Charles R. Jenkins, retired professor of anthropology at Alliance College, Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania, and former director of the college's archaeological field school and laboratory, died Saturday, September 28, 1985, at Spencer Hospital, Meadville, Pennsylvania.

Professor Jenkins was born in Brooklyn, New York, October 23, 1921, a son of Dr. Charles and Charlotte Walker Jenkins. He married Elizabeth Purcell in 1943.

Recognized internationally as an expert on the American Indian, Professor Jenkins held degrees from New York University, Springfield College and Columbia University, and conducted post-graduate work at Indiana University.

He was an elected Fellow of the American Anthropological Association; a research associate of the Carnegie Museum - Section of Man, Pittsburgh; and a member of many other science organizations. He was listed in "Who's Who" and in "American Men and Women of Science" directories.

He was a national executive of Lambda Alpha, National Collegiate Honor Society for Anthropology; a member of Pi Gamma Mu, National Social Science Honor Society; and a charter member, officer and adviser of the French Creek Chapter, Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology.

Professor Jenkins authored many scholarly articles, including most recently "The Tobin Site Report," detailing his archaeological investigations of an Archaic Era Indian manifestation in Crawford County, Pennsylvania.

During World War II, he served with the 491st Anti-aircraft Artillery AW Battalion, Medical Detachment, in the European Theater.

He is survived by his wife, two daughters, Mrs. Charles (Sandra) Draus of RD 2, Cambridge Springs, and Jean Jenkins of RD 1, Guys Mills; a sister, Mrs. Ethel Groht of Yorktown Heights, New York; three grandsons; a niece and two nephews.

Services were held Monday, September 30, at H. William Van Matre Funeral Home, Cambridge Springs, with the Reverend Donald Hake, pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, officiating. Cremation followed the service.
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A WORD ABOUT MANUSCRIPTS

LAMBDA ALPHA will consider manuscripts for publication in any field of Anthropology from faculty or students. Papers submitted for publication should be typed double-spaced on noncorrasable paper following the pattern established in American Anthropologist. All references to literature must be correctly documented with the author's name, date of publication, and the page number, e.g. (Smith 1969:340). Manuscripts should be sent to:

The Editor
Journal of Man
Department of Anthropology
Wichita, KS 67208
The 20th anniversary of the Lambda Alpha International Honors Society will be in 1988. As the founding chapter, we at Wichita State University are considering hosting a national conference. If you are interested in being put on a mailing list and/or have suggestions for topics for discussion, activities, or events; please fill out and return the form below. We encourage your response so that this conference can be a smashing success! We hope that chapters will inform their members, both past and present, of these plans. Return form to:

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Wichita, KS 67208

For the present time, matters concerning membership, dues and scholarships should be directed to:

Dr. B.K. Swartz, Jr.
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Ball State University
Muncie, IN 47306

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TO OUR READERS

As co-editors of the JOURNAL OF MAN we would like to encourage readers to send us comments on Volume 16 No. 2 and the articles published in it.

We feel these comments can provide information useful for improving future volumes and help us in the continuing effort to produce a quality journal. We hope to publish as many of your comments as possible in the next issue of the journal.

In addition, we still welcome any ideas readers may have for future cover designs.

Jan Smith
Lorna Batterson
CALL FOR PAPERS

Manuscripts are now being accepted for the JOURNAL OF MAN, Volume 18 published by Lambda Alpha, the national Anthropological Honor Society. Professional, avocational and student manuscripts are welcome. The deadline for acceptance of articles for this issue is March 1, 1986. Papers should range from five to twenty-five pages in length and should be typewritten following the format accepted by American Anthropologists.

Manuscripts should be sent to:

Editors, JOURNAL OF MAN
Department of Anthropology
Box 52
Wichita State University
Wichita, KS 67208
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The Kansa Indians were located in the historic period in northeastern Kansas, south of the Missouri river. They are one of the Dhegiha Siouans, along with the Osage, Omaha, Ponca, and Quapaw (Dorsey, 1897). Swanton (1952:234) states that "according to tradition, the Kansa and the others of the same group originated on the Ohio River, the Kansa separating from main body at the mouth of the Kansas River". Chapman (1974:vol.3, 204) refutes this theory and argues for a development in place (1974: vol.3, 221).

Professor William Unrau of Wichita State University has done perhaps the only histories of the Kansa or Kaw (Unrau, 1975; and Unrau, 1978). His version of the Dhegiha Siouan migration is as follows:

"Tradition and significant historical evidence tell that a major separation among the Dhegiha-Siouans occurred at the mouth of the Ohio River. Those who continued down the Mississippi took the name Quapaw, meaning 'downstream people', while those who ascended the river were known as the Omahas, 'those gathering against the wind or current'. The Kaw, Osage, Ponca, and Omaha splinter groups journeyed to the mouth of the Mississippi near present St. Louis where they remained 'for some time'. Still maintaining a common social and political organization, the four tribes then migrated up the Missouri to a place described as an 'extensive peninsula having a high mountain as a landmark,' possibly midway between Jefferson City and St. Louis. Later they traveled to the mouth of the Osage River where another major separation took place. Crossing to the north side of the Missouri the Poncas and Omahas proceeded to present southeastern Nebraska, while the Osages ascended the Osage River to the Ozark country to the southwest. The Kaws took the middle road, migrating up the Missouri past the mouth of the Kaw River, where their progress was soon blocked by an alien people.
These were the powerful Otoes, Sauks, and Iowas, and, perhaps, a few of the more venturesome bands of Republican Pawnee whose main village was some 150 miles to the west. Rebuffed, the Kaws retraced their steps and established a core settlement near the site of present Doniphan, Kansas—roughly 40 miles northeast of Kansas City. This was the 'Grand Village des Canzes' visited by the Frenchman Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont in 1724. . ." (Unrau, 1975:5-6).

In many tribes of this area the individual bands often lived apart from each other throughout much of the year (Clark, 1884). Of the Kansa Unrau says: "By the time they made their final trek to future Kay County, Oklahoma, in 1873, the Kansa-Kaws were so divided in matters political that the Rock Creek, Kahola, Picayune, and Half-blood bands were conducting themselves as separate tribes", (Unrau, 1978:102). Certainly these separate bands could have lived apart from the main body in protohistoric times as well.

During the Historic Period they were bounded on the northwest by the Pawnee, whose hunting grounds overlapped theirs, the northeast by the Missouri tribe and river as well as the Iowas and Otoes and to the south and east by their cousins the Osages (Unrau, 1971:37). Driver and Massey in their comprehensive work Comparative Studies of North American Indians (1957) have listed the following traits as being characteristic of the Kansa:

Siouan language, end-pointed digging sticks, ethnographic evidence for maize cultivation, stone-boiling of food, wooden food mortars, pit food storage, salt use, elbow pipes of stone, carrying baskets, dog travois, bullboats, 'prairie earthlodge' with hide, mat, and/or earth coverings, log or pole platforms within the dwellings, circular dwelling arrangements, 2 or more families in a single dwelling, water-vapor sweating, men's roached hair-cuts and thigh-length leggings, softsoled moccasins, clothing manufactured by women, hide containers, ethnographic evidence for pottery, pottery coiling by women, hand fire drills, sword-shaped clubs, hide shields, part-time craft specialization, patricentered dwelling ownership, polygyny 20%+ common, patrilocal extended families, patrilocal post-nuptial residence, patrilineally exogamous descent, 13 multiple sibs, patrilineal exogamous moieties, and patrilineal subsistence patterns (Driver & Massey, 1957:213-480).
The Kansa were called Alaho by the Kiowa, Mohtawas by the Comanche, Ukase by the Fox, and sometimes Hutanga by themselves (Swanton, 1952:293).

HISTORIC ACCOUNTS

The first appearance of the Kansa in historic accounts is perhaps the Guaes in Coronado's narrative (Swanton, 1952:293). This is rendered slightly more plausible by the fact of the mention of 'Guachases' in the record of Pedro Vial (Loomis & Nasatir, 1967:276) as probably being Osages. The next possible mention is in Onates records of his explorations of 1601, if the 'Escanjaques' are the Kansa out on their summer bison hunt. These 'Escanjaques' are so called because "they extend the hand towards the sun and immediately return it to the breast saying loudly escanxaque which would signify peace..." (Wedel, 1946:8). These people were apparently south of the Great Bend of the Arkansas River, as Wedel (1946:6) says they were south of the Quivirans, or Wichita, which Wedel has proved to be the Little River Focus of the Great Bend Aspect. Culturally, these 'escanjaques' lived in some 600 circular houses of poles covered with tanned hides, lived solely by bison hunting, used the bow and arrow, and were lead by chiefs with little authority. They were at war with the Quivirans, and attacked Onates party as they were leaving (Wedel, 1946:6-8).

The Marquette map of 1673-4 places the Kansa south of the Omaha and Oto, west of the Osage, and just east of the Wichita (Wedel, 1946:9). Other reports from before the early 1700's are generally inaccurate enough to be useless for precise geographical comparisons, and the voyagers did not leave many written records. It is interesting to note a war party of Ottowa and Illinois in the late 1600's were planning to attack the Osages and Kansa from their Great Lakes homeland (Wedel, 1946:9).

The Delisle map of 1718 shows two sets of 'Cansez' villages. The first is just south of the 'Petite Riv. de Cansez', while the second is farther west on what appears to be a southern tributary of the 'Grande Riviere des Cansez'. I feel there are two discernable interpretations to this map. The first, and most probable, interpretation is that the first fork of the Kansas River is the modern Blue River, which would put the second Kansa village at the mouth of the Republican River. Another alternative would put this second village at the juncture of the Solomon and Smoky Hill Rivers.
Little mention of the Kansa in historical records occurs for the next half-century; however, it seems that they were moving their villages away from the Missouri River. Wedel (1946:12) states "It seems remotely possible that in so doing, the Kansa were returning to an older habitat, to a region occupied perhaps before the identified sites on the Missouri."

At any event, Lewis and Clark in 1804 reported the Kansa had two villages, one about 20 leagues, the other 40 leagues up the Kansa river (Wedel, 1946:12; and Wedel 1959:52). This westward movement is also noted by Sibley in 1811 as the Kansa village is reported to be 100 miles "by water" up the Kansa River (Wedel, 1959:52). A treaty was signed with the U. S. in 1825, arranged by Clark of Lewis and Clark. Wedel postulates "Following their treaty with the United States in 1825, the Kansa began a drift eastward" (Wedel, 1959:53). Living in several villages along the Kansas River, in 1846 another treaty was signed by the Kansa and the U.S., giving the Kansa a small reservation around the headwaters of the Neosho. At this reservation the more unscrupulous elements of American society had far more influence than the educational and religious attempts to "civilize" the Kansa (Wedel, 1946:15). Also debilitating was smallpox, especially the epidemic of 1855, which reportedly took more than 400 lives (Wedel, 1946:16). The treaty of 1872 removed the Kansa or Kaw as they were becoming known, to present Kay County, Oklahoma where their descendants still reside. Swanton (1952: 293-4) lists the following names and sites of Kansa villages:

Bahekube - near a mountain south of the Kansas River in Kansas.


Djestyedje - On Kansas R. near Lawrence.

Gakhulinulinube - near head of south tributary of Kansas R.

Igamansabe - on Big Blue R.

Manhazitanman - on Kansas R. near Lawrence.
Manyinkatuhudje - at the mouth of the Blue R.

Neblazhetama - West bank of Mississippi mouth in Missouri.

Niudje - On Kansas R. 4 miles north of Kansas City.

Tanmangile - On the Blue R.

Zandahulin - At the Kaw Agency in 1882.

In addition, 5 villages Inchi, Ishtakhechiduba, Padjegadjin, Pasulin, and Zhanichi are at unspecified places along the Kansas River, leaving open the possibility that they were located along the Republican, Solomon, or some other Branch of the Kansas River. Finally, another five villages are listed as 'location uncertain': Gakhulin, Waheheyingetseyabe, Wazhazhepa, Yuzhemakancheubukhpaye, and Zandjezhinga.

The major hypothesis of this work is an early Kansa occupation of northern Kansas. This occupation can be attributable to:

Semi-permanent occupation of the area in protohistoric times, consisting of hunting camps occupied during the seasonal bison hunts with the main villages of the Kansa farther east, being bounded on the west by the Plains Apache or Dismal River Aspect, north by the Pawnee of the Lower Loup Phase, and south by the Quivirans/Wichita or Great Bend Phase. This is also where some of the western Oneota sites are found.

Oneota Description

It is fairly well known that the Oneota tradition is representative of Chiwere Siouan groups like Winnebagos and Ioways, and perhaps other peoples (Wedel, 1959, Harvey, 1979, Jennings, 1978). As for the origin of Oneota, Jennings states, "There is evidence for population spread from Cahokia to northwest Illinois and southern Wisconsin sometime between A.D. 1000 and 1100. One theory is that these groups and others from Cahokia became the Oneota societies" (Jennings, 1978: 264). In point of fact, various sites have been identified with particular tribes, Fanning with Kansa, Leary with Oto, Stanton with Omaha (Jennings, 1978: 212; Wedel, 1959: 611). Tribes moving around in the
plains prairie area is a fairly wellknown phenomena, the Cheyenne being one of the most wellknown. And there is no doubt that the Kansa are a Siouan tribe (Driver and Massey, 1957; Swanton, 1952).

The Oneota tradition consists mainly of sites in the prairie peninsula with some westward extensions, (Wedel, 1959:602). There are four main Foci: the Orr Focus in northern Iowa, southeast Minnesota, and Wisconsin; the Blue Earth Focus in southern Minnesota and Iowa; the Lake Winnebago Focus in eastern Wisconsin; and the Grand River Focus in central Wisconsin.

Regarding the western Oneota sites, Wedel states:

"As a group the western sites appear to diverge from the named foci in a number of particulars. There is not much evidence regarding the prevalent house type, but the earth lodge was pretty certainly known and in use at nearly all western sites. The circular form is indicated at Fanning and Stanton, the older square form at Leary and probably Ashland. . . . Among other features that appear to distinguish the Western Oneota sites may be listed the following: high frequency of bison scapula hoes, bone arrowshaft wrenches, and antler projectile points; a tendency toward somewhat greater size in chipped stone projectile points and end scrapers, with the latter especially present in large numbers; more ground stone traits including grooved mauls, inscribed catlinite (cf. Iowa Orr Focus), greater frequency of catlinite, and perhaps more numerous grinding stones; much less worked shell; scarcity or absence of bone 'counters' and metapodial beaming tools. . . . While the general affinities of the western Oneota sites are clear, it would be premature to attempt assignment of any of them to one of the named (eastern) foci or to group them in another focus" (Wedel, 1959:609-610).

PREVIOUS KANSA ARCHAEOLOGY

In regards to sites already tentatively identified as Kansa there are several. The Kansa Village site, (14PO24), is located northeast of Manhattan, Kansas, along the Kansas River near the juncture with the Blue River. This site had been mapped by the Kansas State Historical Society in 1880 and has been identified as the principal village of the Kansa during the first part of the 1800's (Wedel, 1959:
By the time of Wedel's investigations much of the site had been destroyed although some valuable data was recovered. One house was excavated and is a circular earthlodge type 29 feet in diameter with four centerposts. Diagnostic materials recovered include animal bones, gun and trap parts, charred corncob, and a mud dauber nest (Wedel, 1959: 190-1). Faunal remains, in order of abundance, are Deer, Black bear, Horse, Bison, Puma, Beaver, Gopher, and Raccoon. Turkey was also represented, as were 20 mussel shell fragments representing 6 species (Wedel, 1959: 192).

No pottery was found at this site and Wedel (1959: 193) states this:

"...suggests that the Kansa by the first quarter of the 19th century had given up most of their native material culture and were relying largely upon the American traders to supply their need for tools, weapons, and utensils. ... This is, after all, what might be expected of a tribe that had been for well over half a century been in contact with white traders and that, for a considerable time, resided on or near a major trade artery of the region" (Wedel, 1959:193).

Unfortunately, this also kept Wedel from defining a complex of aboriginal traits that would help in comparison with other sites of supposed Kansa origin, Fanning and Doniphan.

At the Fanning site, 14PD1, in the northeastern corner of Kansas along Wolf Creek, Wedel did some explorations, excavating a house, cache pits, and 3 middens. The faunal assemblage, in order of abundance, includes Whitetail Deer, Bison, Dog, Unidentified Canis, Raccoon, Beaver, Black Bear, Gopher, Elk, Puma, Lynx, Woodchuck, Opposum, and Jackrabbit. Of this Wedel states, "With the exception of the bison and jackrabbit, none of the above species can be regarded as typically Plains forms. The list, in fact, represents a fair sampling of the animals characteristic of the hardwood forests and tall grass prairies of northeast Kansas; and probably any of them could have been easily taken along the timbered streams and bluffs a short distance from the village site" (Wedel, 1959:142).

This would tend to support Fanning as a western Oneota, or Kansa village since the westward moving Siouans were basically a woodland-adapted people. The pottery is shell tempered, smoothed or simple stamped, and has been defined as Fanning Plain (Wedel, 1959:145). These are usually medium
to large globular jars with rounded bases, constricted necks, outcurved rims, and many have strap handles. Decorations are found only on lips and handles. Fanning Trailed Ware is also defined from this site and has the shell temper and simple stamping and smoothing of the Fanning Plain on its jars; however, the handles are predominately loop on the smaller jars. Body decoration consists of trailed lines, some chevrons, with lip decorations mainly punctates, although 25% were undecorated (Wedel, 1959:145-53). Eight sherds of Lower Loup pottery were found indicating some contact with the protohistoric Pawnee.

Stone tools include triangular unnotched projectile points of widely varying quality, drill points, knives, many end scrapers, abraders, 1 celt, milling stones, and several pieces of worked catlinite (Wedel, 1959:154-62). Other tools identified are scapula hoes, needles, and awls. Objects of Euro-American manufacture are present but not abundant and consist mainly of some iron and brass fragments which Wedel believes come from "tenuous and infrequent" trade contacts (Wedel, 1959:166). Fanning has been tentatively identified with the Kansa and Wedel states "...it still appears likely that the Fanning site was the location of the Kansa as of roughly the time of Marquette or perhaps a little later", i.e. about 1700 (Wedel, 1959:171). Wedel also states that "An impression persists that Fanning is somewhat more deviant than other Western Oneota manifestations... There is a feeling that the people who lived at Fanning, while clinging to an Oneota tradition, somehow didn't care too much and made little effort to achieve the standards reached by other related groups of the Western periphery" (Wedel, 1959:610-11).

As for the Doniphan site about 16 miles south, the main interest stems from the fact that this "site is believed, with very good reason, to mark the principal village of the Kansa Indians when they were visited by Bourgmond in 1724 (Remsburg, 1919)" (Wedel, 1959:100). Wedel excavated in July, 1937. Found there was evidence of a Nebraska Aspect habitation and a later, probably Kansa occupation. Faunal remains in order of specimens are Whitetailed deer, Black bear, Beaver, Elk, Bison, Dog, Raccoon, and Groundhog. Turkey was represented only by 1 fragment and 14 species of mollusks were identified among the remains. Also found were 9 corncobs, charred kernels, plum pits, and black walnut shells (Wedel, 1959:118-9). Pottery is scarce, although some of the shell tempered pieces in caches 1-4 and 11 and 14 are "strongly reminiscent of much of the heavy plainware at the Fanning site" (Wedel, 1959:120). Furthermore:
"I suggest that the 10 shell-tempered sherds represent a locally made utility ware of probable Kansa manufacture; that the Lower Loup Sherds indicate contacts between the Kansa at the Doniphan site and a protohistoric 18th century Pawnee (Lower Loup) people in Eastcentral Nebraska; and that these sherds, along with the White trade material, are in line with what might be expected in a Kansa village community of Bourgmund's time, i.e., circa 1724" (Wedel, 1959: 122).

Stone at Doniphan consists of 7 projectile points with "clumsy or careless flaking the rule", 5 end scrapers, 1/2 of a grooved limestone club head, several pieces of Catlinite in various stages of pipe manufacture, quartzite hammerstones, and a piece of hematite for pigment. A bone needle and antler tool handle, as well as several glass beads from about 1700 to 1780, an iron knife blade, lead cross, and some brass ornaments were found (Wedel, 1959: 122-4).

As far as I am aware, there has been no other village sites examined that are attributed to the Kansa. This, as Wedel (1959:193) has already mentioned, makes it very difficult to ascertain a trait complex for the protohistoric Kansa, to aid in site identification. In view of this problem, it seems that historic and ethnohistoric records would be perhaps the major source of information.

ETHNOHISTORIC CONSIDERATIONS

Some of the ethnographic and historic mentions of the Kansa have been mentioned earlier. The Spanish explorations of Coronado do not yield a wealth of information on the only group that is possibly Kansa, the Guaes, other than they were hostile to the Quivirans (Wedel, 1959: 51) and used the dog and travois to follow the bison (Hammond & Rey, 1940: 293). However, Onate's parties' descriptions of the 'Escanjaques' have caused much debate as to the identity of this group.

These 'Escanjaques' are so called because they raised their hands to the sun and said 'escanjaque' (p.6, Hammond & Rey, 1953:752). Hammond and Rey's (1953:752) translation yields the following information:

"...[they] raised the palms of the hands towards the sun, which is the sign of peace among them. ...their huts, which were made of branches
about ten feet high placed in a circle. Some of their huts were so large that they measured ninety feet across. Most of them were covered with tanned skins, which made them look like tents."

Assuming Blakeslee's (1975) Interband Trade System theory is correct, and that sign language is in general usage, as seems the case, then sign language may lend a clue to the identity of these people. Clark (1884:352) states "Indians have no salutation like ours on meeting or separating. . . Sometimes the palms of the hands are first held towards the sun. . ." as a form of "bless you" (1884:74). The actual sign for peace was clasping the hands in front of the body, usually with the back of the left down (Clark, 1884:295).

Hammond and Rey (1953) estimate that these people were about 20 miles (6 or 7 leagues) south of the Arkansas River, west of Wichita. Wedel (1959:22) thinks they were probably in Harper or Sumner Counties, Kansas. They used bows and "hardwood war clubs three spans long with a large piece of flint at the end and a strap at the handle so as not to lose the club in battle. They have a large buffalo shield to cover and protect the entire body" (Hammond & Rey, 1953:841). Both men and women were painted with stripes, the women on their faces, breasts, and arms; the men on the face. Wedel (1959:22) feels they may have been tattooed. The depredations on the Quivirans evidently caused a trek to New Mexico to seek Spanish aid against the "Escanjaques" (Wedel, 1959:22).

There are three probable cultural affiliations for these people: Kansa, Plains Apache, or Caddoan. As was mentioned above, these people may have been in the area around Wichita. Pike, in 1806, reported the Kansa hunting grounds to be south of the Arkansas River by Lyons, south to the Ninnescah, or just west of Wichita (Wedel, 1959:40). Tixier (1940:137-9), in the 1840's, said that the Osage and Kansa men:

"...use vermillion, verdegris, and yellow paint, red around their roach, eye sockets, and ears. . . Women have their bodies tattooed with blue lines which intersect and form irregular designs. . . [They are] first tattooed during puberty. . . necks, chests, backs, arms, back of hands, stomach down to hips, lower thighs and legs are marked with blue lines, drawn by red hot iron and charcoal."

It is quite possible that the Kansa were out in this area, harassing the Quivirans, before the identified sites on the Missouri (Wedel, 1946:12). Certainly their practice
of tattooing is similar to the "Escajaques". The problem remains, however, since the Plains Apache and Caddos also practiced tattooing (Opler, 1941:21-2; Blakeslee, personal communication, 1/29/1985).

Wedel (1959:59) feels that these Escajaques were Plains Apache and that the Dismal River Focus is evidence of their occupation. This is quite possible, as Opler (1941:21) reports paint used for decoration at gatherings, or put on at any time.

The Apache also tattooed. Both sexes tattooed the inner part of the arm with cactus needles, charcoal, and ocher (Opler, 1941:22).

To further complicate the problem, these "escajaques" could have been one of the Caddoan groups later known as the Wichita (Swanton, 1952). In fact, Clark (1884:403) states:

"Mr. Dunbar also includes in this family the Caddos, Wacos, Keechers, and Ta-wa-conies. The Wichita women formerly, in summer, usually wore only a short bark skirt about the loins, no waist. They painted or tattooed rings around the breasts, and from this custom sprang the tribal sign. There is no evidence that the men tattooed any part or portion of their face or body".

If the "Escajaques" are not the Kansa, perhaps there is still mention of them in Onate's travels, for farther on past the Qivirans lived people who "dressed in blankets" (Hammond & Rey, 1953:858). These "Rayado" people "painted themselves with stripes from eye to ear" (Hammond & Rey, 1953:855). It is interesting to note these characteristics for the Kansa (Wedel, 1946: plates; Tixier, 1940: sketches). In fact, a breast tattoo was a Kansa warriors highest honor (Wedel, 1946:24). At any event, it is unfortunate that the records of Onate are not more revealing.

The next Spanish references that are possibly Kansa are mentions of the "Canceres" as French allies in 1720. They were probably located in southwestern Kansas (Wedel, 1959:51). In the next couple of years the French record two visits with the Kansa: La Renaudiere in 1723, and Bourgmond in 1724. Of particular interest is Bourgmond's travel towards the Padouca (Comanche). Bourgmond visited the Kansa, probably at the Doniphan site (Wedel, 1946:11). Wanting to establish trade relations with the Comanche, he and two Kansa grand chiefs, 14 war chiefs, 300 warriors, 300 women, 500 children, and 300 dogs to carry supplies and
baggage, went on their summer bison hunt (Wedel, 1946:10). This establishes an obvious familiarity with this mode of travel and subsistence procurement, perhaps developed some hundred years before.

The next pertinent information comes from Pedro Vial's explorations from Santa Fe in 1792 (Loomis & Nasatir, 1967). On June 29, 1792, Pedro Vial was traveling along the Arkansas River, and met some Kansa around Dodge City. They seized the horses, captured and stripped Vial and his companions. Some wanted Vial killed, others protected him, and rushed him into a lodge to eat in order to receive protection (Loomis & Nasatir, 1967:377). Vial and company stayed at this camp till August 16th, then traveled 10 days (50 leagues) to a village on the "Kansas River", perhaps at Alma, Nebraska if on the Republican River; or around Phillipsburg, if on the Solomon. There they stayed until September 16th, when they left with a French "voyager", who had arrived five days earlier with tobacco, vermilion, blankets, powder, balls, and muskets. Traveling by the Kansas River to the Missouri junction Vial related that it was "uninhabited on either shore" (Loomis & Nasatir, 1967:378).

The Editors feel that since Vial overestimated the distance from the mouth of the Kansas to St. Louis by about 30%, if this correction is also applied to his other figures, the Kansa village is about Superior, Nebraska, if on the Republican; or at Beloit, Kansas, if on the Solomon River (Loomis & Nasatir, 1967:379).

Pike's expedition is 1806 reported the main Kansa hunting grounds slightly to the east and south. There was a trail running south from the Smoky Hill River that crossed the Arkansas around Sterling, Kansas, and the hunting grounds were from south of the Arkansas River to the Negracka (Ninnescah); or present Stafford, Reno, and Pratt Counties (Wedel, 1959:40). Pike also reports an abandoned Kansa hunting camp from the previous summer in Marion County (Wedel, 1959:39).

Perhaps this slight shift towards the east is indicative of the influence the Comanche had in the southcentral plains. It is fairly well known that the Comanche and others had spread into the Plains around 1700 (Voget, 1974:vol. I, 297). Wedel (1959:634-5) mentions the Apache as middlemen in the trade from the Southwest to the Plains; and that the shifting of peoples in the area between the Platte and the Arkansas Rivers appears to have been complete by around 1725.
It has already been ascertained that the Kansa are a Dhegiha Siouan tribe, practicing a semi-horticultural subsistence strategy. This may be inaccurate. Voget (1974: vol. I, 4) states:

"From the seasonal cycle of the Osage, it may be concluded that the Osage supplemented their meat diet with Maize, beans, and squash together with wild fruits and roots, rather than the reverse. In this respect they seem to have been not unlike other hunting groups also practicing part-time horticulture, such as the Kansa, Oto, and Pawnee."

Lewis and Clark in 1804 said that the Kansa are in their villages (along the Kansas River) from March 15th to May 15th, and from August 15th to October 15th, and that the rest of the year they were hunting. "They hunt on the upper part of the Kansas and Arkansas Rivers." (Champe, 1974:432-3) If this were the case 100 to 200 years earlier, more time was spent hunting than in the permanent villages.

In point of fact, some horticulture may have been practiced at these hunting camps. Bell's party of Long's expedition on August 15, 1820, reported an abandoned hunting camp on the Arkansas River, perhaps around Wichita. It had bark-covered lodges, a few pumpkins, watermelons, and some corn growing (Wedel, 1959:41). As already mentioned, bark-covered lodges are characteristic of the Kansa, and the embedded strategy would explain the scapula hoes in some sites.

Another problem presented is determination of house type (Marshall, 1969:82). It is known that the earthlodge was in use by the early 1700's; however, the bark-covered lodge was also in use and probably predates the earthlodge. In housing types the Kansa historically demonstrated both Mississippian and Central Plains styles. In this regard Tixier (1940: 200-1) states:

"I noticed how different the Kansa lodges were from ours [Osages]. Each frame was covered with skins decorated with red, yellow, blue, and black designs which, through their primitive simplicity, recall the ancient Egyptian paintings. These lodges, the lower parts of which were very much like ours, were covered with semi-cylindrical roofs, raised in the middle in the shape of a tent. Several warriors had real tents made of painted skins."
These bark-covered lodges may not leave a good postmold pattern to be discerned by the archeologist. Or perhaps the answer to the problem may be discovered in another of Tixier's observations during the bison hunt and visit to the salt plains near present Salina, Kansas. He states:

"A prairie camp was made, that is to say, the lodges were not built. Stakes were driven into the ground, supporting skins stretched vertically which sheltered us from the west" [Tixier, 1940:252].

The Kansa also visited another salt deposit of special significance. Unrau (1975:20-22) states:

"An unusual salt spring near the fork of the Solomon River recently inundated by the Glen Elder Reservoir in north-central Kansas, held special religious significance [to the Kansa]. Because its salt banks rose to a height of nearly thirty feet, the Kaws named it Ne-pa-ho-la, meaning "Water on the hill." Kaws repeatedly visited the sacred site to throw valuable charms into the salty brine.""

Living near such a sacred site would certainly not be considered unusual, and probably beneficial.

A final problem to be considered is the location of the Kansa before the contacts with the French. It has already been shown that the historical location involves some shifting around in northeastern and northcentral Kansas. Also mentioned was the displacement of the Plains Apache. In this regard Wedel (1959:636) states "At about the time the Apache were being disposed by the Comanches in western Kansas, the Kansa in the northeast part of the State were coming into recorded contact with the French." It is my contention that the Kansa were also disposed of the western portion of their range at this time and thus coming into greater contact with the French, and thereby losing part of their material culture.

In summary then, the seasonal habitation of the Kansa Indians in the historic period, following a pedestrian bison hunting and horticultural subsistence pattern, is probably a prehistoric cultural pattern. The Kansa perhaps lost part of their range and moved slightly to the east under pressure from other peoples in the early 1700's. Already demonstrated are a familiarity with pedestrian bison hunts, horticulture at hunting camps, and ethnohistorical usage of the area shortly (25 to 75 years) after the period in question.
With archaeological dates of >30,000 supporting human presence in the New World, there emerges the possibility that Homo sapiens may not have been the first human occupant in North America. The possibilities for Homo erectus as the original candidate for peopling of the New World is explored in this paper. Problems of chronological entry, routes of entry, archaeological evidence, skeletal evidence, and migration rates are discussed in this overview. Special attention focuses on the early claims of >30,000 years B.P. for man's presence in the New World.
INTRODUCTION

In the late 1800's and early 1900's the impact of Boasism and the conservatism of Hrdlicka saw the development of an orthodox view that man entered the New World no earlier than 4,000 years B.P. This belief was extremely difficult to alter until the Folsom discovery in the early 1900's. Since that time the pendulum has swung the other way with evidence of man in the New World between 10,000 and 20,000 years ago. Despite this earlier evidence of man in the New World (as early as 20,000 years or maybe earlier), there are those that adhere to the now shifted orthodox view, that man was not present in the New World earlier than 12,000 years B.P.

More recently, "ancestor worship" has generated claims of considerable antiquity for man's presence in the New World. Claims as old as 70,000 years at Calico Hills in California (Simpson, 1982) and the Sunnyvale skeleton (Bada, et al. 1974) have challenged the orthodox view which holds for a much more conservative picture. Still other dates as early as 60,000 years have been claimed for the Old Crow Basin by Morlan (1980) and 50,000 - 40,000 years at the Woolley Mammoth Site on Santa Rosa Island (Berger 1982). George Carter's Texas Street material from Southern California and the dating of the Del Mar Skull from the San Diego area by the controversial amino-acid racemization has placed man in that area around 50,000 years ago (Bada, et al. 1974).

If any or all of these early claims of man's presence in the New World is proven to be accurate, then we are probably not talking about Homo sapiens in the New World at 70,000 years or even 50,000 years, but a probable Homo erectus (Neandertal, if you prefer that term).

Assuming that Homo Sapiens evolved only in the Old World at about 40,000 years and that the transition from erectus to sapiens took about 5-10,000 years (Krantz, 1981) then valid claims of man in the New World earlier than 40,000 years would support the hypothesis that Homo erectus must have migrated into the New World in a similar fashion as the later modern populations.

The purpose of this paper is to present the evidence for early man in the Americas as seen primarily through the archaeological record. Only those claims of man's presence in the New World prior to 30,000 years are examined here. Table 1 consists of a list of the Old World and New World sites which researchers have claimed as having considerable antiquity and which have direct bearing on the above stated problem.
Man's Time of Entry

In America, thanks to radiocarbon dating, it has been possible to fit the Wisconsin glacial stage into a tight chronological framework. Because of this, researchers have been able to determine at what time periods the Bering bridge could have been open for man's entry into the New World. According to Butzer (1971), the Wisconsin glacial stage lasted approximately 60,000 years with four major advances opening Beringia to human traffic. The early Wisconsin advance began approximately 60,000 years ago and ended by 50,000 years B.P.; the first Mid-Wisconsin advance began approximately 44,000 years ago and ended by 40,000 years; the second Mid-Wisconsin advance began approximately 33,000 years ago and ended by 28,000 years B.P; and the Late Wisconsin advance began at 23,000 years ago and ended about 13,000 years B.P. Even earlier entry dates of 260,000 - 170,000 years can be postulated for man's entry if the Illinoian glacial period is considered (Haynes, 1969).

Arrival into the New World via the Bering Land bridge was only one of the many migration obstacles that early man would have faced. Early immigrants of 40,000 years B.P. would have found the way eastward blocked by the Laurentide ice and to the west the Cordilleran glacier. At about 40,000 years ago these two glaciers would have made passage into the interior very uncomfortable if not impossible at times. After 25,000 years the two ice sheets separated allowing an ice-free corridor into America (Jennings, 1983). The implications of the opening and closing of this passageway to early human entry will be examined later in this paper.

Early Man in America: Archaeological Problems

Northeast Asia

The generally accepted idea that modern man evolved in the Old World and migrated via Beringia into the New World is supported by excellent archaeological as well as physical anthropological data. If we assume that the migration pattern originated from Northeast Asia and progressed into the New World, and that the migration began as early as 70,000 B.P. (trusting the early man claims from America), then dates of this magnitude should be available from Northeast Asia. Unfortunately, this is not the case.

Early evidence of tool-making in China is represented by the small assemblage of flakes and a utilized pebble from
Kungwanglin (Lantian locality). Aigner and Laughlin (1973) feel that the fauna there is comparable to the Djetis fauna of Java, which, Jacob (1978) reports may be 1.5 million years old. From Choukoutien (locality 1) the vast number of quartz artifacts, associated with Homo erectus, date to a period of between 0.4 million and 0.6 million years ago (Butzer and Isaac, 1975:892).

On rather shaky grounds is the Middle Pleistocene material reported by Okladnikov (1978) and Derevianko (1978) for the area between North China and the Bering Strait. This material includes chopper-and-flake assemblages and some scholars (Klein, 1971; Powers 1973) remain skeptical that these specimens are actually artifacts.

The most convincing evidence for man in Northeast Asia comes from Mochanov (1973) who describes his "eastern" or Diuktai tradition which is characterized by leaf-shaped bifacial points, triangular bifacial knives, and wedge-shaped cores. Mochanov believes that this tradition began in Northeast Asia about 35,000 years ago and lasted until about 10,500 B.P., when it was replaced by a unifacial blade tradition. Mochanov (1973, 1975) cites a number of radiocarbon dates including 35,000 + 600 B.P. (LE - 954), 33,000 ± 500 B.P. (LE - 1000), and 30,000 ± 500 B.P. (LE - 1001) for a cultural horizon at Ust Mill II which contained wedge-shaped cores, pebble cores, and flakes, together with horse and mammoth bones some of which were transversely cut. Mochanov (1973) includes the islands of Sakhalin and Hokkaido within the distributional sphere of his Diuktai Tradition.

The earliest evidence for man in Northeast Asia comes from Mochanov's data. This time period corresponds to the appearance of modern man (Homo sapiens) in other parts of the Old World, and I believe that we are on solid ground if we postulate an early entry of modern man into the New World at this time. However, it is possible that the earlier evidence is no longer recoverable (or extremely difficult to find) with the early inhabitants preferring the milder climates close to the Pacific Shore, and their remains may have been obliterated by subsequent marine atrocities. Another possibility might be that early inhabitants left evidence which can not be defined within a cultural context and archaeologists have passed over this evidence in search of the so-called "archaeological site." This possibility will be dealt with later in this text.

The 35,000 year B.P. date for the occupation of Northeast Asia fits well into Krantz's (1981) hypothesis that only Homo sapiens would be capable of crossing the 53 vitamin D barrier at that period of time. However, the
research data provided by Morlan (1980) contradicts this hypothesis, since claims of >40,000 years for human occupation of the Old Crow Basin seems to be on increasingly solid ground. Furthermore, it may well be that sapiens occupation of this northerly terrain (60 north latitude) may have been possible if it can be shown that the sapiens transition occurred earlier in some areas of the Old World and more specifically the more northern populations - even more specifically Northeast Asia.

Old Crow Basin

The best documented and researched area supporting early man in the New World comes from the multidisciplinary work conducted in the Old Crow Basin under the guidance of Richard Morlan. The Yukon Refugium Project, after five years of multidisciplinary research (conducted by Richard Morlan, C. R. Harington, John V. Matthews, Owen L. Hughes, and Charles Schweger), produced valuable data concerning stratigraphy, paleontology, and paleoecology of the Old Crow Basin. The discoveries from this area have helped in the process of interpreting bone, antler, tusk, and tooth specimens which have been altered by both natural and artificial agencies.

From the many claims of early man sites in the New World there has evolved a need to establish "standards for evidence" to help separate fact from fiction or just plain wishful thinking. MacNeish (1982:312) has outlined these standards as follows: (1) do the materials come from good archaeological contexts; (2) are the items truly of human manufacture; and (3) can the remains be accurately dated? According to MacNeish (1982) all three of these problems can be solved by good archaeology.

Morlan also agrees with MacNeish concerning the importance of standards, but Morlan has repeatedly argued that much valuable data can go unnoticed if we try to place all ancient human activity in a cultural context or within a definable "archaeological site."

Through the exhaustive task of analyzing thousands of bone fragments, antlers and tooth fragments, Haynes (1971), Harington, et al, (1975), Bonnichsen (1978, 1979) and Morlan (1980) have brought the science of taphonomy closer to answering problems concerning naturally and artificially altered bone. Out of the exhaustive task of trying to scientifically distinguish between bone which was naturally versus artificially altered, Morlan (1980) was able to separate the artificially altered material into human and
nonhuman classification based upon specific observable rules. According to Morlan (1980:47) it is possible to conclude that proboscidean bones seem to lie entirely outside the scope of carnivore alterations. Further, green bone fractures with well defined points of impact and/or evidence of intersecting fracture fronts on proboscidean bones seem to constitute secure evidence of human presence even in the absence of other kinds of artifacts.

Three major hypotheses emerge from Morlan's analyses and form the basis for all assignments of green bone fractures to artificial causes (Morlan, 1980:49-59):

1. The two most common agencies of point loading frequently involved in green bone fracture in the natural world are carnivore jaws and artificial hammerstones and other such devices.

2. The diameter of the loading point is a useful attribute for separating these two agencies of fracture, and the upper limit of carnivore tooth contact area is smaller than the upper limit of hammerstone contact area.

3. Green bone fractures in adult proboscidean limb bones are indicative of artificial fracture techniques, particularly if point loading can be demonstrated.

In terms of bone flaking, Clark (1972:10-11) and Bonnichsen (1979:188-192) have shown explicitly that some of the techniques and rules of lithic fracture can be transferred to bone. Even though bone is a multi-phase material, it can be made to produce conchoidal flakes very similar to those which come from cherty or glassy stones. Experiments by Bonnichsen (1979:51) have shown that green bone is more suitable for flaking than dry bone.

Morlan admits that many specimens cannot be interpreted with confidence because our incomplete understanding of carnivore capabilities and the effects of trampling. However, evidence of heavy dynamic loading and retouched platform remnants are very important in recognizing artificially struck flakes, and none of the flakes reported in his works as artifacts exhibit signs of carnivore tooth contact (Morlan 1980:53).

Cut marks on bone is another useful characteristic which can lend itself to interpretations of human activity. According to Morlan (1980:54) stone-tool cut marks may be quite deep and narrow, usually having U or V shaped cross-sections depending upon the precise width and sharpness of
the cutting edge, and are characterized by sharply defined rather than ragged edges. Carnivore scoring generally maintains a uniform depth regardless of the bone contour, whereas stone tool cut marks are deeper on convexities and shallower on concavities within the length of a single cut.

Using the above hypotheses to separate naturally fractured, chipped and cut bone from that which is artificially altered by carnivores or man, Morlan (1980) has been able to separate the artificially altered bone into two samples - one sample altered, presumably by man and the other by carnivores. With tight stratigraphic controls Morlan has been able to relatively and absolutely date this human-altered bone. The oldest of these bones are associated stratigraphically with what Morlan calls Disconformity A. According to Briggs and Westgate (1978) a maximum age for Disconformity A has been derived from a fission track estimate on the volcanic ash layer located 30-50 cm below the disconformity. The analysis of the ash revealed that it was not older than 80,000 years B.P. According to Morlan (1980):22) this brackets the human modified bone between 51,000 years B.P. and 80,000 B.P. and Morlan has adopted the round-number of 60,000 years for Disconformity A.

If the modified bones are indeed human altered then these data have created a totally new and complex problem of interpreting who these early inhabitants were and how they were capable of adapting to this harsh environment. If the date of 60,000 years holds, then are we dealing with members of a group of Homo sapiens or Homo erectus? Problems of adaptation, intelligence, social organization and communication may have to be addressed from a totally new perspective.

Other claims of early man in the New World have also produced dates as old as the Old Crow Basin. However, most if not all of these claims have not been supported with "good archaeology" and hence, lack for credibility.

**Calico Mountains**

Many of the early-man claims in the New World have come from California. In 1963 under the leadership of Louis Leakey and funding from the National Geographic Society, work began in the Calico Mountains in an area that produced seemingly primitive chopping and scraping tools. After the death of Louis Leakey in 1972 the work of Calico continued under the direction of Ruth Dee Simpson. More than 3,500 stone tools and 6,000 technical flakes have been recovered along with fragments of an elephant tusk and an apparent fire circle (Simpson 1982:182).
Chronologically, the Yermo Formation, in which the artifacts were recovered, dates to between 70,000 and 100,000 years ago, possibly developing during the Sangamon Interglacial Period. Radiocarbon dating of fragments from an elephant tusk also support a >50,000 year date. Artifacts (?) were associated with these tusk fragments.

Much disagreement has been generated over whether these stone artifacts have been modified by man or through natural processes (who knows what goes on in those mud flows?). Payen (1982) approached this problem by using the Barnes' test on the Calico assemblage in hopes of determining whether the measurement of platform-scar angles from uncontrolled and controlled samples of lithics would reveal the authenticity or lack of it for the Calico assemblage. Barnes (1939) showed that populations of human-chipped stones are characterized by a low frequency of obtuse platform-scar angles (not more than 25% over 90°), and the natural fracturing is characterized by a high frequency of obtuse angles (more than 25% over 90°). Barnes (1939) insisted that such measurements provide an objective criterion for differentiating between human and natural flaking.

Payen's control sample consisted of various Paleo-Indian and Neo-Indian series preforms and roughouts. A total of 7375 platform-scar angles were measured on 1548 specimens. The actual percentage of obtuse angles present in each sample ranges from 0-17%, with the typical sample having about 6% greater than 90°. The uncontrolled sample consisted of fracturing by natural geologic, road breakage, and experimental mechanics (shattering with dynamite, tumbling for 12 hours, crushing with an 8-ton roadroller and passing through mechanical rock crushers). Angles in the uncontrolled-fracture samples range from 30-156° with the typical sample ranging from 40-114°. The actual percentage of obtuse angles in each sample ranges from 33-62% (Payen 1982:194-197).

When the Calico series is compared with the Controlled and Uncontrolled series the alleged artifacts from the Yermo deposit fall within the range of the Uncontrolled fracture series (Payen 1982:200). Based upon these data Payen concludes that the Calicoliths are geofacts not artifacts. Flenniken, (personal communication) a flintknapper from Washington State University, also supports the position of Payen.

It seems that the Calico site has produced much conflicting evidence for the authenticity of early man's presence in that area. At present the evidence for man's antiquity at Calico seems rather dubious.
This date radically conflicts with the uranium date of 11,000 years supplied by Bischoff and Rosenbauer (Baskin 1982:4).

Archaeologically, in support of the early date of Del Mar Man, Carter (1978) reports a flake and core industry at the Texas Street site in San Diego which is embedded below an alluvial cover which dates >80,000 years. According to Krieger (1958) and Flenniken (1984, personal communication) these flakes and cores are nothing more than geofacts. Therefore, it seems rather dubious whether the greater antiquity for the Del Mar Man is valid at all.

Pikimachey Cave

Although sites dating less than 30,000 years falls outside the scope of this paper, a brief mention of the evidence for early man in South America is warranted here. Nothing has been reported for early man in South America which shows any antiquity greater than 25,000. MacNeish (1974) has uncovered an occupation sequence at Pikimachey Cave in the Andes highlands of Peru which apparently has a sequence which is as long as Meadowcroft. On the oldest assemblage of tools, animal bones and carbon samples, MacNeish place the date at 20,000 years B.P. This has implications for early man in the more northerly latitudes of North America if one assumes that the early migration into South America did not occur over-night. If 20,000 years is in fact, the oldest evidence for a man in South America and we assume that man migrated into the New World via Beringia, then by applying Krantz's (1977) migration model for speed of peopling, we can predict the most logical time of entry across Beringia. This hypothesis will be discussed in more detail later in this paper.

Homo erectus in America: The Skeletal Evidence

At present there is no skeletal evidence which supports an erectus presence in America. The many claims of ancient types such as the Del Mar, Yuha skeletal material and the Sunnyvale skeleton fall short of being anything but modern. But, the early dates, based upon controversial dating techniques, contradicts the picture of sapienization which seems to be quite clear in the Old World. The sapiens transition in the Old World points to a beginning date of about 40,000 years (Howells, 1976; Krantz, 1981) and a very short transformation time of 5,000 but not more than 10,000 years. This would account for the fully modern Cro-magnon
camelops, horse, and mammoth of Late Pleistocene or Early Holocene times. According to Gerow (1981:2) fresh water snail shells collected from the lower soil horizon at the general level of the grave pit have yielded two radiocarbon dates of approximately 10,000 years B.P. Also, there is excellent evidence (Bickel 1978) that the San Francisco Bay rose rapidly up until 5,000 to 6,000 years ago and has since continued to rise at a reduced rate of about 1 to 2 meters per millenium. The soil containing the Sunnyvale bone sample has been deposited since the bay reached within a few meters of its present level (Gerow, 1981:2). Other evidence, like the small amount of soil that entered the foramen magnum, and the flexed burial pattern, points to a relatively late date for the skeleton.

Anthropometrically, the reconstructed skeleton is statistically indistinguishable from a local population of females (see Table 5 in Gerow (1981:10) from Ala-329.

According to Baskin (1982:4) James L. Bischoff and Robert J. Rosenbauer of the U.S. Geological Survey in Menlo Park, published a date of 8,300 for the Sunnyvale remains based on uranium analysis. Therefore, based upon the conflicting early evidence and the overwhelming and blatant support for the later status of the Sunnyvale skeleton, it can be ascertained that the racemization date of 70,000 years B.P. is off by at least one order of magnitude.

Del Mar Man

A similar scenario unfolds when the amino acid racemization dates on the Del Mar Man from Southern California are considered. Bada (1974) reported dates of 41,000 - 48,000 years for the Del Mar Man, and he is convinced that the date is correct based upon the same D/L aspartic acid ratio of an extinct horse Equus occidentalis. Bada and Master (1983:178) explain:

The charcoal radiocarbon dates and the age of the marine terrace which underlies the horse skeleton indicate that the horse bones have an age in the range of >30,000 to <120,000 years. This age range is consistent with the 50,000 year racemization age estimated for the horse. Since the Scripps horse bones have essentially the same D/L aspartic acid ratio as Del Mar Man, it implies that the age of this skeleton also falls in the range of >30,000 to <120,000 years.
Woolley Mammoth Site

According to Berger and Orr (1966) it is certain that Santa Rosa Island and its neighboring islands of Santa Cruz and San Miguel was connected at some time to the mainland during low ocean levels of the last glacial epoch. This land mass was apparently large enough to support a self-sustaining dwarf mammoth population.

Of archaeological interest in Santa Rosa Island were large fire-reddened hearth-like features which Orr (1968) suggested were pit-barbecues where mammoth was cooked. Up until this discovery, the earliest human bone fragments on Santa Rosa Island dated from 10,000 years ago (Olsen and Broecker, 1961). It was not until 1975 that many of the fire areas were discovered - exposed in the face of the seacliffs. In that same year Berger (from UCLA) was shown one of these features. It contained a fire area three meters in diameter with mammoth bones and stone tools around the periphery. During the excavation of this site, abundant charcoal samples were taken for radiocarbon dating. The first sample came from the uppermost levels of the feature; the second came from above some burned bones at the same level as the stone tools; the third sample near the mammoth bones; and the fourth underneath the consolidated burned red alluvium (Berger, 1982). None of the four samples evidenced any radiocarbon activity, therefore, were older than 40,000 years. Do we have, at the Woolley Mammoth Site, human behavior in association with the so-called cultural context? It is going to be interesting if future evidence will support this antiquity.

Skeptics of the Woolley Site, have challenged its authenticity on the grounds that the artifacts are geofacts or that the artifacts are not in association with the feature.

Sunnyvale Man

A skeleton from the Sunnyvale East Channel area near San Francisco, California, has received considerable notoriety as a result of an aspartic acid racemization date of 70,000 years as determined by Bada and Masters (1978). Prior to any amino acid racemization analyses there was solid evidence that the age of the Sunnyvale skeleton was less than 10,000 years and most probably 4,500 years or less (Gerow 1981:1).

The underlying soil horizon into which the burial was injected contains Rancholabrean fauna, specifically
peoples in Europe at 35,000 years B.P. If we assume that only a Homo sapiens type migrated into the New World from the Old World about 35,000 years B.P., then logically, we would expect no evidence of human occupation in the New World before that time. But, this hypothesis would also assume that Homo erectus was incapable of migration into the New World at an earlier date. This problem will be discussed in more detail later in this text.

As mentioned above, all the early human skeletal remains in the New World are modern. However, the early skulls from Del Mar and early Yuha share some unique traits which do point to an early type. The rather long-headedness (dolichocranic) and large cranial capacity of the Del Mar Man (>1600 cc), early Yuha and other early peoples of early California have led some to believe that these early characteristics are more on the line of caucasoid than mongoloid (Hooten, 1946; Coon, 1969; Birdsell, 1951). It appears that an evolutionary trend in skull shape has taken place with the dolichocranic shape appearing earlier than the more recent brachycranic form. This has important implications since the closest Old World analog of the Del Mar skull shape is its morphological kinship with the Ainu people of northern Japan (Austin, 1976). Unfortunately, long-headedness and abundance of body hair (especially noted by Birdsell among the Yuki Indians of California) has led many authorities to claim a caucasoid admixture among the early native Americans. The facial and body hair that is abundant among a few native American populations is also a trait which parallels many of the Ainu characteristics on the island of Hokkaido north of Japan. There have been many explanations offered to account for these un-mongoloid traits among the Ainu - that they were Australoids extending up the eastern Asian offshore islands, or a caucasoid intrusion, but the explanation which I believe best fits is that the Ainu represent a primitive populations of people located in Northeast Asia which later was overrun by the agricultural mongoloids sometime after 10,000 years ago. If an early sampling of Ainu were able to migrate across Beringia into the New World then this may well account for the dolichocranic shape of the early skulls and the bearded condition of the Pomo and Yuki of California.

When examining the dentition of these early skulls from California, it was noted by Harris and Turner (1974) that the prehistoric California teeth are very similar to those of North Asians and unlike those of all other populations in the world. The high frequency of "shovelling" among Asians can be traced well back in time with Homo erectus at Choukoutian showing a high frequency of this trait (Weidenreich, 1937). Therefore, "shovelling" seems to be an excellent diagnostic line trait which has maintained its
stable frequency among the mongoloids over a long period in Asia, hence, eliminating the possibility of a Caucasoid intrusion.

Another explanation for a 70,000 year old Homo sapiens in America has been presented by Goodman (1981) in which he views the sapienization process as occurring in the New World, first and foremost, with the modern product migrating into the Old World via Beringia. This controversial theory is based upon the assumption that all the extremely old dates around 50,000 and 70,000 are correct. On this basis alone Goodman's hypothesis has failed. The other problem with his theory is that he proposes that "shovelling" appeared in the New World first, and by migration became a late mongoloid trait in Asia. Since it has been shown by Weidenreich (1937) that Peking Man had this trait in high frequency at 500,000 years ago, Goodman's theory fails again.

Based upon the lack of erectus skeletal evidence in the New World and the unstable credibility of the dating techniques used to date the Del Mar and Sunnyvale material, I think that we are on solid ground when we reject the idea of erectus in America. Although, lack of the skeletal evidence does not disprove the notion either.

The Possibilities for Homo erectus in the Americas

Considerable discussion, up to this point, has focused on the archaeological as well as skeletal evidence for early man in the Americas. The proposal of man in the New World greater than 30,000 years B.P. has met with a whole set of observational problems which has led to a dubious early man picture. Most of the early man claims (Calicaco Hills, Del Mar, Sunnyvale) can be eliminated solely on the enigmatic evidence. More work needs to be conducted at the Woolley Mammoth Site on Santa Rosa Island before any definable position can be taken in favor of early man there. As for the Old Crow Basin material, and Morland's position that human activity there is in excess of 50,000 years, additional questions concerning the agents involved in bone fracture, needs further investigation. However, of all the claims for early man in the New World greater than 30,000 years B.P., Morlan's research is potentially the most promising.

When discussing the problem of early man in the Old Crow Basin with Dr. Ackerman at Washington State University, a somewhat more conservative picture emerges. According to
Ackerman (1984, personal communication) the evidence for man in Alaska and Siberia at 14,000 years is trustworthy. Beyond that period of time, even though something definitely is going on, it becomes extremely difficult to get a handle on the dating and evidence as it relates to the "archaeological context." According to Ackerman, Morlan's work deserves considerable credibility, but additional research is needed to determine the absolute status of broken bone in that area.

So, if something is going on, what is it? If Morlan's position of 60,000 years for man in the Old Crow Basin is correct, then what species of hominid was present there?

At 60,000 years ago in the Old World the sapiens transition is not overwhelmingly observable in the fossil record. If our assumption is that Homo sapiens migrated into the New World from the Old World sometime after 40,000 years, then this problem generates some very interesting possibilities. Could the sapiens transition have occurred in or near Northeast Asia earlier than any other geographical area of the Old World? In other words, can we postulate a focal point from which the sapiens transition could have occurred at some time greater than 60,000 years ago, and is this focal point Northeast Asia? Here, I am implying that Homo erectus was incapable of any adaptability in the extreme northerly latitudes where less than 100 days of the year were frost free. Maybe my assumption is not valid and late erectus did have the capabilities to move into this area for at least a portion of the year, when conditions were more favorable or at least into refuge areas which may have been unglaciated most of the late Pleistocene. My own personal view would support late erectus as a capable candidate for adaptation to these northerly climates if we can create a hypothetical picture which allows for a more comfortable means of access to the resources in that area.

First, it is important that we judge the intellectual capabilities of erectus in making a successful adaptive transition from the more temperate climate of East Asia to the harsh cold climate of Siberia and Alaska. By late erectus time in Europe the cranial capacity, on the average, had reached approximately 1500 cc (Neandertals). This additional cortical mass may well be a necessary adaptation to the extreme seasonality that necessitates more long-range management and a greater mental time span (Krantz, 1981). Although there is no direct anatomical evidence in Northeast Asia that would support a large brained erectus, it might well be presumed that adaptation to this high latitude environment requires a large brain. Greater length of darkness in the winter months and the use of fire would
facilitate behaviors which would be dependent upon additional cortical sophistication and more complex social organization. This mode of adaptation may well have generated greater mental imagery and led to a need to communicate by verbal expression (Krantz 1980:778; 1981:386). Therefore, I am going to propose three working hypotheses for the appearance of early man in the New World which would account for the human activity at Old Crow Basin around 60,000 years ago and the possibility for *Homo erectus* in America:

1. The *sapiens* transition occurred at the most northerly fringe of human habitation, somewhere near Northeast Asia, at a date greater than 60,000 years B.P.

2. *Homo erectus* was present at Old Crow Basin 60,000 years ago and his somewhat successful adaptation to this harsh climate refugium later led to the acquisition of speech and subsequent sapienization in both the Old and New World.

3. Late *Homo erectus* entered the New World during glacial maximum via Beringia on the Aleutian Island chain; migrated along the Pacific coastal rim finding refuge at many unglaciated coastal refugia; and exploiting a diverse maritime ecology.

The first hypothesis would imply that sapienization occurred earliest near the 53° north latitude vitamin D barrier in East Asia and spread northeast into Beringia around 60,000 years B.P.

The second hypothesis implies that *Homo erectus* was adapted to the harsh northerly climates, present at Old Crow Basin 60,000 years ago, and sapienized from this focal point into North America and back into Northeast Asia. In all three cases the Beringia would have been open for migration at 50,000 - 60,000 years ago (Butzer 1971). Also, the palynological evidence indicates that the passageway between the Laurentide and Cordilleran glaciers was open between 40,000 - 25,000 years ago and closed briefly at about 14,000 years (Jennings 1983:30). This would allow potential *sapiens* or *erectus* to interior America quite early in time.

The third hypothesis presumes that *Homo erectus* was capable of entry either through Beringia and/or the Aleutian Islands; able to migrate southward along the partially glaciated coast; and populate the more southerly latitudes at a much slower rate than later *Homo sapiens* because of advancing glacial stages.
Migration Routes for Early Man

The most obvious migration route for an erectus into the New World might well have been a coastal route originating somewhere near Beringia and continuing along the Aleutian Islands to the mainland of Alaska. From the Alaskan mainland Homo erectus could have 'refuge hopped' down the Pacific Coast as suggested by Fladmark (1978, 1979). This route would be better suited for erectus migration rather than across Beringia into the interior Alaskan land mass for a number of reasons. First, erectus would not have to deviate from the 53 north latitude vitamin D barrier drastically since almost the entire Aleutian Island chain falls between the 50 and 55 north latitude lines, and access via this route may have been possible during glaciation when sea levels in the area dropped as much as 100 meters. In the more northerly latitudes vitamin D could have been ingested, in the absence of adequate ultraviolet irradiation, by adaptation to a maritime subsistence strategy where consumption of large quantities of fish would naturally have supplied the vitamin. Fish, which obtain the vitamin by ingesting plankton living near the surface of the seas and so exposed to sunlight, are extremely high in vitamin D (Davidson et al., 1979). Sea mammals such as whales (which ingest large quantities of plankton) and seals, (which consume fish containing Vitamin D), may have been valuable sources of the vitamin (Table 2 gives a list of the possible sources of natural vitamin D, the quantity of the vitamin by specie and the recommended human intakes by age). Fladmark suggests (1979) that coastal refugia probably supported a relatively large fauna and flora. Short outwash-laden streams could have supported cold-tolerant species like the pink salmon, which were capable of spawning in the intertidal zone. Other resources such as shellfish, most marine fish, sea mammals probably existed in these refugia.

Another reason for the attractiveness of the coastal route is that the Japanese Current was continually bringing in warm subtropical water masses along the outer edge of the continental shelf, leaving the mean annual temperatures at sea level above freezing (Fladmark 1979:61). This condition would probably promote a relatively luxuriant flora.

According to Fladmark (1979), Queen Charlotte Islands, the western portion of the Alexander Archipelago, the coast between Cape St. Llias and Lituya Bay, Prince William Sound, and the Kenai Peninsula, remained unglaciated. The endemic insular flora and fauna in these areas also support the possibility of a significant series of refugium along the Pacific Coast during glacial maximums (Heusser, 1960).
Archaeologically, the early cultural complexes of the Northwest Coast are ill defined beyond 9,000 years B.P. This is understandable since much of the inglaciated continental shelf (refugia), where early man may have been, is overridden and at least partially reworked by the rising sea level. An unifacial pebble tool, pebble cores, large tool flakes and debitage assemblage has been reported in the "Paskia Phase" assemblage from the lower Fraser River Canyon, which may predate the Vashon glaciation of 14,000 years (Borden 1975). Also, a similar assemblage on the Northern Queen Charlotte Island seems to predate 8,000 – 9,000 B.P. (Fladmark 1970).

These early assemblages have parallels with the Diuktai culture of Northeast Asia which Mochanov (1975) reports, traces back to 35,000 years.

It seems quite clear that if there is any hope of discovering *Homo erectus* in America, it will be along the Pacific Coast and probably submerged under 200 feet of water. In any event, the migration along the coast was probably slowed by large ice sheets separating the few refugia isolating human populations for extended periods of time. It is possible that the *erectus* condition may have lasted even longer in the New World than *erectus* in the Old World, and it is quite possible, that later migrating populations of *Homo sapiens* may have simply overrun whatever *erectus* there may have been in the New World. Just a side note to this problem is warranted. There was a Pacific Coast population in California known as the Yuki which Gifford (1926) noted as a somewhat unique physical type. Not only were they shorter, darker, and wider nosed than their neighbors, but they possessed considerable facial and body hair as well. Observations of the skulls, housed at Lowie Museum, Berkeley, California, revealed a low vaulted (wider across the base than the parietals), gabled, and heavily browed sample of individuals. I am not going to go through the *erectus* cranial characteristics at this point, but the above Yuki cranial traits suggest an *erectus* relationship. However, as mentioned earlier, these deviant types might well represent an early Ainu sampling into the New World as well.
CONCLUSION

If I have not proven a thing by this general overview of early man in America, then I hope that many of the problems addressed in this paper may give birth to future investigations which specifically challenge these problems. As Dr. Ackerman explains the problem... "the chances of finding an early man site of considerable antiquity in the northerly latitudes of Beringia and Northeast Asia are 1 in 1,000,000." The problem, as Ackerman see it, derives from a small sample to begin with coupled with a rather unstable geological picture in those areas.

I would like to address one final problem before closing. Using Krantz's (1977:10) migration theory for expanding populations into a new frontier, how long would it take to reach the Pikimachey Cave (Peru) from the Seward Peninsula (Alaska), assuming an ideal advancement of 100 miles per 25 years? Since the approximate distance from Lima, Peru to the Seward Peninsula is 8,000 miles, then according to the formula, under ideal conditions, the early immigrants into the New World could have entered Beringia at 24,000 years ago and colonated (or at least reached) Peru, South America by 22,000 years B.P. One problem with using this formula is it's over simplification of the problem of migration. Certainly there will be times when this rate will be interrupted for many reasons such as seasonality, carnivore predation, and frontier expansion. So, if we reduce the rate by half, then an entry at 26,000 years may very well have placed man in South America by 22,000 years. Hence, maybe we should not look for any early man sites in America earlier than 30,000 years because they simply are not there!
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THE ECONOMY OF RESPECT IN A NORTH INDIAN VILLAGE

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ABSTRACT

The economy of respect involves symbolic interaction signifying deference or esteem. The paper examines the patternning of these symbolic exchanges in a north Indian village. It describes the criteria by which villagers qualify for respect and the conventional means by which they show respect to others. Although discussion focuses primarily on the interaction of men, attention is also given to the role of women in the local economy of respect. The paper demonstrates that respect represents an important modality of social relationships and constitutes a mirror of social values as well.
INTRODUCTION

ijjat is a key word in the Hindi lexicon of social relations. Usually translated as "respect," it refers to the esteem a man enjoys among his fellows. North Indian villagers often invoke the term when referring to a prominent member of their community or explaining the deference shown some individual.

ijjat pertains especially to interactional contexts. Here it implies definite expectations between those showing respect and those receiving it. The individual who behaves in a helpful, forthright or courteous way gains respect from others, a respect exhibited in appropriate gestures and modes of speech. In short, one behaves respectfully and thereby earns respect. There is reciprocity involved: admirable conduct wins admiration and merits the symbolic tokens of respect.

As Mauss (1967:3) and Levi-Strauss (1969:62) each remind us, exchange in traditional societies embraces social as well as material values. In rural north India certain conventional forms of symbolic action convey respect, and an Indian village is the scene of a lively exchange in such behaviors.

Since reciprocity is inherent in these rural Indian usages, they are here analogized to economic transactions. This economic metaphor serves as a heuristic device throughout the following discussion. Accordingly, the symbolic exchanges whereby respect is communicated in an Indian village are called the "economy of respect."

A study of the economy of respect in a north Indian village sheds light on the character of social relationships in such communities. Moreover, such a study affords insight into the value system of rural Indians. Important values are reflected in the personal attributes that command public esteem.

This paper profiles the economy of respect in one north Indian village. The settlement in question is Garvpur, a community of 3477 located in western Uttar-Pradesh (Lapoint 1977, 1978). The discussion focuses specifically on respect as a modality of social relationships and mirror of village values.
THE CONCEPT OF RESPECT

We have already said that ijjat is the favorable reputation a man acquires among his kin, neighbors and other acquaintances. Their good opinion of him will be based on one or more factors.

First comes wealth, particularly if it is channeled into approved forms of patronage. Villagers uniformly cite the importance of the monetary factor in establishing a prominent reputation.

Yet not every respected individual is affluent. Some gain recognition for their outstanding personal qualities. While these qualities are said to be an inherent part of a person's nature (prakriti), it is significant that they reveal themselves in conduct directed toward other people.

Good conduct itself merits respect. Sometimes estimable behavior is ascribed to a man's inherent nature (prakriti), but at other times the credit goes to his own efforts. In the latter case, villagers claim that respect is self-earned (apni banai).

For example, a person gains respect by showing respect to others. The conventional tokens and gestures that symbolize respect are known collectively as satkar, and exhibiting satkar towards others constitutes an important means of acquiring public regard for oneself.

Finally, there are certain purely ascriptive bases for ijjat. These include caste, kinship, age and sex. Superordination along any one of these ascriptive status dimensions entitles an individual to respect. Specifically, it entitles him to receive those signs of deference that represent satkar.

In sum ijjat is attributed to individuals on the basis of diverse criteria. Among the relevant criteria are wealth, personal qualities, good conduct, deferential behavior (satkar) and ascriptive status. In the following pages, each of these factors will be examined in order to clarify its distinctive contribution to the local economy of respect.

EARNING RESPECT

It is convenient to begin with the factor of wealth. The Garvpur villagers look up to the man who has achieved material success. His ability to increase his income or property holdings wins their commendation. Yet, it is the
use to which a man puts his fortune that determines how favorably he is regarded by his fellow villagers. The miser who refuses to help others finds no approval for his stinginess. On the other hand, people praise the man who lends assistance to the needy or devotes his funds to the betterment of the community. Patronage meets with public approbation and counts for more than riches per se.

For example, the village money lender is likely to be a respected figure in the community. Rural Indians often find it impossible to qualify for bank loans and the residents of Garvpur are no exception. They admire a well-to-do villager who offers loans at reasonable rates of interest and treats his clients fairly.

People likewise express approval of the individual who contributes funds to a worthwhile public project, such as the construction of a school or temple. One of Garvpur's most prominent citizens, for example, is a wealthy milk seller of the Gadariya or Shepherd caste. Despite his low caste status, this individual is widely admired. The villagers respect him both because he is a self-made man and because he has employed his funds in public patronage. Thus, in 1969 he sponsored the construction of the local Hanuman temple. This was an important public act and redounded to the credit of the milk seller. The philanthropist who endows a temple or sponsors a major ceremony (e.g., the ritual recitation of a major religious text, such as the Satya Narayana ki Katha or the Ramayana) invariably wins praise among the Hindus of the community. According to Hindu belief, he also accrues religious merit (punya).

Hence, ritual sponsorship is highly creditable. This is particularly true if the ceremony in question can be performed with style and a praise-worthy degree of ostentation. Weddings especially provide the occasion for ceremonial extravagance and for lavish displays of hospitality that enhance the prestige of the host/sponsor.

Patronage and philanthropy thus lead to an eminent reputation. Moreover, they also act as a leveling mechanism to reduce financial disparities between villagers. By investing his money in philanthropic projects, the prosperous individual contributes to the redistribution of wealth in the local economy. The return for his investment comes in the form of public esteem.

Wealth, however, is not the only basis of ijjat. An upright character and high standards of personal conduct also bolster a man's standing in the community. As noted above, the villagers contend that certain individuals are
favored by nature (prakriti) with estimable character traits. Among these inherent virtues are tolerance (sahansilta), courtesy or politeness (vinay, namrata) and honesty (imandar i). Significantly, the virtues cited all pertain to social intercourse. One is tolerant of others, polite to others, honest with others. It is in the sphere of social relations that a person's valued natural traits become manifest.

While some forms of good behavior are thought to stem from a man's intrinsic character, other aspects of his conduct are said to be achieved (apni banai). In either case, good behavior enhances a man's prestige. The Garvapur villagers prize the individual who treats his elders respectfully, greets them with the deferential salutation "Rama-Rama" and observes all the proprieties of satkar (see below) in welcoming them to his home. Similarly, a man is commended for encouraging young people and offering them good advice.

There are several interactional contexts in which the qualities of the ijjatdar - the "respected man" - stand out in high relief. One is the pancayat or public council meeting. Whether the pancayat is formal or informal (Retzloff 1962), a rigid code of conduct prevails at such a convocation. Obstreperous behavior is not tolerated, and the individual who employs abusive language will be ejected from the meeting. On the other hand, that participant wins respect who behaves politely and speaks reasonably, dispassionately and -above all- candidly. Stigma attaches to the man whose duplicity in council is discovered (Lapoint 1977).

The code of conduct for pancayats assures the orderliness of these public meetings. The respectful behavior demanded of participants forestalls open dissension.

Family relations comprise another area in which respectful conduct is enjoined. We shall have something to say below concerning the role of women in the family economy of respect. Here our attention will focus on the norms of male behavior.

Latent in the relationship of family males is tension stemming from various sources. One potent cause of friction lies in the men's disparate interests in the patrilineal estate. Thus, father and son may come into conflict over such issues as the management of family land.
However, an overt rift between a man and his son is rendered less probable by the formality and restraint that govern their relationship (Gupta 1979:75; Kakar 1979:37; Mandelbaum 1970:60). Moreover, the norms of filial respect and mutual courtesy serve to mute any discord between the two men. They many even defuse tensions that would otherwise mar the relationship.

As Mandelbaum (1970:58-59) and others have indicated, these norms demand that a son defer to his father and strive always to obey his parent's wishes. In Garvpur filial respect finds many expressions. For instance, a son ordinarily will refrain from smoking the hukkah (hukka) in his father's presence. Yet will dutifully fill his parent's hukkah with tobacco and fresh water and bring it to him. He stands ready to run his father's errands or serve family guests at parental command. A son can also be expected to defer to this father's judgment in such important matters as choosing a career.

It is clear, however, that the father has equally important obligations to his son. Mandelbaum (1970:59) refers to these when he states that "parents also owe a certain respect to their children; they should not behave in ways that make it difficult for their children to respect them." Yet parental obligation extends beyond this. A father should not only present a model of good behavior; he should also act positively to advise and encourage his sons, provide for their education and advance the chances of their finding suitable employment. When such paternal solicitude gains a father the personal regard of his sons as well as the outward signs of their filial obedience, then he can look for them to stand with him in presenting a united front to the community at large. In Garvpur the household that has achieved this goal of family solidarity wins general approbation. Father and son alike enjoy the respect of their fellow villagers.

The norms governing the father-son dyad illustrate clearly the reciprocal nature of respect. As one Garvpur Brahman put it, "ijjat is a two-way process. You respect someone and in turn he'll respect you." A village farmer expressed the same idea when he stated that "it is a tradition for younger persons to respect elders and for elders to look after the younger ones." Thus, it is easier for the solicitous father to claim the respect of his son. Analogously, the man who behaves honorably in a pancayat meeting is himself treated respectfully, and, incidentally, his opinion is likely to carry more weight. When a man acquires a reputation for admirable conduct in domestic and public settings, he becomes known as an ijjatdar. His respectful demeanor and upright behavior are reciprocated.
with the overt manifestations of popular esteem. It is this reciprocal character of *ijjat* that allows one to speak of an "economy" of respect.

**SHOWING RESPECT (SATKAR)**

Because *ijjat* entails reciprocity, it follows that a man may gain respect from others by exhibiting respect to others. Certain forms of symbolic action convey respect. These conventional modes of behavior are known collectively as *satkar*. *Satkar* is embodied in courteous speech and polite, deferential conduct. It embraces all palpable expressions of respect.

Perhaps nowhere is *satkar* better exemplified than in the conventions relating to domestic hospitality. An elaborate etiquette governs the reception of a guest in a Garvpur home. A visitor from outside the village will be seated according to his status. For example, a senior kinsman or other prominent person is ushered to a place of honor in a special chair or at the head of a charpoy (*carpai*). Next the hosts will offer tea (*cay*), milk (*dudh*), or - at the very least - water (*pani*). Routine activities are suspended as the men of the household converses with their guest and the women hasten to prepare the mandatory refreshments.

If the visit is prolonged, the hosts must provide the visitor with a full dinner and shelter for the night. The villagers explain that these amenities betoken the respect due a guest. To neglect these courtesies would be a sign of disrespect. No villager could condone such a lapse and no family would allow itself to appear so inhospitable.

Hence, offering *cay-pani* - literally, "tea or water" - forms a part of the economy of respect in Garvpur. To village residents hospitality represents an idiom for the mutual recognition of social worth, for only those of commensurate - though not necessarily identical - social rank exchange such courtesies. In the intercourse between guest and host the prestige of each is acknowledged. The amenities entailed in an intervillage visit mark the guest's acceptance of his host's social standing just as surely as they symbolize the host's valuation of his guest's position. The protocol of *cay-pani* is the language of mutual status recognition. It established the relative locus of guest and host in the hierarchy of social relationships.

While any outside guest who is male, adult, and of caste standing equal to or above his host's will merit
special consideration, the precise status relationship between guest and host will further specify the prerogatives of the visitor. As already noted, seating arrangements are a sensitive barometer of relative status. Seating precedence is allotted the guest whose social rank is superordinate to that of his host. Thus, if the visitor belongs to a higher caste, he will be offered a separate chair or charpoy or at least a position at the head of a charpoy. The same will apply if the guest is a senior kinsman or any castefellow who ranks his host in chronological age.

It is evident that respectful behavior - satkar - demands careful attention to several ascriptive factors. These include caste rank, kin seniority and chronological age. Since superordinate status along any of these ascriptive dimensions automatically entitles one to a show of respect, it might be supposed that the reciprocal character of ijjat is comprised in interaction between those of unequal status. Yet such is not the case. While subordinates must defer to their social superiors, it is equally expected of the latter that they will respond with the gentility that befits their station.

As the foregoing remarks indicate, the concept of ijjat comprehends respect for status as well as personal esteem. Thus far in our discussion of satkar ascriptive status factors have been emphasized, but achieved status similarly earns special treatment for the guest. Typically, a householder will offer a seat of honor to any visiting official or police officer, even if the visitor is younger than his host.

Having discussed the hospitality due an outsider, we should mention that guests from within the village are likely to receive a more perfunctory welcome. In this case cay-pani is not obligatory. However, seating arrangements will still reflect the relative status of guest and host. Should a member of the superordinate Brahman caste visit a non-Brahman residence, he can expect to occupy the seat of honor during his stay.

The rules of hospitality illustrate clearly the importance of situational factors in the economy of respect. Though different behaviors are required of host and guest (roles that are, of course, reversible from one occasion to another), the conduct of each signifies an acknowledgment of the social standing of the other.

The conventions of satkar play a major role in Garvpur's economy of respect. The householder who acquires
a reputation for his courtesy and hospitality finds that, in showing respect to others, he has won it for himself.

WOMEN AND RESPECT

Thus far we have been concerned primarily with the behavior of men and the effect of *ijjat* on male relationships. Yet women, too, figure importantly in the economy of respect. The obligations of a woman as family hostess have already been mentioned. She must prepare the refreshments that are served to any guest.

Just as she is obliged to show respect for the household visitor, so a woman must also observe proper decorum, in her domestic relationships. Thus, she is supposed to defer to the senior male members of her husband's family (i.e., those who are genealogically senior to her husband). Deference to them is the reason cited for the practice of purdah (*parda*) or veiling. In Garvpur this custom prevails throughout the community; it is particularly stressed among upper caste families. In such households a woman veils her face and refrains from initiating conversation when in the presence of her male affines. These signs of deference are mandatory. They represent a way for the woman to show respect for her husband's kinsmen, and - it is worth noting - she must comply with these forms irrespective of her personal feelings for the individuals involved.

Men on their part should respect the feminine modesty implied in the practice of purdah. Before entering the quarters occupied by the family women, Garvpur men emit a warning cough and otherwise make their presence known (cf. Mandelbaum 1970:86). This gives the women time to cover their faces.

A young woman should defer as well to the senior females of her husband's household, but she need not veil herself before them. The docility of the young wife may serve to mollify the older women and ease the strain of living at close quarters in a joint family.

Clearly then, Garvpur women are expected to behave in a respectful manner when they deal with other people. In this sense the canons of *ijjat* apply rigidly to female conduct. Yet village opinion is divided on the question of whether a woman can earn respect in her own right. Some claim that any prestige she may enjoy derives entirely from the *ijjat* of her husband. Others insist that a woman can earn respect herself as the result of her own exemplary conduct. It is
certainly true that villagers speak highly of those women who distinguish themselves through their modesty, cooperativeness or generosity to others. Similarly, women who eschew malicious gossip are complimented for their prudence. It seems evident, therefore, that women as well as men can acquire a good personal reputation in the community.

CONCLUSION

As a concept, ijjat spans a wide range of meanings. It comprehends both status respect and personal esteem, and it rests on such diverse foundations as wealth, patronage, and other ascriptive factors of cast, kinship, age and sex.

Above all, ijjat depends on a code of behavior that symbolizes respect for others. Villagers know this code as satkar, the language of respect. Satkar is exemplified in the candor and magnanimity of the ijjatdar. Yet it finds perhaps its definitive expression in the conventions of rural hospitality.

Respect enters into every phase of village life. As we have seen, deference plays a crucial role both in domestic relationships and in public affairs. Daily life affords many opportunities for the exchange of traditional courtesies that betoken respect.

These customary exchanges - here labeled the economy of respect - are of great importance in a village community. They underscore the value rural Indians place on honesty, tolerance and politeness. Moreover, by furnishing a protocol for congenial, gracious interaction, they serve to minimize friction and reduce tension between lifelong neighbors.
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THEME AND VARIATION IN CHINESE RELIGION

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Introduction

Studies of Chinese religion (DeGroot 1912; Noss 1963; Thompson 1975) frequently divide it into the three aspects of Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism. While these are undeniably the three religious and philosophical traditions which have had the most visible impact on Chinese religious practices, this separation may give the unwary Western observer the impression that Chinese religions are adhered to, "joined," much as those in the west, so that participation in the beliefs and practices of one religious tradition excludes the person from the beliefs and practices of other religious traditions.

This, however, is far from the actual state of affairs. Gods with Buddhist origins are housed comfortably in Taoist temples, Buddhist or Taoist priests are hired for ceremonies on a situational basis, and many religious observances, regardless of the origins, include worship of ancestors and emphasis on filial piety. Among peasants, it can be said that religious observances of some kind occur almost every day, from the ceremonial sending of the Kitchen God to Heaven at the end of the old year to the casual daily lighting of incense at the family's ancestral shrine. Diamond (1969:84) says:

Religious life in K'un Shen cannot be considered apart from the economic and social organization of the community and the wider Taiwanese culture of which it is a part. Supernatural beliefs and rituals enter into almost every aspect of life. Nor can we neatly compartmentalize Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and the folk underlay of shamanism and spirit worship. The folk traditions and the literary traditions of China are inextricably combined in the total belief system.

An approach which tackles Chinese religious beliefs and practices more directly than an attempt to compartmentalize them into Taoism, Confucianism or Buddhism is that debated by Maurice Freedman (1974) and Robert J. Smith (1974) as to whether one can speak meaningfully of "a Chinese religion" or whether regional variation in religious practices should receive the greater emphasis. Supporting an overall approach, Freedman (1974:38) conceives
of "a religious system . . . that allowed religious similarity to be expressed as though it were religious difference." Smith (1974:341), in contrast, retorts, "It seems to me equally likely that this society may instead have treated religious differences as though they were religious similarities."

This paper is a study of religious differences and similarities as reported in ethnographies from Taiwan. Since a brief glance at a few ethnographies will confirm the truth of Diamond's statement, quoted above, the paper will be limited to the calendrical observations of the Lunar New Year and the birthday or other celebrations in honor of the patron god of the village, when reported, and to the noncyclical observations of birth, marriage, and death. In addition, the hierarchy of gods as envisioned by the villagers will be described. Ethnographies from the Taipei basin (Wolf 1972, 1974; Ahern 1973, 1974), near Taichung (Gallin 1966), near Tainan (Diamond 1969, Pasternak 1972), and near Kaohsiung (Pasternak 1972, Cohen 1976) will be utilized. The accompanying map locates the villages; Tables 1-6 summarize the findings.

THEME AND VARIATION

A study of the tables gives the impression that variation in Taiwanese religion appears less in what is observed than in how the observance is made. We repeatedly find the same occasions, both cyclical and non-cyclical, eliciting a religious response. However, details of the response vary from place to place.

Birth Those ethnographers who discuss birth mention that during the first month the mother is ritually unclean and that at the end of the first month there are rituals of purification. Within this framework, though, variation exists. Only Diamond reports religious observances during the actual process of birth. Gallin reports offerings to the gods on the third and twelfth days; Wolf reports offerings only on the third day. Pasternak alone reports rituals involving the ancestors; interestingly, it is the new mother's ancestors who are worshipped by the new father.

Wedding The same pattern is revealed in wedding rituals. In general, the practice is as follows: 1) families match horoscopes of the prospective couple; 2) families uses geomancy to chooses the day and sometimes the hour of important rituals; 3) on the wedding day the groom goes to the bride's house to get her, returns with her to
arrive at his house at an auspicious time, then acts as host while the bride and sometimes the groom pay a return visit to the bride's family, at which time they are treated as honored guests; 5) after this visit the bride takes on the work typically assigned to a daughter-in-law.

Variations appear in such rites as worshipping of ancestors. Sometimes the bride's ancestors are worshipped before the couple leave the groom's home (Gallin, Cohen). Other times they are worshipped as part of the wedding (Pasternak - Tatieh, Wolf, Cohen). Still other times they are worshipped the day after the wedding (Diamond, Cohen). There is also variation in worship of the groom's ancestors. Both Pasternak and Cohen report that the groom worships in the ancestral halls of both his mother and his paternal grandmother. Other ethnographers report only that the groom worships his ancestors. Worship of gods also varies. Gallin, Diamond and Cohen report a celebration (paipai) for Tien-Kung (Thi:Kong is the Taiwanese name for the same god). Pasternak reports that in Tatieh the group worships in the village temple, whereas in Chungshe the groom takes the temple gods home to worship them. Diamond reports that the gods on the groom's altar are worshipped, Wolf that oily rice is offered to the Bed Mother, and Cohen that the Earth God is worshipped the day before the wedding and the Kitchen God the day after.

Funeral Like birth and marriage observations, variation in funeral practices is built around a common core of ceremonies. In at least three locations, this core involves even the place where one dies: Gallin reports that death in the ancestor-worship room is preferable; Diamond's informants indicated a preference for the central room of the house; and Ahern's informants found the lineage hall to be the preferred location. Beyond this, funerals consist of: 1) coffining, which takes place on the day of death; 2) burial, which is presided over by a geomancer or by a practitioner combining this role with that of shaman, and 3) a ceremony which is designed to assist the soul in its journey to and through the underworld and which is directed by Taoist priests and their assistants.

Worship of gods is much more important in funerals than in birth and marriage rituals, whereas ancestor worship, so central to marriages, is reported for funerals only by Diamond. The death must be announced to the gods of the underworld, and during the soul's trip through the underworld they must be placated and bribed. This is done by various ceremonies presided over by priests and by the burning of paper objects and fake money. Both Diamond and Ahern report periodic masses for several weeks after the
funeral to insure safe passage of the soul to the underworld. In addition, Gallin reports that the Earth God's permission for the burial must be solicited.

Ghosts become important at funerals. Both Gallin and Ahern report rituals designed to prevent evil spirits from entering at crucial points during the ceremonies.

Variation is apparent in whether the burial is before or after the ceremony sending the spirit off, the length of time between death and burial, and the exact contents and sequence of events in the ceremonies. Much of this variation seems to stem from such considerations as family wealth and preference. For instance, Diamond reports the following variations, directly related to family wealth: 1) number of layers of clothing worn by the dying/deceased (rich families - up to 12 layers, average families - 5 or 6, poor families - 3). 2) number of masses - ideally one every seven days for six weeks, frequently limited by family finances to one before the funeral and one afterward. 3) length of time between death and burial - poor families bury their dead more quickly than do rich families. 4) postburial ceremonies - ideally held after each funeral, but occasionally one ceremony is utilized for several kinsmen because of the expenses involved.

Lunar New Year The Lunar New Year is probably the most important of the cyclical holidays. A central feature is family worship of gods and ancestors. As with the non-cyclical religious observations, this central framework allows a variety of local options. For instance, Gallin reports that the gods are sent off to heaven on the 24th day of the 12th month and stay until the fourth day of the new year. Other ethnographers report only that the gods are worshipped in various ways and at various times. Likewise, Ahern reports that the ancestors visit heaven for a few days, but other ethnographers report only that the ancestors are worshipped.

Celebration for Village God It is not until we examine celebrations for village gods that we find significant variation, as should be expected. The gods themselves vary, as shown in Table 5. Most common is the Earth god (Gallin, Ahern, Cohen): second most common is Co-su-kong (Diamond, Ahern). Other gods are either not worshipped or not reported. Also, while the method of celebration varies, central features seem to be a worship service (paipai), a feast for family and often friends, and frequently an opera.

Hierarchy of Gods Variation is most obvious in the hierarchy of gods reported in any location. While T'ien-Kung (Mandarin) or Thi:-Kong (Taiwanese) is usually regarded
as the supreme ruler in Heaven, there seems to be virtually no agreement as to his second-in-command. Wolf even apparently regards the Kitchen god, elsewhere thought of as the very lowest in the Heavenly hierarchy, as second to T'ien-Kung. And Diamond sees Co-su-kong as the first in the hierarchy of local gods, whereas Ahern thinks of him as second to Thi:-Kong.

DISCUSSION

We are thus left to wonder about the supposed amount of variation in Taiwanese folk religion and the reasons for it. Overall, it seems that Freedman, not Smith, is right. That is, the picture which appears to emerge from a study of the six ethnographies is of a single Chinese religion with local variations. There may be at least two reasons for this seeming sameness: 1) the particular observances examined in this study may be those which are fairly uniform throughout the island. Significant variation may be apparent in other areas. 2) Ethnographic accounts may not report local celebrations fully enough for variation to become obvious. In fact, Jordan (1972), who himself complains of ethnographies as sources for comparative data, presents so little data of a comparative nature that his book was impossible to use in the present study. However, against the picture of similarity which seems to emerge from a study of these six ethnographic accounts appears a statement by Smith (1974), who, attending a conference on Chinese religion as a discussant, was struck by the variation reported by ethnographers participating in the conference:

As I listened to the discussion of the papers not included in this volume, I was struck by the extent to which the situation represented a field interview. Each participant seemed to be dealing with all the others as though they were informants. Those who had conducted their research in Hong Kong expressed great interest — and sometimes polite incredulity — when informed of practices and beliefs on Taiwan. Those who had worked in the northern part of that island interviewed those who knew the southern part, and often registered surprises at what they learned. And there were others who found all these informant's accounts at such variance with orthodox practice and belief (as they understood them from documents and interviews with members of the vanished elite) as to be offensive and perhaps not even Chinese.
The question which bothers Smith and DeGlopper (1974), participants, is less the presence of variation than the absence of variation which is systematic. Much of what variation does exist is unexplained and becomes especially puzzling when it occurs in communities which are in other ways very similar.

Smith offers an explanation, based on his own studies of Japanese religion, for the variation which appears in Taiwanese religion. Within limits, the individual is free to develop his own system of beliefs and practices. To support his stance, Smith points to a paper by Harrell (1974) which shows great variation in the pantheon of gods worshipped in various households and even by different individuals within each household. The limits to this kind of individualization of worship are reached when the social life of the groups is adversely affected by the practice of the individual, that is, when religious observances consume so much of the individual's time and energy that they interfere with the performance of his duties to his kin group. At this point the individual is pressured to conform to expectations.

Another possible source of variation in religious practices, suggested by Wolf (1974), is the crosscutting of authority of various spiritual beings. For instance, the various ethnic groups which settled the Taipai basin are still drawn together by their spiritual patrons, although, living in a dispersed pattern, they owe allegiance to a variety of supernatural regional governors. The same is true regarding a person's lineage affiliation: if he moves, he worships a different Earth God than before (and may be expected to report his move to both Earth Gods in question), but he still owes allegiance to the same ancestors.

A third possible source of variation is that of the gods who migrated with their people to Taiwan. Two questions, however, emerge: 1) As DeGlopper (1974) indicates, this merely pushes the question of the source of variation back 250 years. 2) While this might give some clues about the source of variation, it does not address the question of continuance of variation in a society which is increasingly homogeneous. A possible partial explanation to this latter question might be found in a consideration of the practices of the national government of Taiwan. Religious observances are some of the few occasions at which large numbers of people may assemble freely; being deprived of other opportunities for free assembly, the Taiwanese channel large amounts of time and resources into various religious practices. Given a more relaxed political climate, it is possible that this would not be the case.
As we have seen, the data about religious practices presented in six ethnographies from Taiwan show basically similar practices with variations which are not significantly greater than would be found in different churches in the United States. This may be due to several reasons. The most obvious is the reporting of the investigators. Not everyone gave detailed ethnographic information about each of the categories under inspection. In fact, Jordan (1972), who laments the lack of comparable data in ethnographies, give us so little data of a comparative nature that it was impossible to use his book in the present study.

Another possible explanation for the lack of variation is that perhaps the categories under examination are not areas in which significant variation is likely to occur. Jordan (1972: xv, xvi), whose study focused on the relation between religious beliefs and practices and the family and village social structure, comments, "When one approaches Chinese folk religion from this point of view . . . what attracts one's attention is not so much the customs of the great tradition, such as cleaning the tombs at the 'clear and bright' festival or giving money to the children at New Year, but rather practices that are directly relevant to the functioning of society at the local level - the constant re-ranking of local gods, for example, or the distribution of local ghosts." Perhaps birth, marriage, and death rituals belong more to the great tradition.

Assuming the variation does exist, a necessary prerequisite to a search for pan-Taiwanese underlying causes would be a systematic collection and presentation of comparable data. As indicated, this survey of six ethnographies turned up more similarities than differences, which may be due in large part to incomplete and noncomparable presentations.

Variation may be due in part, as Smith (1974) suggests, to the essentially personal nature of certain of the beliefs and practices. When the belief or practice attests the social group, conformity is expected and pressure is exerted to ensure that it is forthcoming. But in areas which do not affect the social group a person's beliefs and practices are his own business.

Besides questions related to the source of variation, there needs to be inquiry into the reason for the continuity and function of variation, and the possible relation between national restrictions on free assembly and excessive
interest in religious activities, when this is the primary excuse for which people can assemble without government-caused difficulties.

These questions might conceivably be studied cross-culturally. Do other polytheistic societies with emphasis on the individual's duties to the group also exhibit variation in the individual's personal life? Are there other regimes whose subjects fervently support activities in the areas of minimal government control (religion in Taiwan)?

Although this paper must end with more questions than it began, it is hoped that studies along these lines will provide significant insights into not just the fact or source of variation of religion in Taiwan but the whole question of the function of religion in modern complex societies.
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IDEATIONALISM VS. MATERIALISM:  
CONTRASTING GOALS, CONTRASTING ENDS

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Recent debates over the meaning and content of culture have divided anthropology into two main camps: ideationalists and materialists. On one aspect of the controversy, food taboos and preferences, the ideationalist viewpoint is represented in the writings of the neo-structuralists, and that of the materialists in the works of the cultural materialists. The explanations offered by the respective schools are indicative not only of their conceptions of culture, but also of the contributions of each toward making anthropology a relevant area of study and a useful tool in solving the problems facing humanity.

Structuralism was introduced to anthropology by French sociologist Emile Durkheim. In The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, Durkheim wrote,

The collective consciousness is the highest form of the psychic life, since it is the consciousness of the consciousness. Being placed outside of and above individual contingencies... it alone can furnish the mind with the molds which are applicable to the totality of things and which make it possible to think of them (1915:444).

Structural anthropologists have followed Durkheim in trying to define the nature of the "molds" or "deep structures" which regulate human social behavior.

In contemporary anthropology, structuralism's main proponent has been Claude Levi-Strauss. Following Durkheim, Levi-Strauss's goal is to uncover "universals," basic psychological structures that are hidden beneath overt social behavior (DeGeorge and DeGeorge 1972:xxiii). These structures are integrated systems, so that no element of the structure may be modified without altering the other elements. The elements must also be so organized as to make possible predictions about changes in the structure due to change in one element (Ibid.:xxv).

Neo-structuralist interpretations of food taboos and preferences are therefore cast in psychological terms.
The rationale for this preference system is provided by a symbolic logic that organizes the objectified and the subjectified. Cattle are more objectified than pigs because cattle are used for traction or kept grazing out on the range, whereas pigs live closer to humans and cannot be used for traction or other work. Both are objectified in comparison to horses and dogs, which are in close contact with humans. Of the latter, dogs are more subjectified than horses, for dogs are kept only for companionship and horses are used for traction and riding (Ibid.:173). This logic yields the structuralist formula—cows are to pigs as horses are to dogs as nature is to culture as objectified is to subjectified. Subjectified animals are treated like people; objectified animals are treated like tools. Since "edibility is inversely related to humanity," (Ibid.:175) American food preferences are an extension of the cannibalism taboo: you do not eat close kin; those you have been introduced to; those who have been subjectified (Ibid.:173).

This symbolic logic also extends to inner versus outer parts of animals. "Meat" is an objectified term for muscle. "Heart," "kidney," and "liver" are subjectified terms. Therefore, meat is more prestigious (and more expensive) than innards (Ibid.:175).

This logic even organizes price and demand. Nutritional considerations do not justify rankings of meats as "choice" or "inferior." Tongue should cost more than steak due to relative scarcity, but does not (Ibid.:176). As history shows, people can be conditioned to like the taste of almost anything, so it cannot be that steak is intrinsically tastier than, say, liver, and thus more expensive.

The neo-structuralist view of the Jewish taboo on pork is also psychologically oriented. According to Mary Douglas (1966:3-4), taboos—purity and impurity—are symbolic statements reflecting social structures. Taboos are not dependent on physical circumstances; they are integrating, solidary mechanisms, not responses to economic or ecologic pressures.
According to Douglas, pigs are tabooed by the Jews for three reasons. First, pigs defy classification as livestock because they have cloven feet but do not chew the cud, as all other livestock do. Since "dirt is matter out of place," pigs are dirty, unclean (Ibid.:35). Second, pigs eat carrion and therefore violate the cannibalism taboo. Third, pigs are eaten by non-Israelites, and an "Israelite who betrothed a foreigner might have been offered a feast of pork;" here, the taboo plays an integrating role (Douglas 1972:79).

Economist Alan Heston's analysis of the Indian cattle complex provides support for structural ideationalism. Heston (1971:191-200) observed that the ratio of cows to oxen in India is 54:72.5. Since only 24 million cows are needed to maintain a population of 72.5 million oxen, there are 30 million excess cows that can only be justified by the need to observe "ahimsa." "Ahimsa" is the doctrine of non-violence towards all life forms epitomized by cow worship. Since the excess cows place added strain on an already overloaded system, Heston concluded that the spiritual benefits of "ahimsa" outweigh the costs of having too many cows.

Materialists were largely inspired by Karl Marx; they believe that condition determines consciousness. Unlike structuralists, they focus on the causality of consciousness rather than on its processes. Cultural materialists believe that the purpose of anthropology is to discover the "causes of the divergent and convergent evolutionary trajectories of sociocultural systems, which consist of behavior and the products of behavior as well as thought" (Harris 1979:170). These causes lie in the infrastructure - the basic means of production and reproduction - rather than in the structure and superstructure - the relations of production and reproduction. Thus, cultural materialists focus on what people do to stay alive rather than on how they think they stay alive.

In his analysis of diet in the United States, Eric Ross (1980:192-195) has found that meat preferences are indeed based on environmental and economic considerations. He notes that pork was the choice meat, the prestige meat, in America for over two hundred years for practical, mundane reasons. For one, pork could be slated and preserved for shipment and remain tasty, beef could not. For another, pigs were the most efficient means of turning surplus grains into meat: the rise of pork consumption in the early 1800s coincided with the expansion of the frontier into the cornbelt states.
Beef consumption on a significant scale did not begin until the 1880s, and did not surpass pork consumption until 1960 (Ibid.:191). The 1880s saw the opening of the Great Plains and the replacement of the buffalo by cattle. Cattle were able to make use of otherwise useless grasslands, something pigs could not do. Coupled with the advent of railroad refrigeration cars, the grasslands made the large-scale production of beef possible for the first time (Ibid.: 198-200).

Due to depletion of the grasslands by the 1920s, cattle were increasingly being fattened on corn, which raised the price of beef and lowered its consumption. Consumption levels did not rise again until after World War II. The introduction of petrochemical fertilizers and Federally sponsored irrigation produced vast corn surpluses. Cheap corn lowered the cost of beef, and consumption rose. To this day, beef prices rise and fall with the amount of surplus corn available for fattening (Ibid.:206).

The demand for beef has been organized by conglomerates owning huge cross-sections of corn-producing, beef-producing, meat-packing, and retail-food companies. Their interests lie in being able to sell all of their products. The USDA designation of "choice" as marbled meat, meaning corn-fed beef, leads to higher prices for such meat, although it is not nutritionally more valuable (Ibid.:209-215). And when export markets offer a more profitable outlet for corn surpluses than do feed-lot operations, these surpluses are sold overseas instead of being fed to American cattle herds. The herds decrease, beef prices rise, and consumption decreases (Ibid.).

As Marvin Harris (1977:289) has pointed out, the "green revolution" is largely an oil revolution. America's ability to eat beef will last only so long as oil remains cheap and plentiful. Beef eating is a cultural form dependent on the material conditions of the world, not an example of a "self-perpetuating, structurally autonomous ordering of human life," as Sahlins believes (in Ross 1980:216).

In seeking a cultural materialist explanation of the Jewish pork taboo, Harris has focused on mundane factors such as what pigs eat, how they survive, and what their adaptations are, not on what Jews think about pigs (or on what pigs think about Jews). What he has found is that pigs are creatures of forests and riverbanks, and as such were originally well suited to the Middle East. However, a sixty-fold increase of human population in the area between 7000-2000 B.C. resulted in extensive deforestation, and pigs became increasingly more expensive to feed and maintain.
During the same period many Middle Eastern peoples became pastoral nomads. Nowhere in the world do pastoral nomads raise significant numbers of pigs. Why not? First, pastoralists rarely exploit their animals for meat; pigs provide only meat: they cannot be ridden, milked, or sheared. Second, pastoral herds range on grass; pigs cannot eat grass. and third, the world-wide zone of pastoral nomadism is generally hot and arid; pigs are not adapted to such climates. Pigs die in direct sunlight with temperatures over 98 F (Ibid.:34). The early Hebrews were pastoral nomads until 1300 B.C., when they conquered Palestine and the Jordan valley, where temperatures of 110 F. are common in summer, and the sun shines intensely year round (Ibid.:35).

Even for settled communities in the Middle East, pigs were a bad investment. Without forests to forage in, pigs must be provided with food, and pigs eat the same things that people eat. And in the arid heat, pigs must be provided with both shade and water to wallow in.

According to Harris (Ibid.:36), the purpose of the Jewish pork taboo was to prevent the rise of a pig/grain complex. The early domestic pig always provided a relatively small part of village diet. Pig remains account for only 5% of bones found at sites throughout modern Turkey (Ibid.). In the absence of grain surpluses, pork remains an expensive yet tempting meat source, Harris (1979:193) states that "total interdiction by appeal to sacred sanctions is a predictable outcome in situations where the immediate temptations are great, but ultimate costs are high . . ." In this case, the benefits of pig-raising - meat and meat only - are outweighed by the long-term costs to society in the form of grain diversion - producing pork instead of producing people. Limited production of pork would only increase the temptation to raise pigs; besides, "a total taboo is always easier to administer than a partial one" (Harris 1974:26).

Similar conditions prevailed among the neighbors of the early Hebrews. According to Harris' theory, one would expect them to have had similar taboos, which they did: Babylonian, Sumerians, early Egyptians, and pre-Islamic Arabs all had pork taboos (Harris 1979:194).

The case of India's sacred cattle is often cited by ideationalists as an example of blatant economic wastefulness in the name of spiritual satisfaction. Why else would starving people refuse to eat all of those cattle roaming the cities and clogging the highways, if not because of religious sanctions?
First, is the Indian cattle complex an inefficient system? Stuart Odend'hal (in Harris 1974:26) analyzed the gross energetic efficiency - calories returned for calories consumed - of the system, and found it to be 17%, versus 4% for American cattle.

Second, "ahisma" - the doctrine of non-violence towards all life - is supposed to prevent the slaughter of useless cows. Does "ahisma" prevent cow slaughter?

The observable ratio of 54 million cows to 72.5 million oxen, or 70:100 shows that 30% of India's cows are being killed. The fact is that Hindu farmers do kill unwanted cows, although usually not outright. Harris (1966:56-57) reports that older cows are picketed with short tethers and allowed to starve to death. Unwanted calves have triangular yokes placed about their necks; when they try to nurse, the yoke jabs the cow in the udder, and it then kicks the offending calf to death. In addition, unknown amounts of cows are sent to slaughterhouses on the sly.

Cows are needed to produce oxen for traction. Where water buffalo are a preferred form of traction, the ratio of cows to oxen is 47:100 approaching Heston's theoretical optimum. And where does this occur? In the Gangetic Plain, the heartland of Hinduism (Harris 1974:24).

"Ahisma" in practice is neither wasteful nor loving. Cows are not fed; they are forced to forage stubble and other garbage for themselves. Feed grains are given only to working oxen (Harris 1966:55). "Ahisma" also goes along with a system in which every last drop of milk is mercilessly squeezed from each cow. When a cow will not give milk, a "phooka," a hollow tube, is used to blow air into its uterus, a painful process meant to irritate the cow into giving milk. Or Hindu farmers resort to "doom dev," in which they stuff the cow's tail into its vagina in order to produce the same result (Harris 1974:21). Gandhi believed that the cow was treated more cruelly in India than anywhere else in the world: "How we bleed her to take the last drop of milk . . . how we starve her to emaciation, how we ill-treat the calves, how we deprive them . . . how cruelly we treat the oxen, how we castrate them . . . beat them . . . overload them" (in Harris Ibid.).

Many Westerners - scholars included - equate with vegetarianism. This is not the case; Hindus eat meat when they can. Ninety percent of the population of southern India eat goat, chicken, and mutton and around half of those in the north do likewise (Mencher 1971:202-204). And, all dead cattle do get eaten, "ahimsa" notwithstanding. Cattle that die in the villages are eaten by the untouchables, and
those that do not, end up in slaughterhouses catering to city dwellers. According to Joan Mencher (1971:203), many urban middle-classed Hindus would admit to liking beef curry once informed that "upper caste" American like beef.

What role, if any, does "ahisma" play in the Indian cattle complex? According to Harris (1974:15-16), the taboo on cow slaughter is an adaptation to extreme conditions. It evolved to prevent the slaughter of cows during times of drought and famine. Cows are the only means of producing oxen for traction, which is the only means of plowing the fields. If a farmer eats his cow when things get tight, he eats his future. Gandhi (in Harris 1977:223) said that Hindus worshipped the cow not only because "she gave milk, but because she made agriculture possible."

Harris (1974:16) concludes that inefficient distribution of cattle might be caused by private ownership of livestock, plows and oxcarts, coupled with a land tenure system stressing private ownership of small plots (inspired and encouraged by the British), but that these conditions were not caused by "ahimsa." Rather, "ahisma" is an effect of a system in which cattle play a pivotal role in the mode of food production. Attacking the consciousness of the system would do nothing to alter the system itself.

Neo structuralism, with its emphasis on "deep structure" and universals, has three major consequences. First, it offers no explanations as to why different cultures have different cognitive systems or how these developed. Second, it produces theories which, when testable, are frequently proven wrong. And lastly, it offers few ideas which can be directly applied to planned social change.

On the other hand, cultural materialism, with its emphasis on the physical origins of cultural behavior, does offer reasons why different cultures have different cognitive systems. It also offers theories about how such systems evolved. And it does offer information relevant and applicable to guiding future change; only when we have an understanding of why cultures have developed in the ways that they have do we stand a chance of being able to offer meaningful suggestions about options for change. Above all, cultural materialism presents a holistic approach to humans, their behavior, and their relation to the rest of the world. Structuralism would divorce anthropology from the real world, reducing it to a sociological psychology, and a sterile one to boot.
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