chapter called, unaccountably, Concepts of Religion and Ethics. This is based upon information received from 25 individuals by means of a questionnaire. Here there are some stimulating ideas, but one has the impression that one is being offered raw material and rough notes rather than an extended consideration. But Professor Lewis has certainly done well in bringing down the study of Hinduism from what Hindus are believed to believe to what precise individuals in defined social contexts say that they believe.

I think that Professor Lewis is the first of those who have worked in recent years in north India to publish his results at any length. It now seems reasonable to hope that the Jât area may become one of the best known in India. Sufficient material on distinct local hierarchies in this area should determine whether the term Jât has a sociological content, and if it has, the comparative application of this finding elsewhere would deepen our understanding of the actualities of the caste system as a whole.

D. F. POCCOCK

The Indian Village Community. By B. H. Baden-Powell. Behavior Science Reprints, New Haven (HRAF Press), 1957. Pp. 456. Price $3.95. The reprinting of this classic work of Indian sociology results from a generous and imaginative enterprise on the part of Human Relations Area Files, Inc. The aim is "to make
available selected works of continuing value to the scholar but difficult to obtain because demand has fallen below the level required by commercial publication. The present facsimile is clear to read and bound in stiff paper covers.

The work itself needs neither introduction nor recommendation to students of society, being a painstaking and thorough survey of all the data which were available in 1896 drawing particularly upon the revenue-settlement land surveys which with increasing detail and refinement proceeded from about 1820 for the better part of the last century. It is evidently an indispensable book.

Historically, as the author was well aware, The Indian Village Community appeared as a corrective to the views which Sir Henry Maine's Village Communities in the East and West, published in 1871, had made too all prevalent. Baden-Powell pays Sir Henry his deserved tribute, but points out that he had not at his disposition the materials which subsequent publications were to provide. Justifiable as it may have been in the eighteen-seventies to see India's villages as instances of "collective ownership" it had become impossible for anyone whose perspective was not an evolutionary one, as Baden-Powell's was not, to do so after the publication of material on the Punjab, the then North-West Provinces, Oudh and much of the evidence for Bombay and Southern India.

There is no need today to outline Baden-Powell's distinction between the Ryotwari and the Joint Village as two basic forms but rather its significance in the light of more recent research. The atomization of Indian civilization into villages, of which the value has only recently been questioned, finds in fact, however much it may purport to do, no support in the assumptions of Baden-Powell. He was a civil servant and an empiricist. If he objected to the generalizations about the Indian village as such, it was from the point of view of one concerned with the facts of particular land tenures and their implications for a revenue-collecting government: he was not a sociologist as Maine, whatever his weaknesses, was.

Throughout India it would appear that the manner in which land is held is determined by the internal organization of what we now call the dominant caste; it is around these variations that research will profitably centre in the next decade or so. To say this is not to admit that the variations within a dominant land-owning caste extend to and influence the relations between castes living in a particular area or a particular village. It is so easy to accept the equation: dominant caste equals village, that some of our contemporaries pass on to conclude that the village, and by this point what is implied is the whole sum of relations to be observed within that physical unit, is strictly not comparable with another except to the extent that such comparison enforces radical differences. In fact, the village as Baden-Powell was concerned with it is not the same thing that sociologists study and much misunderstanding and confusion arises from the unconscious assumption that this is not so. Fortunately this assumption is one that does not survive a moment's rational consideration. Village studies and consequently the whole possibility of comparative sociology in India rest upon demonstrable basic structures which make it possible for us to speak of India as a whole; the local forms are variations which rightly challenge our attention only when this fundamental unity has been perceived. Baden-Powell's pioneer work acquires relevance at precisely this point in our research.

D. F. POCCOCK


280 Pp. x, 229

During the time when he was at the University of Ceylon, Professor Ryan conducted research in several villages of the island. We have some of the material gathered between 1949 and 1952 by a team in a lowland village about 40 miles from Colombo. It falls into two parts; one consists of broad surveys of various aspects of village life, and the other deals with recent social change.

The accounts given on each of the selected topics not only break new ground in putting before us data on Sinhalese social organization, but also will be of interest to those working in India and South-east Asia. From them we learn about economic activities, the composition and operation of the household, the nature of kin groups, the system of marriage and the procedure of weddings, the role of Buddhism and of deities and spirits in religious life, and the place of caste in the community. On several occasions, however, the reader is stimulated to ask for further analysis. For example, because both types of cross-cousin marriage are common and may form continuing alliances between families, it would have been interesting to know the significance of these in other social fields (e.g. the political system). Again, the brief histories of village associations make one wish for an analysis of factions and leadership in the village.

Professor Ryan and his co-authors raise several points which are relevant to studies of similar societies. One is the degree to which they are justified in seeing recent changes as forming a process of 'secularization.' As the authors show in detail, people in a village may be drawn into increasingly close contact with the outside, and may adopt secular innovations in agriculture, education, etc. But the earlier period had important secular aspects, and some recent changes show the continuing importance of religion. The most successful recent village associations were religious, for example, and a major external influence was the election of a 'Buddhist-Sinhalese' government. It seems as if secularization is an inadequate term to cover the whole of this process, and one would have liked to see more discussion of its use. The changing role of caste could also be debated. It is true that certain matters caste is now relatively unimportant. These appear to be in new fields (e.g. education), the old order remaining where traditional customs are concerned. There is an almost complete ban on intermarriage, evidences of social distance still exist (e.g. a Badahela would never generally enter a Goyigama house), and equality does not yet extend to leadership or public affairs. How far one can say that the village 'has not obliterated caste, but it has come far' must depend on the relative emphasis placed on these features.

The book is a source of much useful information, presented with skill and sympathy. We still need such data, and must be grateful to the authors. But at the same time, the comparative approach to Asian village studies needs a more detailed analysis than is generally made here, and one hopes that Professor Ryan will soon provide us with this.

ADRIAN C. MAYER


Mr. Graham writes about the Chi'ang of western Szczewan on the basis of short visits made between 1925 and 1948. On p. 2 he says confidently 'that he has not found or heard of one reference on the oracle bones or in any Chinese history that would indicate that the ancestors of the Chi'ang of western Szczewan migrated eastward from western Asia, or that they are descendants of the Israelites.' This and other basic points having been made, the account reviews economic life (under which we learn another important negative fact: the Chi'ang have no radio or television), folktales and 'mountain songs,' social customs, and religion.

The facts set out reflect a random method of collection and Mr. Graham makes no attempt to argue an anthropological thesis. Combined with other data these facts would doubtless be very useful to someone trying to build up a picture of Chi'ang culture and social organization, but Mr. Graham seems content to let us rise from his book with only a general impression of what Chi'ang society is like. 'The social life of the Chi'ang is very simple. There are no theaters or movies, excepting those of the Chinese in the Chinese cities and towns. There are practically no games.'

The bibliography is valuable, the linguistic texts useful, and the plates interesting.

MAURICE FREEDMAN
(a) Large two-storeyed dwelling, Kimoi. (b) Large two-storeyed dwelling with paved threshing floor in foreground, Tonata. (c) Small two-storeyed house, Tonata; shutters to enclose chajja on left. (d) Small two-storeyed house, Tonata. (e) Village street in Kimor. (f) Brahmin priest’s house on left, temple on right. (g) Upland Long House, above Tonata.

FOLK BUILDING IN TEHRI-GARHwal

Photographs: J. Walton
FOLK BUILDING IN TEHRI-GARHWAL*

by

JAMES WALTON

Museum, Basutoland

282 Tehri-Garhwal, one of the many tiny states along the cis-Himalayan tract, is a land of deep ravines and steep limestone slopes. Tiny villages, connected only by narrow winding tracks, are scattered along the valley sides wherever sufficient flat ground is available and below each village the high, narrow cultivation terraces form a giant staircase down to the valley floor. Above, the forests of deodar and pine stretch up to the mountain grasslands which are too bleak for permanent occupation but which provide excellent pasturage during the summer months.

The Garhwal village is a heterogeneous assemblage of stone dwellings with stone slate roofs and whitewashed walls. Richly carved balconies, brightly coloured barge boards and white walls stand out boldly against the dark green forest background. The village displays little planning and its lay-out is controlled largely by the configuration of the site. Houses, separated only by narrow alleys (Plate Je), for there are no wheeled vehicles in a Garhwal village, seem to jostle each other to retain a foothold on the steep slope and they are sited as opportunity affords, although each endeavour to catch the maximum amount of winter sunshine.

The larger village houses are rectangular two-storeyed structures of slate or limestone rubble bound together with a lime and clay mortar and covered with a smooth layer of the same whitewashed mortar (Plate Ja, b). Quite frequently, however, the front and rear walls of the upper storey are made up of thick boards, about nine inches wide, gaily painted in striped bands of red, brown and yellow.

The flat-pitched roof is laid on thick, closely spaced boards and consists of a covering of irregular blue or red slate slabs quarried from the outcrop below the limestone and strikingly reminiscent of the stone slate roofs of Horsham or the Cotswolds. The ridge is protected by a covering of similar flat slabs laid horizontally.

The ground floor serves to store the farm implements and to house the cattle at night whilst the upper floor is divided into a number of sleeping and store rooms (fig. 1). Access to these rooms is gained from a verandah, the usara or chajja, running along the entire front of the house, which is reached by one or more flights of stone steps (Plate Ja, b). Among the Garhwali a polyandrous system prevails under which a number of brothers share one or more wives, and the fathers are functional in the sense that they are regarded by the children as ‘the father who tills the soil,’ ‘the father who looks after the cattle,’ and so on. Each brother has his own room for sleeping but they all share a communal store room (fig. 1).

The glory of the Garhwal house lies in its richly carved

* With Plate J and four text figures

and brightly painted woodwork, particularly the beautiful deodar pillars, ranging from three to 20 in number, which extend along the front of the chajja and support the roof (Plate J and figs. 2 and 4). The doorways, too, although usually hidden in dark recesses, display a wealth of carving rivalling the finest Norman doorways in richness of execution and in variety of motif (fig. 3). The brackets which span the intervening spaces between the pillars, the projecting ends of rafters, the areas around the tiny window openings, shutters, bar ge boards, and any other woodwork which can be suitably decorated is either carved or painted (fig. 2).

The building of the Garhwal house is the work of the Odh, or carpenter, caste and every family requiring the services of the carpenter is required to pay an annual contribution of grain, known as the dadwar, when the harvest has been threshed. Before the foundations can be dug the Brahmin priest is consulted as to the suitability of the site and throughout the work the builder is paid in kind whilst his family is fed by the employer. When the house is satisfactorily completed a further payment is paid to the builder in cash or kind and the proud head of the
The smaller houses of the village (Plate Jc, d) follow a rather different upper-storey plan, in which one end forms the chajja (fig. 1). This is open both front and back and has the usual carved pillars (fig. 4) but it can be completely enclosed in cold and wet weather by means of wooden shutters which usually lie near at hand (Plate Je) or by heavy curtains (Plate Jd). The usara or chajja invariably serves as a reception room, as it does throughout the greater part of northern India, and it is natural, therefore, that the richest woodcarving should be concentrated there as evidence of the owner's social and financial status. The grain chest, kothia, also stands on the chajja, where, in hot weather, the housewife grinds her corn in a stone quern and during the heat of midday the family relaxes in the welcome breeze which blows through. Visitors are entertained there and rarely pass into the one or two dark, bare rooms beyond (fig. 1).

Within the living rooms there is little or no furniture apart from the khadru, a wooden cupboard in which clothes and other family belongings are stored. Near the gable wall, or sometimes directly against it, is the pathal, or cooking hearth, where a fire of dung is kept burning day and night for cooking food, boiling milk, and providing a light for the husbandman's pipe. The hearth itself consists of a large flat stone slab placed on the floor and plastered with a thick layer of clay and cow dung as a protection for the wooden boards. A similar vertical slab fireback protects the wall and directs the smoke upwards to an opening in the roof which can be closed by a slate when required. The feeble glow from the cow-dung fire and the shaft of light from the roof vent are often the only sources of illumination apart from a tiny window opening which is usually kept closed by means of a hinged shutter (fig. 2).

Outside the house there is no boundary wall to indicate the extent of the homestead, but a small open space is
recognized. Part of this is frequently paved with irregular slate slabs to provide a threshing and winnowing floor (Plate Jb). This is a favourite place, too, for basking in the winter sunshine when the housewife can often be seen massaging the menfolk with oil as they recline on the warm stones. The oil protects the skin against the wind and sun in addition to affording a certain amount of warmth, and one of the main qualifications of a good wife is her ability as a masseuse.

During the summer months the cattle are moved up to the upland pastures and substantial dry-stone long houses for the herd and his cattle are built at the fringe of the forest belt below. These are rectangular single-storeyed buildings of dry-stone walling with slate roofs (Plate Jc) and the herd and his cattle all enter by the same doorway towards the middle of one long wall. The major part of the interior is occupied by cattle stalls and only a small area at one end is reserved for the herd (fig. 1). This is raised above the level of the cattle stalls as a platform which is smeared with a mixture of clay and dung. A hearth is built on this platform and the herd's possessions are stored in small keeping holes in the wall. At the same end of the building a portion is walled off by a low wall of upright slate slabs to serve as a fodder store.

LINGUISTICS AND ANTHROPOLOGY

by

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283 There has recently been an opportunity for the consideration of the relations, both theoretical and practical, between anthropology and linguistics, in the light of current developments in each subject.5 The growth of specialization in both teaching and research, here as elsewhere in the academic world, renders such contacts between disciplines that seem to have much in common all the more desirable.

At least since the posthumous publication of Ferdinand de Saussure's Cours de linguistique générale—a landmark in the history of linguistics—linguists have asserted the independence and autonomy of their subject as an academic discipline: 'La linguistique a pour unique et véritable objet la langue envisagée en elle-même.'5 Such a statement means that in the study of language the theoretical assumptions, methods, and categories adopted should be governed by the nature and requirements of the subject matter, language in all its manifestations and uses, and not be affected by the particular interests in only certain aspects of language on the part of literary scholars or philosophers, as has been the case in a great deal of linguistic work through the centuries in Europe since antiquity.

The autonomy of linguistics, however, does not imply that linguists should disinterest themselves in the world of learning outside. There is an obligation on the linguist to look both inward, as it were, to the refinement of theory and the efficiency of technique, and also outward to the connections which his subject may have with other studies. In fact these two attitudes have each been typified in the two scholars who may fairly be regarded as the principal founders of American linguistics, Edward Sapir and Leonard Bloomfield. Sapir, the earlier of the two and himself an anthropologist, was deeply concerned, as a glance at his Selected Writings will show, with exploring fruitful lines of contact between linguistics on the one hand and anthropology, psychology, literature, and social studies on the other, without subordinating linguistics to them or distorting his studies of languages themselves. In contrast to what has been called Sapir's centrifugal force in linguistics, Bloomfield's energies were almost wholly centripetal, and his great contribution to the subject was the rigour which he applied to the examination, elaboration, and sharpening of the techniques and categories of formal linguistic analysis, to the deliberate exclusion of more widely ranging interests.5

At least until fairly recently the influence of Bloomfield has tended to predominate, particularly in the United States; and the occasion to examine the relations between linguistics and anthropology and the possible field of their collaboration is much to be welcomed.

This topic may usefully be considered under three main headings: (1) What are the principal points of contact between linguistic theory and anthropological theory? (2) To what extent can linguistic knowledge specifically help anthropological work? (3) To what extent can anthropological knowledge specifically help linguistic work?

If anthropology is the scientific study of human culture, it is hard not to see language as falling within its purview. In terms of two well-known definitions of culture,6 language must be regarded as one of the 'habits acquired by man as a member of society.' It would thus appear logical to treat the relation of linguistics to anthropology likewise as one of part to whole, and to say that their separation in academic organization has its justification more in the different needs of teaching and research, personal preferences, and the general division of academic labour than in the two subjects themselves. Indeed it has now become a commonplace among linguists that a language primarily operates in the matrix of the society of the speech community.

One may go further: both disciplines involve the abstraction of patterns and regular conformities from the mass of observed human behaviour in particular fields, and the systematization and explanation of these patterns by means of appropriate categories, themes, and structures. In methodology also, linguists and anthropologists were
each realizing at approximately the same time the need to keep separate the synchronic description and analysis of a language or a social system as a self-contained and structured whole at any given time, and the diachronic or historical study of the evolution and development of a language or a culture complex and its components from their temporal antecedents.  

This interrelatedness and similarity of general method, however, need not, and surely does not, imply a sort of common 'substance' and the possibility of an identical terminology of detailed description for both linguistic and non-linguistic parts of culture. This assumption of a uniformity of 'substance' is basic to the theory put forward by Pike, in which it is suggested that the whole of man's behaviour in society can be satisfactorily analysed in terms taken from and modelled on the basic linguistic units phoneme and morpheme. But the postulated homomorphous nature of language and all other aspects of human behaviour, in itself intrinsically improbable, is in no way implied by the proposition that language is a part of human social behaviour and that it operates primarily within a culture, interacting with other aspects of that culture.  

In considering the relations between linguistics and anthropology, indeed, it may be well to be clear at once about the inherent differential features of language. In the first place, language is symbolic, a sign system (indeed the nuclear member of all sign systems), in a way in which other forms of behaviour are not, although in a secondary and derivative sense such things as ritual and dress may be symbolic. Language is essentially symbolic, and the only infinitely extensible symbol system ultimately capable of adjustment and application to any experiential phenomena. Secondly, language is formally limited and prescribed by the physiology of its production; the primary material of language, uttered speech, is the result of temporally successive movements of the organs of articulation, and the segmentation of speech into phones, the grouping of these into phonemes and syllables, and their assignment to morphs and morphemes are ultimately governed by the unique and restricted physiological basis of speech-production. Thirdly, and perhaps as a consequence of the two features just mentioned, language is doubly structured: every utterance exhibits a phonological structure and a grammatical structure; the hierarchies of the two structures are different and the criteria and categories employed in the analysis of them are different, though the exact relation between them is a matter of controversy among linguists. Fundamental elements comparable to those of linguistics can scarcely with reason be sought in fields quite differently ordered and resting on quite different physiological bases.  

The embeddedness of language in the rest of culture (which is an entirely different conception from its formal or substantial correspondence with other parts of culture) does give rise to a number of questions that would seem to lie among the joint responsibilities of linguists and anthropologists. Anything like a complete account of a culture involves questioning and interviewing, with either the informant or the interviewer acting bilingually, and this at once brings up the question of verbalization. To what extent do the maintenance and development of patterns of culture depend on the verbalization of certain concepts or themes therein on the part of some or all participants? And to what extent do, or should, the concepts and terms of the anthropologist's description depend on explicit verbalization of such concepts on the part of the informants themselves? To some extent this question corresponds to the question debated among linguists as to the part to be assigned to 'sentiment linguistique' in carrying out a linguistic analysis; linguists differ on the degree to which, and the way in which, informants' reactions and intuitions should be taken into account in establishing such elements as the phoneme in phonology and the word in grammar.  

Some of the most basic problems in the relations between language and the rest of culture have received radical treatment in the writings of the late Benjamin Whorf. Very briefly Whorf's argument was that the grammatical structure and preferred sentence patterns of a language, and not merely its lexical content at any particular time, are closely connected with the speakers' categorization of their experience and conception of the universe, and may be associated with other general themes in their culture. In our own case, according to Whorf, the patterns of the Indo-European languages, as contrasted with those of Hopi (a language that Whorf had studied in detail), strongly favour the terminology and descriptions of classical Newtonian physics, and render other systems of physics, though scientifically more workable, less easily grasped and employed. Clearly we are not completely in the bondage of our own linguistic patterns; indeed we are so we should be unaware of our chains, and unable to reformulate our systematizations of experience in answer to new discoveries or old problems. The situation envisaged by Whorf is perhaps not unlike the linguistic constraints to which we are subject at the other end of the scale of language, whereby we find it unnatural and difficult as adults without special training to cast off our native phonetic patterns in attempting to speak a foreign language. Whorf's theory is, of course, very far from the older naive assumptions of a regular typological correspondence between language structures and stages of civilization, whereby, according to preference, culturally primitive peoples spoke either transparently simple languages or barbarously complex ones, assumptions for which there is little or no evidence and which rest on the doubtful hypothesis that it is possible objectively to classify languages as 'simple' or 'complex.'  

Whorf's views have aroused considerable controversy, ranging from whole-hearted acceptance to complete rejection; we are scarcely in a proper position as yet to pronounce finally on their validity or invalidity, but the whole field of Whorf's speculations is surely one for the joint investigation of linguists and anthropologists. Hoijer has, in fact, published a paper, 'Cultural Implications of Some Navaho Linguistic Categories,' in which he considers that Whorf's views are borne out by observations of the Navaho linguistic and cultural situation;
and the same author has edited the proceedings of a conference of anthropologists, linguists, and others devoted specifically to the examination of Whorfian views, while field work focused on these and kindred problems has been undertaken in the Southwest of the United States.

Mention earlier in this paper of language as a sign system raises the question of the treatment of meaning in linguistic studies. Linguists are much divided on the place of semantics and investigations of meaning in linguistics, and on the methods and theory best suited to it. Once again the line of division lies mainly between those tending to look to Sapir and those following Bloomfield. Sapir would never have dreamed of excluding meaning from the purview of linguistic studies, and those who have, like Whorf, sought to develop comprehensive theories of language in culture refer back to Sapir’s wide interests and insights into the interpenetration of linguistic, anthropological, psychological and philosophical problems. On the other side, Bloomfield’s notorious declaration that ‘the statement of meanings is...the weak point in language-study, and will remain so until human knowledge advances very far beyond its present state’ has served as the model for those who would exclusively concentrate their attention on formal analysis leaving semantics severely alone.

Two main types of theory of linguistic meaning may be distinguished, the referential and the contextual. By the former, meaningful linguistic entities, ideally right down to morphemes, correspond to or denote constituent parts of social and environmental situations. This would seem very hard to substantiate, though it is deceptively easy in regard to large sections of vocabularies. It is, surely, as unfeasible to look for a separable isolatable situational element for every grammatically separable element as would be the complementary demand for a formally distinguishable single linguistic item for every distinguishable item in one’s environment. In the contextual theory, the meaning of a sentence (which is what in the first instance engages in meaningful activity), and so of its constituent parts, is considered to be not so much something to which it corresponds or for which it stands, but rather its function or set of relations within a context, denotation being just one such function among others.

The status of language as a sign system, though much of the terminology on it grew out of early and rather unreflective types of the referential theory of meaning (of which an extreme form is that every word is a name, naming something, if not in the external world, then in a realm of ‘ideas’), is quite compatible with a contextual theory of meaning. Both theories must take into account the interrelatedness of lexical items (be they morphemes, words, or fixed phrases) that cover any particular semantic sphere; the individual meaning or semantic range of any term in a set of kinship terms, colour words, political, social, or military designations, and the like, is limited and circumscribed by the number and diversity of other cognate or related terms in use in the language at any given time. This emphasis on the semantic interdependence of much of the lexical component of language, often referred to as the Field Theory of Meaning, is yet another example of the contemporary concern with the structural study and analysis of linguistic facts.

In the light of the foregoing considerations we may pass to the second question put forward: the extent to which linguistic knowledge can specifically help anthropological work. Much depends on the area within which field work is being undertaken. Kroeber has said that the anthropologist is not restricted as to region, but that he has concentrated on primitives because no other science would deal seriously with them. A field worker in Europe almost certainly knows the language of his place of work in advance, and has orthography, grammars and dictionaries at his disposal. But where, as in so much anthropological work, the field is remote from a centre of civilization and the language is unwritten and little known, it is open to the linguist to suggest specific techniques from the corpus of general linguistics that may lighten his load and increase certain aspects of his efficiency. Some understanding of the problems set by meaning in language (and of the associated problem of translation), and an awareness of the different categorizations of such dimensions as time, aspect, voice, person and number inherent in different language systems will make the field worker better able to co-operate with any bilingual informant or interpreter with whom he may work. His written texts will be the more accurate if he is in control of the elements, at least, of phonetic and phonemic (roughly ‘narrow’ and ‘broad’) transcription; and they will be the more usable by others (including linguists) if the principal techniques and criteria of word-isolation, grammatical and phonological, have been mastered and applied. These advantages are not lessened by the widespread use and availability of tape recorders for field expeditions. Furthermore, some skill in the methods of a preliminary linguistic analysis greatly assists an acquisition of something of the pronunciation and grammatical patterns of a language, thereby lessening one’s exclusive dependence on bilinguals and making one’s use of them more interesting and so more fruitful for both parties.

The correspondence of vocabulary to the material and ‘abstract’ culture of a community at any time is obvious and well known to anthropologists and linguists; and knowledge of the source languages and approximate dates of appearance of loan words relating to particular fields are of considerable significance as evidence of the directions and course of cultural contacts and of a people’s cultural history. Of course many loan words become completely assimilated to the phonological patterns of the borrowing language, but a considerable number retain foreign and divergent features, thus revealing themselves as loans and often also indicating their source. Even an elementary control of phonemic analysis will enable the field worker to recognize such divergent patterns in ‘unassimilated’ loans, and may thereby open up new lines of cultural and historical investigation.

The answer to the third question—to what extent can anthropological knowledge specifically help linguistic work?—also depends a good deal on the area involved. In a language already well known and much studied,
linguistic work today is likely to be specialized and in a fairly narrow field if it is to be new and interesting, and in any case the culture of the speakers will be known in outline or easily available in published writings. The question is most profitably considered if it is assumed that the linguist is to be the only scholar, or one of a very few, responsible for our knowledge of the language, as is the case with many linguistic workers in Africa, South-East Asia, and North and South America.

Questions such as the following are bound to present themselves: In any particular culture area what persons will be most useful and readily available, or least reluctant, to act as informants? What must the linguist take most care of, positively to establish a satisfactory rapport with them, and negatively to avoid offence? What are the most prominent culturally bound vocabulary subsystems (e.g. calendar terms, body-part terms, and kinship terms within a kinship system), and how can one best record them exhaustively? Within what fields and among which classes of person are to be found the texts likely to be most interesting to others (especially anthropologists)? In such a situation the distinction between literary and linguistic studies with which one is familiar in Europe scarcely applies; the linguist bears sole responsibility for the recording (perhaps for the last time) and analysis of everything in the language.

It is not being naively suggested that there is one and the same answer to each of these questions whatever the area and culture concerned may be; but it is to be expected that some elementary anthropological training and sophistication will help the field linguist in seeking his own answers to these questions when they arise, as they must, in his work.

In the light of the questions that have been considered in this paper, it may be desirable to encourage greater collaboration, particularly in teaching, between linguists and anthropologists. Current advances of theory and techniques in both disciplines render inevitable a specialization in one or the other, and indeed often in a particular field within each; but it may be suggested that the training of either the anthropologist or the linguist (particularly anyone who is ever likely to study a native language in the field) is incomplete without some general acquaintance with the work and objectives of the other.

In several universities such teaching needs are, no doubt, being considered and met; but there is perhaps scope for a re-examination, by both linguists and anthropologists, of their teaching courses, with the particular needs of the non-specialists on each side kept in mind.

Notes
1 This is the substance of a paper read at a meeting of the Association of Social Anthropologists, at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, on Thursday, 16 April, 1959.
16 Cf. Z. S. Harris, Methods in Structural Linguistics, Chicago, 1931, pp. 188f.
20 Kroeber, Anthropology Today, p. xiii.

OBITUARY

William Thalbitzer: 1873–1958

William Thalbitzer, Professor in Greenland (Eskimo) Language and Culture at the University of Copenhagen, died on 18 September, 1958, 83 years old. Through more than 50 years he was a leading personality in Danish Eskimo studies, and his death is felt as a severe loss both to students of eskimology and to the Greenlanders to whom he was connected with ties of sincere friendship. He was born on 5 February, 1873, in Helsingør (Elsinore) and grew up in a home where music was part of the daily fare, in surroundings of nature from which his poetically gifted mind received strong impressions, as is clear from the collections of poems which Thalbitzer published in between his scientific papers.

At the University of Copenhagen Thalbitzer studied English and Latin, but having passed his examination his main interest soon became the study of the Eskimo, first of all their language,
The Building of an Ainu House. Compiled from N. G. Munro's notes by Lord Raglan. With four text figures

In the early years of this century Dr. Neil Gordon Munro, who was then practising in Japan, paid numerous visits to Hokkaido to study its archaeology, and came to know the Ainu. From 1931 till his death in 1941 he lived in the Ainu village of Nibutani. In 1932 most of his possessions, including all his photographs, were lost in an earthquake. As a result of this and other setbacks the book which he intended to write was never completed. His notes and photographs, dealing chiefly with rites and ceremonies, are now in the possession of Mrs. B. Z. Seligman, and it is hoped that a book based on them will be published in the near future. His notes on Ainu technology are incomplete and disjointed, and it has been thought best to publish extracts from them separately.

He was much interested in the Ainu house, which he regarded as being unique in its construction and much superior to the Japanese house in its weather-resisting properties. It does not appear, however, that he saw one actually being built, and this accounts for some obscurities in his description.

He says that in former days chiefs' houses were up to 40 feet long and 30 feet wide, but that the inside measurements of one of the largest that he saw were 28' x 24'. As he gives the measurements of no other I have taken it as the norm, and based the other measurements on his drawing.

The distinctive feature of the Ainu house is the pair of tripods round which the roof is constructed (fig. 1, No. 5). For a house of the size mentioned they should be made of poles about 18 feet long. The wall plates (Nos. 1, 2) were laid out on the ground and lashed together, tie beams (No. 3) were inserted, and three poles were attached longitudinally (No. 4). These last were not structural, but were intended for hanging bags of food, etc., to.

To this framework the tripods were lashed as shown, and the

FIG. 1. ROUGH DIAGRAM OF Ainu ROOF

1, Sobesh-ni, longer wallplate; 2, so-etomo-tuyep, shorter wallplate; 3, umanki, tiebeam; 4, sakiri, pole for hanging bags, etc.; 5, ketun-ni, tripod; 6, kitai-oma-ni, ridgepole; 7, sum-pekap-rika-ni, principal rafter; 8, chisei-soka-rika-ni, secondary rafter on long side; 9, kitairara-ni, secondary ridgepole; 10, pon-rika-ni, spar framing venthole; 11, etupok-rika-ni, secondary rafter on short side; 12, sakiri-omap, horizontal rail for thatch.
next step was to fix the ridgepole (No. 6). This was laid across the top of the tripods and projected about four feet beyond them at each end. It must have been some 16 feet from the ground, but how it was placed in position is not explained.

Next the four principal rafters (No. 7) were fixed at the corners, and the secondary rafters on the long sides (No. 8) which projected above the ridgepole and met to form forks. In these was placed a secondary ridgepole of the same length as the first but much slenderer (No. 9). This was used either to fold the thatch over or as a retaining bar above it.

From the ends of the main ridgepole to the principal rafters were fixed small spars (No. 10) which served, when thatched over, to protect the vent holes for smoke which were left under the ends of the ridgepole.

The secondary rafters on the short sides (No. 11) stopped short below the vent holes. The last regular features were the light horizontal rails (No. 12) to which the thatch was tied, and some tie beams joining the legs of the tripods (not shown).

Meanwhile a number of forked posts had been cut and placed in the ground so that they projected to a height of 5 to 5½ feet. Munro says that they were placed in a rectangle rather larger than the roof frame so that the walls should slope slightly inward and give greater stability, but it would seem that the slope resulted from their being inserted outside the frame. Anyhow at some stage before the roof became too heavy to lift it was raised one side at a time, and with the aid of ropes tied to the wall plates and passed over the forks it was hauled, lifted and levered into position by 20 or 30 men.

The thatch consisted of two layers of reeds, the first stout and diagonally crossed, and the second slenderer and straight up and down. The walls were of bundles of reeds four to five inches thick placed side by side and lashed together and to a light rail fastened to the bottom of the posts.

The house was entered through a porch, and then through a doorway in the centre of the lower end. The doorway was closed by a stiff reed mat. There were separate privies for the sexes at some distance from the house and about 20 feet apart.

Storehouses were built on posts, with the floors projecting beyond them so as to discourage rats. Entrance was by a notched log.

The main timbers of the house were of a fir, Abies sachalinensis, if obtainable, and the wall posts of lilac wood. The principal lashings were of the wild vine, heated with the bark on; the less important were the lime bark.

A Japanese scholar, Mr. Watanabe, was invited to annotate Munro’s notes. His comment on house-building is: ‘Munro does not mention the division of labour: felling of trees as building material by men only; transportation of wood from the mountains by men, mainly; carpentry by men only; collecting materials for the walls and roof by women only; roofing and wailing when with sasa by women only, when with sarik by men only; raising the roof by men and women. Sarik and sasa are presumably the slenderer and stouter reeds mentioned by Munro.

The house shown in fig. 2 is smaller and a good deal lower than that which he describes.

**A Terra-Cotta Head from Old Oyo, Western Nigeria. By Frank Willett, Nigerian Department of Antiquities.**

Terra-cotta is a widespread form of sculpture in West Africa, though nowadays a minor one compared with woodcarving. Unlike the latter, however, it survives (even if in fragments) almost indefinitely, and preserves for us examples of an art which cannot be reworked or remelted (as stone and bronze can). It is likely therefore that the study of terras will be more rewarding than the study of any other form of sculpture in the study of the art history of West Africa.

The two fragments composing the head herein described were found by two of my labourers, Choji Ngass and Hassan Tera,
whilst collecting pottery from the ground surface at the foot of Oke Onopa, or Rock Gong Hill, in Old Oyo, the deserted Yoruba capital 40 miles north-north-west of Ilorin, during field work which I conducted there on behalf of the Nigerian Antiquities Service and the Yoruba Historical Research Scheme, during 1955-57 whilst on special leave from the Manchester Museum. Rainwater running off the hills has removed the black dusty topsoil from the areas adjacent to the hills in Old Oyo, and surface finds, chiefly of pottery, are prolific in these areas. The terra-cotta head was found in a small erosion gully, which was traced back into the hill without finding any more fragments. These hills are composed of massive blocks of weathered granite which look as though they had been piled on top of each other by powerful seas, and an overhanging group of boulders formed a kind of circular cave above the site of the find. The surface of this 'cave' was extremely loose and dusty and was carefully but unsuccessfully examined for signs of use as a shrine, as well as for other fragments.

Fig. 1.

The fragments consist of the greater part of the face, and the left side of the head from the eye to the occiput. Their maximum lengths are respectively 3 1/8 and 2 3/8 inches. The thickness varies between 2/3 and 3/4 of an inch.

The face on both fragments has weathered to the same yellowish colour, though the front of the neck and the head behind the ear are pink. It probably weathered in one piece before breaking along the line where two different pieces of clay had been joined together in modelling the head. The pink parts show the surface better preserved than the yellow, so the difference is merely of weathering. Where the surface is very well preserved it is smooth and well finished in spite of the fairly coarse temper (up to three millimetres in diameter). The inner surface does not appear to be eroded; this surface is unfinished and shows how the figure was built up. The fractured edge at the neck appears to be where two pieces of clay had been joined together, and the surface has been roughened by adhesion to the neighbouring piece, presumably indicating that the head once had a body.

The broad nose, 1 1/8 inches high, and of the same breadth, is eroded. The nostrils have been pierced horizontally with a tapering stick. The ake did not cover the apertures at all, perhaps because it would be difficult to remodel the nose after making the nostrils without distorting the holes, but more probably because the modeller desired this effect. The nose is probably not very much eroded. The one remaining eye has been made in the same way as the nostrils, but in this case the stick perforated the clay. The pressure of the point has pushed out the clay to form a distinct rim round the eye. Four smaller impressions made after the lips were modelled, perhaps by the tip of the same tool, give the impression of teeth. The ear hole was made like the eye, and the ear itself consists of a strip of clay applied to the modelled head. This is revealed by the way in which the top part has broken away. Behind the ears is another strip of clay which has broken in a similar way. This might conceivably represent hair dressed in a style common among Yoruba women. There is no other clue to the sex. The throat is modelled under the chin, especially well on the right. The chin has been chipped on the left.

Since it is a surface find this head cannot be closely dated. It is unlikely to be younger than the abandonment of the city in 1837 or earlier than the foundation of the city which may have been about 1400 A.D.1 Other terra-cottas are reported by local hunters at Old Oyo, but they could not find the place where I asked to see them. At the moment this must remain our only example of Old Oyo terra-cotta sculpture, and an assessment of its significance is therefore hazardous. It has echoes of both Nok and Ife terra-cottas: the horizontal piercing for the nostrils is a characteristic of the Nok style, while the ear for example bears some resemblance to that on the head from Olokun Walode at Ife,2 and the pink colour of the uneroded parts reminds one of the red paint applied to Ife terra-cottas. It is much cruder than the normal run of heads from Ife or Nok, though some details of heads from both these cultures are as crude as our example. Until we have more examples of terra-cottas from the site we cannot trace its connexions, though it does appear likely that there was a distinctive style of terra-cotta sculpture at Old Oyo.

Notes
1 Mr. Peter Morton-Williams, on the evidence of Johnson's History of the Yorubas, has calculated the date as between 1388 and 1431.
CORRESPONDENCE

The Fulani

Sir.—Dr. Jack Goody's informative review of Mr. Hopen's The Pastoral Fulbe Family in Gwain (MAN, 1959, 121) may remind many who are acquainted with Northern Nigeria that while the Fulbe (sing. Pulo) call themselves by this name, they are known to the Hausa and indeed to most of the peoples of Nigeria as Filani and not as Fulani. Elsewhere I have suggested that the form Filani seems to occur among several classical writers who flourished at the beginning of our era, in the Greek form Φιλάντα or Latin Philani, in connexion with the legend of the two Philani, Cartaginian brothers, who from love of their country consented to be buried alive on the borderland between Carthage and Cyrene, presumably to prevent encroachment by the latter. This was the explanation provided for the name Phlanum Arai or 'Altars of the Philani,' borne by a frontier town of that region, where, according to the legend, altars, had been raised to commemorate the sacrifice of these two patriots.

It may be objected, of course, that the similarity of the Hausa name Filani and the classical Φιλάντα may be a pure coincidence, but the similarity in this instance seems to be too close to have occurred accidentally.

It is not suggested that the Filani of West Africa necessarily found their way into their present habitat via North Africa. The belief of Meinhof and other philologists that their language, Fulfulde, is Hamitic has long been abandoned since Faiderher, Klingenberg, Delafosse, Homburger, Labouret and Greenberg have shown conclusively that, as spoken today, it is closely related to Serer, Wolof and Biafada, which D. Westermann and M. A. Bryan have classed together with Fulfulde as 'West Atlantic' languages. J. H. Greenberg goes further by including Fulfulde and the other 'West Atlantic' languages in a wider genetic grouping which he describes as the 'Niger-Congo' family of African languages. Thus it seems clear that, while the Filani are physically of Asiatic stock (Semitic perhaps), they speak today a Nigritic tongue. This fact is reflected in the tradition of the royal family of Sokoto that the Filani are descendants of an Arab father Okba, while their mother was Baji-Maju, a Negro woman of Toro (north of Sierra Leone), whose language they adopted.

Yet among the pastoral Filani who have been distributed over Northern Nigeria from time immemorial there are indications of some distant connexion with ancient Assyria and Babylonia. It may not be altogether fanciful to surmise that Tiglath-Pileser III, the usurper king of Assyria (c. 745 B.C.), who devastated so many regions of the Near East (Israel included), was himself a Fula or Pullo as his original name of Pul or Pulu suggests. He later assumed the ancient royal title of Sar Kissan or 'Lord of the World,' a title strangely reminiscent of that used by the kings of the ancient Hausa states of Northern Nigeria, viz. Sarkin Duniya, with the same meaning. The founders of these states are traditionally believed to have come into Bornu from Eastern regions subsequently identified with the Yemen. The Hausa language is without doubt basically Nigritic, but belongs to a group of languages south or south-west of Lake Chad which displays features properly classifiable as Hamitic or pre-Hamitic. It may not be accidental that in this neighbourhood there are some 25 tribes who use, or used, a duodecimal system of numeration—a system normally associated with ancient Babylonia. It would seem indeed that, as I hope to show later, this area of the Bauchi Plateau was a centre of wide linguistic distribution and, judging by recent archaeological discoveries, of wide distribution of cultural elements also. One curious phenomenon is that while most Northern Nigerian peoples have names for themselves distinct from those by which they are known to the outside world, they assert that the latter were originally conferred by Filani—an indication of their prehistoric character.

C. K. MECK

Timbrell Wells, Kent

A Note on Nyimang Clans

Sir,—S. F. Nadel, in The Nuba: An Anthropological Study of the Hill Tribes in Kordofan (O.U.P., 1947: cf. MAN, 1948, 133), writes on p. 379 'The Nyima clans, called aray, are patrilineal ...' and, in footnote 2 on the same page, 'Aray means literally "bullrush millet"; the clan is thus likened to the stem and ears of corn.'

During my stay among the Nyimang in 1957 I questioned my informants on this point and I learned that there are two completely independent words in the Nyimang language with no connexion at all: aray with flapped r means 'clan'; aray with rolled lingual r means 'millet' (dakhin). I think that this small correction is of some interest.

ANDREAS KRONENBERG
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REVIEWS

AMERICA


No one who knows Dr. Henri Lehmann could deny that his knowledge of American archeology made him a most suitable man to write this book, and having collaborated in a similar task I well know how difficult it is to cover so much ground in a limited space. Broadly speaking, there are two ways of tackling the job, by picking out the more important types, or by trying to be inclusive. Lehmann has attempted the latter, and for most of the field he has done it admirably, though for some parts, e.g. the Antilles, the very limited space has not allowed him to convey any real impression of the appearance of the pottery to those who do not know it.

After a definition of the term Pre-Columbian, and a preliminary chapter on technology, the bulk of the work consists of a survey of the field by areas. There are three short chapters at the end on fakes, market prices and their fluctuations, and the principal collections of the world.

With a limited number of plates it is impossible to cover the whole field, but the choice includes some rare and interesting types including a most peculiar and, it must be added, fantastically ugly figure, ascribed to the Classic or Toltec, from Jalapaico in Mexico, and a very pleasing late Maya jar from Mixco Viejo in Guatemala, doubtless from the author's own excavations. It would have been of interest to collectors if he could have illustrated his remarks about fakes with one or two plates. The photographs are mostly Lehmann's own work and the monochrome ones are admirable, but the reproduction of those in colour is less successful. It appears that Plate XI, Nos. 1 and 2, have been interchanged, because No. 2 is undoubtedly Plumbate, whereas No. 1, though not a very usual type, could be Fine Orange. The plates are supplemented by a good series of line drawings, which do much to complete the cover. It is unfortunate that fig. 57, a clear example of the ware of Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, Mexico, is labelled Pueblo III, an error into which Marquina, from whose book the picture is taken, has not fallen.

I must join issue with the author on several points of detail. The shoe pot is not confined to Guatemala, Nicaragua and Ecuador, and I could show him examples from the Southwest of the United States and from Chile (p. 8). It would have been truer to say that small figurines in the round are rare in Peru than that they do not exist there (p. 13). I disagree with a good deal in the chronological table on pp. 46f. For example I would not put Chiripa, Champata

The authors characterize this impressive volume 'in a sense as a general summary' of the Handbook of South American Indians, the gigantic work carried out under the direction and editorship of Professor Steward. In the preface however, they also present Native Peoples of South America as 'an interpretative work, written according to a general theoretical point of view which may differ somewhat from that of the authors of the Handbook and also from that of persons who have previously written about South American Indians.' With such an approach one must, however, regret that the authors find it convenient to cite references only 'occasionally on specific points,' as some readers might prefer to find out more about the limits between new interpretation and data presented in the Handbook without the necessity of going to the six volumes, which are somewhat difficult to handle and still lack an index.

In the first chapter some maps and lists help to locate principal tribes, or as the authors prefer to call them 'sociocultural groups.' The usefulness of including a legend also to the numbers of a Tribal Map is demonstrated, e.g., by the fact that 'Chocó' (15, D-3), though erroneously placed in the Alphabetical List as 'Chocó', can be easily found with correct spelling as 15 in the legend to the numbers. As to the major language divisions (p. 23) the classification follows 'the tentative scheme presented by Joseph Greenberg, to be published in the Proceedings of the 1956 [sic!] for 1958 International Congress of Americanists.' It is open to question whether this is a proper way of using Greenberg's revolutionary presentation of a reduced number of language families before it has been commented upon by other linguists. Greenberg's view has simply been commented.

In some other cases, too, very far-reaching conclusions are drawn from material published by others. For instance, did S. K. Lothrop himself really interpret the Coclé as Cuna? This is emphasized repeatedly in the textbook, e.g., p. 176, 'It became clear that the Cuna Indians, who are the modern descendants of the Indians buried at Coclé'; p. 195, 'the Cuna remains at the site of Coclé, Panama'; p. 224, 'While the archaeology of Coclé is unquestionably representative of native Cuna culture, we cannot be sure that Lothrop's principal site, Site Sitio Conte, or other sites in the region were definitely Cuna sites.' The last quotation is more-over contradictory. So far as I can understand from my own studies of the Cuna culture of the past and present, there is practically nothing to support the far-reaching statements already quoted, but this assumption is monotonously repeated as fact, as on p. 198: 'The Cuna, too, were outstanding lapiaries as well as ceramists and metalworkers, as the finds at Coclé indicate'; note the contradiction as compared with the quotation from p. 224.

Pages 334f. of the work have been dedicated to the Chiriguanos. By a misprint the late Baron Erlaud Nordenskiöld of Sweden is said to have been studying them in 1928 (instead of 1908), with a remark that his study, however, 'was concerned principally with material culture.' Dealing with the Gran Chaco the authors label the 'culture complexes' as 'ancestral American Indians' as 'a museum man primarily interested in technology and culture objects.' A Swedish reviewer with a better knowledge of Nordenskiöld's work finds it tempting to react against this unnecessary evaluation, as little of it is found elsewhere in the book.

Speaking of technology, a question mark may be put against the statement on p. 86 that clay pannipes and five-hole flutes form the earliest evidence of the use of musical instruments in the Central Andes during the era of Developmental Regional States. Logically the clay pannipes are imitations of instruments made of reed plants, and thus of later date. A fact also stated in K. G. Izikowitz's work on the Musical Instruments of the South American Indians (Göteborg, 1915, p. 379).

Old as well as new illustrations have been used for the work. Some more illustrating the material culture could very well have been included.

S. HENRY WASSÉN


The aim of Miss Nicholson's book is presentation of such evidence as remains of the Nahua-language poetry of Mexico, current before the Spanish conquest. Search for examples of the poetic thought of ancient Anahuac is part of the 'retreat from Spain' that led to Independence in 1812 and gathered new impetus after 1910; yet the records upon which chief reliance is placed were the work of sympathetic Franciscan friars of Cortés's own day, with Sahagún in the forefront. Without these labours, nothing of the kind is likely to have remained; for neither the Aztecs nor any of the neighbours had developed a written language—although the priests of the codices, of which so few now exist, were a step on the way with their elaborate and beautifully executed pictographs.

The 'Firefly's poems have in some cases passed through two translations, Nahua into sixteenth-century Spanish, and thence to modern English, and if many phrases are obviously symbolic and doubt arises as to vanished meaning, at least the delightfully airy quality of such lines as this can be appreciated:

Beautifully illumined in the book of songs
as the quetzal feathers burst from it
the beautiful song bends towards the earth
From the house of flowering butterflies is the song born
I hear it come to life, I, the singer.
It wanders in aquatic flower-beds
wanderers flying, the peerless firefly of the gods
with its wings gold-streaked it flies over the water.
Beside the drums in spring
the song's zephyr goes on for ever.

The effect of such chants, accompanied by the two-tone drums, whistles, rattles and conch horns, during processional dances must have been the Aztec's nearest approach to drama.

The author over-stresses the 'dark horror of Aztec civilization,' and the 'ruthless domination' by the Aztecs of Mexico's neighbours. But the fact seems to be that while the Aztecs' success in war allowed them to exact tribute from surrounding regions, political control was little exercised. Aztec religion, with its human sacrifice, centred essentially upon the need for coming to terms with the forces of nature—the 'encounters of man with more than man' that Sophocles had noted.
Chapters are given to the cosmology of the Nahua, and to the confused and confusing deities of the Aztec hierarchy. Miss Nicholson has also drawn considerably upon the work of other modern workers in the same field of Nahua thought. Her versions of 'precious gems' as used by the Aztecs are not always acceptable: 'emeralds,' for example, is more than doubtful, since jade or turquoise are much more likely; the four 'green stones' which Bernal Diaz preferred to take, rather than gold, for bartering with the natives after the noche triste were certainly not emeralds; 'diamond' is even more regrettable; and why does the author write 'tiger' instead of ocelot?

Documentation, throughout, is faultful, and the index inadequate. Nevertheless, the book has a distinct value.

L. E. JOYCE


The well-known Brazilian anthropologist, Professor Herbert Baldus, gives in his introduction (pp. 7-24) to the collection of stories told to him or to others by Indians in Brazil a popular summary of ethnographic facts about the enormous country and its Indians, which will be valuable for any reader not already familiar with this field of local legend.

The selection of folktales now brought out in German by Dr. Baldus gives the reader a quite complete view of the most popular themes arranged in sections under Myths, Supernatural Helper, Origin or Creation Tales, Märchen (e.g. of the 'arrow chain' type), Folk Narratives and Animal Tales. The story from the Kadiué about Nareatedi, the Jaguar Twin Brothers, has been used to give the German title Jaguarzuwillige to the whole collection, to which Baldus himself contributes some of his own recorded material from the Karajá, Tereno and Kalingan. Some of the other tribes represented (in the spelling used in the book): Bare, Manaio, Bororo, Guaraní (Apapokuva), Apinayé, Wapiandia (or Wapsichana), Koba, Makusí, Takano and Kaschujana. Among the authors quoted as recorders we note Amorini, Carvalho, Cobacchini, Ribeiro, Nimbunajá, Magalhaes, Abreu, Schulz, Albi. and several others.

At the end of the book are some useful concise remarks about the tribal and literary sources, data on earlier publications and principal facts about the motifs. A map helps to locate the tribes mentioned in this little book, which for many reasons must be considered as useful.

S. HENRY WASSÉN


In spite of some misleading and sensational chapter headings, Tukani turns out to be a well written, sober account of a naturalist's experiences in Central Brazil. It has been translated from the original German into elegant English.

The expedition to the northern part of the Matto Grosso was begun in 1943 under the auspices of the Fundação Brazil Central. The chief aim was to make and explore a route through Central Brazil and to found a series of air bases to be used for a direct air line from Rio de Janeiro to Manaus on the Amazon en route to North America. It was also to be the first step for future colonisation and exploitation of the area. Mr. Sick's part was to organise and carry out research in the field of natural science and during his seven years' work on the expedition he made important botanical and zoological collections besides obtaining a mass of information concerning the lives of the creatures which he observed in their natural surroundings. Although the results of his work are not mentioned in any detail in this book, which is clearly meant for more popular consumption, it does contain some fine descriptions of forest and savannah life and scenery. These descriptions are additionally enlivened by accounts of a frolicsome pet pereyra called Chico and of a pet toucan 'Tukani' who has given his name to the book.

Ethnologists seeking information concerning the interesting tribes in the area will be disappointed because only slight mention is made of the Indians encountered.

A useful glossary of scientific names is appended.

AUDREY J. BUTT


A long introduction on cult and myth is followed by a series of extracts from Sahagun's Aztec ritual texts, with comments. The author discusses cult chiefly in terms of 'manu', and regards all rites, even those of human sacrifice, as 'based on concepts of mana' (p. 104). He uses 'myth' in a very wide sense: a rite in which a paper 'granary' is burnt is described as a 'mythical episode' because the granary is not real (p. 3).

Of the words in the title the first, usually translated 'god', is also applied to the sun and to certain sacred men and objects; the second seems to mean the representative, human or other, of a god. These words are discussed at length and their uses illustrated, but it is not clear how they lead to the author's conclusion, in which he in effect subscribes to Robertson Smith's opinion that myth is derived from ritual and not from myth. The translation, by a Dane, is often inadequate and sometimes obscure.

RAGLAN


When George Vaillant died in 1945, most of his work on Classic and Post-Classic remains in the Valley of Mexico was unpublished. This has caused the sequence dating of this particular area to be hampered, whilst in other parts of Mexico (and Guatemala) considerable advances have been made. This report by Tolstoy is an effort to remediate this condition and he has indeed made a valuable contribution to the dating problems in Meso-America. There is presented a descriptive outline of the sequence of ceramic types which will enable future investigators to date by stratigraphic association full cultural assemblages, rather than sherds alone.

Such a study is, of necessity, a welter of detail, but as the author points out, it must be remembered that Aztec civilization, as vividly described by the conquistadors, with, amongst other things, its cities, pyramids, calendrical ceremonies and luxury crafts, did not arise overnight. Behind it lie some three millennia of agricultural settlement in the Valley.

Only accurate dating of sequence within this time span can enable a clearer understanding of culture, growth and historical events in Meso-America.

D. H. CARPENTER


This is the latest issue in the Young Traveller's Series, all of which are designed for children in the 12-16 group. As an extra textbook in the geography or history lesson it will be highly popular with the young students, for it is very different from the conventional school book. Nevertheless in the hands of the right teacher it will be just as instructive. The author, who knows what she is talking about, has skilfully woven an enormous amount of information into the contents which takes the form of a novel travel story. The photographs are good and up to date; there is an excellent index (which gives pronunciation where necessary) and a glossary.

D. H. CARPENTER


This is a good example of a worthy but entirely infuriating sort of anthropological book: no pictures. No physical pictures, and no mental pictures. A writer who cannot create a world with words should use photographs or drawings. Nothing of 'Kent' is sharp in the mind; words like 'methodologically' and 'encapsulated' are stultifying. Even the funeral is dull.
A people's culture is expressed by what they think, say, do and make; by what they look like, buy, tolerate and abhor. Many of these are visual things, and we must see them before we know anything about the people; the dimmest old grey photograph of the main street would have given us a start. Certainly there are two house plans (the heart leaps), but there is no scale. Instead we are told that they are 'small', and the heart sinks again.

We also need to know what 'Kent' is like in times of prosperity; the material for this book was collected during a slump, a circumstance which changes drastically and immediately the life of any community based on a single form of employment, but this is not mentioned by title page, jacket, foreword, or preface. And how much of a slump? And — the query which nagged at me all through the book — why can't we be told where 'Kent' is? Facts are very difficult both to see and to state; why start off with the distortion of anonymity?

English readers will be interested in 'Kent' working conditions: slump or no slump, they would not be tolerated in the cotton industry here.

BARBARA JONES


This is the first volume of an unspecified number dealing with the work done in the Western Aden Protectorate (Wadi Beihán), the Yemen (Márib) and Dhofár (Oman), in the years 1950 to 1953, organized and led by Dr. Wendell Phillips. The expedition was mounted on a big scale, with a personnel of 12 to 16 each year. The general editor, Professor W. F. Allbright, who directed the excavations in Beihán for two seasons can be having no easy task in marshalling individual contributions into an articulated whole.

This initial volume, indeed, consists largely of detached studies, of excellence in themselves, but awaiting further volumes to gain their overall perspectives. Of these studies perhaps the most important are these on Qatabánian and Sabean irrigation systems, on Hellenistic bronzes, and on Arretine and other imported wares. The excavations at Márib, with a catalogue of finds, complete this publication. The immensely rich collection of epigraphic material, of the greatest importance, will occupy Semitic scholars for years; inscriptions are incidental in this volume, and are best considered by an expert as a whole when separately published by Dr. Jamme and Professor W. F. Allbright.

Part I is written by Dr. Bowen, listed as an engineer-archeologist. It covers a general survey of antiquities in Wadi Beihán, where the Kingdom of Qatabán was centred at Timna, a site of 50 acres, founded, it is thought, round about 1000 B.C. and destroyed early in the Christian era. The report on the Timna and other excavations in Beihán will appear in later volumes; but the late-irrigation system, upon which its settled habitations depended, is here exhaustively treated, and forms a fundamental contribution to knowledge of the ancient South Arabian methods in utilizing, in a desert land, the spate or seil water, ultimately due to monsoon rains in the uplands.

Dr. Bowen's training as an engineer has scope, for it is improbable that the mechanics of water-distribution could have been so surely handled and interpreted by others. Before this study little was known of these elaborate hydrographic systems, apart from the map and bare description of one in the Hadramaut published by Caton-Thompson and Gardner (Geog. J., Vol. XCVIII, Part 1, 1939, and Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha, 1943). It is evident from the comparative data that no significant features distinguish the general pattern in the two regions. One omission, however, in Dr. Bowen's admirable work handicaps exact comparison; unlike Gardner's contoured map of the Hureidha system, based on 400 spot heights, and surveyed with the sole help of a donkey and a Negro slave neither of whom could excavate sluice gates, his maps are not contoured, although he had the initial advantage, denied to her, not only of a previously prepared map checked by air photographs, but also of motor transport which enabled him to reach to the extremities of the systems.

Dr. Bowen corrects convincingly my belief, shared also by Philby and R. A. B. Hamilton, that water storage (to which the Mārib legend gave substance) was the main principle of pre-Islamic irrigation. On well observed and argued evidence he shows that the Qatabánian system operated solely by means of open stone-faced sluices, primary, secondary and tertiary, rather than by dams or barrages. These open sluices passed on the seil with their loads of silt into distribution channels cut in the ever-deepening pre-existing alluvium of the areas destined for cultivation. Clay linings to these silt-cut channels were detected; they were not noted at Hureidha, but they recall the plastered sides of the silt-cut canals in the Fayum irrigation systems of Ptolemaic Philadelphus (Caton-Thompson and Gardner, The Desert Fayum, 1934, p. 142).

Though Dr. Bowen did not join the Mārib expedition but saw its ruins and topography from the air, he has ably pieced together the probabilities about the famous 'dam,' and concluded that it embodied, on a magnificent scale, the open sluice rather than the barrage system. At the same time I feel that the possible existence of true stone dams should not be dismissed. A qualified observer, Mr. H. M. Heald, noted them in Wadi Masila (W. H. Ingrams, Aden Protectorate, Colonial Office, No. 123, 1937), though it was not stated if there were impounding or only distribution dams.

Dr. Bowen also rejects as improbable Glaser's suggestion at Mārib of underground tunnelling, but this was done in the Fayum Ptolemaic systems (Desert Fayum, p. 143, Plate X, XCI) at a date amply covered by the Sabean irrigation; Glaser's idea therefore may hold good.

An interesting detail of the Beihán study is the conclusion that circular, spaced discolorations in the anciently cultivated area represent groves of myrrh bushes. This surmise carries conviction in the light of his thoughtful exposition of the spice trade, and his chapter on Ancient Trade Routes in South Arabia, further expanded in G. W. van Beck's review of Ancient Frankincense-Producing Areas.

Not the least valuable part of Dr. Bowen's exposition of irrigation methods is his view that the silt deposits in the irrigated areas. He makes use of their known depth to construct a chronology in harmony with the archeological evidence in the excavation of superimposed towns (still to be published). At such a one, Hajar bin Humaid, the earliest occupation level has been provisionally

The title of this stupendous undertaking, for it can be called little less, is no doubt in accordance with current American practice, but to an older generation perhaps a little misleading, since it is really a bibliography of the Indian Peninsula and the adjacent islands, and Burma, Tibet and Afghanistan are not included. Between five and six thousand titles are listed, divided first into 19 geographical areas with a twentieth division for general works. Each area is in three parts: A, selected works prior to 1940; B, works from 1940 to 1954 (misprinted in the page headings to the first four areas as 1940 to 1945); and C, which is not bibliographical but consists of data on field research carried out from 1940 to 1954. Parts A and B have their natural headings: Cultural and Social, Material, Folklore, Prehistoric Archaeology, Physical, and Miscellaneous, the last including Census Reports, District Gazettes, and so forth. Works of fiction, travel and autobiography have on the whole been excluded; 'Only in exceptional cases have historic and geographic accounts been listed, for the general inclusion of such works would have changed the character of the bibliography.' It may be said at the outset that the work, ambitious as it is, has been extremely well carried out, and the remarks that follow are intended rather to supplement its virtues than to detract from its achievement. It was a simple matter to think up obscure authors of out-of-the-way works bearing on the anthropology of various parts of India, and the very great importance needed to be duly recorded. Of those which are not in the list may well have been excluded as being autobiographical or travel books, but if so the basis of exclusion has perhaps been stretched a little too far, particularly in the case of older books. J. T. Phillips' Account of the Religion, Manners, and Learning of the People of Malabar (1717), for instance, is not of the first importance, but Robert Knox's Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon (1681), though included in Bryce Ryan's bibliography, unquestionably deserves inclusion on its own merits in any bibliography on Ceylon; moreover there is a good modern reprint. So too W. H. Sleeman's Recollections of an Indian Official is full of relevant matter, even if his journey through Oudh has to be excluded. The same applies to Forbes's Oriental Memoirs and to Lewin's A Fly on the Wheel, which latter might have been included in the General Section, whereas his Wild Races of South-East India, there included, should really appear in Section VI, for it covers precisely the same areas as his Hill Tribes of Chittagong. In the Assam section one remarks the omission of Pemberton's Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India (1835)—too historical, perhaps—Michell's Report on the North-East Frontier of India (1883), Coopeter's The Mishmi Hills (1873); and of later works Dunbar on the Abors and Galongs is indexed under 'Dundas' (the printer's error), while his 'On the Tibetan Border' (c. Daffos, Galongs, Abors, and Mishmis), five chapters in Other Men's Lives (1918), is absent. Mackenzie's History of the Relations of Government with the Hill Tribes (1884) is rightly included, but Sir Robert Reid's continuation of it, History of the Frontier Areas, etc. (1942), is unaccountably omitted. In the General section Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws (1776) should have found a place, as also Oldenberg (Leipzig, 1897) and Schoebel (Paris, 1884) on caste. Some of E. Washburn Hopkins's work escapes inclusion and C. E. A. W. Oldham's name does not appear in the index, nor that of Colebrooke (1778). In fact one could add more than a score of works that should be included in the select list and there must be others. Since the post-1940 list is to be kept up to date by periodic additions it would be worth adding a supplement to the pre-1940 bibliography. To suggest this is not to decry the author; no one can put a finger on everything published and the marvel is that so little seems to have been left out.

Inevitably in a work of this size and scope there are a few mistakes: on p. 126 the printer has misplaced a heading so that Parry's brochure on Lushai Customs (No. 729) is attributed to John Owen and is indexed accordingly; three of Brian Hodgson's works are attributed to T. C. Hodson in the index in place of his own, the printer being again, no doubt, responsible; and No. 705 'Assam Megalith's (Antiquity, 1929) is wrongly attributed to J. P. Mills, whose article in Asia (Vol. XXVI, No. 10) on Head-Hunting in Assam might have been included. It is a pity perhaps that there is more than one edition of a work no indication of this is given. Thus Hocart's Les Castes appeared in French 14 years before the English translation of 1950, and there were two French editions of Senart before Sir Denison Rose's translation of 1930. Some of the space needed for recording editions could have been saved by avoiding those cases in which the same book appears both under an area and in the General Section. If one may add that the division of works into before and after 1940, consequent on the use of Mandelbaum's Materials for the Ethnography of India which covered work to 1940 only, is hardly necessary and is occasionally tiresome, as when it causes the third volume of Transarabian Tribes and Castes to be separated by 13 pages from the first two, there is no further criticism to be made of a work which must have demanded a vast deal both of industry and enthusiasm, and not a little intrepidity, and which will be indispensable to every Indological library.

J. H. HUTTON

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The subject of this book is the 'actual working of the Patet.' Patet is an elusive concept and, like musical theory, it is difficult to grasp unless it is studied in living practice. The author looks for the norm, 'the discipline which regulates and preserves the identity of the various patet.' He examines the various positional devices used in Javanese gamelan and many interesting data are thus brought together for a clearly defined purpose. In consequence the description of the orchestra is based, not on the classical Sachs-Hornbostel system, but on the musical function of the instruments. Four groups are distinguished: the saron entrusted with the principal melody, the inter punctuating instruments, the instruments on which the principal melody is elaborated, and the rhythm instruments. The formal structure of the gamelan pieces is also continuously discussed, because here, as well as in instrumental function, the clues to the identity of the patet may be expected to emerge.

Hood demonstrates how the saron preserves the principal melody—the 'Keramatik' of German usage, which Kunst translated as the 'nuclear theme'—and how the development of an orchestral composition is based on a short introductory theme, the bubukka opaq-opaq. This introductory theme is more than a mode and less than a fixed melody; it is described as 'rather a particular combination of cadential formulas.' At this point Javanese patet is compared to Indian raga.

The word 'scale' occurs frequently, as it unavoidably must in an investigation of patet and its use of pelog and slendro intervals. But 'scale' is a deceptive term, and Hood renders a service to musicology when he reduces the qualifications for the label slendro to two requirements only, viz., the slendro fifth defined as the range of three consecutive slendro intervals, and the inclusion in the octave of two intervals larger than their fellows.

In slendro and pelog a fifth does not represent a frequency ratio of 2:3—or an interval of 702 Cents if the ratio is expressed in the units which Ellis substituted for the logarithm of frequencies. According to the series of intervals set out in the first chapter, the slendro fifth is an interval of 720 Cents and pelog fifths vary between 660 and 680 Cents. It is well to remember that these intervals were not in any way determined by an indigenous theory but were postulated by Western scholars in order to account for tunings found on saron instruments. With regard to the slendro series and its 'functional equidistance in modern practice' Hood says that this 'may or may not be correct since an instrument with a truly equidistant scale is yet to be found' (my italics).

This needed saying, but it is not the whole story. There is a fundamental difference between scale and tuning. It is quite a different matter for theoreticians to speak of the idea of an equidistant scale and for African xylophone-tuners—to give an example—to employ practical devices which make for equidistance. As to the processes of Javanese tuning, little is known except that they are surrounded by much ceremony and great secrecy.

An important part of Hood's thesis is the function of the three gong or principal tones which are in fact the three notes of two conjunct fifths. To fit these notes into the interval of an octave the lowest note is transposed up by an octave. The musical examples at the end of the book illustrate this point quite clearly: none of the tunes exceeds the range of an octave. Octave displacement is believed by theoreticians who, without it, could not form a cycle of fifths into a scale, and folk singers practise it in many parts of the world. But the theoretician pretends that it is no more than a legitimate trick in the genesis of a scale whereas some practitioners of music have found that octave displacement leads to fascinating variations, and indeed, this has been exploited by people of less cultural achievement than the Javanese.

Hood's treatise is important, not only because specialist studies in ethnomusicology are rare anyway, but also because the author combines the expertise of a Western musicologist with the intimate experience of an Eastern art form.

K. P. WACHSMANN


This is the account by a traveller (translated from the German) of his visit to the nomadic Mewu Fantzu, a Tibetan tribe of Kansu, in 1936. The author says that the name Fantzu means 'Tibetan' in the Kansu colloquial usage, but it is far more probably the Chinese for 'barbarians,' and is used no doubt simply to describe the Tibetans of the area. He tells us that the territory of the Mewu Fantzu was formerly part of the Tibetan province of Amdo, and that the name is still applied to the region west of the pastures of these nomads. They live south of Heh-Tso gompa, east of Lin-Tan (Tao-chow), and south of the great monastery of Labrang.
In a colourful and engaging style, Dr. Stübner gives what really does not amount to more than a passing, although extensive, ethnographical description of the tribe.

Robert B. Ekwall's work is often rightly referred to; that of the Rev. Fr. M. Hermanns, S.V.D., perhaps less fortunately so. The sinization of Tibetan terms is very marked, and the words, difficult because also deformed by the Lamo dialect of the language, are often unrecognizable, particularly since the author never gives the native orthography. Thus Böhn-po (a pre-Buddhist priest) becomes Bönhü; Tsä-nag (a black necklace) is probably sKe-Nag; Chur-ra (cheese) is given as Chu-ra; a country god, Yut-lha, becomes Yulu-la; the Tibetan word for hell, dMyal-bal (pronounced Nyl-bal) is rendered as Na-la; ancestors, brGyung, are deformed to xiu; the clothes of Incarnations are given the alleged, specific term nam-sa which is only the ordinary honorific for 'clothes'; an Incarnation, usually called a sPhul-ki (pronounced Tulli) elsewhere in Tibet, is called a-le-ha here, a term quite unknown to me.

PETER, Prince of Greece and Denmark

EUROPE


To those who already accept the decipherment, this popular account will appear lucid and convincing; to those who do not it will give no reassurance. For instead of clarifying the process of decoding, it only adds to the uncertainties. According to Documents in Mycenaean Greek (p. 20) it was considered unrealistic to compare phonetic values from the Cypriot syllabary; but now (pp. 62f.) it is said that Cypriot analogies were used to obtain n and i. Great stress is laid on the importance of recognizing the name Amnisos; but the amount of presupposition involved is alarming: that the place was so called in this period, that its name occurs on these tablets, and that it was written syllabically according to the Cypriot convention and partly on a unique system. That the decipherment produces results is no proof that it is correct; for its nature is such that it will almost always yield translations, often in embarrassing profusion. Mr. Chadwick's remark with regard to the descriptions of the tripod (p. 83) is true of the tablets generally: 'The trouble ... is not that we cannot translate them, but that we have too many possible translations and insufficient criteria to enable us to pick the right one.'

Readers of a third class, those new to the subject, should not be deterred by the extraordinary claim (p. 82) that even in 1953 'all who were unprejudiced could now be convinced that the system worked' from pursuing further back the arguments in this book. For instance, in the table of vessels (fig. 16) there are in fact only three cases where at different sites the same pictogram and name occur together. The double coincidence of o-pi-po-rec-we and the amphora may be quickly dismissed, for at Pylos only the last two syllables are found, and of these the first is marked as doubtful (Documents ... No. 238). As for u-do-ro and the water jar, on the Knossian tablet 160a Documents ... (No. 233) only claims the last two signs as at all visible, and even these are marked as dubious; the surcharge of u on some water-jar pictograms cannot be regarded as a very compelling argument, particularly when amphorae are superscribed me as well as a. There is a stronger case for saying that the signs read as di-pana mean a goblet at both Knossos and Pylos; but their transliteration is, of course, an entirely distinct question.

W. C. BRICE


This is a commentary on the Registrar General's returns and other statistics, mainly confirming and helping to interpret general observation. The vast decreases in mortality, especially of the young, from infectious diseases and diseases of poverty have increased the elderly element in our population and given a bias towards social security and the welfare state. The author wants to see more psychosomatic treatment and interprets the increase of recognized mental trouble as partly due to better diagnosis and to rising standards of mental normality. Crime increase, also, especially among young people, is partly due to the fact that cases are brought before the juvenile courts which were of old dealt with summarily by police, and also the schedule of offences has been largely increased, but the author is far from claiming that this is all. Though population did not quite double itself between 1871 and 1951, the numbers of men and women at 75 or over multiplied 4:44 and nearly 5:56 times respectively; but the rise was in elderly people generally (5 per cent. in 1871 and 11 per cent. in 1951) and, among the elderly, the over-75 group expanded only from 27 to 30 per cent. for men and from 30 to 34 per cent. for women. Medical progress has reduced the death rates of boys some way towards the level of that of girls. Birth control, gainful occupation of wives, housing difficulties and the large reduction in domestic service have all helped to reduce the birth rate, still at present adequate for maintenance. Statistics as issued hinder discussion of the different social structure of Wales. Chapel membership is probably double that of 'The Church in Wales' and the vitality of ex tempore discussion in Sunday schools for all ages and both sexes has somewhat retarded the decline of attendance at religious services so characteristic of England. It has also limited distinctions of social class in subtle ways among Welsh-speakers. Grammar school and university are a prospect for far more impetuous young people of both sexes in Wales than ever was in England.

H. J. FLEURE


The catalogue and the clever photographic display of the exhibits of the Folk Art Museum, collected during the last 50 years, should have warranted a standard work on Roumanian folk art, but it seems that the cumbersome text in Roumanian, Russian and French did not leave enough room for information on dates, foreign influences, etc. These omissions are rather vexing with regard to some outstanding specimens: jars, carpets, costumes and wooden objects. I also deplore the fact that Room 13, devoted to the capitolistic régime, is not illustrated, with its juxtaposition of cheap mass productions and poor commercialized patterns with better materials and techniques and even entirely new categories of popular art. Without such an illustration the progress made in the pleasing modern designs cannot be fairly judged.

E. ETTLINGER


This instalment which deals mainly with agricultural customs, methods and implements is of great interest. The investigations on draught animals confirm that the use of the ox is much older than that of the horse, which was kept for riding. Lately the slow ox had to give way to the faster horse, the wealthy farmer's special pride; and more recently, owing to the labour shortage, tractors and mowing machines are spreading rapidly. The various methods are recorded of tilling by means of the horse, ploughing, threshing and haymaking. The different regional types of fences, walls and hedges are also registered.

The protection of the vineyards as well as of the quality of the new wine is of great antiquity. Watchmen are appointed for armed patrol duties. Bells are rung at the beginning of the vintage, at sudden rainsfalls or excessive sunshine. On Sundays, during the vintage, public dances are held and, in a few places, processions with allegorical or humorous tableaux. The last cart to bring in the grapes is decorated with flowers and ends the vintage is celebrated by a joint meal shared by the wine-grower, his family and all the helpers, at which traditional dishes are served.

E. ETTLINGER
BRONZE FIGURES FROM ITA YEMOO, IFE, NIGERIA

Photographs: F. Willett, 1958
On Friday, 22 November, 1957, labourers were levelling ground on the right-hand side of the Ilesha Road, Ife, just beyond the junction with the Mokuro Road, and just inside the outer town wall, which is believed to be of mid-nineteenth-century date. They were removing up to 18 inches of soil over an area of approximately three acres and using it to fill a ditch which had probably originally been a quarry for metal for the road alongside which it ran. The area is called Ila Yemoo, the ‘square of Yemoo,’ Yemoo being the wife of Obatala, the creator of the Yoruba people. The devotees of Yemoo and Obatala (who is also known as Orishala) during their principal festival, Ifekeya, perform a ceremony less than a quarter of a mile from the area where the men were working. The site seems, however, to have no more positive associations than this, and there was certainly no tradition that the area held antiquities. It was therefore a complete surprise when the pick of one man smashed the head of a bronze figure lying in the ground. The bronze was picked up and seen to represent a pair of human figures. Both heads had been broken off in finding it, and the face of one had disappeared. Mr. Adebayo, one of the principals of the contracting firm, was on the site at the time, and ordered a careful search to be made for the face. It was not found, nor did four months of careful sieving of the disturbed earth find the pieces. The metal is crystalline and the face must have disintegrated into minute fragments with the impact of the pick. During that day and the next six more bronzes were turned up, in two groups. The first group to be discovered consisted of the pair of figures just mentioned, a pair of ritual staffs (edan) and a ritual vessel (called an ‘ashray’ by the finders). According to the foreman of works, this group was inside a thick decorated pot, and the remaining bronzes lay nearby in one pot and covered with another. Mr. Adebayo, however, reports that only the second group was in a pot. I have been unable to resolve this conflict in the evidence, but it is clear that some of the bronzes were inside a pot, of which one piece was kept; it is seen in the background of MAN, 1958, Plate 1A.

By Monday, 25 November, news of the discovery had reached the Oni of Ife, who had the pieces brought to the palace. By coincidence, an hour later Mr. Bernard Fagg, Director of Antiquities for Nigeria, called on the Oni and the news. He had the site of the discovery fenced off and guarded, and arranged for building operations to be delayed for a few weeks. He then generously telephoned me in Manchester to invite me to return immediately to Ife to investigate the site. The University and Museum authorities at once kindly gave me two months' special leave (although I had only been back eight months from six months' special leave spent at Ife and Old Oyo), and as reported in MAN, 1958, 17, I was able to fly out immediately to excavate on the site and to supervise the treatment of the bronzes, which was carried out in the Ife Museum by Mr. J. D. Akedolu, Technical Officer of the Nigerian Department of Antiquities. The excavations and the terra-cottas which were found will be described elsewhere.6

The largest bronze discovered is 18 inches high and represents an Oni (or King) of Ife in ceremonial regalia as worn, so the present Oni tells me, at the coronation. It is very similar to the half-length figure of an Oni,7 sometimes mistakenly referred to as Lafiogho, found in 1939, but it lacks the nose and mouth, the face and body are not at all alike. The new figure was found lying on its back, with its head pointing roughly eastwards. It has a large head (about a quarter of the height of the figure), short, thick legs with large feet, concave underneath,4 and slender arms; the body is plump and the belly protrudes. The arms are bent at the elbows and the hands grasp the symbols of authority (ashe), the left hand holding a horn, the right hand a symbol of beaded-embroidered cloth on a wooden core, which, according to the Oni, is carried from the accession of the Oni to his coronation, when it is replaced by the beaded cowtail flywhisk (iraOke, literally ‘ram’s horn’), and is probably ancestral to the exaggerated projection on the left hip of Benin court dress.8 The skirt is either hemmed or decorated along the edge by embroidery or weaving.

The rest of the clothing consists of a beaded crown, elaborate necklaces, and beaded or metal bracelets and anklets. The crown forms a cap below which the hair can be seen. On the front is a vertical motif similar to those on the so-called Olokun head at Ife,9 and the bronze head in the British Museum.10 Round the neck is a string of beads from which hang a pair of motifs generally thought to be a beadwork badge of office, comparable in function, though not in shape, to those worn today by the chiefs of Ife, but not by the Oni. Outside this string of beads and overlying the strings by which the badges are suspended is a massive collar, probably also of beads, edged on the inner corner with large beads. Beneath the collar and badges lie 11 links of small beads each with one large bead in the centre. Outside these there is a double link of large beads representing originals of red stone called okun, with a knot of smaller beads hanging from it.

The figure wears elaborate bracelets, those nearest the wrists being apparently of metal, whilst bead bracelets cover the whole of the rest of the forearms. The legs appear to have one smooth, and therefore probably bronze anklet, with bead anklets above covering as much of the legs as can be seen below the cloth. The second toe of each foot bears a ring probably of bronze.11

Originally the details of the figure were picked out with colour. Sufficient paint remains to show that the cloth, sashes, anklets, bracelets, okun beads, the large round beads on the collar and the
necklace carrying the badge were painted red. The larger beads of the crown, which form concentric rings, were painted red, while the rest of the crown proper was painted black. The emblem on the front had the top knob and upright painted black, whilst the roundel was painted black and red on alternate rings. The small beads on the chest were painted black.

The casting is about 3/4 of an inch thick, but the face is only half this thickness. There is a small flaw in the casting below the left breast. There is a wide gap in the rear of the skirt continuing to form a space between the legs, presumably to allow the escape of air and gases during casting, but it served also to allow the removal of the lower middle part of the core, which has made the figure a trifle top-heavy. The figure appears to have been cast downwards with the feet raised a little. The face has been cut in two places on the left cheek, the upper cut passing through the metal. A graze on the same cheek seems to be ancient. There are two small cuts on the cloth at the rear, whilst a crack runs down the spine from the neck to the waist, and another on the line of the seam of the cloth to the left of the hole in the back. The surface of the bronze has been slightly pitted with corrosion all over, except on the cloth at the back.

The expression of the face is typical of the Ife serene naturalistic style, while the eyes and ears show the usual conventional treatment, though the smaller size gives the ears a greater impression of naturalism than is achieved on the life-size heads.

**Fig. 1. The smaller 'macehead'**

With this figure were found the two maceheads illustrated in figs. 1, 2 and 3, which, although differing in size, were probably used as a pair. Both consist of hollow ovoids, each with a pair of heads modelled in the round, back to back, with a hole for a shaft in the base. All four heads have rope gags through the mouth. The smallest macehead (fig. 1) is 2 1/2 inches high overall. One of the heads has fairly coarse striations, and both have indications of a topknot, that on the striated head being the more elaborate. Beneath each chin is a high-relief object resembling a mushroom-headed club, and there are two more of these objects on the sides of the ovoid. All four have a groove, perhaps indicating a ferrule, near the lower end.

The other macehead (fig. 2), 3 1/8 inches high, is a much finer work of art than the smaller, being much more carefully modelled; it can hardly be by the same hand. It has suffered a few slight grazes in discovery, as well as an ancient cut. The two heads are modelled almost completely free of the ovoid, being attached at the neck, so that the chin is completely free. The larger head has a smooth, plump, youthful face, with well modelled (though conventional) ears, and hair represented by cross-hatching. The topknot appears to be coiled. The smaller head (fig. 3) represents a bald old man with a wizened skin drawn tightly against the bones of the skull. The forehead and the deeply sunk cheeks are furrowed with wrinkles. The eyebrow ridges are prominent, the cheek bones wide and the head narrow. The eyes are better modelled than is usual at Ife. Both heads have long thin fingers, with nail and knuckle represented, resting on the lower lip. Mr. J. D. Akedolu tells me that there is a tradition among some Yoruba that people who die violently place a finger to their lips as they expire.

The heads of both maceheads appear to be cast solid, with the walls of the ovoids about 1 inch thick. They would be difficult to fix securely on a staff since the cavity inside is an ovoid, though the larger macehead has two holes for pegs to secure it. Some compressible packing material may have been introduced to make the mounting firm.

The most astonishing piece of the group is the object which was discovered first (Plate Kb, 1), representing an Oni of Ife and his queen, 11 1/2 inches in height. This is a most unusual group to find anywhere in Africa, and it is most regrettable that it should have been so badly damaged. The woman stands on the man's left, with her right arm through his left, and her right forefinger pointing downwards. In her left hand she holds a flat-topped symbol resembling the horn of authority. His right hand holds the axe-like symbol, and his left is the horn, while the forefingers of both hands are hooked round each other with the right palm upwards and the left downwards. A looped strap apparently from a bracelet passes round the little finger of his left hand. The most surprising feature, however, is that the man's left leg is twined round the woman's right in what appears to be some form of sexual play. The anatomy of his leg is a little in error as the position of the foot would require an extra joint in the middle of the lower leg.

Both the figures are similarly dressed, and resemble the larger male figure of Plate Ka, except that the pair of figures lack the outer links of large beads. The man wears a short cloth reaching only to his knees, and it appears to be worn like a loin cloth with part drawn through the legs from behind, taken up inside the cloth and allowed to hang down in front. The edges of his cloth appear to
be fringed. The woman’s cloth is folded over at the top, and extends from the armpits to her ankles, covering her breasts. At waist level behind his left hip the male has two monkey skulls and a third, less clear, object. The woman wears two ashes; the man only one. There is a ring on the second toe of the three visible feet; the man’s left foot is partly hidden.

The man’s crown is similar to that on the large figure, but has

In the first group of bronzes found was the elaborate and presumably ritual vessel shown in Plate Kd. It is only 4½ inches in overall height, and is an astonishing conception. The representation is of a handled stool of the type of the quartz one possessed by the British Museum, but it has herringbone decoration upon it, which makes it resemble more closely the one in terra-cotta from the Iwinrin Grove, and the fragmentary one from the Palace at Ife illustrated by Frobenius.15 The handle is supported by a four-legged stool of the type recently bequeathed to the Nigerian Museum by Lady Carter, but again resembling a similar one modelled in terra-cotta from the Iwinrin Grove. Mr. William Fagg had demonstrated before the bronze was found that the two Iwinrin stools had originally been set in the same relative positions, with a royal figure about two-thirds life size seated on the round stool with his legs astride the ‘handle’ and his feet upon the rectangular stool. The bronze has a round-bottomed vessel set upon the larger stool, with a royal figure curled round it, supported with the left hand on the handle of the stool while the right hand holds up a staff with a human head on top of the type found with it, and to be described below.

The figure is even more elaborately beaded than the three figures so far described. The Oni of Ife suggests that the figure is female in view of the flanged headress, which is like the one worn by the evidently female one of the pair in Plate Kc.

The rim of the vessel has been abraded, apparently by use, at the side diametrically opposite to the head of the figure. The flat part of the rim also bears a herringbone pattern like the stools. The crown bears black paint, while the beads and clothing were all painted red, as were the edges of the top and bottom discs of the round stool, and the edge of the top and the ‘collars’ at the feet of the four-legged stool.

In the rear view (Plate Kd) three vents can be seen in the body cloths. These would unite the core and the investment, and allow the gases to escape from the core during casting. The core has not been removed.

Details of the cloth and beadwork have been picked out in red and black paint. The paint on the male figure resembles that on the large figure, except that the small beads on the chest are not painted. The paint on the female figure corresponds where possible to that of her partner, except that the hems only of her cloth and the large centre beads on her chest are painted red.

This figure is unusual in African art for the asymmetry of its composition, and unusual in Ife in the obviously ‘African’ proportions of the two figures. The quasi-mensurational naturalism of Ife is clearly restricted to the broad structure of the face, whilst the rest of the body is treated with a respect for nature without attempting to imitate it.

The meaning of the representation is highly problematic. The round stone stools are not large enough for an adult to curl up on. If they are sacrificial altars, the sacrifice of a royal person would be implied, and I have been unable to find any clear evidence of such oblation. It is possible that this vessel was used in some
ceremony associated with kingship and for that reason bears a royal figure. It might have been an elaborate lamp, though no traces of carbon were found on it either before or after cleaning. Its elaboration suggests that it is ritual, just as the prototype in quartz of the round stool must have been a ritual object, but its precise function remains obscure. It may have been just an elaborate piece of shrine furniture intended to hold offerings on the altar. artistically it is certainly a tour de force.

With this vessel and the royal pair were found the two staffs illustrated in Man, 1938, Plate Ad. The smaller is 94 inches long, and has a well modelled hair surmounting a tapering staff, oval in section, which has been quite deeply cut, showing that the bronze is very thick or the casting solid, but as there is an iron peg just below the chin, and another two inches from the opposite end, which were presumably intended to pin the core in position, it would seem more likely that the bronze is hollow (though filled with core). The head (fig. 4) has smoothly modelled hair, with light cross-hatching, a narrow curved nose, hollow cheeks with lines which may represent Nupe tribal marks, and fairly prominent eyebrow ridges. The ears are pierced for earrings. There is no gag, but there is a vertical bar modelled below the chin.

The larger staff is 10½ inches long with a gagged head on top (fig. 5). The head is well modelled, with deeply sunk eyes, prominent eyebrow ridges, and a rather large nose. A rope gag in the mouth is tied in a reef knot behind the head. The hair is represented by deep cross-hatching, and is continued into sideburns and a beard, but there is no moustache. Beneath the chin is a bar like a large bead on a short coarse string. Beside this is an iron peg, with a corresponding one on the back, and another about three inches from the end on the back; this suggests that this staff too is hollow. The left side of the face has been cropped in discovery. Again, these seem to be a pair, probably of the type of ritual staff known as edan (though probably not edan for the Obi Society, which are usually quite clearly male and female, are chained together by the heads and have iron spikes projecting from the bottom).

Five of the heads on these bronzes are gagged and there can be no doubt that they represent victims for sacrifice in view of the sherds of a ritual pot found on an adjacent site in the course of the excavations, which show a gagged head lying beside a decapitated naked male corpse, the hands tied behind the back. It is quite likely that the mace-heads and the staffs were used in rituals involving human sacrifice; they may have been weapons for clubbing the victim before execution, in much the same way as animal substitutes for human beings are still struck repeatedly before decapitation in modern Ife ceremonial.

The royal figures are evidently intended for use in a royal ancestor cult, now defunct but probably similar to that which survives at Benin, to which it was almost certainly ancestral. Whether they represent individual Onis is highly doubtful, and indeed it is most unlikely. The well-known life-size heads probably belong to the same cult and are probably also not individual portraits, but are rather symbols of royal ancestors.

The smaller heads are more vigorously modelled than the large heads found in 1910 and 1938–9. The new finds may have been made by different artists from those who made the large heads, or it may be that the idealization which is evident in the large heads and the large Oni figure from Ita Yemoo, producing an impression of almost vacuous serenity, is due to difference in function. The large figure and the pair show markedly African proportions, and confirm the view that the art of Ife is essentially indigenous, even though the technique of bronze-casting must have been introduced ultimately from the Near East. The style of wearing the cloth of the male of the pair is not usual in Yorubaland today, but may be an older fashion.

These new finds have greatly enriched the corpus of Ife art in bronze, showing a greater variety of subject matter and style than was previously known, and setting another series of problems to be investigated.

**Notes**


2 For convenience, and in accordance with custom, I refer to bronzes although bronze is a more accurate term in three cases and almost certainly in all. With the kind co-operation of Professor F. C. Thompson, four samples of the metal were examined spectrographically by Miss P. McQuilkin of the Department of Metallurgy in the University of Manchester. The samples were: (a) a superficial drilling under the large toe of the left foot of the large royal figure

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DECENT, FILIATION AND AFFINITY: A REJOINER TO DR. LEACH: PART I*

by

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309 Professor Firth and Dr. Leach have recently (MAN, 1947, 2, 59) drawn attention to various ambiguities in current theories of kinship and descent. I am tempted to comment because Leach refers specially to a paper in which I tried to appraise the state of research and theory on the structure of unilinear descent groups in 1953 (Fortes, 1953a). First, however, Leach's misinterpretations of some of the arguments put forward in my paper need to be corrected. I fail to see how my paper puts an "exaggerated emphasis upon the principle of descent as the fundamental principle of social organization in all relatively "homogeneous" societies" (Leach). On the contrary, in discussing the difficulty of defining a homogeneous society, I point out that "societies based on unilinear descent groups are not the best in which to see what the notion of social substitutability means." Nor do I see how Leach reaches the conclusion that I "disguise" ties of affinity "under the expression "complementary filiation."

He would, I hope, agree that there is a fundamental difference, indeed antithesis, between a tie of marriage and
a tie of filiation. If this were not the case, the incest taboo would be nonsensical. Does he really believe that a person ‘is related to kinsmen of his two parents’ . . . ‘because his parents were married’ and not ‘because he is the descendant [I would substitute “child”] of both parents’? In many societies, as is well known, a person’s jural status as his father’s son (daughter) derives from the fact that his pater was his mother’s legal husband at the time of his birth. But kinship terminologies and customs show incontrovertibly that if he is entitled to claim kinship with his father’s kin it is by virtue of being his father’s jurally recognized child, e.g., on account of bride price. The marriage of the parents is sometimes not even essential for the recognition of paternity by the genitor and the consequent acknowledgment of kinship between the ‘illegitimate’ offspring and the kin of the genitor. The Ashanti, like many peoples with matrilineal descent systems, and the Lozi, like others with ‘cognatic’ systems, are cases in point (Fortes, 1950; Gluckman, 1939).

Leach asserts that ‘for Fortes, marriages ties as such do not form part of the structural system.’ My paper is quite explicitly and primarily concerned with the internal structure of unilinear descent groups, not with the typology of total social systems. The generalizations which I tentatively put forward were relevant to this context. I made no particular claims about their bearing on problems of marriage and divorce. I do not, therefore, see what leads him to his conclusion. It turns, I suspect, on an implied difference between us in what we understand by ‘structural system.’ Anyhow, he has clearly misinterpreted what I said about the connexion between marriage and what I called ‘a complex scheme of individuation’ among the Tiv. The sentence immediately preceding the one that he cites makes it perfectly plain that I relate this specifically to ties of matrilateral filiation, not to ties of marriage. These ties arise through the marriage, or more generally the conjugal unions, of parents, but it is not marriage ties as such that distinguish sibling groups and persons within a patrilineal lineage. It is quite precisely their matrilateral kinship ties, as I demonstrated at length in my studies of the Tallensi. In referring to the Tiv, I also emphasized that they recognize several degrees of matrifiliation. I am struck by the close parallel between this observation and Leach’s data on the Lakher, as represented in his fig. 2, loc. cit It is satisfactory that Dr. Leach concedes that the generalization implied in my statement is true, even if ‘inadequate’ for the data presented in his paper. He tells us that he suspects (‘as I suspect myself,’ sic) that we ‘. . . must take cognizance of the political and economic context before we can give a label to a structural type.’ I ventured to go further, in the paper referred to, and asserted that ‘. . . it is the approach from the angle of political organization to what are traditionally thought of as kinship groups and institutions that has been specially fruitful, and I drew particular attention to the ‘. . . connexion between lineage structure and the ownership of the most valued productive property of the society.’

I do not want to make too much of Dr. Leach’s misreading of my paper; for, in my view, there is no funda-
mental divergence between us. This would have been more apparent if he had cared to take into consideration some of the publications cited in the bibliography attached to my article. His analysis of Kachin and Lakher marriage and affinal relations in terms of the ‘transfer of jural control’ over women and the relative ‘strength’ of the ‘sibling link’ and the ‘marriage link’ seems to me no different in method and principle from the analysis of Ashanti kinship and marriage previously sketched by me (Fortes, 1950, 1953a). For example, I point out that ‘the essential nature of the sibling tie lies, to most Ashanti, in its antithesis to conjugal ties’ and that ‘divorce . . . is said to be due very often to the conflict between loyalties towards spouse and towards sibling’ (1950). Earlier (1949) in discussing some aspects of marriage among the Tallensi, I gave special attention to the ‘Opposition between Kinship Ties and the Marital ties of spouses, and its resolution’ (op. cit., pp. 90ff.). I there exemplified the proposition stated in my paper of 1953(b) that ‘a common rule of social structure reflected in avoidance customs is that these two statuses [of spouse and parent in the conjugal family versus child and sibling in the natal family] must not be confounded.’ This is a way of achieving the ‘institutional accommodation of the possibly conflicting claims and loyalties as between a woman’s husband and her brothers and sisters’ (Radcliffe-Brown, 1950). And it seems to me that the data presented by Leach fit the proposition very well.

I would maintain, therefore, that Dr. Leach and I have been using the same conceptual framework. His further refinement of it in the paper under discussion does not, I believe, amount to a radical divergence between us. I expect that he would agree that we owe the ‘model’ originally to Malinowski’s analysis of Trobriand marriage and family relations, and its validation to such penetrating studies as those of Fortune (1932), where the emphasis is on the conflict between ‘brother-sister solidarity’ and the strength of the ‘marital grouping,’ and Richards (1934) where the power of ‘father-right’ in a family and kinship system based on matrilineal descent, is specially documented. This was, however, only a descriptive model. The analytical principles, which both Leach and I (in common with others) use, come, as I emphasized in my paper, from Radcliffe-Brown, notably his famous paper on patrilineal and matrilineal succession (1935).

I agree with Leach that ‘it is the whole nature of the concept of “descent” which is at issue,’ and in my view we can clarify this concept fruitfully if the distinction which I made between ‘descent’ and ‘filiation’ (1953b) is pursued further. To do this, however, we need a more precise analytical procedure than has been the rule in kinship studies.

In my paper I drew attention to the distinction between the external aspect of lineage structure and the internal aspect. This distinction, I believe, sums up a general rule of analytical procedure which can be helpful in the task suggested by Leach. Institutions, like structural units, can be viewed in terms of their internal aspect, as components of an internal system or field of social structure, specified for a particular purpose, or they can be considered in
terms of an external aspect, as components of an external system of social structure. An internal system, whether it be a unit of social structure like a lineage, or an institution like marriage, or a body of beliefs, is a combination of elements or arrangement of parts that operates as a unit in external relations. The analogy with the organs of the body is obvious.

In the study of kinship and descent we are dealing with institutions that operate in various fields, or, as I now prefer to say, domains, of social structure (Fortes, 1958). In their external aspect it is their function in the domain of politico-jural structure that is of major importance; in their internal aspect it is their place in the domain of domestic relations that is crucial. In previous publications (1952, 1954) Leach investigated Kachin marriage and affinity as institutions in the politico-jural domain. He showed how these descriptively speaking ‘kinship’ institutions are utilized to maintain a fixed hierarchy of political rank and power between the genealogically and politically independent patrilineages of a Kachin community. Here marriage is an enjoined transaction between corporate units bound to one another as if by a treaty of alliance. It is a transaction in the politico-jural domain and in this context the internal composition of the units involved is a subsidiary issue. It is easy to visualize identical politico-jural marriage transactions taking place between units not internally organized by a descent criterion. As Leach puts it, the ‘mutual status relations’ of lineages in the political system are defined through these marriage rights and obligations, which are enforceable and exclusive. A significant index of this is that in these external relations of lineages the spouses represent their natal lineages, as corporate units.

An analogous structural arrangement is followed by the Tallensi (Fortes, 1940, 1945); but among them the ties claimed between corporate lineages are conceptualized as perpetual kinship bonds originating in matrilateral filiation and perpetuated by the lineage principle. The Kachin pattern has closer parallels in African societies where there are aristocratic lineages, clans or classes which receive periodical tribute or services from client populations in return for protection and the maintenance of political and ritual security. An instructive instance is provided by the Banyankole (Oberg, 1940). Among them marriage was traditionally prohibited between members of the superior Hima pastoralist caste and the inferior Iru agricultural caste, lest the links so created should undermine the supremacy of the former. But this prohibition, says Oberg, was deemed to play a part in ‘keeping the relationship alive’ between the two castes. Thus a marriage rule that is the opposite of the Kachin rule appears to serve the same end of maintaining mutual status relationships between differentiated structural units in the politico-jural domain.

Why should marriage between members of a superior caste and members of an inferior caste be regarded as a potential threat to the supremacy of the former? Primarily because title to membership of the superior caste is derived from ‘bilateral’ filiation. Both of his parents must be members of the caste by birth for a person to be a member by right of birth. The threat lies in the jural value given to matrilateral filiation. Even if it does not confer status in the politico-jural domain, as is the case in a segmentary lineage system like that of Tallensi (cf. Fortes, 1945) it carries residual rights with their concomitant moral and ritual claims and associated affective bonds. These belong primarily to the domestic domain, or what is sometimes spoken of as the sphere of interpersonal or cognatic kinship (cf. Fortes, 1949). But they derive from the jural rule that a woman never wholly forfeits her status as a member by right of birth of her natal lineage. Taking the politico-jural domain as a whole, the ramifications of matrilateral kinship ties result in what I previously called ‘the web of kinship’; and as I showed for the Tallensi, the web of kinship plays a critical part in restricting warfare between corporate lineages and thus helps to maintain the balance of political power in the total system. The point at issue here is that this is the result, not of marriage, but of ties of cognatic kinship mediated by combinations of links of matrilateral filiation operating in a complementary way to patrilateral filiation and patrilineal descent.

How this would work out among the Banyankole is neatly illustrated in a case record for which I am indebted to Dr. D. J. Stenning, who recently completed a tour of field work among them. Briefly, A is a highly respected senior functionary in the Ankole government. A well-to-do cattle-owner, he lives like a Hima, observes Hima custom in his domestic arrangements and public activities, and is reputed to be a Hima. But there are signs that he is not accepted by the aristocratic Hima as one of themselves without some reservations. In private he explains that he is a member of both a Hima subclan and an Iru subclan, which is of course impossible, de jure. It is due to the fact that he is originally Iru by patrilineal descent but Hima by maternal connexion. A’s grandfather was an Iru hunter who performed valuable war services for the ruling Mugabe. The King rewarded him with a gift of cattle, the hallmark of the Hima caste, and in addition gave him a Hima girl as wife. Significantly, the girl was an orphan of probably low rank, without close kin to be concerned with her marriage. The hunter’s half-Hima son repeated his father’s history and this continued in the next generation.

A is therefore three-quarters Hima by successive steps of matrilateral filiation, but one-quarter Iru by patrilineal origin. Strictly speaking he belongs to his Iru ancestor’s Iru subclan but he is accepted as a member, with limited rights, particularly in ritual matters, of his mother’s Hima subclan. This, he adds wryly, is due to the influential office he has achieved in the political sphere. A’s case is not unique. But a part-Hima by matrilateral kinship cannot normally acquire Hima status, which presupposes membership of a Hima patrilineal subclan. Analogously, Iru who keep cattle are becoming numerous nowadays, but they do not thus win recognition as Hima. Hence it is not surprising to find that there is an interstitial element of Hima-Iru. This, following the basic caste division, is a category in the internal domain of caste. A’s story shows however that caste status does not exclusively determine status in the politico-jural domain. But as political office is ideally the
preserve of the Hima, his status is legitimized, and consistency is maintained, by recognizing his matrilateral ties as effective for his caste membership. From his point of view, matrilateral filiation—not, be it noted, his or any of his predecessors’ marriage—permits him to become attached to his maternal Hima subclan for political status purposes.

This example shows how essential it is to specify the structural domain with which we are dealing when we examine kinship and descent institutions. This is the only way to avoid the kind of ambiguities which, in my judgment, mar the effect of Leach’s otherwise penetrating application of the Radcliffe-Brown ‘model’ of marriage relations in the paper under discussion.

Thus a critical variable in Leach’s analysis is the balance established between the sibling link and the marriage tie. How must we interpret the proposition that ‘a sibling link is “intrinsically” more durable than a marriage tie and the comparisons made between them as to relative “effectiveness,” “strength” and “fragility”?

Since Leach makes no reference to Radcliffe-Brown’s classical formulation of the hypothesis (loc. cit., 1935; see also id., 1950, pp. 77ff.) it is perhaps worth quoting verbatim:

Thus the system of patrilineal or matrilineal succession centres largely around the system of marriage. In an extreme matrilineal society a man has no rights in rem over his children, though he does usually have certain rights in personam. The rights remain with the mother and her relatives. The result is to emphasize and maintain a close bond between brother and sister at the expense of the bond between husband and wife. Consequently the rights of the husband over his wife are limited. In an extreme patrilineal society we have exactly the opposite. Rights in rem over the children are exclusively exercised by the father and his relatives. The bond between husband and wife is strengthened at the expense of the bond between brother and sister. The rights of the husband over his wife are considerable; she is in manu, under his potestas.

It is true that Leach’s discussion of the Lakher situation can be read as an exemplification of Radcliffe-Brown’s formulation. But the general drift of his analysis is to put the emphasis on the sibling bond itself as the irreducible factor; whereas Radcliffe-Brown derives the relative ‘strength’ of the sibling bond and the marriage bond from the descent system. In other words, whereas Leach considers the sibling bond as founded in the domestic domain, with the implication that its ‘strength’ or ‘fragility’ is an intrinsic characteristic, Radcliffe-Brown regards it as primarily an institution in the politico-jural domain, and therefore varying with the nature of the descent principle. It is clear that Radcliffe-Brown is talking about the relative jural ‘strength’ of the sibling bond, as the focus of descent-group rights, and the marriage bond as the focus of paternal rights. Leach, on the other hand, seems to base his argument on other criteria. ‘Durability’ may mean priority in the life cycle, since one is a sibling before one is a spouse; and ‘strength’ could be interpreted as a measure of the affective bonds generated in the fraternal and filial relationships. I fell into the same ambiguities in my analysis of the status of women among the Tallensi. I demonstrated that a woman never forfeits her status as a member of her natal family and lineage (1945, chapter IX) and that the bride price is an instrument for separating her role as wife from her role as daughter (1949, p. 92). But, I did not elucidate in what respects she retained filial rights and obligations in her lineage after marriage and how these affected her conjugal relationships. The point is clearer if we remember that in some patrilineal descent systems (e.g. among the Zulu, Gluckman, 1935, and the Chinese, Yang, 1945) the affective bonds of brother and sister can remain undiminished after a sister’s marriage though her jural bonds with her natal kin are all but completely severed.

I would argue, therefore, that the differences between the relative ‘efficacy’ of sibling ties, marriage ties and affinal ties, as between Lakher and Kachins, that are postulated by Leach, must derive from differences in their systems of descent and kinship. For what is at issue is relative jural efficacy, not the affective bonds; and the jural significance of any relation of kinship emanates, I maintain, from the politico-jural domain.

In this connexion Leach claims that ‘by ordinary criteria the Lakher seem to be just as patrilineal as the Kachin.’ But he does not state his criteria, or give us the relevant data. What, for example, is the generation span of the lineage in each of the two groups? Are succession and inheritance rights identical? And what are we to make of the fact that Kachin patrilineal clans and lineages are strictly exogamous (Leach, 1934, pp. 73ff) whereas among the Lakher, there is reported to be no bar to people of the same clan marrying (Parry, 1932, p. 293)? If, as Leach says, they are unlike those of the other two peoples in not being ‘ordinarily of the segmentary type’ this surely indicates a critical difference in patrilineal ideology, especially in relation to rights over persons. In a segmentary lineage system rights over persons are correspondingly segmented and subject to a hierarchy of jural control. They are not so distributed in an unsegmented system of shallow generation depth. This has a direct bearing on the mode of distribution and transfer of marriage rights. In an unsegmented lineage jural authority to receive the critical marriage payment is likely to be held by the lineage head; in a segmented lineage this right may be vested in a woman’s father, subject to consent of a superior lineage authority.

This brings up the question of ‘father-right.’ If I understand him aright, Leach agrees with Gluckman that ‘father-right’ can have different ‘degrees.’ Surely father-right can be defined precisely as the rights over his legitimate child, or any person in that relationship to him, vested in a man in his capacity as pater. The rights which a man has over his wife are derived from the rights which her father had over her as daughter. For it is always a father (or his proxy or matrilateral equivalent) who permits marital rights to arise and transfers them. If a woman’s brother does this, it is never in propria persona but as the representative of the original holder of father-right. But the notion of degrees of father-right can be misleading. For it is not a matter of amount of authority but of
different combinations of elements of right, as I think is apparent from Leach’s remarks. The question that really matters is what is the source of father-right? Matrilineal systems give us the answer very clearly. Father-right is a function of the descent system. It emanates from the politico-jural domain. For a matrilineal father often has domestic authority over his wife and specific moral and ritual authority over his children. This arises from his role as provider for the family and as begetter and upbringer of his children. But they are not his descendents for politico-jural purposes of inheritance, succession and citizenship, and therefore do not come under his jural authority (cf. Richards, 1950). A matrilineal father’s rights over his children are based on the principle of filiation, the mother’s brother’s on the principle of descent. If a Lakher father has ‘less marked father-right’ than Ordinary Jinghpaw father, it could well be argued that the former’s paternal status has elements of matrilineal fatherhood in it if the latter’s status is that of a ‘normal’ patrilineal father.

We do not, however, have to resort to matriliney to explain this. Leach’s data, to my mind, show that the difference is related to the more extensive recognition of complementary filiation in the Lakher than in the Jinghpaw patrilineal system, and this, I suggest, is due to the greater jural ‘efficacy’ of a woman’s filial status in her patrilineage among the former. The ‘strength’ of the sibling tie is a result not the source of the filial status which is established by the descent system and is expressed in the distribution of jural control over a woman’s offspring between her husband’s and her own lineage. Leach, incidentally, seems to contradict himself on this point. First he rejects an interpretation in terms of ‘a “submerged” principle of matrilineal descent,’ but later, questioning the adequacy of an analysis in terms of my contrast between filiation and descent, he concludes: ‘In our usual terminology they (i.e. Kachin and Lakher) are patrilineal systems in which the complementary matrilineal descent line assumes very great importance.’

A Late Stone Age Site near Kondapur Museum, Andhra Pradesh. By Mrs. Bridget Alchin, Ph.D., and Sri Satyanarayan, M.A., Curator of the Kondapur Museum.

With two text figures

This is of interest for two main reasons: its proximity to the large early historic city site of Kondapur about 40 miles west-north-west of Hyderabad Deccan, and the nature and relationships of the stone industry itself.

Kondapur Museum stands on the edge of a plateau overlooking the valley in which lies the site of the Satavahana city. A number of little spurs run out from the plateau edge, and on several of these, within 200 or 300 yards of the museum, microliths are to be found in large numbers. There are only thin pockets of sandy soil upon the bare granite, and the tools lie on and immediately below the surface of the soil. They are made of a number of raw materials, chiefly chert, chalcedony and quartz, with chert predominating, none of which occur in the immediate vicinity. Some pieces show a very slight degree of patination, and some none, but this appears to bear no relationship to any typological distinction and for the present may be discounted.

The collection may be analysed as follows:

**Flakes:** 250. These vary in size, and the majority show signs of use (fig. 1, No. 14). A number are of considerable size and appear to be struck from the outer surface of nodules, probably in the preparation of cores.

**Pieces:** 43. All show signs of use by man, but are so amorphous that they cannot be described as conforming to any particular type, or even as flakes.

**Blades:** 126. These include both complete blades and sections of broken blades. Two are truncated backed blades (fig. 1, No. 19). The remainder are unpolished, two being complete, and the rest broken into irregular lengths, probably as the result of use (fig. 1, Nos. 1–3). All have use marks, and some bear evidence of very heavy use. There is no evidence of their having been deliberately broken into sections of regular length.

**Scrapers:** 28. Of these 17 have a straight or slightly convex scraper edge (fig. 1, Nos. 8, 26, 27); seven are concave with concavities of different sizes; two have a double concavity with an awl point in the middle (fig. 1, No. 7); two are curious specimens, with a short straight cutting edge, in each case, making a right angle with the flakes surface (fig. 1, No. 9); the last is a nosed scraper (fig. 1, No. 28).

**Discoids:** 8. These are of varying sizes (fig. 1, No. 13).

**Gravers:** 2. Both of these are doubtful, and probably fortuitous (fig. 1, No. 10).

**Geometric forms:** 40. These include 39 lunates of varying

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**FIG. 1. LATE STONE AGE TOOLS FROM KONDAPUR**

Scale: 

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sizes, a number of which are broken (fig. 1, Nos. 4, 5, 20-23). Two of these, being large and thick and segmental in section, might be classed as eloua (see below). There is also one triangle (fig. 1, No. 6).

Asymmetrical points: 6. (Fig. 1, Nos. 24, 25).

Cores: 43. These are all rather poor-quality blade cores, worked down to the last (fig. 1, No. 11). They include several damaged specimens and 17 fragments (fig. 1, No. 12).

Guide flakes: 83. Of these 77 are of the primary type, and the remainder of the secondary type (fig. 1, Nos. 17 and 18 respectively).

Core trimming flakes: 48. These include a number of irregular specimens, as well as both lateral and horizontal types. Many, particularly the latter, show signs of use similar to the blades, into which class they grade almost imperceptibly.

There are in addition two interesting groups of tools which deserve separate mention. The first consists of six specimens which closely resemble the tula adze blades in constant use by the aborigines of Central Australia at the present day, and for a long time past (fig. 1, Nos. 15, 16). The second group also includes six tools, all of which are considerably larger and coarser than the rest of the assemblage, and have much coarser retouch. Three of the latter six have prepared striking platforms, and all are of chert. There are four scrapers on flakes (fig. 2, Nos. 2, 3, 5), and one core scraper (fig. 2, No. 1), all of the straight or convex type, and one point (fig. 2, No. 4). All are extremely heavily patinated, and have all the appearance of belonging to a totally different industrial tradition: a fact which was later confirmed by the discovery of a Middle Stone Age site in close proximity, from which these tools must have originated. (It is proposed to describe this and other Middle Stone Age sites in a later paper.)

![Fig. 2. Middle Stone Age Tools from Kondapur](image)

If we consider the assemblage as a whole, we see that there is a high proportion of blades and blade cores. The latter indicate that this is probably a factory site, while the former, by their numbers alone, differentiate this industry from those of the Late Stone Age in Ceylon and southern India, which include a comparatively small proportion of blades, and a high proportion of geometric forms, many of which are made on flakes. The high proportion of both blades and geometric forms finds its closest parallel in the industries from cave and open sites in Central India. At the same time, however, the small discoids and hollow scrapers are reminiscent of the industry described by Todd from the Bangalore area. The amount of quartz employed is greater than in Central India, but less than in Mysore or further south. As pointed out above, the gravers are somewhat doubtful and possibly fortuitous, but the forms are sufficiently definite to make them worth recording. The tula adze blades and the eloua might also be somewhat doubtful, had not similar forms been noted by Cammiade in the Godavari region, and by one of the present writers in the teri industries of the Tamilnad coast. In Australia the tula, a scraper-like tool with a steeply retouched working edge, is mounted in hard gum on a wooden handle, and used for a variety of purposes including scraping, planing and chopping. This results in a typical 'flaking back' of the working edge: a constant feature of the worn and discarded tula blade, and one clearly visible on the specimen illustrated. The eloua is used in a somewhat similar manner.

This industry is also distinct in several respects from the blade industries found at chalcolithic and neolithic sites in the Deccan, which have a high proportion of blades, invariably larger and finer than those from Kondapur, and frequently broken into regular sections, a feature not present here. They are also without the large number of geometrics, the discoids, the concave scrapers and the adze blades of Kondapur. The industry from this site therefore belongs to the extensive group of microlithic industries found throughout India and Ceylon which must be ascribed to people whose primary means of subsistence was hunting: indeed, in terms of typology and raw material it is midway between the Late Stone Age hunting industries of Central India and those of the Mysore Plateau. The tools of all these industries are almost invariably found on hillocks, or on the spurs of hills overlooking river valleys, as is the case at Kondapur. The importation of raw materials is another feature which Kondapur shares with many other Late Stone Age sites.

Although this site lies within a mile of the Satavahana city the presence of the industry cannot be taken as evidence of neolithic or chalcolithic settlement during the Buddhist period; it must simply be regarded as a separate site of unknown date, in all probability preceding the main settlement. However, there is reason to suppose that Late Stone Age industries of this type continued into, and even beyond, the early historic period in the more remote parts of India, and the possibility of a comparatively late date for this site cannot be ruled out.

Acknowledgments

I should like to acknowledge here a grant from the Central Research Fund of the University of London, which was given for work in Central India, and, incidentally, made it possible for me to visit Kondapur and do this work with Mr. Satyanarayan.

Notes

5 D. A. Cammiade, 'Pygmy Implements from the Lower Godavari,' MAN in India, Vol. IV (1924).
6 Zeuner and Allchin, loc. cit.
CORRESPONDENCE

Sociology and Ethnology among the LoDaga. Cf. MAN, 1959, 204

3II

Sr.,—In the course of his admirable paper on sociological factors involved in burial customs and beliefs in a future life, Dr. Goody (perhaps tracing his coat before an audience consisting mainly of archaeologists) has attempted to reject in principle any 'diffusionist' or 'ethnological' explanations of the 'many remarkable similarities throughout the world' in funeral ceremonies and eschatological beliefs. In doing so he has repeated misconception and fallacies which, though frequently pointed out, seem still to bedevil comprehension of the fundamental distinction between ethnological or 'historical' and sociological interpretations of custom.

Dr. Goody notes that there are two ways of explaining similarities in such behaviour, namely, 'diffusion from a common source or from certain similarities in the structure of human societies generally, from certain problems which confront all social systems,' and then asserts that 'the principle of economy of explanation renders assumptions of a diffusionist nature unnecessary.' It is here that the fallacy lies. In the first place 'the principle of economy of explanation' applies only within a single frame of reference or to a single system of 'causes.' The essential and disregarded point is that sociological and ethnological explanations relate to different frames of reference. In contributing to our understanding of a custom or a total culture, each of them may provide partial, but only partial, explanations at different levels. They can complement but cannot logically exclude one another.

Ethnological explanations as concerned with the composition of particular culture patterns and the sources of their various components focus attention on the content of custom. Hence the question of diffusion is posed for investigation (not 'assumptions of a diffusionist nature') when there are specific similarities of form between elements in separate cultures.

Sociological explanations do not and cannot account for the specific content of custom. They are concerned with the meaningfulness and functional significance of customary behaviour with reference to social relations. These may account in great measure for the genesis, acceptance and persistence of a custom. But the particular culture forms through which any category of sociological relation (e.g., solidarity, status differentiation) may find expression are not only highly variable—as witness, e.g., the row-tow, the heel-clicking bow and 'Sr.'—but may change over time independently of change in the essential quality of the related social relation. Hence the discovery of sociological significance does not account for the occurrence, as distinct from the acceptability and appropriateness, of a particular cultural item as opposed to some alternative form.

Dr. Goody's own example of the ferryman at the river of death is peculiarly apposite for demonstrating the confusion involved. He notes of the LoDaga belief that 'so striking are the similarities to Mediterranean myths that the cultural historian might be inclined to assume that there had been diffusion from that source. However, similarities in the concepts of the after life can be better explained in a sociological framework, in terms of the structure of situation.' But the structure of situation (social separation, postulated retribution, etc.) to which he refers does not specifically require a river or a ferryman as symbols. And in many other cultures, as we well know, this structure of situation finds expression in quite different symbols. In short, the question why the LoDaga (or any other people) have a myth (of any relevant kind) concerning the immediate fate of the dead is quite distinct from the question why their myth has a particular content. An answer to the first question is not an answer to the second, and there can be no question of 'better' explanation with reference to two different interpretations of different aspects of a phenomenon.

Nor, on the other hand, is sociological parallelism in the customs of different peoples relevant to questions of diffusion. Those who, in the earlier history of anthropology, have argued as if it were there same confused sociological and strictly cultural data.

It was in this way, for example, that false problems of 'diffusion' versus 'independent invention' with regard to unilinear descent systems or 'totemism' were created. For such categories were devoid of any cultural content and referred only to types of social relations which had found cultural expression in many different and historically diverse patterns.

It is a pity therefore that while offering a lucid analysis of the sociological significance of burial customs, Dr. Goody has obscured instead of clarifying the differences and limitations of various types of explanation in anthropology. To appear to claim a superiority and even an exclusiveness for sociological analysis is to perpetuate misunderstandings concerning the nature of different kinds of explanation which it was to be hoped had been dispelled.

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Rock Engravings of the Aranda near Alice Springs

Sr.,—Rock paintings of the Aranda and Lorijja tribes of Central Australia have been known for a long time. Copies of these paintings were made by the Horne Expedition and during later expeditions by Sir Baldwin Spencer. In the records of those earlier research expeditions, rock engravings (incorrectly called 'carvings') are not mentioned. The first scientific survey of engravings within a radius of 30 miles (or even less) from Alice Springs was made by a team of research workers of the University of Melbourne in May, 1955. We were at first concerned with the study of a large group of rock paintings at the once sacred site of the ceremonial grounds of the 'plum' (actually a species of acacia) totem group of the Aranda tribe. This place, recorded by Baldwin Spencer as 'Quiumpa,' includes a series of different rock walls, in particular a large main surface covered with many abstract polychrome designs. Some of these have been published by Spencer, taken out of their context. We copied and measured all the paintings and took numerous colour photographs. Later, our guide, Mr. Douglas Boerner of the Department of Works in Alice Springs, who, with his wife, Mrs. Una Boerner, had rediscovered Quiumpa, took us to a small group consisting of two rock engravings, which Mr. Boerner had discovered in the neighbourhood of the Temple Bar Creek. The engravings consist of compositions of curvilinear designs, similar to the concentric circles, spirals, etc., which are engraved on the well-known 'tjuringa' of slate or of micaceous schist. The engravings of Temple Bar Creek are carried out in intaglato lines. We took accurate tracings, in addition to photographs. The work was done by our expedition members, the Misses Stokoe and Packer, and Mr. David Corke of the Department of Visual Aids, Melbourne University. After our return, I wrote an illustrated report, the publication of which was unfortunately delayed. As it happened, soon after our team had left Central Australia, more rock engravings, all in the linear intaglio technique, were discovered at another locality, also not very far from Alice Springs, but in a different direction. This later discovery was made by members of the Camera Club and the Field Naturalists' Club, Alice Springs, and I had the pleasure of advising Mrs. Boerner about the technique of latex casts as it was wisely intended to take casts of the engravings before the inevitable vandals appeared, who not only scribble and scratch their unworthy names beside paintings and engravings but not infrequently right across them.

The publication of the engravings near Temple Bar Creek and of the Quiumpa paintings was intended as a contribution to an anniversary volume in honour of Sir Daryl Lindsay, former Director of the National Gallery, Melbourne. Since this publication has been delayed over a number of years, I now intend to publish my paper elsewhere. In fairness to Mr. and Mrs. Boerner and to the members of our 1955 expedition, I feel it is now my duty to publish this brief account of our achievement. This is necessary because, on the occasion of a recent visit to Queensland, I read in the Brisbane Telegraph, 3 September, 1959, that engravings have been found.
within 40 miles from Alice Springs, and that this find, described as 'one of the most significant discoveries in the anthropological history of Central Australia' had been made by Mr. C. P. Mountford of Adelaide. Mr. Mountford, of course, was perfectly bona fide, since my publication of our work in 1955 never came out. I am sure that my friend Mountford, had he known the results of the Melbourne University Expedition, 1955, would have referred to them in the account of his own discovery. I am sure that there are still more unknown engravings in Central Australia.

Leonhard Adam

University of Melbourne

Maize Impressions on Ancient Nigerian Pottery. Cf. Man, 1959, 135

Sir.—In his note on his excavations at Old Oyo and Ife, Mr. Willett states that: 'The study revealed that none of the excavated pottery from Old Oyo was earlier than 1500 since maize impressions occurred at all levels...'. Would Mr. Willett please give his reasons for selecting 1500 and not say 1400 for the dating of these maize-impressed potsherds?

M. D. W. Jeffreys

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg


This is the first of the Pelican Biology Series. The title may be misleading at first sight because it is so exact. In the author's own words (p. 211), 'It is the job of this book to explain the past in terms of processes known to be going on in the present.' The author, an engineer turned biologist, clearly knows the difference between the often confused terms 'hypothesis' and 'theory,' and the distinction of both from 'law.' Taking the laws of experimental heredity as a basis and proceeding mainly from the Mendelian-Morganic hypothesis as axioms, he has built up a theory of evolution in the same way as your chemist has built up a theory of chemical changes in terms of modern nuclear physics and wave mechanics. Smith's theory is essentially Neo-Darwinian; for he can find no basis for a Lamarckian approach, although he does consider Lyenkov's views not unfavourably. Beginning with a chapter on adaptation which would have delighted Aristotle, he proceeds to an account of the notion of Natural Selection. The next 12 chapters are devoted to the exposition of the theory of evolution in the terms which he has chosen. The next two chapters consider briefly the evidence from fossils and from embryos. In the penultimate chapter attention is devoted to Goldschmidt's notion of 'hopeful monsters' as a starting point of evolutionary change. And to Waddington's notion of the canalization of developmental reactions occurring under natural conditions of life. The author disagrees with Goldschmidt and is doubtful about Waddington. The last chapter deals with the special case of man in whom cultural activities mitigate the effects of natural selection.

This book is good both in manner and manner. It should meet the needs of many different sorts of folk, from the interested amateur to the professional biologist, although its main interest lies in the field of genetics rather than that of morphology. It will undoubtedly come to a second edition and opportunity should be taken to remedy certain faults in presentation if the author's target embraces beginners in this field as well as the more instructed. A chief fault in this respect is that terms which are Greek to the reader remain so. The glossary is not a true glossary but a dictionary. It does not explain the derivation of the terms used, though this would make the subject very much easier; and in any case it is too short. Again, such mathematical statements as 'a correlation of 0.5' require some explanation for most readers. Finally, more care should be taken about the pagination of references. But any one of us could make these mistakes when constructing a book having 395 pages of closely printed text. Both the author and the publishers are to be praised for a book which helps to bring the scriptures of Wallace and Darwin from the realm of tropical visions supported by the dry bones of contention into the realm of science as both Harvey and Newton understood that term.

M. A. MacConaill


There is no doubt that a need exists for a book on this subject. Studies of human growth have been very much in vogue since the war, and more and more are being undertaken all over the world, but to my knowledge there is no published text on research methods in this field. It is nevertheless very difficult to decide whether Dr. Garn and Dr. Shamir have written a book which fills the need. It is short—commendably so—and takes the form of a series of essays, each a few hundred words long, with such titles as 'Planning the Study and Selection of Subjects,' 'Scheduling and Timing,' 'The Head and Face,' 'The Long Bones,' 'The Dentition,' 'Skin,' 'Hair,' 'Biochemical Tests,' etc. If such a form of presentation is chosen one feels that the references should be comprehensive (though critically selected) and should be systematically presented. Yet there are notable omissions—for instance, Bertha Burke's work on the reliability of dietary histories in longitudinal-growth studies, and the references are listed numerically at the back of the book in the order in which they first appear in the text. They would be more valuable alphabetically, grouped under the chapter headings to which they primarily refer. It is surprising, too, that there is no description of how to perform serial photography of the naked subject under standardized conditions, for although the methods by which physique may be assessed from such photographs may be controversial, there can be no doubt of their value as a permanent record of the development of the child.

Despite these shortcomings, the book has a great deal to recommend it. Its style is clear and readable, it contains a frank and sensible statement about the value and advisability of radiography in longitudinal-growth studies, it continually lays stress on the need of a definite purpose in any investigation instead of collecting data 'to see what happens,' and in every chapter suggestions are made as to possible channels for future research.

In conclusion, this book will provide interesting reading for workers in growth research, the majority of whom will have much to learn from it. Those, however, who have specific methodological problems in mind must remember that the answers cannot all appear in so small a volume.

Roy M. Acheson


The author has gathered translations of some of the most significant medico-physiological contributions of Rudolf Virchow with an introduction sketching the attitude of Harvey, Bernard and Virchow to physiological problems. Virchow's lifetime (1821-1902) saw a major dispersion of dogmatic darkness and he played a mighty part in the conflict, in which the study of man, in sickness and in health, was heavily concerned. Virchow's contribution to physical anthropology and archeology, and his long and courageous political opposition to Bismarck are outside the scope of this book. He opposed old medical systems of 'humors' and of diseases as entities, in fact he strove to dispel unfundable a priori views generally. He thus characteristically repudiated philosophical materialism as going beyond our experience. He wished to build a new physiology and with it a new medicine as a humanist discipline. Yet his own splendid work necessarily tended to make medicine rather a collection of technical specialisms too apt to forget the patient's individuality. The book gives easy access to stages in the history of
of science made by one of the greatest forward-looking leaders of nineteenth-century physiology.

H. J. FLEURE


317 These are poetic essays in prose reflecting on the long drama of life from beginnings that grow into richer mysteries as research progresses right on to man and his formidable machines. And they are coloured throughout by the feeling of the oneness of nature. If a naturalist in the Paleozoic Age had interpreted certain fishes as failures of the sea lingering in the muddy reaches of streams, he would have missed life's persistent reaching-out to new environmental contacts that was to turn these fishes that once felt as paddlers into feeding carnivores. Likewise, the inconspicuous sexual elements of early plants reached out to insects that helped to lift them into flowering plants with seeds, to feed and transform animal, including human, life. The _Challenger_ expedition may have failed to find Trilobites living in the ocean depths, but Eiseley might have mentioned the stalked Crinoid. The essays have many references to recent research; they will attract a thoughtful reader to bio-anthropological science, and may stimulate, and sometimes very slightly annoy, an imaginative biologist or anthropologist.

H. J. FLEURE


The idea that diseases are caused by sending of missiles of a material kind is very old and widely spread. It is known almost everywhere in aboriginal America except southern Alaska and certain parts of the Eskimo area and also southern Argentina. It is also widely known in aboriginal Australia, Melanesia and Indonesia, and strongly represented in European folklore, especially in Finno-Ugric and North-Germanic Europe. In Africa its distribution is more sporadic. And in Asia it is almost missing, except in certain parts of Northern Siberia, the Chuckchee Peninsula and certain South Asiatic localities.

Honko's map 4 is based upon relatively lately collected ethnological material. However, he mentions the fact that older material is known from old high cultures in Egypt, Hellas, the Near East and India. Evidently the idea of disease missiles was formerly more widely spread than is indicated on Honko's map. As Honko thinks, it seems probable that the idea of disease missiles was formerly more widely spread in arctic and subarctic Asia and also in the Eskimo area.

The disease-missile idea may have lost terrain to other ideas explanatory of disease, e.g. the idea that disease may be due to the loss of a soul or to intrusion of a spirit. The development of shamanism in northern Asia may have been advantageous to spiritual explanations of the causes of disease.

The author's richest material is European and especially Finno-Ugric and this part of his book is of the greatest value. The stories of diseases are the material from which the medicmen gain explanatory ideas about the causes of diseases and the way of healing them. Some of the diseases caused by missiles are dangerous to cattle. Others, felt as sudden stabs of pain, generally attack human beings, often in the lungs. Others have the character of sudden epidemic diseases or plagues, attacking and often killing cattle and humans.

The medicmen's work often discloses an attacking foe, sending the disease-bringing missiles. The procedure of the medicmen may develop into a nervous fight between the attacking foe and the patient and his medical helper.

GUDMUND HATT


319 This is a stimulating little very congruous succession of addresses to an audience of students and the general thoughtful public. They reveal a questing spirit arising from a healthy disquiet. Most movements of thought have their sunrise, noonday and sunset, and Perry Miller speaks in this fashion about the nineteenth-century blossoming of genteel New England, leaving as a more durable legacy the thought of the rebellious Thoreau. Edel has hopes of a revival of Greek studies and bids us look to the Greeks for ideas and the play of ideas rather than for solutions of our problems. At several points in the address the unity of nature is upheld, the artificial separation of mind from body, of supernatural from natural, and so on. It is therefore strange that nowhere is Spinoza even mentioned. Biological heredity is seen as changing far more slowly than cultural heredity. Phases of culture impose urges to conformity within the populations affected. It seems likely that gene frequencies change relatively slowly in a large cultured unit, but very special importance is ascribed to small minorities, often only individuals, who are extreme Mendelian segregants; these are often the innovators, the dynamic element, the Suffering Servants of Ideals, or, alas, the authoritarian white, black or red.

H. J. FLEURE


320 To the musical reader, a journey into the outer space beyond the familiar limits of the Western tradition is fraught with unknown hazards. Not the least of these is inherent in the nature of music itself; to be different things to different societies at different times. Herein lies partly the attraction of this book.

Maurice Schneider is responsible for the first chapter on 'Primitive Music.' No useful purpose could be served here by insisting that 'primitive' is a controversial term, and that some students, on either musical or sociological grounds, would like to see the word 'music' deleted from the title.

There is an inescapably dual approach to the subject. On the one hand, music is inextricably woven into the fabric of life; Schneider goes as far as saying that 'a primitive melody is always the musical expression of an idea.' Primitive music is only when he has something definite to express.' On the other hand the description and comparison of man's acoustical utterances requires the attention of musicologists. Schneider uses here a happy phrase—which, incidentally, must go far in justifying the inclusion of primitive material in a History of Music planned in seven tomes—that 'fundamentally all musical forms are present in embryonic form in primitive cultures.' The conventions from which these forms arose are shown to be promoted by magico-religious practices. Schneider's knowledge of music and music ethnology is unique, and although his treatment of the concepts of culture may not be acceptable to the reader, his essay is a most well-ordered and thought-provoking summary of Continental ethnomusicology.

In the chapters by Laurence Picken and Arnold Bake on 'The Music of Far Eastern Asia' and 'The Music of India' respectively we reach farther ground. Picken regards his field as a natural unit but wisely observes that 'from what centre an ancient common musical culture spread throughout the area... cannot as yet be determined.' He thinks it possible that it rose above a 'chimeophone substratum of great antiquity.' Bake views Indian music as the 'easternmost representative of a large group of interrelated musical phenomena, in the same way as Sanskrit is the easternmost representative of a large group of Indo-European languages.'


Isobel Anderson's 'Ancient Greek Music,' which at first sight may seem strange company for the allegedly pre-musical utterances in the first chapter, does in fact draw our attention to a central problem of ethnomusicology. Her conclusion that 'we must reject the assumption that the music of the schools was directly concerned with heard melodic structures' is not merely of interest for classical scholars. To the contrary, the relationship between speculation about music and music in the flesh is an important matter for
analysis in every culture. In fact, with rare exceptions, we do not know how this relationship works out, nor do we know how far the study of one aspect will contribute to an understanding of the evidence for the other. Schneider tries to construct an 'organic whole' from the two elements of metaphysical belief and physical sound, and finds proof for the existence of such an organic whole in the most unexpected circumstances. In the section entitled 'Spiritual Culture' reference is made to a monograph from his pen, 'Singende Steine,' dealing with an issue of musical mythology in the Middle Ages in Spain, which probably shows, more than any other attempt, the extreme length to which such interpretations can be taken, and is therefore quoted here. They certainly did not convince the late Curt Sachs. Where Schneider presses for an evaluation of primitive music in terms of 'basic religious conceptions,' Henderson shows us how deep and how insuperable the gulf between music heard and musical speculation, on a cosmic scale, can be.

This is indeed a stimulating volume. The editors have been fortunate in the choice of their collaborators, who between them have gathered a colossal amount of material. The reader would have benefited even more from their efforts if more space had been allocated to the compiler of the index. K. P. WACHSMANN


Professor Polanyi's distinguished work in physical science, social studies and philosophy has led him to defend passionately the freedom of the mind from compulsions due to social setting, from authoritarian imposition of any kind.

He, like most thinkers, sees the deficiencies of Baconian induction and goes beyond some others in emphasizing personal enthusiasm as an important factor in every advance of knowledge—always provided that the thinker pursues his effort with unwavering universal intent. Data must, not be omitted through prejudice, inquisitions are totally evil, open access to truth builds a civilized society. By accepting the personal contribution of understanding we achieve a continuity of knowledge from natural science to the humanities. Occasional references to history in these vital lectures are too apt to think of history as the record of the actions of outstanding personalities; these are surely often the foam of the wave rather than the wave itself.

H. J. FLEURE


The author is one of the few modern scientists with such breadth of knowledge that he can overlook the boundaries between disciplines and tell a connected story of the origins, the sculpture and the peopling of the Earth. Such an undertaking requires much more courage and perseverance than did compiling the natural histories of two or three generations ago. But Professor Swinnerton can describe lucidly the latest ideas and methods in astronomy, geology, palaeontology and anthropology, and at the same time can convey his sense of awe and of the wonder of discovery. This is essentially a book to present to a sixth-former, but the donor will almost certainly read it first himself.

W. C. BRICE

ASIA


The Pramalai Kallar, traditionally a politically unitary subdivision of the larger Tamil caste category of Kallar, form the dominant caste of an area west of Madura city. Formerly professional robbers, they concentrate today on settled farming, supplementing their livelihood from poor agricultural lands with small entrepreneurial and wage work. In this admirable book, Professor Dumont describes with careful detail the historical traditions, ecology, economics, social organization and religion of the group, with special reference to one hamlet and to the small province (nad) in which it is set. Throughout, his concern is to relate the social and religious institutions of the caste to its position in the total caste structure of the region and to its participation in all-Indian culture. The depth of his scholarship, the richness of his field material, the precision and honesty of its presentation, and the penetration and novelty of some of his theoretical insights set new and high standards in Indian sociology.

The section on religion is perhaps the most valuable. Two points among many may be noted as of special interest. One is that the process by which some carnivorous demons among the Kallar become temple gods is one of association with and subordination to vegetarian gods of Brahmanical origin, especially to Aiyannar, whose attributes the author analyses and connects with Brahman—Non-Brahman relationships. A second point is that the famous local goddesses, widespread in the Tamil country, are not—certainly not primarily—mother goddesses, but young girls, often explicitly virgins, who in myth forsook human betrothal or marriage in favour of marriage to a god. This fact the author links with the frequent 'possession' of Kallar women by male deities and with the general cultural theme of rivalry between men and gods. His suggestions of connexions between these religious institutions and the intra-familial and inter-linage roles of women deserve further exploration.

There are, to be sure, some fairly grave deficiencies in the book. In general, the material on ecology and economics is not well integrated with the discussion of social organization. The analysis of political structure is the least satisfactory. The materials on judicial process, although factually fascinating, are separated from and not adequately related to the earlier discussion of chieftship and local groups. It seems clear, moreover, that the Kallar have group relationships of 'perpetual kinship' between lineages which have political significance of a kind which has been analysed for a number of African societies. This significance is not well explored, the intergroup relationship tending rather to be seen as a mere extension or reflection of interpersonal kinship relations (polygyny, con- cubinage, bastardy, etc.) of the founders of the relevant groups. Finally, one has to argue that in spite of his voluminous scholarship and brilliant analysis of gift-giving in kinship relationships, Professor Dumont has introduced some confusions into the analysis of Dravidian kinship. (See also 'The Dravidian Kinship Terminology as an Expression of Marriage,' MAN, 1953, 54, and 'Hierarchy and Marriage Alliance in South Indian Kinship,' J. R. Anthropol. Inst. Vol. LXXXVII, 1957.) He has rightly seen that among the Kallar and many other Non-Brahman South Indian castes, all kinsfolk are divided into two main categories, which he calls 'kin' or 'consanguines,' and 'allies.' I would prefer to call them 'lineal or pseudo-lineal' and 'affinal' kin. Although he is obviously aware of it at many points, he does not throughout clearly recognize, however, that these categories relate always to unilinear descent groups—patrilocal in many cases of the Kallar. Thus, ego's 'allies' or 'affines' include all members born into the unilinear descent groups of all individuals who have married into ego's descent group. His 'parallel' or 'lineal' kin include the members of his own descent group plus (theoretically, at least) the members of all the descent groups of individuals who have married any of ego's affines. Failure to keep track of the unilinear affinities leads the author to offer a muddled classification of ego's kinship (p. 175), replacing the father's sister with the 'allies,' and the mother, sister and daughter with the 'kin.' In fact, of course, every married woman spans two descent groups. In the Kallar case, however, it is most logical to classify women with their natal descent group, since they continue to use kinship terms appropriate to membership in this group, and retain unusually strong rights in their male members. There are a number of other confusions, which cannot be dealt with here.

Nevertheless, this is to my mind the most thorough, inspiring and scholarly of the post-war works in Indian anthropology and sociology. It is absolutely essential to every student of Indian
culture. It is to be hoped that it will shortly be translated into
English.

E. KATHLEEN GOUGH

The Timor Problem: A Geographical Interpretation of an
Underdeveloped Island. By Dr. F. J. Ormeling,
Groningen and Djakarta (Wolters), 's-Gravenhage
(Nijhoff), 1957. Pp. 284, 37 maps, 64 photographs
Price 16 guilders

In The Timor Problem, Dr. F. J. Ormeling, former head of the
Geographical Institute in Djakarta, provides the anthropologist
interested in eastern Indonesia with an excellent geographical
handbook and a survey of the economic history of Indonesian
Timor. Dr. Ormeling presents the most extensive bibliography
on Indonesian Timor now in print, including government reports
only available in Indonesia, with a note on where to find each.
He also makes a critical survey of the sources. The work contains
maps of roads, administrative districts, the distribution of human
and domestic-animal population, and various types of settlements.
The text is illustrated by a variety of relevant pictures, and air
photographs of different types of terrain.

Dr. Ormeling analyses the productive power of Indonesian
Timor—the land and people—and surveys the economic history of
the area, from days of wealth derived from the sandalwood trade
to the present poverty caused by population increase and the conse-
quent reduction of forests and soil erosion. He discusses the most
serious economic problems of this 'deteriorating environment,' and,
where possible, suggests ways to restore balance in Timorese
economy and raise the standard of living. The author indicates
areas in which research must be done, and he discusses contemporary
problems of Indonesian Timor, such as the rise to power of
immigrant Rotinese and Chinese.

Dr. Ormeling says, 'Knowledge concerning man on Timor is
elementary.' He emphasizes that his own attempt to provide
'broad general information' for the economic development of the
area is hampered by the paucity of ethnographical data on indi-
genous social and political institutions. Though he characterizes
Timorese society as strongly feudal, he can provide little
information on the centres of authority and the use of power, or the
values of the people. He urges research to supplement his work.

CLARK E. CUNNINGHAM

Betel Chewing among the Hanunóo. By Harold C. Conklin.
Separate reprint from Proceedings of the Fourth Far-
Eastern Prehistoric Congress, Paper No. 56. Quezon City

This little pamphlet provides a very neat exercise in functionalist
anthropology. The custom of chewing betel leaves in combination
with various other substances (notably areca nut, slaked lime and
tobacco) is both widespread and ancient. It is mentioned by
Herodotus. Ethnographers in recording such customs are inclined
to take the background context for granted, but not so Professor
Conklin. He has discovered that the Hanunóo cultivate four different
varieties of areca nut and that there are no less than eight other
plant substances which are used as alternatives to areca in certain
circumstances. Similarly the Hanunóo have at their disposal five
different types of betel-pepper vine and five alternatives. Again,
their technique of manufacturing slaked lime calls for the laborious
accumulation of sea shells and snail shells, and this in turn is mixed
up with the intricacies of trade and gift exchange, and of artistic
activity. The Hanunóo distinguish by name at least ten different
varieties of lime-holder each of which is used in a different way,
and so on.

Professor Conklin's catalogue of the ethnographical and ethno-
botanical facts is followed by a careful description of the social
circumstances in which betel-chewing takes place and of the
consequences (social, religious and physiological) of such activity.
In all, it is an essay which would have delighted the heart of the
late Professor Malinowski and is an admirable example of the
rewards which come to the field anthropologist who is prepared to
pay adequate attention to the widely ramifying interconnections of
seemingly minor ethnographical details.

E. R. LEACH

EUROPE

The Megalith Builders of Western Europe. By Glyn Daniel.
Price 18s.

Dr. Daniel treats the subject regionally. Though questions of classification and chronology may sometimes seem to be
becoming extensive, the arguments are clear and the book is carefully produced, with some unusual illustrations. References
are given, but there is an up-to-date general bibliography.
The author believes that the døi/dyss tombs of Denmark probably
evolved locally, but that the idea of building passage graves, both
here and elsewhere in western Europe, was imported. In discussing
the l'Iberian megalithic structures, he raises the general question
of degeneration, and points to the reasonable possibility that the
Spanish tombs may have been the ancestors of the Aegæan tholoi.
He wisely discounts speculation about a 'megalithic race,' but
connects the passage graves of the French Atlantic seaboard with
intruders from the Mediterranean. These might well have spread
their funerary customs quite quickly, although they were first of
all merchants, not missionaries.

All this is reasonable, but doubts are raised by Dr. Daniel's
general theory that the western European megalithic monuments
derive from the Aegæan rock-cut tombs and cists of the third
millennium. Colonial types of these Aegæan structures gave rise to
the megalithic traditions of Malta, southern France and southern
Iberia, each of which started a separate line of diffusion and evolu-
tion. But what evidence is there for Minoan colonization to the west as early as this? And the supposed Aegæan prototypes did
not use megaliths or orthostats. It is true that there is a similarity of plan
and purpose between the tholos tomb and the passage grave, but
it is less easy to find anything in the Aegæan to compare with the
henge monuments. It is possible that the Irish spirals go back to

Mycena—a case of the crude goddess figures is less convincing—but
the links may well have been more weak and tenuous than
Dr. Daniel implies. He is particularly tactful to explain why the
metal prospectors from the Mediterranean left only stone tools in
their graves.

W. C. BRICE

A Kárpátmenedence Antropológiai Bibliográfíája (Bibliog-
raphie der Anthropologie des Karpatenbeckens).
Pp. 183

Anthropological writings in Hungarian are not widely known.
The two existing bibliographies, by Lajos Bastucz and Bela Balogh,
contain relatively little material. Dr. Allodiatoris's new bibliography,
interpreting anthropology in the continental sense, is useful in that it is more full than either of these, gives a translation
usually in German of each title, and (it is claimed) is accurate in
reference since the author consulted the original paper whenever
it was available. The introduction sketches the development of
physical anthropology in Hungarian writings from the seventeenth
century onwards by listing pioneer workers, and thereafter
the material is arranged by topics—biographies, handbooks, somato-
ology, criminal anthropology, etc.

But bibliographies are not useful only as source books for what
they contain; their omissions are of interest for what is revealed of
the prevailing climate of opinion. The present publication shows
little awareness on the part of the compiler of recent developments
in the subject. For instance, of 41 references to blood-group in-
vestigations, 31 relate to works published before 1940, and only
one to a publication since 1950. There is no mention of von
Daranyi's work on Hungarian ABO blood groups by region of
birth of subjects, nor of Backhaus's surveys. The impression is

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given that there is little interest shown in Hungary in anthropological studies of the abnormal hemoglobins, or indeed of any of the other genetic characters now appearing so frequently in writings elsewhere. There is moreover a laxity of discipline in selection of entries, so that the title tends to mislead. For the contents are not restricted to works on the anthropology of the Carpathian basin, since there are included papers dealing with peoples of all continents; nor to works from Hungarian authors, since there are items by, e.g., Beddoe, Dixon and R. A. Fisher.

D. F. ROBERTS


In this country the subject of folk art has been greatly neglected, but on the European continent, particularly in Scandinavia, folk-life studies have been well established for many years. In Eastern Europe too, it seems that they are rapidly gaining ground, particularly in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Hungary. Museums have been established and a large number of books and periodicals on the subject have appeared during the last few years. This book, written by three Hungarian ethnographers, is an excellent example of the work that has emanated in recent years from Eastern Europe. Above all, it is a tribute to the art of the photographer and designer, and the publishers are to be congratulated on the appearance of the book and on the choice and quality of the illustrations.

The text is of necessity short and merely serves as an introduction to the whole vast subject of folk art. Hungary is particularly rich in the decorated objects of farm and household and the authors discuss, all too briefly, the role of folk art in the life of the country. They give numerous glimpses of interesting village customs while a separate chapter is devoted to the history of folk art and to a discussion of the various alien influences that have influenced the character of Hungarian peasant culture. The introductory text ends with a short description of the regional characteristics of folk art and the country is divided into three distinct regions—the Great Plain, the Uplands and Transdanubia.

The remaining 244 pages of the book are devoted to a photographic survey of the most outstanding objects illustrating the ornamental techniques and styles of the various regions. The 32 coloured and 209 black-and-white photographs show fine specimens of furniture, woodcarving, ceramics and textiles and there are numerous illustrations of Hungarian peasant homes.

Although the book is beautifully produced, one feels that the authors have perhaps tried to cover far too wide a field in their study. The ethnographer, a more detailed study of fewer objects would be of far greater value. The book is published in English, French and German.

J. G. JENKINS


Professor of Russian History at Yale, George Vernadsky is joint editor of the History of Russia planned in ten volumes by Yale University Press. He has himself written the first three volumes: Ancient Russia, 1943; Kievan Russia, 1948; and The Mongols and Russia, 1953. The present book, issued by the Clarendon Press, is in some respects a summary and a revision of Vol. I and the first part of Vol. II of the greater work. It contains much new material of particular interest to anthropologists, notably in Chap. I on 'The Ancient Slavs and the World of the Steppes' and in Chap. IV on 'Religious Foundations of the Old Russian Culture.'

Since the publication of Ancient Russia in 1943, there has been much controversy on the 'origins' of Russian culture and of the Russian people. The contributions of Soviet historians, Russian, Polish and Czech, are summarized in the important series published by the Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R., Ocherk Istori SSSR ('Sketches of the History of U.S.S.R.'), Vol. I, 1956, and the first two volumes of Vsemirnaya Istoriya ('World History'), 1956. In English, the émigré scholars F. Dvornik and H. Paskiewics have treated the same theme. As is well known, Vernadsky attributes great significance to the Alans as a factor in the history of the Eurasian world. In effect, Vernadsky's Alans may be equated with the Sarmatians to whom Rostovtseff ('Iravians and Greeks in South Russia, 1924) allowed the leading role in the creation of south Russian culture. Since the publication, three-quarters of a century ago, of Miller's Osetinskiy Etny (Osetic Ethnography), it has been generally accepted that the Osetic language is represented today by modern Osetic, spoken by some tens of thousands of people in the central Caucasus. Osetic has been identified as belonging to the North Iranian branch of the Indo-European family of languages. The general sense then of Vernadsky's thinking is to give an Iranian and (geographically) Eurasian colour to the background of the specifically Russian culture which emerged in the ninth century A.D. His thesis is confirmed by the rich archaeological discoveries which have been made in the last two decades in the Aral basin (Tolstov), the Altai (Rudenko) and southern Siberia (Kislev).

Vernadsky's view may be summarized in his own words: 'The heartland of Eurasia—that area between the Altai mountains and the Caucasus—was controlled by Indo-European peoples from time immemorial. After the migration of the Arians to Iran and India and of most of the western branches of the Indo-Europeans to Europe, there still remained in the central Eurasian area two large groups of Indo-Europeans—the Alanic and the Tokharian' (p. 48) . . . 'The vast area controlled by the Alans and the Tokharians may be conveniently called the Alanic-Tokharian sphere. During the first millennium B.C. this area played a role of paramount importance as the basis for both eastward and westward migrations as well as for the radiation of art and of artistic and mythical notions and patterns all over the world' (p. 51).

During the middle of the first millennium A.D. the impact of this Eurasian world on the west was formidable. Alans, Goths and Huns appeared on the battlefields of Atlantic Europe. 'The western expansion of the Alans was . . . in a sense, the first Russian invasion of Europe' (Ancient Russia, p. 135). The Sarmatian heavy cavalry were the prelude to the armoured knights of the early middle ages.

Vernadsky attributes to the Ros, Rus or Russes (as he prefers to call them) an origin round the north-east shore of the Black Sea and he believes them to have been a part of the Alanic confederation (and, therefore presumably, Alanic-speaking). He distinguishes them clearly from the Scandinavian Varangians (identified by some scholars with the Rus) who penetrated Russia as groups of mercenaries and traders during the ninth century A.D. The Slavs (originally Slavene, 'people of the world,' i.e. speaking the same language, as opposed to Nemtse, 'dumb' or foreign Germans) are named first in historical sources in the fourth century A.D. There are reasons for assuming affinities between the prehistoric Slavs and some peoples of the Thraco-Phrygian milieu. Here it may be recalled that yazyk, tongue, was the term used for denoting various tribes of Russian Slavs in the Kiev Chronicle (Entwistle and Morison, Russian and the Slavonic Languages, p. 27). In Georgian, again, ena, tongue, language, may be associated with the Hemi/Eniokhes, who are held to have been a primary element in the population of western Caucasus (see, recently, article by M. Inadze in Materials for the History of Georgia and Caucasus No. 32, Tbilisi, 1955, pp. 13-21, in Georgian). The historical Yazigis, known to Roman historians as a 'Sarmatian' people, 400 of whom were settled as military colonists in the Ribble valley by Emperor Marcus Aurelius, seem to have been of Circassian stock (for details see my article 'Ex Ponte' in Bedi Karthila, Nos. 30-31, November, 1958). Certainly Caucasian and, again, Finnic elements contributed to the ethnic amalgam of the medieval Russian people.

Research is moving fast in all the disciplines on which a final wide synthesis of the origins of Russian culture may be based. Vernadsky, a veteran scholar of immense learning, has given what is in effect an interim report. His views, often speculative, are courageous and stimulating and some recent superficial and intemperate criticism of his present work is quite unjustified.

W. E. D. ALLEN
GROOVED ROCKS IN YORUBALAND

(a–e) Grooved rocks near Apoji; (f) is contiguous and at right angles to that seen in (a–e). (e) is some hundreds of yards away, and has similar grooves on the top and an unusual kind of pitting on the side. (f) is the standing stone at Kuta near Iwo, known as Oloke, and is 48 inches high.

Photographs: W. B. Fagg, 1939.
GROOVED ROCKS AT APOJE NEAR IJEBU-IGBO, WESTERN NIGERIA*

by

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During field research on Yoruba art carried out in Ijebu Province in January, 1959, for the Yoruba Historical Research Scheme, I had the great benefit of advice and assistance from the Revd. Father Kevin Carroll, S.M.A., of the Catholic Mission at Ijebu-Igbo, whose knowledge and experience of Yoruba art and culture is exceptionally profound. Among many other kindnesses he guided me on 20 January to the curious rocks here described, which had come to his notice some time previously. They lie not far from the left bank of the Oshun river in an area, probably covering several square miles, which has been cleared for large-scale oil-palm development in the western margin of the large forest which stretches from the Oshun eastwards to Ondo, and beyond to the Siluko on the borders of Benin territory. This forest is largely uninhabited, and unfrequented except by hunters.

The rocks are outcrops, probably of granite, and showing some quartz veining, which occur at intervals of a few hundred yards in the cleared area. Unfortunately, in all but a few cases the whole surface of the outcrops has been blasted off, apparently to provide building material, and all evidence of human working thus removed. The consistency with which the few undisturbed rocks are covered with grooves often under a light covering of soil and leaves, as Plate La-c) strongly suggests that all or most of them formerly bore such marks.

The marks consist of shallow grooves about one inch deep and three inches wide in the form either of circles (or ellipses) roughly 15-18 inches in diameter or straight channels about 18 inches long. They are chiefly on more or less horizontal surfaces, but occasionally run over the edge at angles of up to about 45°. They have clearly been made by grinding, the surfaces of the grooves being extremely smooth.

According to local informants, similar grooved rocks are found all through the neighbouring forest (and these will not have been disturbed by blasting operations). The inhabitants of the area appear to have no knowledge of their origin, and describe them when questioned as the imprint of elephants' feet. We discussed them on 21 January with the chief of Apoje village (which is little more than a small labour camp on the banks of the Oshun). He said that they were not of human origin but were elephants' footprints. When I pointed out that some of them were straight grooves rather than circles, he replied that that was where the elephant used to sharpen his penis; noticing my incredulity he added that in those days the rocks were not so hard as they are now, thus calling in geology to the aid of biology. Other villagers present appeared to concur in these explanations.

The actual purpose of the grooves is a matter of conjecture, which will have to be tested by excavation at the foot of one or more of the rocks. The best explanation that I can offer is that these rocks were the workshops of a large bead-making industry, the circular grooves resulting from the rotary grinding of more or less spherical stone beads, the straight ones perhaps from the grinding of cylinders. Or the products may have been net-sinkers. In either case, broken rejects should certainly come to light in the soil below. It is at least clear that the grooves are functional and not merely decorative. If my conjecture is right, a great bead-making industry has vanished from folk memory as completely as that of ancient Ije, where the glass beads which used to be dug up in the Olokun Grove are thought to grow naturally in the ground like plants.

Later, on 27 February, I visited the Iwo area, some 50 miles to the north, with Mr. Peter Lloyd and in the nearby village of Kuta saw and photographed a standing stone (Plate Lf) whose (formerly horizontal) surface was closely similar to that of the Apoje rocks; the stone is a cult object, thought to be of supernatural origin, and the dark streak seen in the photograph was the result of a recent sacrifice. Another such stone lay in a compound nearby.

FIG. 1. ROCK QUERN AT SHAKI
Photograph: W. B. Fagg, 1959

Finally, these grooves may be compared with those still used for the grinding of meal in Shaki (fig. 1) and other rock-built towns of north-west Yorubaland. But these are much deeper than any at Apoje, and could not explain the circular grooves.

* With Plate L and a text figure
The argument of the first part of this paper leads us back to what is essentially at issue between Leach and Gluckman. It is, to paraphrase Leach, the whole nature of the institution of descent. In my view the ambiguities that surround the concept of descent, as we have been accustomed to use it, arise from confusing two analytically distinct institutions, that of descent in the strict sense and that which I have called filiation. As I pointed out in my paper of 1953 (b), 'filiation—by contrast with descent—is universally bilateral.' Before that, in discussing the connexion between descent and parenthood in Tale lineage structure (1949, chapter V) I distinguished two aspects in the continuity of the lineage through time. One I described as 'the straightforward, cumulative continuity of descent, epitomized in the notion of patrilineral descent,' the other as 'the dialectical continuity of the filial generation ousting and replacing the paternal generation.' I continued: 'In terms of patrilineral descent father and son are identified with each other and united by common interests; in terms of the sequence of generations, they are not' (loc. cit., p. 135).

This descriptive distinction can now be refined in the light of subsequent research, especially such studies as those of Pehrson (1957), Freeman (1958) and Dunning (1959) on what are commonly called bilateral or ambilateral kinship systems.

By filiation, in its primary sense, I mean the 'fact of being the child of a specified parent' as the Oxford English Dictionary puts it (quoted by Freeman, loc. cit., 1958). More precisely, it denotes the relationship created by the fact of being the legitimate child of one's parents. Since the great majority of societies give jural recognition to the parenthood of both parents, filiation is normally bilateral, or as we might even say, equilateral. As a relationship in the internal domestic domain it denotes the specific moral and affective ties and cleavages between successive generations (due allowance being made for sex differences) that arise from the facts of begetting, bearing and, above all, exercising responsibility in rearing a child. But it is also legitimized by sanctions derived from the politico-jural domain. These define a child as the eventual social no less than the biological replacement of both his parents. They ensure that he succeeds, by right of filiation, to those components of their jural status that are valid in the domestic domain. Thus a matrilineal son does not succeed to those components of his father's status that are valid in the politico-jural domain, for example, his status as a potential office-holder in his clan, or his status as mother's brother to his sisters' children.

But he may, as in Ashanti, be taught his craft by his father and succeed him in that capacity. Thus filiation is essentially the bond between successive generations—a bond, as we well know, compounded of rights and identifications epitomized in rules of inheritance and succession, on the one hand, and of the cleavages symbolized by the incest taboo and in customs of respect and avoidance. It is, obviously, a critical factor in the definition and internal relationships of the sibling group. Persons are siblings in the domestic domain by virtue of common filiation and with polygynous marriage they are usually graded according to whether their common filiation is unilateral or bilateral. Clearly, also, what cognisance is accorded to filiation in the politico-jural domain depends on the nexus that links that domain with the domestic domain.

I turn to consider a descent as a structural principle. Descriptively, descent can be defined as a genealogical connexion recognized between a person and any of his ancestors or ancestresses. It is established by tracing a pedigree. A person's entire pedigree, if it is known, of necessity ramifies bilaterally with each successive generation of ancestry included, the total number of ancestors, male and female, being given by the well-known formula \( 2^n \) where \( n \) is the number of antecedent generations reckoned from and including the parents. But as is well known pedigrees are as a rule only selectively utilized for defining and identifying persons in any society. Whatever the rules of selection and limitation may be, only full siblings can have a common pedigree. But any two or more persons whose pedigrees converge in a single common ancestor can be said to be linked by descent.

It is of course not essential to establish pedigree in order to claim or even demonstrate descent from an ancestor. At one time in their history the whole population of Pitcairn Island could presumably claim common descent from a known group of ancestresses. They would not have needed to demonstrate this by reckoning pedigrees. They would only have had to show that there had been no immigration since the arrival of the founding ancestresses and their husbands and that sexual relations were freely permitted except within the sibling group. Thus isolation or even enclavement, as of a religious minority like the Jews in an East European Ghetto, or a caste, as long as it is coupled with obligatory endogamy, can produce a common descent group none of the members of which need to know or establish their pedigrees in order to identify themselves or be accepted as members. Such a group would, of course, be a bilateral descent group.

Looked at from the inside, that is from ego's position, a pedigree is established by counting successive steps of
filiation. We may call it a unit of serial filiation, and it requires a minimum of two successive steps of filiation to ensue. Looked at from the outside, from the point of view of the significance attached to any particular form of pedigree in a given society, or, to put it in another way, from the point of view of the social relations between persons that are governed by the recognition of pedigrees, a pedigree is the charter of its bearer's descent. A descent rule states which of the two elementary forms of filiation and what serial combination of forms of filiation shall be utilized in establishing pedigrees recognized for social purposes. Thus a rule of patrilineal descent states that only pedigrees made up exclusively of successive steps of patrification are recognized as conferring descent for the particular social purposes in question.

In short, whereas filiation is the relation that exists between a person and his parents only, descent refers to a relation mediated by a parent between himself and an ancestor, defined as any genealogical predecessor of the grandparental or earlier generation. A grandparent is therefore a person's closest ancestor; and this, as we know, is often shown in kinship terminologies, as among the Ashanti and the Tallensi (cf. Fortes, 1950, 1949).

Rules of descent, as opposed to the rule of filiation, in my judgment, always emanate from the politico-jural domain, or in descriptive terms, from the total social structure. Descent is, as I have elsewhere maintained (1953b, 1955), fundamentally a juridical institution. The distinction is often apparent in the difference between relations with a grandparent based on the criterion of successive filiation per se, and relations based on that of descent, though the two statuses coincide in the same person. Tallensi, for example, joke with a parent of either parent, when the operative relationship is that of parent's parent to child's child. They are subject to a father's father's juridical authority—which emphatically rules out joking—when the operative relationship is common descent in the lineage segment of which the father's father is head. The joking relationship falls within the internal domestic domain; the authority relationship in the external domain of the segment's jural and ritual position in relation to the other segments of the maximal lineage. Thus where descent has structural significance (as it has not, for instance, in our social structure) one of its main functions is to bind the domestic domain to the politico-jural domain, as I pointed out in my paper of 1953 (b).

This is obvious from the fact that certain critical attributes of the jural status of members of domestic groups (e.g. the rights and capacities of paternity which entitle a father to administer corporal punishment to his minor offspring and oblige him to support them) are legitimized by politico-jural rather than purely moral, ritual or affective sanctions.

I might add, incidentally, that this analytical distinction has a bearing on the theory of lineage systems which I had not previously perceived. In the Dynamics of Clanship (chapter III) I defined the minimal lineage as comprising the children of one father. This definition has not, as far as I know, been generally accepted. Of course from the internal point of view, in terms of their domestic relations, the children of one father in a patrilineal descent system constitute the nuclear sibling group. This is a definition by the criterion of filiation. But by the rule of descent, in a segmentary patrilineal system, a man's children are the minimal element in the total system, taking their politico-jural status from their whole patrilineal pedigree and from the position which this allocates to them in the total lineage system. In such a system the internal differentiation between siblings by patrification originates in the domestic domain but also receives juridical sanction.

In view of the intrinsic connexion between kinship institutions and political structure, it is not surprising that a good test of the distinction which I am making lies in the rules governing citizenship in a political community. In European societies neither filiation nor descent necessarily affects the issue. Citizenship is acquired by birth in the territory of the State or by naturalization (i.e. civic adoption). The citizenship of one's parents or ancestors is then irrelevant. But in the Athens of Pericles the rule was very different. It is recorded that Pericles made a law in 451–50 B.C. restricting the franchise of Athens to persons who could prove Athenian parentage on both sides; and the Cambridge Ancient History (Vol. V, pp. 102, 168) describes this as an undemocratic and reactionary step since it went back on the reforms of Cleisthenes which had admitted both resident aliens and the offspring of mixed marriages to citizenship. Thus the Periclean reform introduced citizenship on the basis of bilateral filiation in the place of citizenship irrespective of genealogical connexion. Now take the case of an Ashanti born outside his own country. He has title to citizenship in the chieftaincy where his matrilineal lineage is domiciled. He asserts this title by demonstrating first that he is his mother's child, then that his mother is or was a member of the matrilineage of which he claims membership. This is citizenship by descent and with it go rights of inheritance and succession (cf. Fortes, 1950). He cannot claim citizenship in his father's community by reason of being his father's son, for that does not make him a member of his father's matrilineal descent group, but he can, on this basis, claim gifts given to him by his father, residence in his father's house and chieftaindom, and protection by his father's kin. These rights come through patrification. The sanction for this is the special ritual and moral identification with his father which identifies him also with all the other descendants, male and female, by successive steps of patrification of his father's father's father (cf. Fortes, 1950). Whereas matrification follows automatically from the fact of birth and automatically creates title to lineage membership by descent, patrification ensues only from acknowledged paternity. Here complementary filiation does not establish citizen rights in the juridical sense. But it is of peculiar significance in defining capacity for unencumbered citizenship in that it is a prerequisite for normality of status as a free citizen, in contrast to the status of those who have slave ancestry. A person may be a legitimate member of his matrilineage and by that token a free citizen but if his paternity is unknown or unacknowledged he is nevertheless socially defective through lack of the patrilateral side of the
normal network of kinship ties and is in consequence ritually defective and jurally incomplete. This is a distinct handicap, if not an insuperable obstacle, to eligibility for lineage and political office. Indeed so important is patrilineal descent in Ashanti that he can serve, in special circumstances, as the basis for acquiring quasi-citizenship in one’s father’s chieftaincy. A man can do this by voluntarily accepting such distinctive political obligations as paying his share of a money levy imposed by the chieftain and serving in its fighting forces in defence of its land and people. He thus identifies himself with his father’s status in the chieftaincy as if he were his father’s representative. But he is not eligible on this account for any office or rank that may be vested in his father’s lineage even if it had been held by his father. Nor can he transmit his acquired quasi-citizenship to his offspring by right of filiation.

To sum up, filiation originates in the domestic domain, descent in the politico-jural domain, but filiation may confer title to status (which means rights and capacities) in the politico-jural domain. What is thus conferred is entitlement to activate those elements of politico-jural status carried with him or her into the domestic domain by the parent in question. Where complementary filiation is recognized this rule can be extended beyond the first degree of filiation to include successive steps of filiation documented by a pedigree. Since descent confers attributes of status relating to a person’s place in the external social structure it is bound to operate by placing persons in categories or groups. Descent groups exist to unite persons for common social purposes and interests by identifying them exclusively and unequivocally with one another. Descent operates where the total body of rights and duties, capacities and claims, through which a society achieves its ends, is distributed among segments, or classes, which are required to remain relatively fixed over a stretch of time in order that the social system shall be able to maintain itself. Empirically, descent groups are constituted by the fact that all the members of a group in a given society have the same form of pedigree and all their pedigrees converge in a single common ancestor or group of ancestors. Theoretically, they are necessarily corporate groups, even if the corporate possession is as immaterial as an exclusive common name or an exclusive cult.

It is obvious that in systems where a sibling succeeds or inherits in preference to, i.e., by priority of right over, a child, descent is the critical factor; for a sibling is closer to the source of the deceased’s ‘estate’—a common ancestor—than is a son or daughter. But where succession and inheritance devolve on sons or daughters in preference to siblings, this is governed by the rule of filiation. The rule of so-called primogeniture is in fact, analytically speaking, a rule of succession by filiation. The Tsawna illustrate this excellently. A chief’s legitimate successors are, first, his sons in order of birth and failing them his brother, the implicit logic being that the step of filiation which made him heir is extinguished by his failure to perpetuate himself in sons. The chiefship is then treated as if it had reverted to the previous holder by right of filiation and devolves from him on his oldest surviving son (cf. Schapera, 1937, pp. 53ff., 177, 191, etc., for the data; the interpretation is mine, not Schapera’s). Descent, reduced to its elementary significance as the unequivocal source of title to class membership among the Tsawna nobility, enters as a factor of opposition to filiation. It establishes what might be called a right to a place in the queue of potential successors, this right being virtually the basic corporate possession of the noble class. It serves as the justification for reserved claims on the chiefship.

From what I have said it can be seen that the classical mother’s brother—sister’s son relationship, in societies with patrilineal lineage systems, flows from the recognition of matrilineal descent as the complementary structural factor to patrilineal. The sister’s son’s quasi-filial status among the Tallensi, for example (cf. Fortes, 1949, p. 30 et passim), arises from the fact that his mother carries with her into marriage and parenthood her filial (and eo ipso sororal) status in her natal minimal lineage but not her descent status, vestigial though that is by reason of her sex. It is not a question of affectionate bonds that grow up out of frequent contacts between sister’s son and mother’s brother (as e.g. Homans and Schneider (1935) seem to think) but of permitted, indeed enjoined sentiment, that canalizes into action the claims and privileges, material and ceremonial, vested in and transmitted through ‘daughterhood’ and ‘sisterhood.’ We might almost call them ex gratia claims and privileges. A sister’s son may be deeply devoted to his mother’s brother but he does not get from his mother her obligations, acquired by descent, to observe the particular exogamic prohibitions and totemic taboos of her lineage, nor does he get from her the right to take the same part in sacrifices to her lineage ancestors as she has. As the Tallensi themselves put it, patrilineal descent does not pass through a woman, hence property and office cannot pass to her children. But filiation, her status in the domestic domain, does pass to her children, and this is the basis of their rights—enforced by moral sanctions—to gifts from their mother’s brother and to such customary acknowledgments of a special status as shares in the meat of sacrifices offered by their mother’s patrilineal kin.

This analysis applies also, mutatis mutandis, to the matrilineal case. We can see how vital it is to determine the jural attributes of ‘daughterhood’ and ‘sisterhood’ before we make assumptions about the ‘intrinsic’ priority of the brother-sister bond over the conjugal bond. In the limiting case at the patrilineal pole, marriage may entail almost complete severance of a woman from her natal family and the virtual extinction of her ‘sisterhood’ and ‘daughterhood’ in any jural sense—though not her affective attachments to her parents and siblings. This appears to happen in some parts of rural China, where a woman’s natal status and rights in her natal family are insignificant but she loses even these when she marries.3 There appears to be no institutionalized recognition of matrilineal descent and divorces is ‘almost impossible’ (Yang, op. cit., p. 240), and patrilineal descent is the basis of an elaborate patrilineal lineage and clan system. The limiting case at the matrilineal pole, as with the Nayar (Gough, 1952), gives an exactly opposite scheme of relationships.
With both patrilineral and matrilineral descent systems the crucial test, at any rate in Africa, is the status of the slave spouse, as I note in my paper of 1953 (b). A slave is jurally defined as both kinless and a non-citizen. Hence a slave spouse is wholly and unreservedly under the jural authority of his or her spouse or spouse's jural superiors. This ensues in the paradox of pure and unlimited 'father-right' in matrilineral systems, as for example among the Yao (Mitchell, 1956, p. 69), and indicates how the degree of 'father-right' (or 'avuncular right') is determined by the kind and degree of complementary filiation. For a slave spouse can create no connexions, either by descent or filiation, for his or her children, and both the slave and his or her children are therefore completely subject to the husband/father's (or, for a male slave, wife's brother's or uncle's) authority. Yet the purely affective and moral elements of filiation, engageder by the reciprocities of parental care and filial dependence, are as potent as, and probably even stronger than, happens in the case of both parents being free. Thus since a slave is by jural definition nobody's son or daughter, brother or sister, his or her children, though free by descent through the free parent, have none of the attributes of status derived from complementary filiation. Hence they are always incomplete jural personalities, liable to discrimination and disabilities. It is significant that these conditions may be exploited by chiefs to bind their slave children unreservedly to themselves and so to maintain power which the descent and kinship system as a whole normally keeps in check—again through the mechanism of complementary filiation (cf. Mitchell, op. cit.). Finally and most pertinently, divorce is of course both de jure and de facto impossible for a slave spouse.

These two examples bring out another important point, on which, I believe, Leach and I are really in full accord. Complementary filiation is a function of affinal relations, or rather, both are functions of the distribution of rights, duties and sentiments among the persons and kin units joined by marriage. Without marriage (as in concubinage) there are no affinal relations; and where there are no affinal relations as in the case of a slave spouse, there can be no complementary filiation for the offspring of the marriage. Complementary filiation can be thought of as the kinship reciprocal of affinal relationship in the marriage tie; and this is perhaps what Leach has in mind when he says that I disguise the latter under the former.

Though there is no divergence in principle between Dr. Leach's views and mine, there is perhaps one point of difference in emphasis. Leach thinks that it is the relationship of marriage and its concomitant relationships of affinity that form the 'crucial' link between corporate descent groups in the Kachin-type system. I would put it the other way round and say that marriage and affinity are the media through which structurally prior politico-jural alliances and associations are expressed and affirmed, and I would contend that they are effective as such media because they give rise to matrilateral kinship bonds. This is an argument from first principles, not from the data presented by Leach. The principle is that kinship, being an irreducible factor in social structure, has an axiomatic validity as a sanction of amity and solidarity. It seems to me that a social structure based on an association of exogamous, corporate patrilineral descent groups is not likely to hold together in a permanent political system unless it is either subject to some form of overriding, centralized government, or is knit together in the field of dyadic social relations by a web of kinship ties that counterbalance the centrifugal tendencies of the descent groups; and the main mechanism involved is complementary filiation, not marriage as such.

As African segmentary systems illustrate so clearly, marriages commonly take place between members of politically autonomous and mutually opposed, if not hostile, descent groups. Affinal relations are perfectly compatible with such a state of political relations. They do not, of themselves, constitute either a moral or a political bond between groups. It is the kinship ties generated through marriage that constitute such bonds; and we can see confirmation for this view in the fact that marriage right is subsumed under kinship (cross-cousin) right in Kachin-type marriage. Thus marriage is a means of implementing a relationship of amity derived from real or putative matrifiliation.

As we have seen, in a segmentary patrilineral descent system matrifiliation endows a child with attributes of jural status subsuming claims on and obligations to its mother's lineage, without which it cannot be a normal jural person. It seems that this is more elaborately institutionalized in Lakher than in Ordinary Jinghpaw social structure. I suggest that this is the reason why the sibling link may well be jurally—and, in consequence, affectively—so strong. The 'lien' which every person has on his mother's and mother's mother's natal lineages derives from the inextinguishability of his mother's and mother's mother's filial and sororal status in their natal lineages; and it is essential for a person, whether man or woman, to be able to exercise the normal rights and capacities of his status. This implies that the jural authority and responsibility vested in a father and his jural superiors is not unrestricted and undistributed but is shared with the mother's brother and his lineage superiors in the manner previously indicated.

Hence the diminished 'father-right' noted by Dr. Leach. With the Ordinary Jinghpaw matrifiliation seems much more restricted in significance. This would be consistent with a social structure in which distinctions of caste, class or rank are strictly aligned with exogamous descent groups. Then the only basis for membership of a caste, class or rank would be patrilineral descent. If matrifiliation is minimized to such an extent that a person has only the minimal moral or ritual connexion with his mother's lineage, there is no loophole by which he can claim admission to any form of membership in it and therefore in its caste, class or rank position. We have seen that among the Banyankole successive matrifiliation with the Hima caste enables a man of Iru patrilineral origin to achieve quasi-membership of a Hima subclan and thus to 'rise' in rank. On this hypothesis it should be easier and not
uncommon for an individual (or sibling group) to claim some form of membership in a lineage with which he is connected by matrilineal and so to change his 'class' rank.

The Lakher data could be interpreted on these lines, but I find Leach's analysis confusing, owing, perhaps, to his use of the concepts of 'class' and 'status' interchangeably. The purpose of 'class hypogamy' is said to be 'raising children of relatively high status.' If, as Leach implies, the Lakher patrilineage is exogamous and is also a unit of 'class' (sc. 'status') rank, and a man's sons by 'marriage proper' (i.e. hypogamous marriage) have 'higher status' than he has, they cannot belong to his 'lower' ranking patrilineage. For it does seem that 'class' (sc. 'status') rank is derived by matrilineal through the mother, not by descent from the father, or else the purpose attributed to hypogamous marriage could not be fulfilled. On the other hand, if a man's 'higher status' children do not have some kind of membership claim in their mother's lineage by right of matrilineal but are strictly members of their paternal lineage, then each lineage must be internally stratified by 'class' (sc. 'status') and it is not a unit of 'class' rank.

I mention these difficulties not to quibble over Leach's analysis but in order to point out that they can be resolved if the distinction between the internal domain and the external domain of the lineage is borne in mind. In the Tale-type patrilinage descent system, the internal differentiation of the lineage is effected by segmentation and stratification by reference to complementary filiation and generation. The Lakher, to judge by additional data kindly provided for me by Dr. Leach, carry the process further by using the criterion of matrilineal for ranking as well as for differentiating persons within the lineage for such jural purposes as inheritance. With three degrees of matrilineal, and two grades of legitimacy to exploit, they presumably achieve a highly refined ranking system. But this has only internal validity. It does not apparently confer rank in the external politico-jural domain. There a person's status derives strictly from his patrilineal descent, on the principle that every member of a corporate lineage is equal to every other and represents the whole lineage in relation to other autonomous lineages. This implies a stricter demarcation between the internal domain of the lineage and the politico-jural domain than is found in Ankole. And it seems to me that it could be maintained only if the filial rights transmissible by a woman to her offspring were confined to the domestic segment of her lineage and not extended to the entire lineage as a unit of political rank.

This has a bearing on the final paragraph of Leach's paper, but I am not sure that I understand his point. Surely the 'ongoing structure' of any and every unilinear descent group, looked at from within, is determined by rules of descent. Membership of the 'ongoing' descent group is independent of the kind of marriage, whether enjoined, preferred or free. If, however, we consider unilinear descent groups from the outside—that is how they fit into a social structure which embraces a number of such groups—we are in the field of politico-jural institutions; and in this context we may need several, not just two categories.

I have not discussed Dr. Leach's starting point, the problem of divorce. I would only like to suggest that complementary filiation is a relevant variable in considering both the de jure permissibility and the de facto incidence of divorce. I would suggest that divorce is correlated with the degree to which a person has jural status that is independent of his or her status as a spouse. For a woman the significant factor is the degree to which she retains her status as daughter and sister after marriage; for this determines her claims on support as well as her jural status outside the conjugal relationship. In our society this para-marital jural status derives from the laws of legal, majority and citizenship. In many primitive societies it derives from the pre-marital status conferred by filiation and descent. Hence a woman who has no status by complementary filiation, even if she has a descent status, is undivorceable. This is proved by the case of the slave spouse and the Chinese case.

The foregoing discussion of filiation and descent has a bearing, I believe, on the problems raised in Professor Firth's paper (MAN, 1957, 2) and I should like to try to restate them in terms of the point of view which I have developed. It is necessary to note, in this connexion, that Firth's concept of 'affiliation' does not correspond to my use of the term 'filiation'.

Let us consider the Maori hapu (Firth, loc. cit. and 1929, especially pp. 97ff, 368ff). Looked at from the outside, in terms of its status in the politico-jural domain, the hapu is, in Professor Firth's words, an analytically irreducible segment of the total tribal structure. In this context it is a territorial and ipso facto political unit, structurally demarcated, as it seems, by external political cleavages expressed in opposition to like segments, often in the extreme form of warfare. From the outside, as a unit in the political domain, its internal composition is immaterial to its structural relations with other like, or subordinate or superordinate segments. It may be represented by a chief and defended by an army. How the chief is selected and the army constituted are internal matters and it would be theoretically possible for different hapu of the same tribe to have different institutions for these purposes. In fact, of course, all are subject to the structural norms and the values valid for the total social system, both as a whole and in its parts, and legitimized by sanctions derived from the total society. Kinship and rank are the critical values at issue and they enter into every field of social structure, though in different ways, depending on the other variables simultaneously involved.

To see how this operates let us consider the internal structure of the hapu. There are two questions. First, how does one become a member of a hapu? It seems to me that the normal source of title to membership for the free person is filiation; and with the Maori, filiation to either parent confers such title. This may be related to the relative jural equality of men and women or to the absence of corporate unilinear descent groups or both. The hapu itself, as Firth made abundantly clear in 1929, is not
demarcated by a descent boundary as, for instance, an Ashanti or a Tale lineage is, but by a political and territorial boundary. Within the tribe, therefore, persons can enter a *hapu* from the outside (i.e. from another *hapu*) if they have the jural status to cross the boundary; and this can be claimed by filiation if either parent has title to citizenship in the *hapu*, or if either parent can establish a claim to title by filiation. It is significant that membership can apparently also be acquired by marriage to a member and taking up residence in the *hapu* territory. But presumably recruitment to *hapu* membership is predominantly from within. In this case membership is conferred by being born within the *hapu* of parents at least one of whom must (like Pericles's Athenians) have title to membership by filiation or the extended form of filiation documented by a pedigree.

There is, however, a second question with regard to the internal structure of the *hapu*. This is the question of how all the members of a *hapu* are linked with one another. They are obviously all linked with one another, no doubt varying in degree of closeness, by local contiguity and their common interest in their territory and its defence. This is analogous to the common interest which all the residents of an English village have in the amenities and social services of their village. These links might be reinforced by hereditary land rights. But they are compatible with a community structure in which the members might well be grouped in discrete parental families some of which might be interrelated by affinal ties. The common bonds might then be a common interest and participation in a *hapu* cult or in a social service like a school, or in maintaining a communal economic asset like an irrigation system—and above all in the internal government of the community. But this does not seem to be the case. It seems that all the members of a *hapu* are related to one another by 'bilateral' and 'ambilateral' kinship and affinal ties, that is, ties through either or both parents and through either male or female antecedents. In my view, such an internal web of kinship is not sufficient to make a unit of political or territorial association into a bilateral descent group. It would have to be strictly endogamous to be that. But it might be that each individual member or sibling group can and must establish a pedigree, through either or both male and female parents and forebears, connecting him with a unique Founder-hero. Given the absence of *hapu* endogamy it means, of course, that there will be descendants of the Founder-hero in other *hapu*. Furthermore, since a Maori can be a member of a *hapu* through filiation on one side and yet can claim membership in another *hapu* through filiation on the other side, it may be conjectured that complementary filiation is a significant element of Maori social structure. It seems to play an important part in establishing land and property rights. This is one of the links, if not the major link, between the internal, kinship domain of the *hapu* and the external politico-jural domain of inter-*hapu*, that is tribal, relations.

An interesting problem is why 'ambilateral' kinship ties are so elaborately utilized in the internal structure of the *hapu*. The exceptional importance of hereditary rank undoubtedly puts a premium on capacity to establish a good pedigree. What, then, are the advantages of the flexibility of entitlement to rank which, as Firth shows, ambilateral kinship provides? The answer, I think, lies in the economic and political factors stressed in Leach's concluding remarks (loc. cit., 1957). I would draw attention to only one such factor, the apparent absence of judicial institutions and sanctions, comparable, for example, to those of the Tsswana, in the Maori social system. I infer this from the indications (Firth, 1929, ch. XI, passim) that self-help was a normal means of redressing wrongs and trespass even within families. The widely diffused solidarity generated by the ramifying kinship ties within and even between *hapu* would, I suggest, be a valuable, possibly essential basis for social control in a political system of the Maori kind.

My argument can be summed up in this way. It is not enough to speak of descent or kinship or, in particular, of 'groups,' in general. It is essential to specify the structural domain to which the analysis refers. Kinship or descent may confer a title to membership of a political or cult or economic 'group.' It does not make that 'group' into a kinship or descent 'group' in any absolute sense. As a matter of fact, I do not see how the concept of a 'descent group' is applicable in the conditions of 'ambilateral affiliation' described by Professor Firth, for the 'group' is never closed by a descent criterion. And I must confess that I am puzzled by the statement that there are systems 'in which the major emphasis is upon descent in the male line, but allowance is made, in circumstances so frequent as to be reckoned as normal [my italics] for entitlement through a female' (Firth, loc. cit.). It needs much amplification. I think, for example, it might be interpreted to mean that membership (of a rank-holding or property-holding, or otherwise corporate 'group') is strictly tied to the 'male line—and therefore vested in males exclusively—but daughters (sc. sisters) have some kind of secondary or dormant rights of membership which they never forfeit and are able to transmit by filiation to their offspring. Then in certain circumstances (if the male line fails and there are structural requirements for the 'group' to be maintained) the dormant rights can be actualized in virtue of matrilineation, and a member recruited into the 'group' as if he were a true descendent in the male line. Or it may mean that rank, for example, is transmitted equally through men and women by filiation to both sons and daughters, so that every person has title to both his father's and his mother's rank. If there are degrees of rank then (taking the inside view) a person might be allowed to choose in terms of his own advantage whether to align himself by patrilineation or by matrilineation with a rank 'group.' If there is a 'major emphasis' on the male line this must be from the outside standpoint of the whole social system. It must apply to a very special office or rank or quality deriving its validity from its significance in the politico-jural domain, not from within the 'group.' For if it were only an internally superior rank anyone who joined the 'group' by matrilineation would be in an inferior position and would only join it if the advantages he derived were outstandingly greater than
those he would have as a member of his father’s ‘male line’ group. If it is purely a choice of rank, then some ‘male lines’ must be inferior to others and it must be more valuable to be a ‘second-class’ member of a higher-ranking male-line group than a ‘first-class’ member of a lower-ranking group.

These comments on the hapu apply equally, in my opinion, to the kind of land-owning groups described by Goodenough in the paper (Goodenough, 1955) cited by Firth. The comparison that comes to mind is much more that of a joint stock company in which the individual’s right of ‘members’ rests on the acquisition by purchase or otherwise of stock than that of a lineage or other type of descent group. The difference is that in a politico-jural system without differentiated judicial and contract-enforcing institutions, and in an economy which lacks money and exchange institutions, title to stock derives from filiation. In both cases it is the ‘stock’—that is the estate—and the functions of the organization in the external politico-jural domain that make it a corporate unit, not the mode of recruiting members.

The foregoing discussion leaves a number of important theoretical problems open. Thus, I am not happy with a terminology, however qualified (as by Firth) that describes associations of the hapu type as ‘descent groups.’ But there can be no doubt that they are corporate political associations whose members are linked by common kinship ties. We might perhaps revive a traditional term and call them ‘kindred groups.’ This would emphasize the fact that they are not recruited on the principle of perpetual succession but on the more general principle of filiative kin right.

To sum up, kinship and descent rules are not only criteria for uniting people in groups and linking them in person-to-person relationships, but also and equally institutions by means of which status in the politico-jural domain is attributed and legitimized. The structure of that domain is therefore as significant for the way in which kinship and descent are utilized as are the irreducible facts of parent-hood, siblingship and marriage.

Acknowledgment

This paper was completed during my tenure of a Fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California. I am indebted to seminar discussions at the Center for stimulus in clarifying the argument, to Professor Raymond Firth for valuable criticism, and to Dr. Leach for patient comment on an earlier draft.

Notes

1 I should prefer to say ‘all societies’ but use the more guarded formula to cover cases like that of the traditional Nayar family system for which it might be argued that filiation to a particular pater is not jurally recognized.

2 The position of children born to British parents in a foreign country forms a special case. They have dual citizenship, being entitled to claim British citizenship by filiation, but obliged to acknowledge citizenship of their country of birth when in that country.

3 A girl has no status whatsoever in the family of her own parents. Her father and mother and brothers may love her very much. It is recognized that she is not a permanent member of the family and can add nothing to the family fortunes. She is destined to become a wife and a daughter-in-law in another family for whom she will work and bear children (Martin O. Yang, A Chinese Village, 1945, p. 104). Freedman (1958, pp. 30f) comes to broadly the same conclusion after a careful assessment of the best available evidence.

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OBITUARY

Edwin Williams Smith: 1876-1957. With a portrait

Born at Aliwal North in the Cape Colony, of Primitive Methodist missionary parents, Edwin Smith was educated in England, where he was ordained in 1897. The following year he went as a missionary, first to Basutoland, and then (1902) to Northern Rhodesia. There, in addition to pursuing his routine vocational activities, he produced both grammatical works and Biblical translations of great merit. Together with Captain A. M. Dale, a local Government officer, he also wrote the famous Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia, which for many years after its publication in 1920 remained one of the few really good ethnographical studies available about African society.

In 1915 Smith returned to England, and after serving for a year as chaplain with the expeditious forces in France received an appointment with the British and Foreign Bible Society, ultimately acting as its Literary Superintendent (1933-9). He became increasingly concerned with problems of race relations and social development in Africa, about which he wrote a good deal. Two of his books in this field were particularly influential, and have often been reprinted: The Golden Stool (1926), a classic in applied anthropology, and Aggery of Africa (1929), the biography of 'the finest interpreter which the present century has produced of the white man to the black, of the black man to the white.' He also played a leading part in the founding of the International African Institute, to which for many years he gave outstanding service, both as a member of the Executive Council and as editor (1944-8) of its journal Africa. His other main interest was African religion, and in a series of semi-popular works, culminating (1930) in a symposium which he edited on African Ideas of God, he tried to dispel the misconceptions of many missionaries and others about the role of religion in tribal life.

During the Second World War he was visiting Professor of African Studies at Hartford Seminary and Fisk University in the United States, and while there received an honorary D.D. from Wesley College, Winnipeg.

In later life Smith returned to one of his early interests: missionary biography. In 1925 he had published a brief but excellent life of Robert Moffat. This was followed by more ambitious accounts of the Mabiles of Basutoland (1939), Lindley of Natal (1949), and Roger Price of Bechuanaland (1937). These three volumes, based on wide reading of documentary source material and special journeys to inspect personally the regions where his subjects had worked, are all important contributions to the history of European-Bantu contacts in Southern Africa.

To his younger associates Smith was always most helpful and encouraging; they will remember with gratitude his consistent kindness and tolerance, and his pleasure in sharing with them the fruits of his own vast experience and knowledge of things African.

I. SCHAPERA

SHORTER NOTES

Immigrant Chinese Female Servants and their Hostels in Singapore. By Dr. Marjorie Topley, Hong Kong

The new government of the People’s Action Party in Singapore is anxious to improve labour conditions and the Domestic Workers Union has been the first to submit new demands calling for minimum salaries, a 48-hour week and two weeks’ holiday a year. The majority of domestic servants are Chinese females (called ‘amals’). A large number (and the most popular) are Cantonese immigrants coming mainly from the districts of Shun Tê, P’un Yü and Nan Hai in the Pearl River delta region. During the course of their settlement they

have evolved a form of organization called locally a kongsi (Hokkien), which caters for a certain number of their social and economic needs. To some extent kongsi must compete with the Union for the loyalties of the amals and one foreign correspondent recently remarked that the new demands have probably been made by the Union’s professional male organizers rather than the amals themselves.

During the nineteen-thirties a restriction was placed on male immigration owing to the depression, and numbers of Chinese females—at first outside the quota—came to Singapore to work. While many came instead of their husbands, others were not

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only unattached but had belonged to an organized anti-marriage movement in the homeland. They had taken vows either not to marry, or not to cohabit with their husbands (chosen for them by their families). They had belonged to societies which started in Shun Tē and spread to the adjacent areas and which protected members against attempts to make them break their anti-marriage vows.4

The movement started in the late nineteenth century and derived its strength partly from the fact that in Shun Tē women could work in the silk industry for financial gain at a time when in other parts of China little opportunity existed for women to seek remunerative work outside the family. They did not have to rely on the family system for their economic security and were economically more valuable to their families of origin.

A further factor was that towards the end of the last century Cantonese men began increasingly to seek employment overseas. Their womenfolk left behind began to gain considerable power in controlling domestic affairs and were able to thwart opposition to their anti-marriage organizations. For many women moreover, marriage to an emigrant offered little hindrance to a wish to remain celibate and go out to work. Males living overseas could not always afford to send for wives to join them or even return to marry. In consequence a curious form of marriage by proxy developed in which a white cock served to represent the husband at the nuptial ceremonies. Quite often, it seems, a couple married in this way never met.

The societies were generally organized on a village basis. Members continued to live at home, in the home of one of their numbers or in houses called koo ph'ih uk (C), 'spinster houses,' which they built by pooling contributions from their wages. The movement appears to have been associated with lesbianism, although there is no way of measuring its extent. Strong emotional attachments sometimes developed in villages where groups of young girls slept and ate together. Informants have described how the betrothal of one of their number would be treated as if it marked her impending death; members of the group would wear mourning clothes for her. Lesbianism is widely believed to exist among such women by Chinese in Singapore today, and has a recognized name. Pairs of non-marrying women often took vows of sworn sisterhood and in Singapore like to work in pairs—usually as cook and wash amahs. Some Chinese housewives are reluctant to employ such pairs if they come from Shun Tē because of the purported high emotional content of their relationship.

During the nineteen-thirties there was a slump in the silk industry and members of the anti-marriage movement were attracted overseas in search of work. The majority went into domestic service because, as they explained, it provided living-in facilities and was 'respectable,' and they were usually without family or relatives in the new country. Since the post-war restrictions on immigration China-born servants have become scarce and a good general amah (known in Cantonese as 'kicking with one foot') could in 1955 earn between $140 and $180 (Malayan),5 without food, working for Western families, and between $80 and $120, normally with rice, in a Chinese household. This compared favourably with wages obtainable in most other occupations open to women at that time.

Amahs' kongsi are organized on a basis of like territorial origins. There is sometimes an additional surname qualification.6 They contain groups of from about four up to 50 women coming from the same village, countryside (hsiang) or district. A few recruit women from adjacent districts. Women in other occupations also sometimes have kongsi—for example manual labourers in the construction industry who are nearly all women from one district of Kwangtung (San Shui). They are usually organized on an occupational basis.

Kongsi are units of accommodation ranging from a cubicle to a number of rooms. They are mostly in tenement buildings. Some are simple spaces in which to keep valuables, others elaborate club houses with various connected benefit clubs and social and recreational facilities. Their main equipment consists of a few cupboards or a row of metal lockers in which each member keeps her possessions; a stock of camp beds; and sometimes limited cooking facilities, although they may share a communal cooking space with other users of the building. They usually have an altar for images of deities popular with women, notably Kuan Yin, the 'Goddess of Mercy,' before whom anti-marriage vows were made in China.

A female caretaker is employed to look after the property while members are out at work. She is often a retired working member who is allowed to stay on, food and lodging being given her in return for her services. When all members are working in living-in jobs an outsider is employed for a small wage—about $10-$15 a month plus rice and lodging. Each kongsi has a member who exercises varying degrees of authority over the others usually by virtue of seniority in years or experience in domestic work, or because of her initial role in organizing and renting the quarters. She often takes an active interest in the welfare and conditions of employment of her associates. When a member goes for an employment interview she will sometimes accompany her and see to it that the terms of service reached are appropriate. Alternatively a member may be expected to give details of the interview when she returns to the kongsi. Members often take an interest in maintaining standards of efficiency in employment and a women of insufficient experience and lighter years might not be permitted by the others to 'kick with one foot' until she has worked for some time in a subordinate capacity.

There are one or two private employment agencies for domestic servants and an employment bureau is run by the Labour Department. It is used mainly by domestic servants seeking work with foreign households and, according to Departmental statistics, out of 3,489 women who registered for work during 1953, 2,222 sought employment as amahs and 2,035 were placed during the year.7 Many Chinese families get servants either by going directly to a kongsi of which they have knowledge, or by introduction from one servant to a fellow member.

Some amahs have said that the work which they might do in a particular post is decided by the kongsi head or agreed upon after discussion among members. Thus a cook-general might not be allowed to wash trousers, mosquito nets and furniture covers. Members also have an understanding that no woman belonging to a kongsi may take a job in a household from which a fellow member has been dismissed.

Monthly contributions towards running costs and rent vary according to the numbers of members and the size and facilities of the kongsi. Average payments were about $2-$5 in 1955. One comprising 30 women of the same surname was started by a woman and her sworn sister. During the Japanese occupation they lived there continuously, but afterwards increased rents forced them to give it up. They moved to a larger room and invited various women whom they had met during the course of their employment to join with them8 at a fee of $3 a month.

It is difficult to estimate the number of kongsi of the servant variety in Singapore. A social survey conducted in 1947 shows that out of a sample of 4,065 households in the urban district 359 were composed of women or juvenile workers alone or in groups without dependants and 347 of them were Chinese. Ninety-seven per cent. were in working-class occupations, being engaged mainly in domestic service, hawking and street vending.
semi-skilled and unskilled labour. Most were immigrant women. It indicates the high incidence among the Chinese of this form of household pattern relative to women of other ethnic categories. Since most servants' kongsi are concentrated in a few streets, however, any random sample for the whole urban area must exclude a large proportion and the figure must be much higher than this.

These organizations, then, approach a primitive form of 'craft' guild in their facilities and objectives, although no inter-organizational arrangements have developed whereby members of different kongsi can meet to fix more general conditions of service. Rivalry (usually of a friendly nature) exists between kongsi in the same street on some of the social occasions which they mark in common, in the scale of the dinners which they hold and the ritual paraphernalia which they use at some religious festivals which they celebrate. To some extent immigrant female kongsi might be compared with the male occupational associations in their early history in Singapore. Although they are generally smaller in scale and less elaborate in their organization and facilities their principles of recruitment are similar and both arose to act as agencies for the interests of individuals who were largely without domestic organization in a foreign land.

Notes
1 The material is based largely on fieldwork carried out during 1954-55 in connexion with women's organizations in Singapore.
2 The Observer correspondent in Singapore in an article appearing in the South China Morning Post (Hong Kong) at the end of June, 1959.
4 A brief first-hand description of women in the movement in the nineteen-thirties is given by Agnes Smedley in Chinese Destinies, London, 1934.
5 $1 (Malayan) = 2s. 4d.
6 Chinese surnames indicate putative descent from a common ancestor.
8 Members of several kongsi were found to have met during their work overseas. A few met through membership of other associations also recruiting according to territorial affiliations or surname and some appeared to be partially reunited anti-marriage societies of the homeland.

A Hunter's Shrine in Yorubaland, Western Nigeria.
By Frank Willett, Department of Antiquities, Nigeria.

While travelling from Ife to Ilandre early in 1957, I noticed the wayside shrine described here (fig. 1). The erection of such shrines is a regular practice among Yoruba hunters in the tropical forest belt of Western Nigeria, although they are rarely seen, and so far as I am aware, have never been described in the anthropological literature.

This shrine was just to the north of Ife-Ilela Division. The people are from Ife, and they are chiefly hunters. The shrines, which are called ipade, are erected when the oldest hunter in the community dies, in this case a man called Taiwo who was about 60 years old. The carved figure is paid for by his successor, and the shrine is erected about three months after the hunter's death. It is set up before dawn, dane guns being fired while the figure is carried in procession to the site. A simple ceremony is performed, lasting about 20 minutes.

In front of a small screen of palm fronds the figure is set up wearing the hat and jacket of the dead hunter. His hunting charms, in this case the skull of a tortoise and six small calabashes filled with medicine, are tipped out of his haversack on to the ground in front of the figure (fig. 2), and the empty haversack is hung over the shoulder of the figure. Food is deposited, in this case maize cobs, plantains, yam and a land snail, to commemorate the fact that he used to take these foods with him in his pockets when he went hunting. The basket which he used to take to the bush with him, in which to carry his quarry home, is cut into quarters. The calabash from which he used to drink palm wine is broken and deposited. Wood from the last fire which he made before he died is also brought. Libations of palm wine, and in this particular case Beck's Beer, are poured, the bottles being broken and left on the shrine. A chicken is sacrificed and hung on the chest of...
the figure. Nothing is buried at the site, nor is there any further ritual performed at a later date. It is evidently a simple form of second burial ceremony. The deceased is furnished with food and utensils for the journey from which he will not return, and from which, indeed, his survivors do not wish him to return. There does not, however, appear to be any conscious expression of these notions.

This particular shrine had been set up about two weeks before my photographs were taken. Nearby was another, which was about a year old. Both the figures had been carved by the same man, Ashere Mashika of Ifesade, who is a hunter himself. This type of figure is the only carving that he does, though it does not appear to be compulsory for the figures to be carved by a hunter. My chief informant was the son of the carver, and bore the same name as his father. Shortly after Taiwo’s death, his successor too had died, and another shrine was to be erected a few days after my visit, but I was unable to be present on that occasion.

Notes
1 During leave of absence from the Manchester Museum to do archaeological field work at Old Oyo and Ife on behalf of the Department of Antiquities, Nigeria, and the Yoruba Historical Research Scheme.
2 This had fallen off before my photographs were taken, leaving marks on the garment seen, among the other objects deposited, in fig. 2.

335 Another Yoruba Hunter’s Shrine. By William Fagg, Deputy Keeper, Department of Ethnography, British Museum. With three text figures

During extensive fieldwork carried out in winter 1958–59, for the Yoruba Historical Research Scheme, I spent some hours on 11 February in the villages of Egbe and Ologiri, photographing carvings used in the Egungun, Shango and Ifeji cults. These villages are one or two miles to the southeast of the large town of Gbongan, which is 15 miles west of Ife on the main road to Ibadan. The inhabitants live chiefly by hunting and cocoa farming, and their Egungun masks are adorned with the horns and skins of game animals in greater profusion than I have noted elsewhere in Yorubaland. The style of woodcarving here and at Gbongan approximates to that formerly practised in Modakeke, the twin town of Ife which was established by Oni Abewa in the mid nineteenth century as a settlement for displaced persons from the territories of Oyo, then recently defeated by the Fulani; during the remainder of

FIG. 2. TWO HUNTERS’ MEMORIALS AT EFON-ALAYE
That on the left is clothed in a garment of imported cloth bearing a design of swans, that on the right in what is probably a Yoruba adaptation of a Hausa rigo.

Photograph: T. D. P. Dalby, 1959

FIG. 1. HUNTER’S MEMORIAL AT EGBE NEAR GBONGAN
Photograph: W. B. Fagg, 1959

FIG. 3. ONE OF THE EFON MEMORIALS
Photograph: T. D. P. Dalby, 1959
the century relations between Modakeke and Ife were strained and often actively hostile, the Ife people having at one stage to abandon their town to the Modakeke people and settle temporarily at a place 25 miles to the south which was consequently named Ifeloto, and to which the preceding article refers. The Gbongan area (and Modakeke) may therefore be said to have belonged traditionally to the Oyo and Ibadan sphere of political and cultural influence, and Ifeloto to that of Ife.

On the way back from Egbe to the main road, my guide, Mr. Z. A. Abiona, led me a few yards along a bush path running off to the right (i.e. eastward) and showed me the hunter's memorial illustrated in fig. 1, which had been set up some months before by a fork in the path in the direction most usually taken by the deceased hunter. Unfortunately, I had no time to emulate Mr. Willett's admirable documentation, or to do more than photograph the shrine, which was by now becoming slightly overgrown at ground level, various charms and other paraphernalia of kinds described in the preceding article being partially overlaid by vegetation. The carving of the face (though it had suffered considerable damage) was rather more readily identifiable as in Yoruba style than the Ifeloto specimen seems to have been; it is surmounted by the hunter's loose cap. The arms were formed by a sawn batten passed through a hole in the post which served as the trunk of the figure; over it was arranged a thin white cotton gown, certainly not of a kind which the deceased hunter would have worn on the job. His flywhisk is seen in position on the left shoulder.

No doubt the practice can be observed in much the same form in most parts of Yorubaland.

Note

Shortly after the above note was written, Mr. T. D. P. Dalby showed me two photographs which he had taken of similar effigies on the outskirts of Efon-Alaye, a town some 30 miles east of Ife, in January, 1959. He has kindly allowed me to reproduce them here (figs. 2 and 3). 'They were,' he writes, 'about two-thirds life size, and were said by a passer-by to represent two deceased hunters. One was a recent death and one had been dead for many years. The heads were carved from wood, but the bodies appeared to be fairly rough framework suitably draped. There was an offering of a chicken placed on the right arm of each of the effigies, and a large basket filled with various scraps of food near the feet of each one. My driver, from the Ado-Ekiti district, found nothing strange about the custom.'

In the light of Mr. Willett's report that the Ifeloto figures were carved by a hunter who was not a woodcarver for any other purpose, it is noteworthy that the Efon figures, although recognizably of Yoruba origin, are not at all in the characteristic style of the Efon and Ilesha area (one of the most important centres of fine carving in Yorubaland), as exemplified in the superb set of houseposts carved by Agbonbiofe half a century ago for the main reception court of the Alaye's palace at Efon.

CORRESPONDENCE

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

336 Sir,—In their recent letters, Professor L. H. Wells and Dr. J. T. Robinson discuss schemes for subdividing the family Hominidae. They suggest the creation of separate subfamilies for tool-makers and non-tool-makers, the validity of which division I cannot accept.

Speaking of physical characters Dr. Robinson says, 'All known forms of australopithicine can be distinguished from all known forms of tool-making man....' In the latter group he presumably includes fossil forms such as Sinanthropus, Atlantarchus and Homo neanderthalensis, all associated with stone industries. However, in which subfamily are we to place Pithecanthropus and Homo heidelbergensis? Neither of them have been shown to be undoubted tool-makers, so if we take the evidence available to us at present, cultural criteria place them in the non-tool-making subfamily; morphologically the authors would surely wish to put them in the other. These ambiguities will arise in the classification of existing hominin fossils, and those found in the future, if cultural criteria are admitted into taxonomy.

It appears from their letters that both authors presuppose that no australopithcines are tool-makers and that all other fossil hominids are. As I have said above the latter assumption is not justified; the former depends on the adequacy of the archaeological record. At archaeological sites where waterlogging or unusual chemical conditions prevent the decay of organic materials, the wealth of normally perishable objects reflecting total technological ability shows the inadequacy of the ubiquitous records in stone. Therefore in the context we are discussing the term 'tool-maker' should be qualified as 'stone-tool-maker.' Bearing this in mind it is unsatisfactory that negative cultural evidence should be used as a criterion for one of the proposed subfamilies. Dr. Robinson says in addition that the behavioural aspect of tool-making involves the matter of culture, representing a major evolutionary step, and that this is a far greater difference between the australopithcines and tool-making man than the morphological difference. But the invention of stone tools represents a technological step—not an evolutionary one in the normal sense of the word; it is in itself an aspect of culture. In evolutionary descent it is impossible to envisage a divide, except an arbitrary one, between those hominids that had culture and those that did not. To select the making of stone tools seems to be just such an arbitrary division.

However my main objection to the scheme is not based on the practical difficulties of applying it. Certainly it is 'desirable that anthropological taxonomic nomenclature should be in accord with general biological practice.' Vernacular terms such as 'human' in the sense of 'Man the Tool-Maker' may be meaningful in a loose anthropological sense. But culture is not a biologically inherited characteristic, whereas inheritance is the basis of taxonomy. To translate these terms into Latin and give them the status of taxonomic subfamilies based on culture and not morphology sets aside accepted biological principles. It therefore seems to me to be invalid.

The Coryndon Museum, Nairobi

R. V. S. WRIGHT

The Snow Man. Cf. MAN, 1959, 203

337 Sir,—I was especially interested in Dr. Vlček's intriguing paper on the 'snow man' in Tibet and Mongolia as I had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Vlček and his colleagues in Mongolia last year.

Would you permit me to offer some observations on this paper? Dr. Vlček's readings of the names of the creature on the two pictures in figs. 1 and 2 are rather wide of the mark. In fig. 1 the top line of script is Tibetan and reads mi-grog. Below this we have to the left a Chinese character pronounced p'ei and to the right the Mongol words kümjin görögi. In fig. 2 the same Chinese character appears to the right, with its pronunciation (p'ei) figured in Tibetan script below. To the left we have the same Mongol words followed by two words samsa nasin in the Manchu language. Dr. Vlček's words sandja and bitihan (misspelling for betihan) are both Mongol words for monkey and are attached, in Plate H, to the tree-climbing monkey and the sitting monkey appearing directly to the right of the 'wild man,' and are thus irrelevant. His 'ososhrashin' looks like a corruption, as the creature in fig. 2 is actually referred to in the Tibetan text as mi-grog, and its zerleg khoon is a modern phrase meaning 'wild man' and was possibly furnished to him by a Mongol colleague as it nowhere occurs in Plate H.

It is hard to disentangle, by searching through dictionaries, the
means attached in various languages at different times to creatures which may turn out to be fictitious. Our 'wild man' is associated in Plate H with monkeys on the right and with bears on the left, and the names given him reflect the uncertainties as to his true nature. Tibetan mi-rig-gol is explained in Jäckle's dictionary as 'some gigantic hairy fiend' and the Mongol term kumin görgesii means, according to the Peking polyglot dictionaries of the eighteenth century, 'a gibbon-like ape from Tongking whose blood is used for dying cloth. It walks like a man and can talk.' Since Tibetan was the original language of Dr. Vlček's handbook this is probably more or less what is meant, but it is worth noting that the Manchu and Chinese names refer to a type of large bear rather than a monkey-like creature, while the Tibetan text in fig. 2, which could perhaps be better translated 'The wild man ... species, bear, etc.' refers to a bear-like creature which also looks like a man.

C. R. BAWDEN

REVIEWS

AMERICA


In the American Southwest, as everywhere, intensive excavation reveals growing cultural complexity; the old divisions of Basket-maker and Pueblo no longer suffice. Instead, four main cultures are now recognized: Anasazi (the former Pueblo); Hohekam, along the Gila basin; Mogollon, east of the headwaters of the Gila, and the newly fledged Parayan, of the Colorado basin and Flagstaff region.

Paul Martin has excavated for Chicago Natural History Museum in the southwest now for 30 seasons, first in Anasazi sites on the Colorado-Utah border, but for the past two decades in the Mogollon territory of western central New Mexico. Indeed, he and his outstanding adjutant, John Rinaldo, are largely responsible for giving body to Mogollon culture.

This booklet gives the picture of Mogollon culture which has emerged from the work of the past 15 seasons in the Pine Lawn Valley. It is written in very simple language suitable for juvenile readers. That is understandable, for Chicago Natural History Museum has for many years followed a real splendid programme of intensive co-operation with schools in the Chicago area involving full utilization of the museum's facilities to broaden the children's education. I believe there is nothing quite like this in the world, and it is something which British institutions might profitably emulate. With this orientation toward the adolescent, it is natural that popular publications should conform to the pattern. Nevertheless, there is much solid meat, notably in the chapters 'The Time of Limited Wandering,' 'Emergence of Small, Sedentary Communities,' and 'The Beginnings of Town Life.'

This good introduction to a little-known culture is enriched by an abundance of well-chosen photographs and extremely effective line drawings by Gustaf Dalstrom. The Mogollon come alive.

J. ERIC S. THOMPSON


Due credit should be given to the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna for having taken this commendable initiative in the field of scholarly publication. The work under review contains the Jesuit Father Florian Paucke's account of his vicissitudes in eighteenth-century Paraguay, more specifically the San Xavier 'reducción' to the north of Santa Fé, where from 1748 to 1769 he lived and worked among the indigenous Mocobi. This treatise, the original of which has been preserved in the library of the Cistercian Abbey in Zwettl as Zwettler Codex No. 420, had never yet been published in its entirety, until in the years 1942-44 Mr. Radames A. Altiere brought out the first complete edition, comprising three volumes, and edited in Spanish. This does not imply that up to 1942 the Codex had remained in obscurity: actually, various sections had already been published in German, such as the edition which appeared in 1870 from the hand of Father Anton Kobler, S.J. To Mrs. Etta Becker-Donner, however, we are indebted for the first complete

and unquestionably scholarly adaptation in German. This captivating work in two volumes derives additional interest from the fact that the first volume has been illustrated with 25 most interesting specimens, five of them in true colours, of Father Paucke's original drawings, together with three maps and a facsimile of his handwriting. The former 'Jesuit state' in Paraguay has by no means ceased to excite the utmost interest of scholars of various disciplines, and therefore the present publication cannot be valued too highly for making accessible one of the most important contemporary accounts.

The text of the Codex proper is preceded by an 85-page introduction, containing a total of six chapters dedicated to a clear-cut analysis by Gustav Otruba of Father Paucke's personality and of the Jesuits' missionary activities, emphasizing their work in Latin America (Chapter III) and Paraguay (Chapters IV-VII). Otruba is inclined to ascribe the Jesuits' sweeping success chiefly to the psychological acumen of their missionary approach, which was concentrated on the focal objective of adaptation to the locally prevalent way of life (p. 22). In the introduction to the second volume Mrs. Becker-Donner further elaborates the point, laying due stress on its ethnological aspects, which have hitherto been relegated to a far less conspicuous place than those pertaining to the fields of economics and history. The part of the Codex which is treated of in this first volume may be considered to comprise four different sections: Father Paucke's voyage to Paraguay, his work among the Mocobi, the Christian religion as practised by these Indians, and the expulsion of the Jesuits from Paraguay. The three remaining parts of the Codex, which are to be the subject of the second volume, are mainly concerned with Mocobi ethnography and with the geography of the Gran Chaco. In his work Father Paucke has left us a vivid description of the tremendous difficulties confronting the founders of the 'reducciones,' and of the successful methods employed by the Jesuits in overcoming these obstacles. The reader of this codex cannot but wholeheartedly endorse Otruba's contention that but for the Decree of 1767 the history of Latin America would have followed an entirely different course.

H. HACK


The authority with which Ewers writes on Plains Indian topics will already be known to readers of his important monographs on hide painting and the place of horses in Blackfoot life. His present general account of the Blackfeet, non-technical but meticulously documented, is an excellently balanced blend of ethnology and history, both of them essential to the understanding of a culture that flowered and declined within less than 200 years. At the opening of the eighteenth-century the Blackfeet were still pedestrians using dog travois, yet to become the far-ranging horsemen who dominated the northern plains and disputed the passage of American fur-traders. By the early eighteen-eighties the disappearance of the buffalo had reduced them to starvation and dependence on the erratic wisms of government administrators. Rehabilitation of a sort has been achieved but its pattern is still irregular.

Ewers carries the record through all these phases, very helpfully noting the sequence of changes in material culture. As first Curator
of the Museum of the Plains Indian near Browning, Montana, he was able to tap the memories of aged Indians of both sexes who had experienced something of the Blackfoot heyday, and thus to supplement and check the not inconceivable published sources with personal reminiscence. Separate chapters are devoted to the buffalo complex, manufactures, everyday life, recreations, religion, and—not least in interest—to the mobility of the mounted Blackfeet: there is evidence of a raiding party operating 1,500 miles from home before 1787.

On the historical side the story is concerned mainly, but not entirely, with the bands living in the United States, in part, perhaps, because life under the aegis of the Hudson’s Bay Company and later of the Canadian government tended to be less eventful. There is, however, an account of the equalitiate of 1869–74, when American whisky-traders established themselves north of the border and promoted a reign of debauchery which ended abruptly with the raising of the North-West Mounted Police. Credit is given also to the Police for their quiet success in persuading the Blackfeet to resist the overtures of the victorious Sioux after the Custer débâcle.

The illustrations are well chosen from contemporary pictures by Bodmer, Catlin and others, and from non-familiar photographs. An eight-page bibliography, listing published and some unpublished materials, provides a useful guide for those seeking more specific information. The single misprint noted (p. 20) puts the date of Kelsey’s tour on the plains a century late at 1791, but 1691 is correctly given elsewhere in the book.

In his final pages Ewers discusses the correlation, not always stressed by optimistic reporters of Indian progress, between social-economic advancement and the degree of Whitem admixture—a correlation which appears to have a positive retarding effect on the present-day fullblood minority. This is unsurprising but suggests a field for wider study, and it would be interesting to have comparative data from other Indian groups.

GEORGE TURNER


A genre of literature has grown up recently in America which might be called ‘popular sociology’ and it is a pity that Vidich and Bensman should present their monograph of a rural community in the trappings of that genre—at least from the point of view of social anthropology, for this has led to a confusing title and a certain penchant for the facile and spectacular phrase: the ‘invisible government’ recalls the Hidden Persuaders. The thought upon which the book is based is neither facile nor unoriginal and if the less entertaining kinds of data have been skipped the ethnographical picture is nevertheless convincing.

Here is a typical modern rural community within the orbit of a predominantly urban society. ‘Springdale’ is the pensioner of urban New York State, financially, politically and culturally, and has nothing to offer in return but the romance of the rural backwater: virtue, freedom and gemeinschaft ‘away from it all.’ Vidich and Bensman are not sucked in by this. The analysis of this image and its basis in reality form the theme of this book. Its veracity has been challenged by scores of writers and lampooned in the lyrics of Tom Lehrer, but the pride in being ‘just plain folks,’ all friendly, equal and democratic (and therefore superior to city folks) is here given its social background and its limits, the points at which it is vulnerable to the impact of reality. For ‘institutional realities’ do not concur with the self-image of Springdale. People here are as subject to political rivalries and economic and social inequalities as anywhere else. Gossip and intrigue go on behind the façade. The only free, at least the only carefree, are the ‘shack people,’ who pay for their freedom by being powerless and despised. The remainder of the folks are bound into a pattern of ceaseless work or good works in the service of aspirations which have little hope of fulfilment.

The authors reject a unidimensional rating scale of social classes in favour of a classification according to ‘social and economic life-styles’ and within this distinguish patterns of productive activity and consumption, and mentality, expansive or penny-pinching. The defensive mentality dominates not only the economics but also the politics of Springdale and places political power in the hands of a few individuals who are able to rule without holding the offices of leadership through their influence in different associations and whose power in one context makes them preferred leaders in another. This study is therefore of particular interest to those who may wonder how, in rural communities of high democratic principle, the political ‘boss’ is possible.

J. A. PITT-RIVERS

ASIA


The first edition of this work was published in 1945 and a major part of it was destroyed in an air raid shortly afterwards. Dr. Kano, the principal author, died in Borneo in 1945. The new edition contains greatly improved maps and includes numerous plates excluded from the original version on grounds of military security. The English-language explanations of the photographs have been substantially improved and Professor Mabuchi has contributed a valuable general introduction. Librarians who were lucky enough to have secured a copy of the original work should not hesitate to invest in this new edition; it is a great improvement.

Dr. Kano and his collaborators have made a very interesting experiment which remains unique of its kind. Judging that the task of the ethnographer is to record the way of life of tribal societies they have attempted to provide a complete photographic record of all the significant ethnographic facts relating to a single tribal group—the Yami of Botul Tobago Island. The photographs, which are of the highest quality, are admirably annotated in English and are classified under the following heads: Physical Features, Habitation, Clothing and Adornment, Agriculture, Fishing and Fishing Gear, Preparation of Foodstuffs, Boats and Boat-building, Arts and Crafts, Family Life. Having myself spent a brief period on Botul Tobago island, I can express an authoritative and quite unqualified admiration for the way in which this visual evidence has been presented. This is what the Yami look like as they go about their daily lives, and the record is remarkably complete. What marvellous places ethnographical museums might become if the objects in glass cases could always be put back into the picture by means of photographs like these!

Photographs cannot tell you everything and though Professor Mabuchi has made a splendid effort on the basis of very limited materials we remain much in the dark as to the principles of social organization which govern this interesting society. This would be a splendid place for investigation by a trained social anthropologist; the prospects, alas, are not very good, for rumour has it that the island is now being used as a political concentration camp. Meanwhile, if there be any sceptics who imagine that the romance has departed from anthropological investigation, one brief glance through the pages of this book ought to be reassuring.

E. R. LEACH


The key to this book lies in its subsidiary title, ‘An Analytical History.’ Its main theme is that in the several hundred years of Sino-Thai contact there has been a steady process of change. It is a good analysis between the two races, which has continued throughout the whole period of contact. It draws mainly from statistical and historical sources and exposes many errors made by previous writers. As the author
The majority of Chinese in Thailand are Teochiu and it is of interest to me, who have worked among Teochiu in Malaya, that many of the characteristics ascribed to Teochiu in Malaya are the opposite of those ascribed to them in Thailand. In Malaya, the Teochiu are regarded as rather a backward simple community by the majority Hokkiens and Cantonese. But in Thailand the Cantonese regard the Teochiu as very smart. Skinner shows that during the period of depression, Teochiu paddy-dealers forced all Cantonese paddy-dealers out of business. In Singapore, Teochiu Chinese are gradually tending to lose their ethnic identity in the Hokkien community and are relatively much less powerful than before the First World War. There are fewer Teochiu members on the committee of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce now than at its foundation at the beginning of the century. But in Thailand, the Teochiu are as powerful within the Chinese community as has ever been the case.

Skinner, on the basis of detailed field research, gives the relative strength of the Chinese language groups in Thailand as follows: Teochiu, Hakka, Hainanese, Cantonese, Hokkien and others. Kenneth P. Landon in *The Chinese in Thailand*, writing in 1941, gives the order of language groups as Teochiu, Cantonese, Hainanese, Hokkien and Hakka. The misinformation of previous writers is rather mysterious but the error seems to have arisen from their not having analysed sufficiently representative samples of Chinese in different areas.

Nowhere in the book does the author state what Chinese dialects or languages he speaks. All Romanization in the book is written in *guoyu* in the Wade-Giles system giving the impression that the author conversed only in Thai and in *guoyu* (which seems to be understood by a very small minority of Thai Chinese). One rather feels that where a study is made of a Chinese community, which consists of over 50 per cent. of one dialect group, in this instance Teochiu, the dominant language or dialect should be the basis of any system of Romanization. The Teochiu language is sufficiently distant from *guoyu* in idiom and syntax to make this worthwhile. The gain to other Chinese scholars in translating all Chinese terms into standard *guoyu* Romanization is offset by the loss in intelligibility, the more so when there is an excellent Chinese character reference list to which any puzzled reader may refer. I hope that in the subsequent volume local dialect terms will be used as well as or instead of *guoyu*.

This is a well written, scholarly work and it succeeds in encouraging members of the Thai government to continue to follow a policy of Sino-Thai assimilation so successful in the past, it is a work well undertaken.

WILLIAM H. NEWELL

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**EUROPE**

Sámiid Dilt. *Edited by Kalle Nickul, Asbjorn Neheim and Israel Ruong.* (Text in Norwegian or Swedish and Finnish.) *Oslo,* 1957. Pp. 344

Lappish-born and Lappish-speaking persons belong not only to four different national states, they follow at least four separate types of livelihoods, of which only reindeer-breeding is exclusively 'Lappish' (and then only so in Sweden and Norway); and the reindeer-breeders are but a small minority within the otherwise culturally and ethnically identified Minority. Academically, the Lappish situation resembles 'models' of most of the demographic and community problems to be found in rural Europe. Humanly and administratively these problems cause much distress, and each year the need for some solution is heightened, whilst an equitable one seems to become less and less feasible.

These 27 essays by specialists are then to be welcomed. The contributions cover demographic, economic, community, linguistic, pedagogic, juridical and historical aspects. Some are by University lecturers, others by elementary school teachers; some are by Lapps, most by non-Lapps. They were read at the Norden-Skandinavisk Lappish Conference, which was held in North Sweden in 1953.

The occasion was distinguished as an augury not a little disquieting: a meeting (an awakening) of the elite to preside over the demise of the Minority.

Some editorial orientation would have been appropriate. There is little relevant precedent for a Lappish Movement in the Scandinavian Peasant Movements and the Redfieldian thesis of life-giving articulation between Great and Little Traditions of the same culture cannot apply. The modern-dress slogan of the Conference, though not of all the papers, was 'Activisation'; but what 'Lappish' elixir is to be tapped? The disinterestedness of most Lapps in their 'activisation' is nearly philosopich and most certainly derives from their understanding that whatever distinctive cultural heritage and collective sense they still have today stems from their forefathers' refusals to be 'activised.' Although Dr. Zhivago was haut bourgeois, there are interesting affinities between his and the non-articulated, historical Lappish (non-elite) refusals. These remarks of course refer to that side of the Lappish coin which was not particularly exposed at the Conference.

An English edition of the symposium is to appear this year in Paris.

ROBERT PAINE
New Archaeological and Ethnological Results from Niah Caves, Sarawak
(with Plate A in colour and three text figures)
Tom Harrison

Towards a Classification of Cult Movements
Marian W. Smith, M.A., Ph.D.

Shorter Notes
New Dates for Polynesian Prehistory
Dr. H. L. Shapiro and Robert C. Suggs

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS
The Hon. Editor of MAN is absent from London on fieldwork in Nigeria until about 24 April, 1959, but has made arrangements to publish MAN normally during this period. The issues up to and including that for May, 1959, have been largely prepared in advance, with the exception of the correspondence columns. In order to assist him in maintaining regularity of publication, he trusts that—apart from letters for publication, which will be welcome—only the most pressing communications (addressed to W. B. Fagg, Hon. Editor of MAN, c/o The Museum, Ife, Western Nigeria) will be sent to him in the field. Others may be addressed to him at the British Museum, London, W.C.1, to await his return. He begs indulgence for any inconvenience which these arrangements may cause to contributors and others.
In future, contributors are particularly asked to send orders for offprints of their articles direct to the Institute as soon as possible after receiving proofs.

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The Distribution of Zande Clans in the Sudan
(with a table and a map)
Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard

Shorter Notes
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**R.A.I. CHRISTMAS CARD, 1959**

This year's cards will, it is expected, be ready for distribution within a few days of the appearance of this issue, that is early in November. The card (pale lemon-yellow in colour) bears a pleasing representation of the Snow Man which was recently found in a Tibetan book of about 1800 by Professor Emanuel Vlké; it is reproduced as fig. 1 in his article in the August issue of MAN. Prices: 9 shillings a dozen for the first three dozen, additional dozens 7 shillings each—not 8 shillings as previously expected—; if despatched overseas by the printers, one shilling less in each case. Postage is extra.
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By the time this notice appears, supplies of this year’s Christmas card, representing the Snow Man of Mongolia and Tibet as pictured in a Tibetan book of about 1800 (and published in MAN for August), may be in danger of running short, and Fellows are advised to order them quickly.
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— \textit{Tswana tribal governments today}. Berlin, 1958. 140–54 pp. (Sociologus, 8)

Colson, E. \textit{Marriage and the family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia}. Manchester Univ. Press, 1958. xvi, 379 pp.


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Vol. 88 Part II

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Bones of Contention. The Huxley Memorial Lecture, 1958 Sir Wilfrid E. Le Gros Clark

Magical Hair. Carl Bequest Prize Essay, 1957 E. R. Leach

Spirits, Witches and Sorcerers in the Supernatural Economy of the Yakö Daryll Forde

The Late Stone Age of Ceylon Bridget Allchin

Ancient Glass Beads, with Special Reference to the Beads of East and Central Africa and the Indian Ocean W. G. N. Van Der Sleen

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Redi, F. 'An account of the date palm ... A.D. 1666; translated by V. H. W. Dowson.' London, 1956. 207-13 pp. (Trop. Agriculture, Trin. 33:3)

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— 'Some further comments on cultural relativism.' [Menasha, Wis.], 1958. 266-73 pp. (Am. Anthrop. 60:2)
— 'Some further notes on Franz Boas' Arctic expedition.' [Menasha, Wis.], 1957. 112-16 pp. (Am. Anthrop. 59:11)

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Beckman, L. A contribution to the physical anthropology and population genetics of Sweden: variations of the ABO, Rh, MN and P blood groups. Lund, 1959. 189 pp. (Hereditas, 45)

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Martin, P. S. Diggings into history; a brief account of fifteen years of archaeological work in New Mexico. [Chicago], 1959. 157 pp. (Pop. Ser. Chicago nat. Hist. Mus. (a), 38)

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— Three Pakistan villages. Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina, Institute for Research in Social Science, 1958. iv, 95 leaves. (mimeo)
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PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY


Sarmento, A. 'Contribuição para o estudo da sero-antropologia dos Huambos.' Lisbon, 1959. 3-6 pp. (Medicina, Lisbon).

Sergi, G. 'Die neandertalischen Paläanthropinen in Italien.' [Köln-Graz], 1958. 38-51 pp. (Hundert Jahre Neanderthal)

- 'I tipi umani più antichi precomini e ondini fossili.' Torino, 1958. 69-133 pp. (Le razze e i popoli della terra, 1).

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