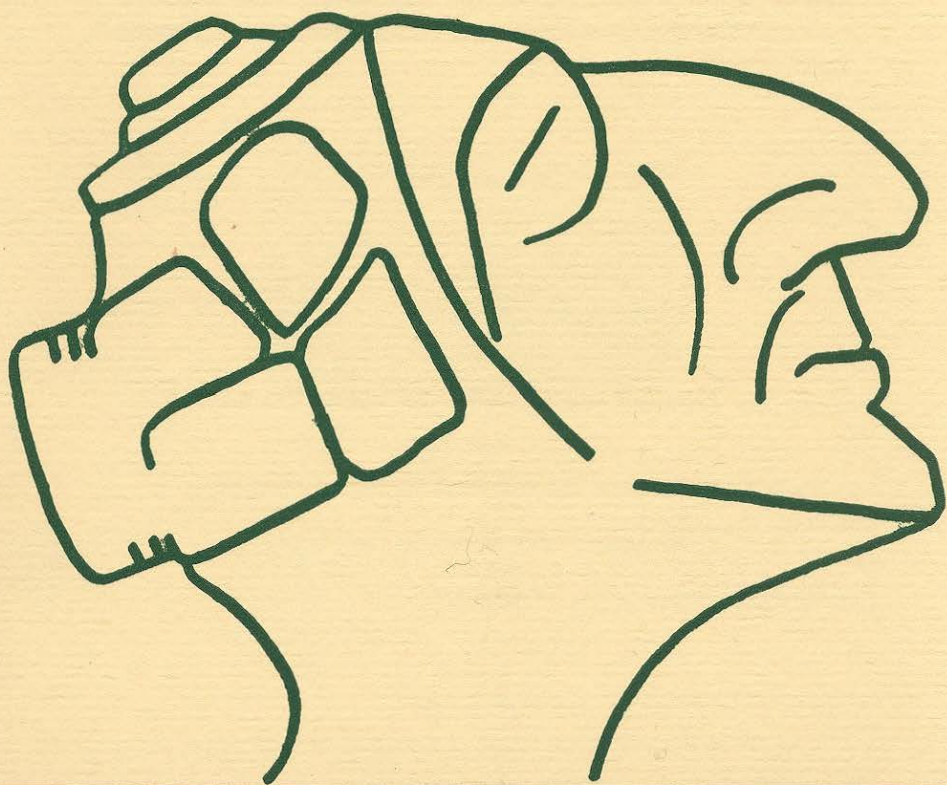


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AN APPARENT SYMMETRY IN PRE-NEOLITHIC DEVELOPMENTS: WESTERN EUROPE AND EASTERN UNITED STATES¹

FREDERICK HADLEIGH-WEST

Abstract

Recent work in Europe and the eastern United States has so altered pre-Neolithic chronologies as to indicate the possibility of several interesting correlations. Late Pleistocene hunting in both regions gave way to early Holocene hunting-fishing-foraging at approximately the same time. It is suggested that this transformation was in both instances largely ecological in nature. Whereas previously ways of life could be largely geared to animals of a few species, with post-glacial environmental succession it became necessary to diversify. Thus, similar environmental changes of late Pleistocene-Early Recent on both sub-continents appear to have induced broadly similar cultural adaptations.

The following notes represent an attempt to define a problem concerning pre-Neolithic developments on two continents and to suggest an hypothesis which might fit the facts which comprise the problem.

As Byers noted in his "Introduction to Five Papers on the Archaic Stage" (1959), our conceptions of the Archaic of North America have undergone a great deal of change in the years since that term was first applied. Along with these developments there has come an enormous burgeoning of knowledge of still earlier horizons, those which we still group under the rubric Palaeo-Indian. The possibility of the initial peopling of the hemisphere having taken place in an early phase of the Wisconsin, if direct proof is shaky, still is an actively considered idea. When and if such evidence is forthcoming, it would appear that its shock value will have been largely vitiated. Such, at least from my distant vantage point, appears to be the climate of opinion today. The vistas currently being opened up of early American prehistory surely constitute some of the most stimulating and important in the New World. That importance, however, is not solely a function of intrinsic interest, but more largely for the contribution to be made to cultural theory.

Probably because of the current higher incidence of open-mindedness about the antiquity of man in the New World, there seems to be an increasing tendency to seek in the Old World the precursors of the earliest American cultures thus far identified. Greenman's recent attempt (1963) certainly elicited considerable comment. From Alaska it would appear that the basic fault of

1. Paper delivered at Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting, Society for American Archaeology, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

that kind of effort is simply that it starts at the wrong end of the Old World. In the main, the very controversy aroused by studies such as Greenman's, has a decidedly salutary effect — that of jolting us awake and causing a closer scrutiny of principles held *a priori*.

The concern of the present paper is *not* with possible genetic relationships but rather with *generic* similarities between the eastern United States and western Europe in late Pleistocene and early Recent times. We deal here with *analogy* not homology. The viewpoint adopted is ecological.

One of the best-marked cultural transformations of pre-Neolithic Europe is the shift from Upper Palaeolithic to Mesolithic. The contrast between the two is abrupt, and sharply defined. Although we are far from having accumulated the amount of data our European colleagues have, it would seem that the same statement could be made for the Palaeo-Indian — Archaic transition: the contrast here is likewise clearly marked. Where there formerly existed an apparant hiatus between terminal Palaeo-Indian and early Archaic, recent work, especially that which has extended back earliest Archaic, has closed this gap. In fact, the situation is now one in which there exists a temporal overlap between these two stages — completely expectable in this type of widespread cultural transition.

The present problem may be stated thus:

- (1) The Upper Palaeolithic-Mesolithic transition occurred at roughly the same time as the Palaeo-Indian — Archaic transition.
- (2) There is a general resemblance in the cultural adaptations characteristic of late Upper Palaeolithic—Palaeo-Indian and Mesolithic-Archaic.

Dependent, obviously, upon the validity of these two assertions, it is suggested that:

- (3) This convergence of time and human ecology was not fortuitous but rather resulted from similar environments acting simultaneously upon groups within the same, general, technological framework.

It has often been noted that in the comparative study of aboriginal America there exists one of the closest approaches possible to the laboratory situation in the study of cultural development. Despite the increasing suspicion of later, exotic influences in this hemisphere, the picture to date remains one of isolation and autochthonous development. This seems to yet hold true for the high culture centers of nuclear America, and

**TENTATIVE CORRELATION OF LATE QUATERNARY
GLACIAL SEQUENCES, CULTURAL AND ECOLOGICAL STAGES
IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA**

European Glacial Sequence	Years BP	Cultural Seq. Europe	Ecological Stages	Cultural Seq. N. America	Years BP	American Glacial Sequence
Post Glacial	5,000	Established Mesolithic Earliest	Postglacial Sylvan Foraging	Established Archaic Earliest	5,000	Post Glacial
Younger Dryas	10,000				10,000	Cochran Adv. Rec.
Allerod Osc.						Valders Adv.
Older Dryas	15,000	Upper	Late	Palaeo	15,000	Two Creeks Rec. Mankato Adv. Lake Arkona Rec.
Bolling Osc.						
Wurm III.	20,000		Glacial	Indian	20,000	Classic
	25,000				25,000	Wisconsin
Paudorf Osc. Wurm II.	30,000	Palaeolithic	Plains		30,000	
Gottweig	35,000				35,000	Farmdale
Interstadial	40,000				40,000	Interstadial
	45,000				45,000	Early Wisconsin (Iowan)
Wurm I.	50,000				50,000	

it is there, with the obvious comparability with the Old World, that the theoretical implications of cultural convergence are most clearly seen. In the instance set forth here the suggested causal factors are different, but nonetheless if we may validly point to earlier interhemispheric correspondences, there may result a significant increment to our theoretical knowledge.

Classically, the Upper Palaeolithic cultures of Europe represent the high water mark of Old Stone Age hunting. In fact it may be questioned whether any purely hunting cultures of later times approached these in degree of success. The cultures that occupied central and western Europe were each closely articulated with the periglacial conditions that obtained in that region during Würm times. Much of the European plain was characterized by tundras of several sorts, but most important in human terms, it supported large numbers of herding animals. There were principally reindeer, wild cattle, bison, horse, and, to the east, mammoth. The evidence for the importance of these species in the lives of Upper Palaeolithic hunters is abundant and various. Evident too is the fact that relatively high human populations were supported by what must have been virtually optimum conditions for the hunting of large mammals.

The rather abrupt shift between 10,500 and 8,000 B.C. to the Mesolithic appears, at first glance, to defy expectable notions of the orderly progress of cultural development. By contrast with the late Magdalenian of central and western Europe, the Mesolithic Azilian, Sauveterrian, Tardenoisian, Maglemosian, Asturian, Ertebölle, etc., appear impoverished and culturally inferior. As often pointed out, the reasons for this rather dramatic transformation were most largely adaptive in nature, hence any judgement of Mesolithic inferiority must at least be tempered by the knowledge that those changes were functional and successful.

In explanation of the Upper Palaeolithic-Mesolithic transition, one most often reads of the environmental shift in terms of vegetation; grossly, the shift from tundra to postglacial mixed forest. While from palaeobotanical studies these phenomena are most readily inferred, in respect to human existence the major factor must have been the faunal changes that *resulted* from these climatic-vegetational changes. In other words, the dispersal of small human populations into forest clearing, streamside, lakeside, and littoral settings was not the result of encroaching forest as such but rather that new sources of sustenance had

quite different sorts of occurrence. Thus, where the ecology of Upper Palaeolithic folk had maintained a basically uniform aspect, Mesolithic people were forced to diversify. Some, such as the Azilians, Sauveterrians, and Tardenoisians became dominantly hunters of red deer, boar and other forest animals. Others, some of the Tardenoisians, the Maglemosians and the Ertebölle people depended most largely on the gathering of mollusks, fishing and bird hunting. The major fact obtrudes here: the large herds of late Pleistocene ungulates were gone and gone with them was the peculiarly bountiful existence they afforded.

The coevality of the American Palaeo-Indian horizons with later Upper Palaeolithic seems well established. Moreover, although we have no indication of an inordinately high population or luxuriation of culture, it would appear that ecologically the two ways of life were substantially similar. Further, the shift from the big game hunting Sandia, Clovis, Folsom and various Plano cultures to the Archaic seems to provide a definite analogue to the European development. The dependence of these American hunters upon large, late Pleistocene mammals such as bison, horse, mammoth and mastodon is well documented at least for the western portions of the areas of distribution. Although eastern evidence is less clear, by implication the way of life was similar. Gathering undoubtedly played some part in these economies. Nevertheless, the dominant subsistence activity was the hunting of the large late Wisconsin ungulate fauna, just as was the case for Europe. The economically important game animals were in both instances quite similar — to the point of generic, and in some forms, specific identity. Both faunas were dependent upon the environmental conditions occasioned by the near proximity of glacial ice. Both disappeared as the ice retreated and environmental conditions began to progress toward those of the Recent.

The cultural response in both cases was similar: a move toward diversification. Specifically, there appeared a new emphasis upon gathering to supplement the now more precarious hunting. Where Mesolithic people hunted the roe and red deer their American counterparts hunted white-tailed deer and smaller forms. Hunting was no longer the mainstay, however. Evidence of the importance of collecting, of vegetal foods, of mollusks, and of fishing is characteristic of both the Mesolithic and the Archaic. In his paper in the 1959 symposium on the Archaic, Fowler defines the Archaic as being composed of cultures

adapted to the utilization of local flora and fauna and strongly oriented toward gathering as a subsistence pattern. Clark, in his *Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe*, thus characterizes the Mesolithic: "Food gathering — hunting, fishing, fowling, and collecting — formed the economic basis of all these cultures."

Tentative though such a correlation must be at present it now appears that these two transitions took place at practically the same time — if current interpretations of the highly important Modoc Rock Shelter and Graham Cave sites are correct. Correlation of the geological sequences attest that glacial phenomena on the two continents were quite nearly synchronous and that the extinction of late Pleistocene fauna and post-glacial environmental succession followed closely parallel courses.

The specific cultural responses to these environmental changes were different. There are no American counterparts for the tanged point or microlithic cultures of Europe nor does Europe give evidence of specific similarities to the American Archaic. In brief, there appears to be ecologically a near identity in the two developments; culturally, they appear as divergent as might be expected under circumstances of total historical isolation from each other.

The chart which accompanies this paper presents the tentative correlations outlined in the foregoing. The geological and environmental sequences are taken principally from Flint's *Glacial and Pleistocene Geology* and later papers, Charlesworth's *The Quaternary Era*, Wendorf's *Palaeoecology of the Llano Estacado* and Movius' "Radiocarbon Dates and Upper Palaeolithic Archaeology."

For purposes of this kind of comparison it would be convenient to have a set of terms by means of which the common ecological stages suggested here could be grouped. Kelly suggested the terms "Early Hunters" and "Food Collector" for, respectively, Palaeo-Indian and Archaic. These do not seem to transfer readily for the intercontinental case hence "Late Glacial Plains Hunting" and "Postglacial Sylvan Foraging" are used.

The subsistence base of the Middle Eastern Mesolithic was similar to that of Europe but the environment was quite different. It might be useful to think of these differences as facies, thus Foraging may be conceived as characteristic of the Mesolithic as a whole; the Sylvan facies typical of Europe, a Steppe-

Desert facies to that of the eastern Mediterranean littoral. The same distinction might be drawn for some American cases.

I have no particular fondness for these but I do think that whatever terms are used should include an indication of time since the nature of the total ecology on any one plane is always in part a function of biological evolution — a non-repetitive, irreversible process.

It may be observed that in ecology proper there exists a very convenient concept for the situation suggested here. This is the principle of ecological equivalence which states that the same ecological niche in geographically isolated areas may be occupied by phylogenetically unrelated organisms. "Phylogenetically unrelated" is the operative term here; *should* it be shown that the cultures of Europe and eastern North America *were* related, then the theoretical implications of the foregoing are altered completely.

A great deal more evidence of various kinds is required before the propositions outlined above could be said to be substantiated. The nature of earliest Archaic is only now being established. We know embarrassingly little about the ecology of the Palaeo-Indian east of the Mississippi River. The late glacial and post glacial chronologies are not completely firm. Even more pressing, however, is the problem of the exact nature of North American environments at these times.

With the new evidence accumulating from Mexico bearing on the early origins of American agriculture it is beginning to appear that we are on the verge of seeing a striking parallel alignment of these major sequences on an intercontinental basis. In this light, MacNeish's pre-agricultural stages in Tehuacan Valley may be characterized as having ecologically an Archaic stamp. This suggests the possibility that the Mesolithic-Archaic or Postglacial Foraging Stage with its emphasis upon plant collecting and semi-sedentarism served as a necessary pre-condition to the attainment of environmental control which came with agriculture. Perhaps this stage, which European archaeologists sometimes characterize as one of arrested development, is better to be seen — in Kroeber's terms — as one of reformulation and reconstitution — an enforced period of reassessment, readjustment and experimentation toward a more optimal adjustment to new environmental circumstances.

The next few years should produce answers to many of the most basic problems in American prehistory. One fruitful line of inquiry will surely be in ecological terms.

University of Alaska

HUMAN-HEADED ADORNOS FROM WESTERN GEORGIA¹

CARL F. MILLER AND PAUL V. LILES, JR.

Early this year two separate sherds bearing human-headed adornos were found by the junior author as rim ornaments on separate vessels. One of these (Plate Ia) came from the Bull Creek Site (9Me1), the other (Plate Ib) from the Cooper Site (9Me3), Muscogee County, western Georgia, within the Chattahoochee River drainage.

These adornos are not numerous and they display characteristics that are not only interesting but may definitely point towards a certain cultural linkage with Mexico. Both are late in time and relate to the Lamar Fort Walton Culture of that area.

The most noticeable characteristic is the "coffee-bean" eyes, a trait which is atypical in the indication of that feature. The eyes of both specimens are represented by nodes shaped into the well recognized "coffee-bean" form with the slit representing the two partially opened eyes. The nose is a pinched ridge of medium width and straight bridges. The chins are well formed and strong while the foreheads are receding, terminating at the top of the head into a dull point. No other facial features are represented.

Bringing the head to a dull point as though the skull were artificially deformed resembles an act performed by certain groups from the Valley of Mexico as well as nearby earlier groups associated with the Copena Culture of the Tennessee Valley, northern Alabama.

Previously, it has been suggested that the use of the human head as vessel ornamentation lies in a broad interpretation of function and may reflect a certain religious connotation. Whether such statements can be considered to be factual cannot be definitely affirmed for it is next to impossible to correlate them with actual facts.

Both sherds display a band of clay, a short distance below the simple rounded lip. This band, broken only by the appearance of each adorno, was spaced around the upper portion of the rim and shaped into parallel rectangular pyramidal nodes whose long axes run vertically to the lip.

1. Published with the permission of the Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

The exterior and interior surfaces of both vessels were carefully rubbed to create a very smoothed burnished effect. The adorno in Plate Ia is black in color while that in Plate Ib is a very subtle greenish-gray.

What temper there is is a very fine quartz sand as the particles have been well rounded previous to use. Paste is hard, around Moh 3.5, and appears flaky under 40X magnification.

Because adornos of this nature are rare, it is thought that these should be placed on record as deriving from a Lamar Culture area of western Georgia which carries over into eastern Alabama.

River Basin Surveys
Bureau of American Ethnology
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D. C.

35 Artillery Drive
Columbus, Georgia

NAPIER-LIKE VESSEL FROM RUSSELL CAVE, ALABAMA¹

CARL F. MILLER

As a rule archeological sites in the eastern United States do not produce whole vessels in quantity. In contrast, several whole or restorable clay vessels were recovered by the writer while exploring a portion of the deposit within Russell Cave, Jackson County, northern Alabama, during the interval from 1956-1958. One of these vessels (Plate II), in particular, was almost complete in that only a section of the rim and shoulder was missing. It was found in the deep midden alongside the north wall of the cave at a depth of three feet in association with other artifacts. It is roughly conoidal in shape with a base that has been slightly flattened.

Exteriorly, the neck, lip and base of the vessel are plain and were rubbed sufficiently to give a burnished effect. A shallow incised line delimits both of these areas from the main section of the body. The body, roughly globular in outline, is covered with a rectangular stamped design which consists of a set of five closely-spaced parallel lines loosely intertwined with a comparable set to give the impression of a crude diagonal weave. The diamond-shaped interstices are filled with a series of vertical straight parallel lines, ten to twelve in number. The design, together with the vessel shape, relates to the Middle Woodland Culture of northern Alabama and resembles the Napier-like forms, of this same cultural period, of the Etowah drainage of northern Georgia.

The vessel characteristics are as follows:

PASTE AND TEMPER: The medium fine to very fine particles of crushed limestone are around one mm. or less in diameter. Whether these particles were an intentional additive to the raw clay is a moot question. Weaver² is of the opinion that there is a possibility that these particles may occur naturally within the clays in limestone country. This may be true, for under magnification the particles are rounded, in contrast to the angularity resulting from the crushing of limestone as an additive to the raw clay before being used to construct vessels.

1. Published with the permission of the Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.
2. Weaver, 1963.

METHOD OF MANUFACTURE: Coiling.

TEXTURE: Compact.

HARDNESS: 3.5 Moh scale.

COLOR: Mostly black to blackish-gray with spots of a lighter gray and buff appearing on the shoulder and basal sections.

SURFACE FINISH: Well-smoothed on interior and exterior with parts of the neck and basal bands showing a burnishing but no evidence of tool markings.

DECORATION: Body of vessel is covered with a zoned rectilinear stamped design consisting of parallel elements arranged as though to simulate a loosely plaited fabric delimited by incised lines above and below. The design was produced by a single carved paddle which was applied parallel but with slight amounts of overlapping one upon the other.

FORM:

Rim: Straight with slight exterior thickening brought about by folding.

Lip: Simple and rounded.

Body: Conoidal jar which tapers to a slightly flattened base from a moderate shoulder.

Base: Slightly flattened.

GEOGRAPHICAL RANGE: Similar decorative elements occur from the upper reaches of the Savannah River of eastern Georgia and western South Carolina, across northern Georgia and the Etowah drainage, into northeastern Alabama and southeastern Tennessee in the Tennessee River drainage. It is felt that the subsequent curvilinear designs evolved out of this form.

CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION: Related to the Napier-like groups of the Middle Woodland cultures of Georgia and the limestone-tempered groups of northern Alabama.

VESSEL MEASUREMENTS:

Height: 16.2 cm.

Width of orifice: 15.5 cm.

Exterior width at base of neck: 15.5 cm.

Greatest body width: 18.3 cm.

Extent of flattened base: 4.6 cm.

Wall thickness: 4.0 - 6.0 mm.

PROBABLE AGE: Around 2,000 years.

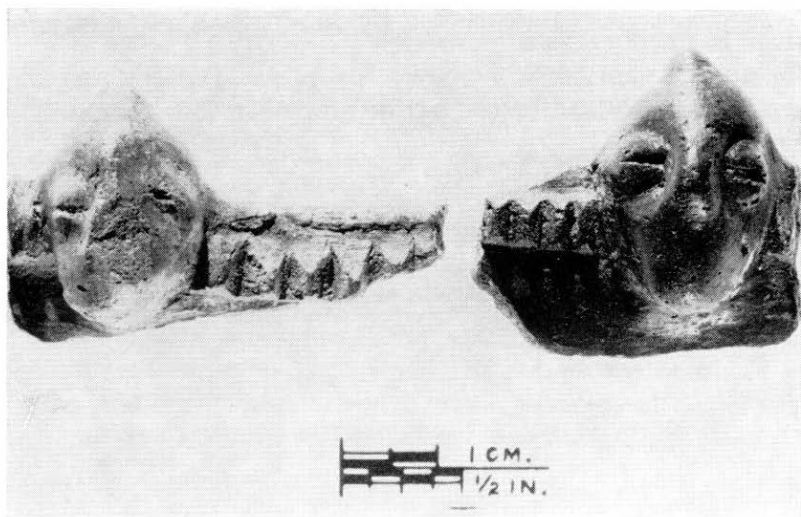
River Basin Surveys
Bureau of American Ethnology
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D. C.

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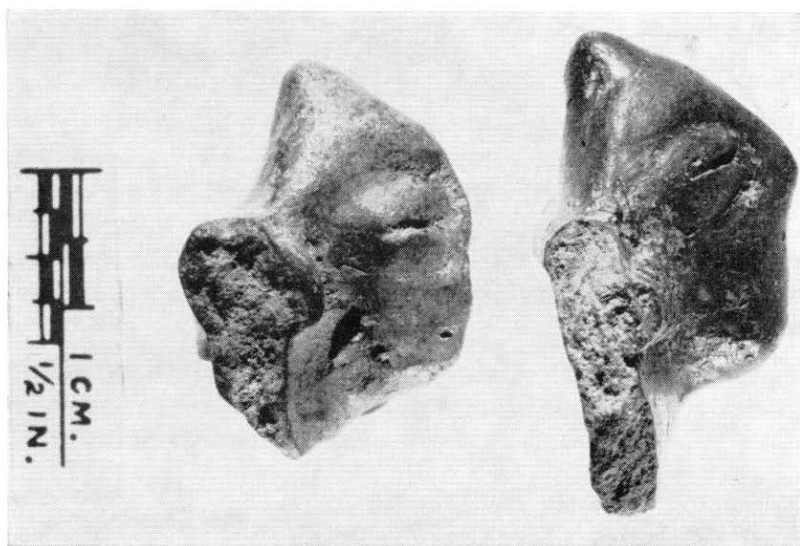
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PLATE I



A

B

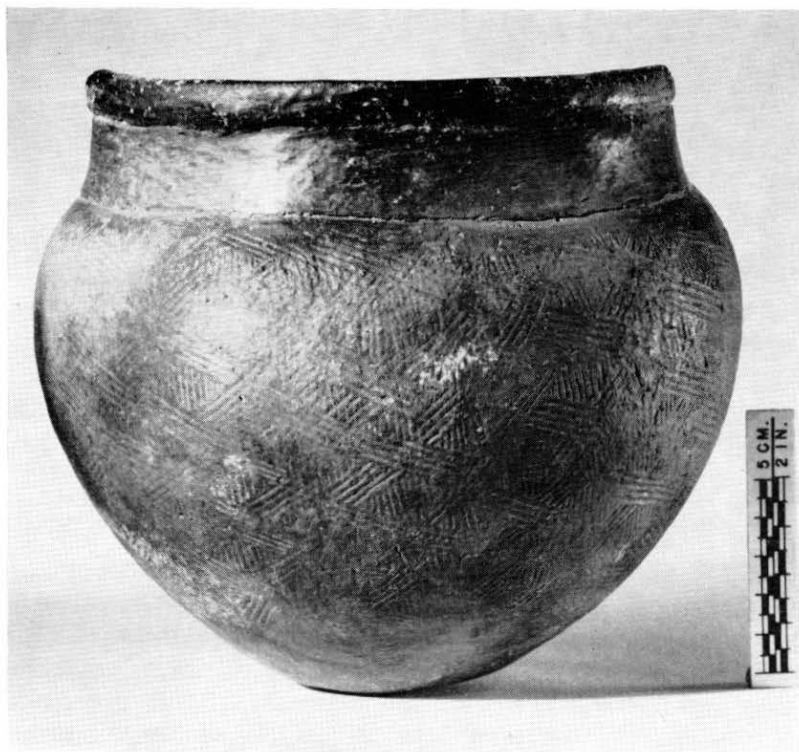


A

B

Human-headed Adornos from western Georgia

PLATE II



Napier-like vessel from Russell Cave, Alabama

THE SERPENT AND THE TURTLE

DAVID H. CORKRAN

Abstract

In connection with the problems relating to the time or times the American Indian departed from Asia and the degree to which culture has Asiatic roots, it is helpful to explore parallelisms in the area of religious mythology, as well as identities in certain related consonantal connotations.

The mythological concepts of the serpent as a symbol of deistic mystery, and the Flood with its water as the symbol of the prime mover, are found in both American Indian and Asiatic cultures. The serpent appears in Judeo-Christian, Chinese, East Indian and American lore. As a symbol of water, primary movement, life, it is evident in carvings in the Cambodian temple at Angkor Wat and in the Delaware Indian Walam Olum, where the Flood is represented as a bowl of water in which floats a wavy-lined serpent. Instead of destruction, there calmly arises an arc, shaped like the back of a turtle, the Lenape tribal totem. That is to say, tribes and institutions arise from the Flood; or, in the Vedas, by the flooding down of the mystic Apas.

It is in the P-B and NG or GN consonants in water, creator, mover connotations that the Asiatic mysticism of the Flood and the organizing Apas connects with that of the American Indian. In Urdu the consonant P-B is found in the words for "water," "father," "generator." The Delaware Indian word for "water" is "mbi" and the Algonkian language root syllable for "water" is "pe." In the Walam Olum we find this description of the Flood: "Pehella pehella pohoka eshohok eshohok pallito palliton." In the next verse the coming of the turtle, or Lenape society, is described, under the aegis of the culture god Nanabush. Philologically speaking the tribe takes shape around the consonant P (in Lenape); creativity is promoted under the consonant P-B (in Nanabush), as it is in the Urdu Apa with its connotations of "father" and "water."

It may be that the NG consonant is a more elemental root in serpent, water, creator-mover symbolism than the consonant P-B. It is present in the Cherokee "gungnodung" for "life"; and, as NK, in the Delaware "han-nock" for stream. As KN it is found in the Delaware "Kitanitowit" for "God." As N alone it occurs in the Delaware "aan" for "to move" and in Cherokee "nai" for "going" and "inadu" for "snake"; it is found in the Sanskrit "naga" for "snake." The vitality of this same KN of NG can also be recognized in the root of the Greek word "kinein" meaning "to move."

What seems to be operative in these usages of the P-B and the NG of KN is an ancient shamanistic art of language and myth-making about which tribal societies were organized. The Delaware and the Cherokee societies would seem to be out of Asiatic roots, probably before the Aryan invasion of India; and the basis of organized language as we know it lies in ancient religious roots of which the primitive serpent and turtle are symbols.

Concerning the ultimate oriental origin of the American Indian there now appears to be little doubt. The major problems relate to the time or times of the Indian's departure from Asia and the degree to which his culture has Asiatic roots. An approach to these problems is offered to some extent by linguistics and mythology. Can known American Indian language families be related to known Asiatic or European language families? Are there American mythologies which can be tied to Asiatic mythologies? If these questions can be answered positively, then we would have two tools available with which to explore the problems of migration times. In this connection there are certain striking parallelisms and even a few identities.

The parallelisms lie in the area of religious mythology, particularly in the area of animistic deism; the identities lie in certain consonantal connotations connected with this religious mythology.

In the area of parallelisms lie two major concepts: that of the serpent as a symbol of deistic mystery, primarily in the concept "mover of all" with an association with water as a symbol of the moving stream of universal motion or action; and that of the Flood story in its connotations of water as the symbol of the prime mover. In the area of identities, there is the identity of the Delaware consonant P-B with the Urdu consonant P-B in the concepts "water" and "creator"; and the Delaware and Cherokee NK or KN in the ideas "water-mover" or "life-mover", and the Vedic KN as in "Agni" signifying the "fire of life."

There is no need here to recapitulate the evidence of world-wide association of the serpent with deistic concepts. That association most familiar to laymen in the western hemisphere, the serpent of the knowledge of good and evil in the garden of Eden, regarded in some societies and by medieval monks as a phallic association, is primarily a creator concept, i.e., a symbol, in its most spiritual connotation, of the creative power of the deity. Its association with carnal evil is merely moralistic didacticism stemming from but one aspect of the creative force in the universe. In other than Judeo-Christian mythology the serpent, as Chinese dragon or as East Indian Naga, or feathered serpent, associates with the idea of deity and the mysterious prime creative forces which figure in man's fate. In American Indian lore, the two most dramatic concepts of the serpent are in the Mayan god Gucumatz, the serpent creator of the world, and the Toltec Quetzacoatl, "sun serpent," the white god of knowledge, language, and the creative arts. Serpent symbolism of the snake as prime mover probably traces back in human history at least as far as the wavy line symbolism in the art work of Aurignacian man.

The Flood story, too, is one of the ancient pieces of universal human mythology. All of us have been familiar from childhood with Noah's trying experience locked up with representatives of all the beasts on earth for forty days and forty nights on the wastes of the most devastating flood in human experience. These same high waters are commemorated in the Mayan Popul Vuh and in the lore of the Cherokee and Delaware, leading some to believe that mankind had a common experience of a vast flooding of earth in one of the interglacial periods. Others relegate the flood stories to a common form of natural disaster in the various parts of the globe where heavy rainfalls occur. But we are not content with late Victorian commonsense solutions of mytho-

logical problems. The creators of mythologies show a marked lack of practical common sense and a high degree of mystical sense. To them natural occurrences spoke of a higher plane of mystical nature in which all sorts of unnatural phenomena could and did occur, as was the nature of things mystical. The Flood was one of these. It did not occur yesterday and could not happen again; but it took place so far back in human experience as to lie at the roots of tribal existence. It was a pouring down from above which nourished the roots of the tribe's being; and in any well-ordered tribal history the Flood had to be placed among the first events, before the chronology of events known to the memories of the living and their known ancestors. It occurs in the days of the mythological ancestors; it is there at the commencement of things tribal. Thus in the Delaware migration myth, the Walam Olum, it is in Book II of the five books, right after the creation and just before the story of the Delaware or Lenape people's travels.

The most revealing explanation of the Flood appears in the "Prashina" of the Iranian scholar, Shin Partow, of the University of Teheran who writes:

The gods are the protectors and supporters of men, the shedders of the Apas. Now when it is said that a god resolved to destroy mankind by flooding the earth by Apas; or the Great Apas pervaded the universe containing the germ of the generating Agni, it means that the Apas have been sent into the different parts of the earth.

And again, when it is said that the earth had been flooded with Apas, it does not mean that the earth had been flooded with rain, but with Apas, or with fathers, mystically. The Apas came down to be mixed with the different tribes, to teach and govern them.¹

What Shin Partow is saying is that the Flood lies at the origin of tribal institutionalism and mysticism as a sort of organizing force, just as it appears to lie in Book II of the Delaware Walam Olum.

Now the serpent is a water symbol of movement. It takes on this characteristic from the ceaseless serpentine flow of the streams and the wavy tossing of large bodies of water. Hence there is the pre-historic wavy line symbol of primary movement—even of life, the essence of movement in life being the heart beat and the repetitive up-and-down movement of breathing. This association of the serpent with water, movement, and life is clearly evident in the stone carvings of serpents about the

1. Partow, 1960, p. 19.

walls and water pools of the Cambodian temple at Angkor Wat, and the proximity in India of the serpent cults with pools and streams. It appears most forcefully in the Delaware Indian Walam Olum in line 7 of Book II, the Flood line, in which the raging waters overwhelm the earth. The ideograph accompanying this line is a calm bowl marked as with water in which floats a wavy-lined serpent. Here is the creator-mover serpent in an American Indian water association which parallels that of south-east Asia, where the Naga serpent kings and gods are said to dwell at the bottom of lakes. The Walam Olum ideograph of the Flood is not a crude representation of violence but a very calm and beautiful representation from which rises a bow, a heavenly arc in the shape of the back of the turtle which is the Lenape tribal totem. That is to say, tribes and institutions arise from the Flood, as Shin Partow states out of his knowledge of the Vedas, by the flooding down of the mystic Apas.

But is the Delaware Walam Olum flood identical with the Vedic flood of Apas? The evidence of linguistics seems to say that it is. Shin Partow writes of the Persian P:

In Urdu the word for water is "pani" which is "pai" plus "n" and "pai" is "api", "water"; "bau" is "abu" and "abu" is "water" or "father."

"Ab," "ap" and "apa" are the same and mean originally "water," but mystically it means "father," "generator," for the gods love the mystic.

The "ab" is father and the doubling of the "ab" and "ap", "abab," "apap" or their inverse "baba," "papa" is also "father!"

The reason why "apa" is the father is that a father makes his children with his "apa," which in Persian means also the generative fluid. The Apa is he who creates.

The Apas are the primeval elements, they are a fact and based on fact and truth. They are also the conception of law; when the Apas came to this earth then all is in due and lawful order. . . . The Apas are also, the reality itself, they are immortality, they are faith, they are sacrifice. The Apa was the first of created things.²

Linguistically, then, the consonant P-B in its water and creator connotations stands for the first creator of social organizational patterns. Thus the Flood comes to mean the organization of chaos into a orderly universe and society. Linguistically society becomes organized through the consonant P-B. This phenomenon is acutely manifested in the Brahminical term "Pragapati," a word built around the concepts inherent in the Urdu consonant P as "water" and "creator." G. A. Gaskell, in his *Dictionary of the Sacred Language of All Scriptures and Myths*, defines Praga-

2. Partow, 1960, p. 9.

pati as "A symbol of the creative aspect of the Supreme which goes forth primordially as Divine truth producing spirit and matter in the cycle of manifestation and eventually taking form as the archetypical man."³ Pragapati in his water aspect is presented in Prasna Upanishad, I, ii in the following words: "Some call Pragapati the father with five feet (the five senses) and with twelve shapes (the twelve months) the *giver of rain in the highest half of heaven . . .*" Pragapati as the maker of the creative Flood is set forth in the words of Sata Brahmana, vi., v. 29: "Here now they say 'wherefore is Agni (the Fire Altar) built of this earth?' But surely when the deity 'Pragapati' became relaxed (fell asunder) *he flowed along this earth in the shape of his life sap* and when the gods restored him (put him together) they gathered him up from this earth."

The concept here is that Agni, the central religious fire of the world, is born out of the flooding creative sap of Pragapati. Consonantly the GN (NG) of the Agni appears to be born of the arch creator P-B, which connotes the creative waters of heaven.

It is in the P-B and NG or GN consonants in water, creator, mover connotations that the foregoing Asiatic mysticism of the Flood and the organizing Apas connects with the American Indian. The Delaware Indian word for "water" is "mbi"; and the Algonkian language root syllable for water is "pe", as in the word "sipi" for "stream," the root word of the name of America's Mississippi River, and the root word of the old Algonkian name of Martha's Vineyard, "nope,"—meaning "no," "in the middle of," "pe," "the water."

Linguistic coincidences rate high in philological suspicion. And one would be rash beyond bravery to add an Urdu-speaking Algonkian to the already blasted Welsh-speaking one. Nevertheless here in the Algonkian P-B lies a root which crops up in the Urdu and in Vedic lore in the same connotations. How aptly it does so in a philological sense can only be seen in the Delaware creation myth as set forth in the Walam Olum. This one hundred and eighty-four verse epic narrative was long suspect as a hoax by its first translator, the Swiss scholar Rafinesque, but is now accepted as valid by later authorities on the Delaware language, D. G. Brinton of the University of Pennsylvania and Carl F. Voegelin of Indiana University. Book I of the Walam Olum

3. Gaskell, 1923.

treats of the creation of the universe and the earth. Book II treats of the creation of things Delaware. It is in Book II that we find the Delaware turtle totem arising from the universal snake, the "ako," or "naku," the central spirit of movement, the primordial NG, after the Flood, to assume the "tulpe" (Delaware for "turtle"), or "pe" water form of the creative movement which is the essence of the serpent. The seventh verse, the number seven connoting the act of creation, describes the Flood in a line vividly alliterative of the P consonant: "Pehella pehella pohoka pohoka eshohok eshohok pallito palliton." Carl Voegelin translates this line "so the water ran and ran, spreading in hollows, and making hollows, penetrating here, penetrating there, destroying something here and destroying something there." Despite the fact that the preceding verse, verse six, has a distinct suggestion of copulation, Voegelin pictures this flood as a destructive thing. Actually the Flood is seminal as indicated by Shin Partow's discussion of the Apas. Here in the Delaware is the flowing of the sap of Pragapati under the aegis of the P consonant. This verse is followed by one representing the coming of the turtle, the sign and symbol of Delaware, or Lenape, society, under the aegis of the culture god or hero "Nanabush" in line eight which reads: "Tulapit menapit Nanabousch Maskabousch Owini Mokom lenowimokam." This line Voegelin translates rather prosaically as "Nanabush stayed on Turtle Island, he was a powerful rabbit, the grandfather of people, the grandfather of man." In the succeeding lines Nanabush rescues man with turtle, or, as Voegelin would have it, Delaware man finds a haven on turtle island.

Actually, if the reasoning of Sata Brahmana, vi., v. 29 is to be followed, after the flood of Pragapati sap, the gods raise the altar of the tribal fire from the earth flooded with creative sap. As the myth of the Walam Olum develops from this point on, the Delaware tribe, or the Lenni Lenape, as they called themselves, takes shape. Philologically speaking the tribe takes shape around the consonant P in its creator-water symbolism, as the word "lenape," their title, indicates. That is to say that as in the Vedas, Delaware creativity in its earthly manifestations is promoted under the consonant P-B (the B in Nanabush), as it is in the Urdu word Apa with its connotations of "father" and "water"! The Delaware myth would thus seem to tie into the Indo-Iranian, not only as mythology and philosophy but as philology. Philologically the major difference between the two myths is that in the Brahminical version, the G of the NG in

Agni (for fire) is GN and the consonant P as in Pragapati is antecedent to the NG. In the Delaware myth, G in the form K in "ako," meaning snake, appears in Book II, line 1 before the P or "pe." What this suggests is that for the American Indian the G-K or, as presently to be seen, the NG consonant as a creator designation in serpent symbolism precedes the birth or invention of the P as water symbolism.

It may well be that the NG consonant in the art of language formation and myth-making in serpent and water symbolism reaches farther back, i.e., is a more elemental root in serpent, water, creator-mover symbolism than the consonant P-B. The evidence which suggests this is the presence of NG as NK in "nock" in Delaware "hannock" for stream (as in the name Susquehannah for the river), and the KN denoting primary mover in the Delaware "Kitanitowit" for "God"; the Cherokee "gungnodung" or "ganodu" for "life" and "nunghe" or "nunki" for "four" (as expressive of the four winds cross or breath of heaven which is the moving breath of life). NG apparently refers to the primary moving force and sometimes finds expression in the N alone as in the Delaware "aan" for "to move" and in Cherokee "nai" for "going" as in the name "Nai Inadu," the name of the chief "Going Snake," "Inadu" being Cherokee for "snake." That the N occurs in the Cherokee word for "snake" seems indicative of its meaning as "mover" or "moving spirit," the wavy line being a symbol of spiritual motion. K associates also with the snake. In Cherokee the name of the great mythic snake which bears a shining carbuncle on its head is "Uktena." The Cherokee K with the basic connotation of movement occurs in the word for "twist," "ukunsusti," descriptive of a form of wavy line with an upward spiraling motion. This K—a form of G, for in Cherokee K and G are interchangeable, depending on the dialect used—is also the Delaware K of the word "achgook" for "snake." The Cherokee and Delaware NG or NK in their connotations of snake and movement appear to be akin to the Sanscrit word "naga", meaning "snake," and of course the English word "snake." The Sanscrit word "naga" associates mythologically with gods, serpents, and demons, as the Nagas of legendary lore relating to water, sky, lightning, and rain. Students of Greek will recognize in this vitality of the Delaware, Cherokee and Sanscrit KN or NG the root of the Greek word "kinein" meaning "to move."

The equating of P-B with G-K via water symbolism connoting "motion" is recognizable in the relationship of the English

verb "to be" to the English verb "to go," both basically representing forms of the vital movement which is the essence of the cosmos as we know it. The English progressive form "being," meaning the vital spirit of existence combines the P-B of "life" with the NG of "motion." Thus the prehistoric root P-B which finds expression in the Delaware symbol of the "turtle," "tulpe," as representative of Delaware tribal life, and the NK or K of the elemental motion of the serpent, loom before us in the commonest verb of our everyday speech.

What seems to be operative in these usages of the P-B and the NG or KN is an ancient shamanistic art of language and myth-making about which tribal societies were organized. The manifestations of this art in both Indo-Iranian and American Indian languages seem to indicate that the tribal societies of the Delaware and Cherokee are out of Asiatic roots, probably at a period before the Aryan invasion of India, and that they derive from that womb of societal organization out of which sprang the creators of the Aurignacian cave art. Certainly philosophically and religiously these American Indian societies belong in the tradition from which developed the Indo-European art of language making and the roots of East Indian and Judeo-Christian religious teaching. It was a philosophy of deistic animism which perceived all the cosmos in the terms of a spirit of creative "goingness"—an active universe expressive of a primary vitalism.

The consonant sounds GN or NG are the basic ones; they arise from N, the nasal sound, the sound of the motion of the breath spirit (which in turn is associated with the four winds-cross symbolism of the "everywhere" and of the deity as what the Creek Indians called the "Master of Breath" or the "Master of Life")—the in-and-out movement of breathing by which the individual partakes of the universal and thus is at one with the Master of Life. GK is the guttural signifying the human spirit which moves and shapes the breath to meaning. These primary consonants materialize as GN, a basal grunt of the human voice as the primary word in which language and institutions are formed in the image of God in some such sense as a literal reading of John 1:1, "In the beginning was the word and the word was with God and the word was God." For GN is a basic shaping of the breath of life, which in the four winds symbol is the breath of heaven—or, as the old Hebrew derivation of the name "John" connotes, "the gift of God." The basis of organized language as we know it, then, lies in ancient religious roots of which the primitive serpent and the turtle are symbols.

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TWO NOTICES BY WILL THOMAS

JACK FREDERICK KILPATRICK

In the file of manuscripts in the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology catalogued as "The Inoli Letters" (No. 2241-a) are two documents that cast light upon the method employed by Will Thomas in conveying his instructions to Cherokee leaders in Qualla. Although Thomas from his childhood spoke Cherokee fluently, apparently he was unable to write it; for both of these holographs are in English. One of them bears an appended translation, in another hand, into Cherokee.

The first document, written in block letters, contains ethnographic data of interest:

Stekoa.

May. 27. 1867

Chiefs. of cherokees, I want you to meet at the Big meeting House on friday 12 o clock instead of saturday. In the evening a ball play for a deer (with sticks) also 4 lbs tobacco to be given to the players, by me . At night—dance old dancing ground 2 bushels meat to feed the hungry. No whiskey allowed to come on the ground

Wm H Thomas

This notice originated from Thomas' home on the old site of Stekoa (Sdhigho:yi) on the Tuckasegee River in Swain County. The "big meeting house" referred to may have been the Wah-hyo:hi Ga:dhi:ya (Wolftown Townhouse), the construction of which was supervised by Yo:nagv:sgi (Yonagunska) prior to his death in April, 1839¹ and which was described by Lanman (1849, p. 101). The verso of this document bears an irrelevant text in Sequoyah syllabary in the handwriting of I:no:li (? - 1885), the Wolftown official from whose daughter James Mooney obtained "The Inoli Letters"². Mooney's notation upon this document reads: "Dance House — Gatiya — in Wolftown ne[ar] Inali's place — WW [Will West Long, Mooney's informant]."

The second document reveals that Thomas, at least upon the occasion in reference and possibly at other times, sent Cherokee leaders individual notes. This one was sent to I:no:li. Another individual translated it into Cherokee for I:no:li, who read no English, and upon the verso had written: "I:no:li, he has just

1. Mooney, 1900, p. 163.

2. Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, n. d.

written you yours. When you have finished reading yours, return it to him."

Stekoa Field

tuesday, March 31. 1868

To the Cherokee chiefs

You are desired to meet at Qualla Town store next thursday 2d April.

Wm. H. Thomas

The translation into Cherokee is directly underneath:

Now! I: no: li, in two days there will be a meeting of all of you who are in authority in the store at Qualla. This is all that he says.

Now! The one in authority just wrote you that the meeting will be at Qualla, in Painttown, in two days.

Now! That is all that I, Le: gini, just wrote—all that he says.

[March] 31st, 1868

The "store at Qualla" was, of course, the Thomas trading post.

Mooney's annotation reads: "Thomas Notice & Cherokee Translation—with change of names [?]."

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DOCUMENTS FROM ECHOTA METHODIST MISSION¹

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There exist several documents in the Cherokee language pertaining to the life of Echota Methodist Mission on Qualla Boundary at the middle of the 19th century. These documents, to be found in the Bureau of American Ethnology file "The Inoli Letters" (No. 2241-a), consist of church registers, committee lists, minutes of Sunday School singing classes, memoranda of revival conversions, and miscellaneous material. Some of them have been translated in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick;² translations of others are presented here.

Most of this material is in the handwriting of I:no:li (?-1885), whom James Mooney,³ collector of "The Inoli Letters," limned as "... councilor, keeper of the townhouse records, Sunday-school leader, conjurer, officer in the Confederate service, and Methodist preacher . . ." I:no:li was not a Confederate officer, but, as evidenced by documents in the collection, a sargeant in Company C, Sixty-Ninth North Carolina Infantry, a unit of the Thomas Legion. But he was a preacher. A document, in English, attesting to his licensing as a Local Preacher by the Quarterly Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at Waynesville on August 25, 1849 is in "The Inoli Letters."

There is a record that lists additions to the church and Sunday School of Echota Methodist Mission in the early part of 1868:

February 22, 1868

Here at the New House in Wolftown we met and had services for two days. These joined, and have now become members:

1. Me:li Tsalo:si
2. Gwa:li
3. I:wi
4. Gahl(i)sda:yi

February 29th

Here in Echota we, the Sunday School, met. These joined, and have now become members:

1. Si:wa Di:lasge:sgi
2. Dida:ghiya:sgi Dinva:sgi
3. Vwa:diyo:hi
4. Ul(i)sga:sdi
5. Gho:latsu:sdi
6. Lo:si Gho:latsu:sdi
7. Gado:yoe

1. The author acknowledges with gratitude the grant from the National Science Foundation that made possible research necessary in preparing this paper.

2. Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, n. d.

3. Mooney, 1891, p. 315.

These joined May 17, 1868:

1. Sida:ni
2. Sigwi:ya
3. Wa:li
4. Si:na:sdv
5. Wahuhu
6. Li:si — May 22nd

Another document reads:

In the month of September I am going to preach in the New House, Birdtown Falls (two days), Yellow Hill Cemetery, and Echota Sunday School. In October, at the New House (two days), here in Echota Sunday School (two days). The preachers will meet somewhere in Virginia.

1869

I, I:no:li, want a little money now for expenses in preaching the Word. The year is now up. October 22nd.

Here at Echota, 1869.

It became necessary for me to write that this year we met for three days, beginning on September 2nd.

1. Tsini Gv:sgali:sgi joined on the 2nd.
2. Me:li Tse:sani joined on the 2nd.
3. Gv:sgali:sgi joined on the 3rd.
4. U:tsadhv joined on the 5th.

There is another document that, although undated, would appear to have been written at approximately the same time as the two preceding ones. In it I:no:li attempts to record the traditional fates of the Apostles. Since I:no:li knew no English, he must have secured his information through some bilingual Cherokee minister such as Charlie Hornbuckle. Much of this document's wording is quite similar to that found in Fox's "Book of Martyrs." Some of the material, however, is not found in Fox; some other source was tapped.

The aberrant spellings of proper names indicate that I:no:li wrote from dictation and did not refer to the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, which were in print and which he doubtlessly possessed. The resumé must have been prepared for the benefit of some Church official at Cheowa or in the Cherokee Nation. This writer possesses an Oklahoma Cherokee minister's notebook that has inscribed in it a shortened version of that of I:no:li.

HOW THE APOSTLES WHO LIVED OVER THERE IN
ANCIENT TIMES DIED

Matthew, who lived with the Apostles, was killed with a sword in a city called Ethiopia.

Mark was dragged through the city streets of Egypt until he died.

Luke was hanged from an olive tree over in Greece.

John was put into a kettle of oil on the fire by the Romans, but that did not kill him. He revived, and later on died from disease in what is called Greece.

Peter was hanged with his head touching the ground. I suppose he himself asked them to do this to him. He did not want to die the same way [as Jesus Christ].

James, the Beloved, was beheaded in the city of Jerusalem.

The other James, the Less Beloved, was taken to a room up above the meeting-place, pushed over and killed.

Philip, the second time he was in Greece, was hanged in a city called Phrygia.

Bartholomew was flayed alive upon the order of the King.

Andrew, who ran away, was tied, up, and he preached until he died.

Thomas was pierced by a spear, in the East.

Jude was shot with a bow and arrow and he died.

Simon Zelotes was hanged in Greece.

Matthias was stoned until he died, and was then beheaded.

Barnabas, who was where the pigs come from, was stoned. The Jews did this to him over in Cyrene.

Paul was beheaded in Rome. The wicked King Nero ordered him beheaded.

I wrote this hurriedly. Let someone write it for you correctly. There are many over there who excel in writing these things. Let them do it correctly, so that they will not be embarrassed. I do not excel in writing.

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