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CONTRIBUTIONS TO EGYPTIAN ANTHROPOLOGY: TATUING.

BY

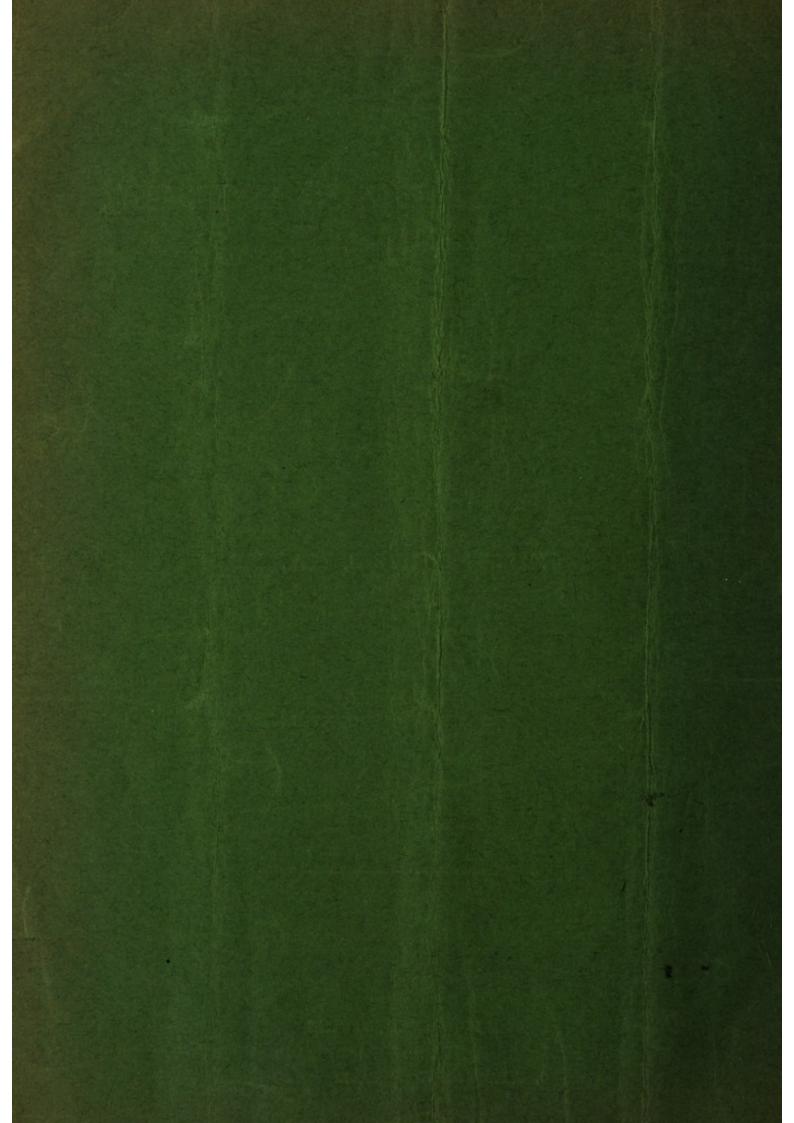
CHARLES S. MYERS, M.A., M.D.

[WITH PLATES XVII, XVIII.]

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL POYCHOLOGY 14. WELBECK STREET, LOUSDY, W. I.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO EGYPTIAN ANTHROPOLOGY: TATUING.

BY CHARLES S. MYERS, M.A., M.D.

[PRESENTED NOVEMBER 25TH, 1902. WITH PLATES XVII, XVIII.]

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

THE material, upon which this study has been based, was collected by me during the autumn, winter and spring of the years 1901-2. For financial assistance, I am indebted to the Government Grants Committee of the Royal Society and to the British Association for the Advancement of Science. My work was confined to the privates and non-commissioned officers of the Egyptian army; Sir F. R. Wingate, K.C.B., etc., Sirdar of the Army, having kindly placed at my disposal as many Egyptian and Sudanese troops as I could examine during my visit. For four months I remained at Abbasia, a suburb of Cairo, where I was able to make anthropological investigations upon one thousand and six Egyptian conscripts. Later I went to the Sudan, staying about six weeks at Khartum and Omdurman, where I examined one hundred and eighty-nine soldiers of the Sudanese regiments quartered there. My hearty thanks are due to the Sirdar, and to many of his staff for the assistance, attention and hospitality, which I received from them repeatedly in the course of my work. In various ways, I am also indebted to other officials of the Egyptian Government, more particularly to Sir William Garstin, K.C.B., Captain H. G. Lyons, R.E., and Mr. B. H. Wade.

The object of my work was to determine by descriptive, metric, and photographic methods, what differences, if any, exist (1) between the modern Mahommedan and Coptic² populations; (2) between the inhabitants of various parts of Egypt; and (3) between the ancient and the modern Egyptians. In one respect, the material at my disposal was unsatisfactory for such an inquiry. The enlisted conscripts were a picked body of men, measuring at least 170 centimetres in stature, and at least 87 centimetres in chest circumference. There is, however, no reason to believe that my investigations will be vitiated by the selection to which the Egyptians had thus been subjected. The average stature of the people has not materially changed since the earliest times of which we have any record, i.e., since about 6000 B.C. We

Figs. 21-24, 26, 28-30, 33-35 in Pl. XVIII are here reproduced by kind permission of

have no historic evidence of shorter folk, living in the immediate neighbourhood, who by infiltration could have influenced the ethnology of Egypt. Nor does an examination of the oldest Egyptian skeletons reveal the more frequent association of any one ethnic character with individuals of smaller stature than with those of greater stature.

In addition to this material, I have measurements (a) on some sixteen Copts taken by Mr. Randall-MacIver and myself at a deir (monastery) near Araba in the province of Girga, and (β) on eighteen inhabitants of the oasis of Khargeh which I visited in April, 1901.¹ I have also measurements (γ) of fifteen fellahin of the province of Kena, taken by Mr. Randall-MacIver and by my fellow-traveller, the late Mr. Anthony Wilkin, which the former has had the kindness to hand over to me, together with a few portrait-negatives of the individuals examined.

The birthplace and religion of every soldier examined, and of his parents, were recorded. Forty-nine measurements were selected, about sixteen of which were made on each individual. More than seventeen thousand measurements were in this way collected. Photographs (full-face and profile) were taken of one hundred and seventy-six Egyptians, and of thirty-one Sudanese; their heads preserve a constant distance from the camera, so that the negatives may be of use for composite portraiture. The colour of the skin and eyes, the colour and texture of the hair, the general shape of the face, lips, nostrils, nose, eyes, and of the head viewed from above, from behind, and from the side, were recorded. Numerous observations were made on the relative degrees of development of the helix, antihelix, tragus, lobe, etc., in the Egyptian, and in the Sudanese ear.

The soldiers were classified according to the birthplace of their parents. Where the names of two provinces are given, connected with a hyphen, the first is the father's, the second the mother's province.

Only forty-four Copts were examined in the army. The others were Moslems, comprising four hundred and eighty-four men who belonged to the provinces of the Delta, viz., Kaliubia, Sharkia, Dakahlia, Gharbia, Menufia and Beheira, four hundred and one men from the more southern provinces of Giza, the Fayum oasis, Beni-Suef Minia, Assiut, Girga, Kena, and Assuan, and some seventy-seven of mixed or uncertain origin.

The majority of the Sudanese came from Kordofan, Dar-fur, Dar-nuba, Dar-fertid, or belonged to the Shilluk or Dinka tribes. Some hailed from Bagirmi, Dar-runga, Banda, Bongo, Burun, Berta, or even from Bornu, Baia and Uganda. Others belonged to the Niam-niam, Neur, Hamaga, or Diga tribes. A few Arab tribes of the Sudan and eastern desert were also examined.

THE TATU-MARKS OF THE MODERN EGYPTIANS.

The two required by Zaid Law between the same are the same are the two the same are

the Bedawin of the desert. Occasionally, three small vertical scars may be made instead of this pattern; other modifications are shown in Figs. 2 and 4. The latter (Fig. 6) occurs on the arm, wrist, or extensor surface of the hand, most commonly on the right limb. Varieties of the same design are shown in Figs. 7, 9, 10. A typical specimen of a well-tatued hand is shown in Fig. 11. These patterns may be all resolved into dots, circles, straight lines and V's. A few were tatued with dots on the chest or back (Fig. 5).

Besides these geometrical figures, tatu-pictures of animate and inanimate objects were also met with. The forearm or hand often bore the design of a fish or of two fishes lying across one another, in one instance supporting a branch. Pl. XVII, 14, appears to be the degenerate pattern of two fishes lying side by side. Next in frequency, according to my experience, came a lion grasping a sword (Pl. XVII, 15). Scarcely less common was the figure of a woman, often holding either a wand, a serpent, or a basket of flowers. I also met with several examples of the tatuing of a mosque on the flexor surface of the arm. It had always a central dome and two lateral minarets (Pl. XVII, 17, Pl. XVIII, 32, 36). The hoopoo, a bird known to the Arabs and Egyptians as هيها (=heb-heb), appears in Pl. XVII, 16. Among the rarer patterns were the three-stemmed plant (Pl. XVIII, 18), the cock and the camel. All the above occurred on the arm or wrist. The star and crescent were of common occurrence. In Pl. XVIII, 23, they are shown in company with what were described to me as being ears of corn. The crescent crowns the dome in the mosque-designs, and the middle leaf in the plant-designs. Sometimes a man's name or a Koranic text is also tatued on his arm, in spite of Mahommed's well-known commands apparently forbidding such practices as have been just described.

These tatu-marks were met with among ninety-five of three hundred and seventy-five Egyptians in whom they were specially looked for; in other words, one Egyptian in four was tatued. They were slightly commoner (30 per cent.: 20 per cent.), and certainly more elaborate, in Lower than in Upper Egypt, and were not confined to, nor absent in, any one province or district. It is suggestive, however, that they appeared more frequently among the inhabitants of the western, than among those of the more eastern provinces of the Delta.

Western side.			Number examined.	Percentage tatued.	Eastern side.	Number tatued.	Number examined.	Percentage tatued.
Beheira		13	29	45	Dakahlia	6	43	14
Gharbia		17	44	39	Sharkia	1	10	10
Kaliubia		4	15	27		7.33		
Menufia	****	12	46	26				

With a single exception, the above designs were obtained solely from Mahommedans. Only one of the seventeen Copts, in whom such tatu-marks were

looked for, bore them. The Copts, however, are by no means ignorant of the art. They frequently tatu themselves with a cross (Pl. XVIII, 27) on the wrist or arm. An elaborate pattern, copied by me from the arm of a Coptic priest, who had twice made a pilgrimage to the *Beit el makddis* (as he termed it) of Jerusalem, is shown in Fig. 31,1 and a design, observed by Fouquet² on a Copt, in Pl. XVIII, 28.

The peculiar distribution of tatuing, suggested by the above table, might lead one to suspect that the art has been introduced into Egypt from its western or Libyan side. We may, therefore, briefly institute a comparison between the tatumarks of Algiers and Morocco and those of Egypt. The tatu-marks of Algiers have been elaborately studied by d'Hercourt's and by Jacquot.4 It appears that both the Arabs and Kabyles tatu, and that no one pattern is confined to any particular tribe or family. The operation is performed by the mother on her child, often for mere decoration's sake, at other times to ward off or to cure disease. Their tatu-patterns often reappear in native embroidery. Most of the designs are geometrical, and it is well worthy of note that the cross, pure or complicated with the diamond and other angular figures, is exceedingly common in this Mahommedan country. Through the kindness of Mr. W. B. Harris and Mrs. Talcott Williams I have been able to compare numerous Moorish tatu-patterns with the Algerian; the resemblance between them is remarkably close, and both bear a distinct likeness to some of the more purely geometrical patterns of modern Egypt.

Now the Copts of Egypt still tatu their children, while the Egyptian Moslems, as will be seen, call in an alien people to perform the operation. The cross, which is by far the most usual design among the Copts, occurs now and again also among the Egyptian Moslems (Pl. XVII, 8). There is hence a possibility that in pre-Christian times it was widely spread throughout North Africa, and that, devoid of later religious meaning, it still survives among the Algerian Moslems.

Attention may be specially drawn to the design of the crested bird, observed by Jacquot, and to that of the plant growing in its pot. A leaf-bearing stem is also met with in Algiers, and apparently degenerates into one of the commonest of their geometrical patterns.

This prevalence of Egyptian-like tatuing, not only among the Arabs, but also among the Kabyles or Berbers, who are generally considered to be the modern representatives of the ancient Libyans, makes worthy of mention the fact that on the walls of the tomb of the eighteenth dynasty king, Seti I,⁵ Libyans are

¹ Italian pilgrims to Jerusalem used to be tatued in like fashion (E. Verrier, *Du Tatouage en Afrique*, Paris, 1895, pp. 26, 27). W. Jörst (Tatöwiren, Berlin, 1887, S. 103) quotes Procopius' testimony that very many Christians burnt the name of Christ (*curare inuri sibi*) or the sign of the cross into their palms or arms; so also did the crusaders.

² Archives d'Anthropologie criminelle, Paris et Lyon, 1898, tome xiii, p. 274.

³ Mémoires de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Paris, 1868, tome iii, pp. 1-24.

L'Anthropologie, 1899, tome x, pp. 430-438.

Ippolito Rosellini, Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, Pisa, 1832, tome i, tav. CLVI.

represented, tatued or painted with diamond-shaped, oblong, and cruciform designs (Pl. XVIII, 33, 34, 35).

The question, naturally, arises whether the modern practice of Egyptian tatuing is of comparatively late introduction from North Africa, or from some other region, or whether it is not rather the survival of a long established custom of the country. De Morgan is of opinion that "tatuing was frequent in Libya, while It is only in the reign of Amenophis IV, a period when, moreover, we find other signs of Libyan influence, that the king and queen had the name of the god Aten tatued on their bodies." After a survey of the evidence we must, I think, conclude that tatuing was never general in ancient Egypt. It is true that Fouquet,2 when unwrapping the mummy of a Theban priestess (the Lady Ament) who lived in the eleventh dynasty, observed many white and blue ante mortem linear "cicatrices" on the abdomen and elsewhere; whence he concludes that the priestess had been treated for chronic pelvic peritonitis in a manner still practised among the fellahin of the present day.3 But such linear scarification is far removed from the elaborate patterns described and figured in this paper. It is also true that Petrie and Quibell' discovered a white clay figure of a woman in their "prehistoric" graves near Nakada, painted with black designs, the most striking of which I reproduce (Pl. XVIII, 26, 29, 30). But it would be unwise to set too great store by this single example. Surely, knowing how faithfully the ancient Egyptian artists portrayed the customs, dress, and physiognomy of their contemporaries upon the walls of tombs and temples, we might reasonably expect to find many paintings of peasants or nobles bearing tatu-marks, if the practice had been at all general. Yet the few unsatisfactory instances, which I have quoted, are all the evidence that we possess, in spite of the wealth of material at our command.

If we admit, as is most probable, that the medicinal use of linear scars and of linear tatu-marks is of very ancient date in Egypt, are we then to suppose that the complex and decorative modern patterns have a Libyan and later origin? It is likely that the more geometrical of them have been thus derived. But having regard to the designs of the armed lion, the doubly minaretted mosque, the crescent, star, etc., we are rather led to extend our inquiries elsewhere.

¹ J. de Morgan. Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte. Ethnographie Préhistorique. Paris, 1897, p. 222.

² Op. cit.

³ My friend, Mr. J. Garstang, writes to me from Beni Hassan:—"Among my workmen tatuing is practised, (a) for ornamentation, (b) in order to allay pain. I do not find that they have any particular notion how: they recite no charm, but believe in its efficiency... The pattern in this case is usually composed of dots over the seat of the pain, e.g., over the wrist joint after a sprain."

^{*} Naqada and Ballas. London 1896, Plate 59. Petrie (L'Anthropologie, 1900, tome xi, pp. 485, 486) considers that the resemblance of the designs on this figure to those described by Jacquot in Algiers, and to those of the Libyans in the tomb of Seti I, is very striking. I cannot agree with him.

The method of tatuing (called dakk, == to knock) which is employed in modern Egypt, has been well described by Fouquet.1 An inquiry among the Moslem fellahin showed me that they were tatued, not by their fellow countrymen, but by certain alien wandering tribes who have a language of their own, and are said to trace their descent from further east. The Egyptians, like the Algerians, are generally (but not universally) tatued during infancy. Mothers take their babies to be operated on, according to some for the sake of ornamentation, according to others in order to ward off the evil eye and disease. (Even the Copts tatu the cross, in many cases, at least, on account of sickness.2) Some told me that the Ghagar, others that the Ghawazi were the people who undertake the tatuing, often using at the ceremony words of which the fellahin cannot understand the meaning. Less detailed evidence was long ago gathered by Lane,3 but he appears to have been acquainted only with the relatively simple designs (dots, circles, and lines) met with among the Egyptian women. He gives the street-cry of the Ghagar wanderers in Cairo, ندتي ونطاهر "we tatu and circumcise." Fouquet observes, "elles traversent les quartiers indigènes en criant à haute voix leur industrie: 'Faire les tatouages, percer les oreilles, et couper les clitoris.' La langue arabe, comme le latin, n'a point les pudeurs du français." Of the Ghawazi, Lane writes that "we can hardly doubt that they are, as they themselves assert, a distinct race. Their origin, however, is involved in much uncertainty. They call themselves 'Barámikeh,' or 'Barmekées'; and boast that they are descended from the famous family of that name , of whom we read in several of the tales of 'The Thousand and One Nights.'" "There are but few gypsies in this country. They are here called 'Ghagar or Ghajar' "6 It is said that the "gypsies" in Egypt often pretend to be descended from a branch of the same family to whom the Ghawazi refer their origin.

The tatuing performed on the Egyptians by the Ghagar folk is likewise referred to in the interesting paper on the Gypsies of Egypt by the late Captain Newbold, F.R.S.⁷ We are there told that in customs, physiognomy, and language, the Ghagars resemble the Kurbáts (or "gypsies") of Syria,⁸ that their numerals are for the most part of Persian or Indian origin, that one of their tribes is called "Romini" (?=Romany), and that they claim to have brethren in "Hongarieh" (?=Hungary).

¹ Op. cit.

² However Stern, quoted by Fletcher (Trans. Washington Anthrop. Soc., 1892, p. 58), states that the Arab invaders branded the Coptic monks with the cross.

³ An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London, 1846, vol. i, pp. 64-67. There are also a few references to the practice in W. H. Yates' Modern History and Condition of Egypt. London, 1843, vol. ii, pp. 224, 236.

⁴ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 235.
⁵ C. R. de l'Acad. des Sci., 1897, tome exxiv, p. 1179.

⁶ Op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 226, 234.

³ Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc., 1856, vol. xvi, p. 285 ff.

^{*} Attention may here be drawn to a reference by Lucian (De Deabus Syriorum, 54) to the scarification-marks which the Syrians of his time made upon their skin.

There is also evidence that vagrant tribes in other parts of the world perform the same office. Dr. Mitra, writing on the Bediya folk, whom he describes as the gypsies of Bengal, observes that they are skilful in tatuing, "an art unknown to all in Bengal except the Bediyanis." "Young girls are their principal patrons, and they generally get themselves tattooed between the eyebrows or below the under lip. Sometimes the breasts and the forearms are also subjected to the operation."

An interesting series of tatu-designs of the Dômbs of Jeypur, Madras, a primitive jungle people, has been published lately by Fawcett.² They are composed of dots, circles, straight lines, zig-zags and crescents, and are, at least, as much like the geometrical tatu-marks of the modern Egyptians as are those of the ancient Libyans.³ The Dômbs are tatued by Gojias, an interesting fact when brought into relation with our knowledge of the tatuers of Bengal and of Egypt. Risley⁴ has sought to connect these Dômbs with the Dôms of Upper India, who, according to Leland,⁵ are a gypsy race, related to the Domarr, who still speak a "pure Romany" tongue.

An attempt has been made to show that the languages of the Bediya of Bengal and of the Ghagar of Egypt likewise contain traces of Romany, and that tatuing is known also to the gypsies of France and of England.⁶ The evidence, however, is extremely unsatisfactory; and, even were the latter thesis proved, we cannot forget that tatuing was probably a widespread custom in primitive Europe, and that the wandering tribes, who perpetuate it, may have learned the practice from very different sources.

Looking to the language and legends of the Ghagar, we can scarcely doubt that modern Egyptian tatuing has received encouragement, even if it has not been derived, from the similar customs of more eastern peoples. We can thus understand the origin of various designs which are certainly not Egyptian. The lion grasping the sword (Pl. XVII, 15) is of relatively modern Persian derivation. The mosque with two minarets (Pl. XVII, 17) is exceedingly uncommon in Egypt, but is often found in Turkey, Persia, and farther east. The crescent and star, although employed occasionally in ancient Egypt, are very typical of Chaldæan and Assyrian designs. The three-stemmed plant (Pl. XVIII, 18), so far as I know, is not an Egyptian design. It is curious to find a similar plant surmounted by the crescent in a Chaldæan contract (Pl. XVIII, 20), and precisely the same disposition of birds and crescent in the gold model of a sanctuary from Mycenæ (Pl. XVIII, 22). Pl. XVIII, 19, may be a degraded copy of the

¹ Memoirs of the Anthrop. Soc. of London, 1870, vol. iii, pp. 120-133.

² Man, 1901, 29.

³ Mr. Ling Roth, who has long been at work collecting tatu-designs from all parts of the world, independently observed how close a general resemblance my Egyptian simpler forms bore to his Indian patterns.

Man, 1902, 74.

³ The Gypsies. London, 1882, pp. 333, 334.

David Mac Ritchie: Accounts of the Gypsies of India. London, 1886, pp. 88, 234-237.

three-stemmed plant; but, when inverted, it is singularly like a device (Pl. XVIII, 21) met with on a ring from the Vapheio tomb near Sparta, which, it has been conjectured, is derived from the well-known Egyptian symbol, the Ankh. Again, the hoopoo, according to Wilkinson, was never a sacred bird in ancient Egypt, although it seems to have been "respected." In Palestine and Arabia, on the other hand, it was an object of great veneration. The hoopoo (mistranslated "lapwing" in the authorized version) was one of the forbidden articles of food among the Hebrews (Lev. xi, 19; Deut. xiv, 18). It was sent by Solomon to interview the Queen of Sheba, according to the late Jewish legend, incorporated by Mahommed into the Koran (chap. 27, "The Ant"). At the present day, the "Arabs" of Palestine call the hoopoo the doctor, and its head is "an indispensable ingredient in all charms." In modern Egypt the heart of this bird has come to be used similarly for the curing of certain diseases. Lastly, the Egyptian tatu-pattern (Pl. XVIII, 25) may be compared with the Mesopotamian design (Pl. XVIII, 24).

It appears, then, that the simpler and more purely geometrical patterns of modern Egyptian tatuing are akin to those which prevail throughout northern Africa, while the more complex have been derived from an Eastern source.

Explanation of Plates.

All the figures in Plate XVII, and Figs. 18, 19, 23, 25, 32, 36, in Plate XVIII, are specimens of modern Moslem Egyptian tatuing. The *provenance* of the various designs is here given, numbers in brackets referring to the card-numbers of the *fellahin* who were examined.

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Plate XVII, Fig. 13. Fayum
Plate XVII, Fig. 1. Assiut
                                (846)
                                                                           (884)
                                                         " 14. Beheira
                                                                           (977)
                  2. Menufia
                                (882)
                  3. Gharbia
                                                         " 15. Dakahlia-Fayum
                                (802)
     "
                 4. Girga
                                (625)
                                                                           (997)
                  5. Kaliubia
                                (908)
                                                                 Alexandria(734)
                                                            16.
                  6. Kaliubia
                                (764)
                                                            17.
                                                                 Menufia
                                                                           (698)
                  7. Kena
                                (858)
                                           Plate XVIII,
                                                                 Dakahlia
                                                                           (889)
                                                            18.
                  8. Fayum
                                (859)
                                                            19.
                                                                 Beheira
                                                                           (981)
                  9.
                     Beheira
                                (977)
                                                                 Kaliubia
                                                                           (764)
                                                            23.
                     ?-Gharbia (986)
                 10.
                                                            25.
                                                                 Menufia
                                                                           (304)
                                                           32.
                11. Beheira
                                (981)
                                                                    ?
                                                         ,, 36.
              " 12. Menutia
                                (703)
                                                                 Assiut
                                                                           (647)
```

In Plate XVIII, Figs. 27, 28, 31, were obtained from Copts. Fig. 31 had been tatued in Jerusalem. Fig. 28 was observed by Fouquet (loc. cit.).

Figs. 26, 29, 30, are from an early Egyptian painted white clay figure, discovered by Petrie and Quibell (loc. cit.).

Figs. 33-35 are from designs on Libyans from the tomb of Seti I (Rosellini, op. cit.).

Fig. 20 is a design from a Chaldaean contract. (Arch. des Missions Scientifiques, 1880; Tome vi, p. 94).

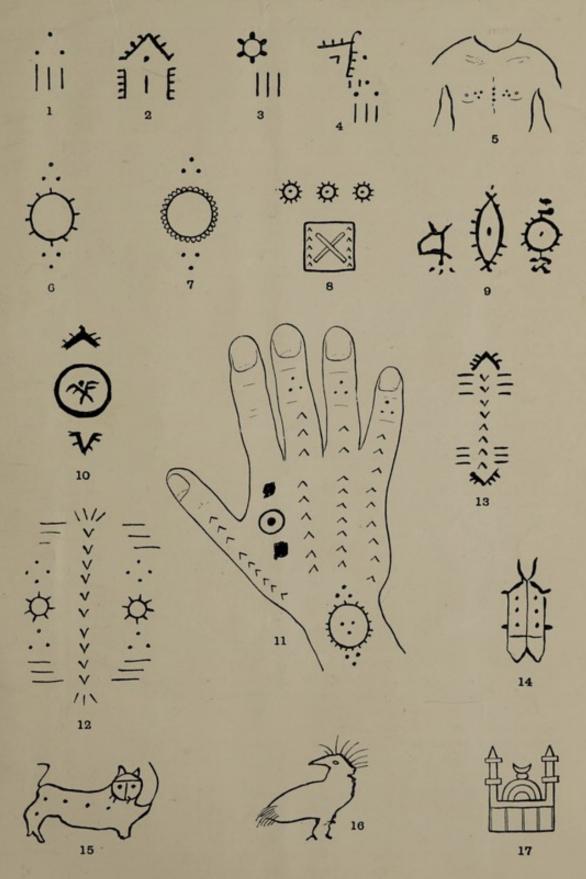
Fig. 21 appears in a design on a gold signet-ring from the Vapheio tomb (A. J. Evans, Mycenean Tree and Pillar Cult, London, 1901, Figs. 52, 54).

Fig. 22. Gold Shrine with Doves; Third Akropolis Grave, Mycenæ (from Schliemann's Mycenæ; here copied from A. J. Evans, op. cit., Fig. 65).

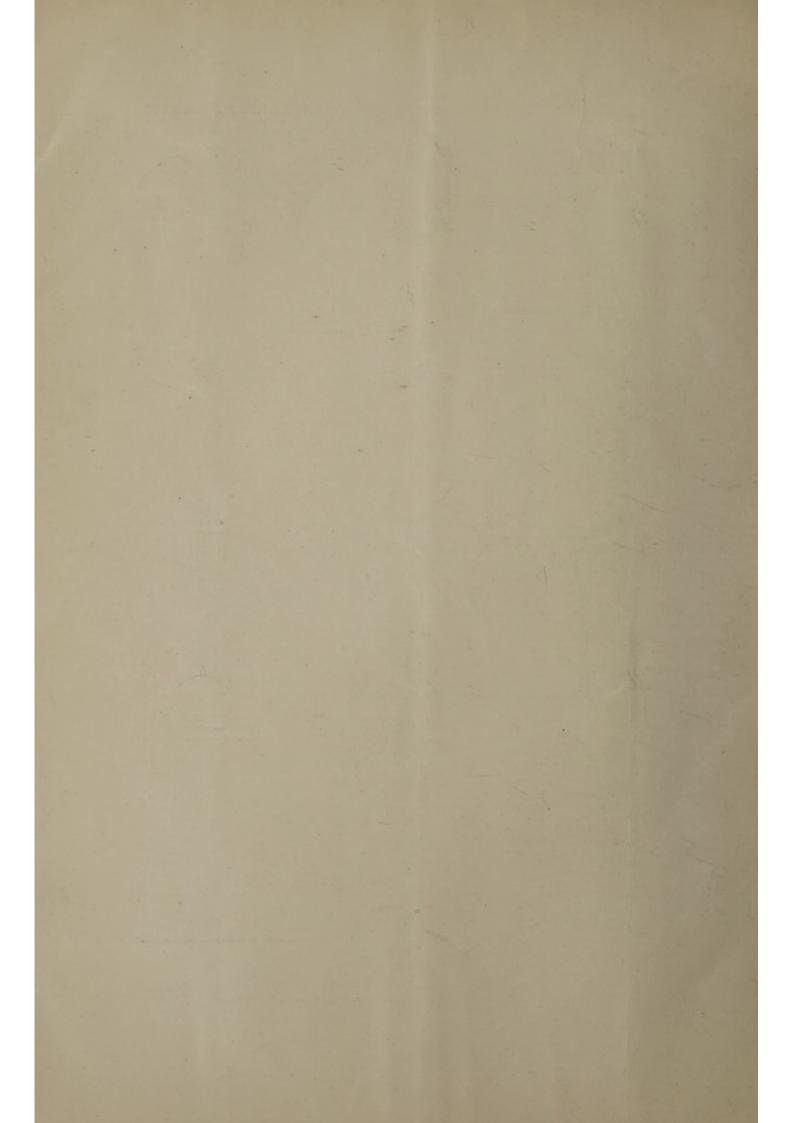
Fig. 24. From a Mesopotamian cylinder (Collection de Clerq, tome i, pl. xxxi, Fig. 330; here copied from d'Alviella, Migration of Symbols, London, 1894, Fig. 140).

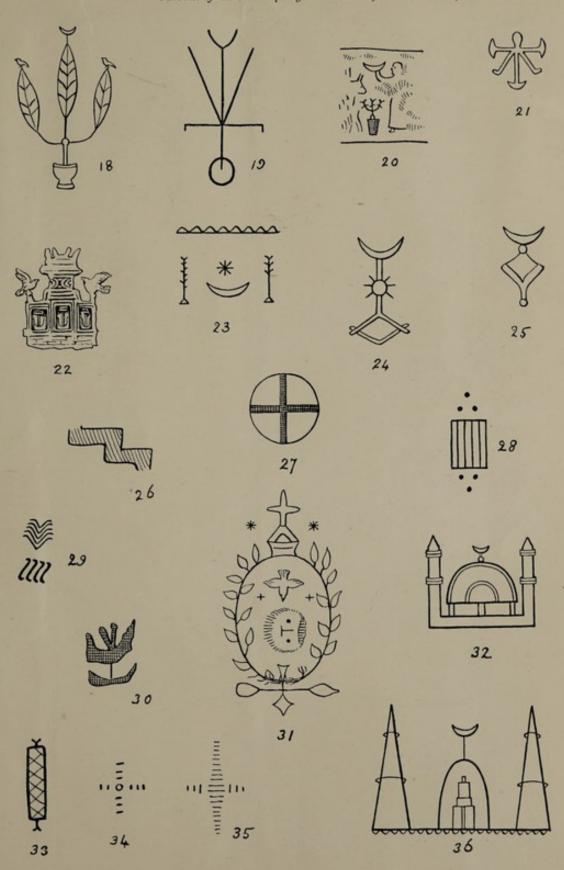
¹ Rev. H. B. Tristram, The Ibis, 1859, vol. i, p. 27.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO EGYPTIAN ANTHROPOLOGY; TATUING.





CONTRIBUTIONS TO EGYPTIAN ANTHROPOLOGY: TATUING.





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