

THE AUSTRALIAN ACADEMY OF THE HUMANITIES

Proceedings 1971



EMERITUS PROFESSOR SIR W. KEITH HANCOCK, KBE, FBA
Foundation President of the Academy

THE AUSTRALIAN ACADEMY
OF THE HUMANITIES

Proceedings 1971

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The Australian Academy of the Humanities

The Australian Academy of the Humanities was constituted by Letters Patent of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II issued on 25 June 1969. The Royal Charter was received in August the same year.

The objects and purposes of the Academy are set out in the Charter.

The approved abbreviation for a Fellow of the Academy is FAHA.

The Academy's offices are located on the Second Floor of the National Library Building, Parkes, A.C.T. The telephone number is 73 1125; the telegraphic address is 'Humanities Canberra'; the postal address is GPO Box 93, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600.

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Office Bearers

1971

THE AUSTRALIAN ACADEMY OF THE HUMANITIES

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The Fellowship

AT 31 March 1971

An asterisk denotes a Fellow who was a Foundation Member of the Australian Humanities Research Council in 1956.

| <i>Date of Election</i> | FELLOWS |
|-------------------------|---|
| Foundation Fellow | ARMSTRONG, David Malet, BA(Sydney), BPhil(Oxford), PhD(Melbourne) Challis Professor of Philosophy, University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales 2006 |
| Foundation Fellow | *AUCHMUTY, James Johnston, CBE, MA, PhD(Dublin), MRIA, FRHistS, FIAL Vice-Chancellor and Principal, University of Newcastle, Newcastle, New South Wales 2308 <i>Council 1969-70</i> |
| 1970 | BARNARD, Noel, BA(New Zealand), PhD(Australian National University) Senior Fellow, Department of Far Eastern History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600 |
| Foundation Fellow | BASHAM, Arthur Llewellyn, BA, PhD, DLit(London), Hon DLit (Kuruk.), FRAS, FSA Professor of Asian Civilizations, School of General Studies, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600 <i>Council 1970-</i> |
| Foundation Fellow | BASSETT, Lady Marnie, HonDLitt(Monash) 133 Kooyong Road, Armadale, Victoria 3143 |
| 1969 | BLAINEY, Geoffrey Norman, MA(Melbourne) Professor of Economic History, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052 |

- Foundation Fellow BOWMAN, John, MA,BD(Glasgow), DPhil(Oxford), MA (Melbourne)
Professor of Middle Eastern Studies, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052
- Foundation Fellow BRAMSTED, Ernest, DrPhil(Berlin), PhD(London)
Formerly Associate Professor of History, University of Sydney. 16 Barham Close, Weybridge, Surrey, England
- 1969 BUCKLEY, Vincent Thomas, MA(Melbourne)
Professor of English (Personal Chair), University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052
- Foundation Fellow *BURKE, Joseph Terence, OBE, MA(London, Yale, and Melbourne)
Professor of Fine Arts, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052
Council 1969-; President 1971-
- Foundation Fellow CAMBITOGLU, Alexander, BA(Thessaloniki), MA(Manchester), PhD(London), DPhil(Oxford), FellAthensArchSoc
Professor of Archaeology and Curator of the Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales 2006
- Foundation Fellow *CHISHOLM, Alan Rowland, OBE, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, Officier d'Académie, Cavaliere dell'Ordine al Merito, BA(Sydney and Melbourne), HonLittD(Monash)
Emeritus Professor of French, University of Melbourne. 50 Bruce Street, Toorak, Victoria 3142
- Foundation Fellow CLARK, Charles Manning Hope, MA(Melbourne)
Professor of History, School of General Studies, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
- 1969 COE, Richard Nelson, MA(Oxford), PhD(Leeds)
Professor of French (Personal Chair), University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052
- Foundation Fellow *CRAWFORD, Raymond Maxwell, BA(Sydney), MA(Oxford and Melbourne)
Emeritus Professor of History, University of Melbourne. 1 Nyoric Court, Ivanhoe, Victoria 3079
Council 1969-71; Immediate Past President 1969-71
- Foundation Fellow CULICAN, William, MA(Edinburgh)
Senior Lecturer, Department of History, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052
Council 1970-

- 1970 de JONG, Jan Willem, DrPhil(Leyden)
Professor of South Asian and Buddhist Studies, School of
General Studies, Australian National University, PO Box 4,
Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
- Foundation *EDWARDS, William Allan, MA(Cambridge)
Fellow Professor of English, University of Western Australia, Ned-
lands, Western Australia 6009
- Foundation ELLIOTT, Brian Robinson, MA(Western Australia), DLitt
Fellow (Adelaide)
Reader in Australian Literature, University of Adelaide,
Adelaide, South Australia 5001
- Foundation ELLIOTT, Ralph Warren Victor, MA(St Andrews)
Fellow Professor of English, Flinders University of South Australia,
Bedford Park, South Australia 5042
- Foundation *FARRELL, Ralph Barstow, Das Grosse Verdienstkreuz des
Fellow Verdienstordens der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Gold Medal,
Goethe Institute (Munich), MA(Sydney), DrPhil(Berlin)
McCaughy Professor of German, University of Sydney,
Sydney, New South Wales 2006
- Foundation FITZGERALD, Charles Patrick, LittD(Australian National
Fellow University)
Emeritus Professor of Far Eastern History, Australian National
University. 20 Shiel Street, North Melbourne, Victoria 3051
- Foundation *FITZPATRICK, Kathleen Elizabeth, BA(Melbourne), MA
Fellow (Oxford), FACE
Formerly Associate Professor of History, University of
Melbourne. 3/225 Domain Road, South Yarra, Victoria 3141
- 1969 FRODSHAM, John David, MA(Cambridge), PhD(Australian
National University)
Reader in Chinese, School of General Studies, Australian
National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital
Territory 2600
- Foundation *GIBSON, Alexander Boyce, BA(Melbourne), MA(Oxford),
Fellow LittD(Cambridge)
Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, University of Melbourne.
747 Canterbury Road, Mont Albert, Victoria 3127
- 1969 GOLDBERG, Samuel Louis, BA(Melbourne), BLitt(Oxford)
Robert Wallace Professor of English, University of Melbourne,
Parkville, Victoria 3052

- 1969 GOLLAN, Robin Allenby, MA(Sydney), PhD(London)
 Professorial Fellow, Department of History, Research School
 of Social Sciences, Australian National University, PO Box 4,
 Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
- Foundation *GREENWOOD, Gordon, MA(Sydney), PhD(London)
 Fellow Professor of History, University of Queensland, St Lucia,
 Queensland 4067
- Foundation HANCOCK, Sir (William) Keith, KBE, Cavaliere Ufficiale
 Fellow dell'Ordine al Merito, MA(Oxford), HonDLitt(Rhodes, Bir-
 mingham, Cape Town, and Oxford), HonLittD(Cambridge,
 Melbourne, Australian National University, and Adelaide),
 FBA
 Emeritus Professor of History and Honorary Fellow, Australian
 National University. 49 Gellibrand Street, Campbell, Australia
 National University. 49 Gellibrand Street, Campbell, Australia
 Capital Territory 2601
Council 1969-; President 1969-71
- Foundation HOFF, Ursula, OBE, DrPhil(Hamburg), HonDLitt(Monash),
 Fellow FMA
 Assistant Director, National Gallery of Victoria, 180 St Kilda
 Road, Melbourne, Victoria 3004
Council 1969-
- Foundation *HOPE, Alec Derwent, BA(Sydney and Oxford)
 Fellow Emeritus Professor of English, School of General Studies,
 Australian National University. 66 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
 Australian Capital Territory 2603
- Foundation *HUNT, Harold Arthur Kinross, BA(Sydney), MA(Oxford),
 Fellow DipEd, LittD(Melbourne)
 Emeritus Professor of Latin, University of Melbourne.
 17 Russell Street, Camberwell, Victoria 3124
- 1969 INGLIS, Kenneth Stanley, MA(Melbourne), DPhil(Oxford)
 Professor of History, University of Papua and New Guinea,
 PO Box 1144, Boroko, Territory of Papua and New Guinea
- 1970 JOCELYN, Henry David, BA(Sydney), MA, PhD(Cambridge)
 Professor of Latin (Personal Chair), University of Sydney,
 Sydney, New South Wales 2006
- Foundation *LA NAUZE, John Andrew, BA(Western Australia), MA
 Fellow (Oxford), LittD(Melbourne)
 Professor of History, Research School of Social Sciences,
 Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australia
 National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australia
 Capital Territory 2600

- Foundation Fellow LAWLER, James Ronald, Officier des Palmes académiques, MA(Melbourne), Ddel'U(Paris)
Professor of French, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, Western Australia 6009
- Foundation Fellow LIU, Ts'un-yan, BA(Peking), BA,PhD,DLit(London), DipEd (Hong Kong), FRAS
Professor of Chinese, School of General Studies, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
- 1969 McAULEY, James Phillip, MA,DipEd(Sydney)
Professor of English, University of Tasmania, PO Box 252C, Hobart, Tasmania 7001
- Foundation Fellow *MAXWELL, Ian Ramsay, Chevalier of the Order of the Icelandic Falcon, BA,LLB(Melbourne), BLitt(Oxford)
Emeritus Professor of English, University of Melbourne. 36 Henry Street, Eltham, Victoria 3095
- 1970 MILGATE, Wesley, MA(Sydney)
Reader in English, School of General Studies, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
- Foundation Fellow *MITCHELL, Alexander George, MA(Sydney), DipPhon, PhD(London)
Vice-Chancellor, Macquarie University, North Ryde, New South Wales 2113. Emeritus Professor of English, University of Sydney
Council 1969-70
- 1969 MONRO, David Hector, MA(New Zealand)
Professor of Philosophy, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria 3168
- 1969 MULVANEY, Derek John, MA(Melbourne and Cambridge)
Senior Fellow, Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
- Foundation Fellow OLIVER, Harold James, MA(Sydney)
Professor of English, University of New South Wales, Kensington, New South Wales 2033
- 1969 PARTRIDGE, Percy Herbert, MA(Sydney)
Professor of Social Philosophy, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600

- Foundation Fellow PASSMORE, John Arthur, MA(Sydney)
Professor of Philosophy, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
- Foundation Fellow PIKE, Douglas Henry, DLitt(Adelaide)
Professor, Department of History, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
Council 1969-; Treasurer 1969-71; Secretary 1971-
- Foundation Fellow *PRICE, Sir (Archibald) Grenfell, Kt, CMG, MA, DipEd (Oxford), DLitt(Adelaide), FRGS
Chairman of the Council of the National Library of Australia, 1960-71, and of the Advisory Board, Commonwealth Literary Fund, 1953-71. 32 Edwin Terrace, Gilberton, South Australia 5081
- 1969 RIZVI, Saiyid Athar Abbas, MA, PhD, DLitt(Agra)
Reader in Asian Civilizations, School of General Studies, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
- Foundation Fellow RUDÉ, George Frederick Elliot, MA(Cambridge), PhD (London), DLitt(Adelaide), FRHistS
Professor of History, Sir George Williams University, Montreal, Canada
- Foundation Fellow RUSSELL, George Harrison, MA(New Zealand), PhD(Cambridge)
Professor of English, School of General Studies, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
Council 1969-70
- Foundation Fellow *SAMUEL, Richard Herbert, Das grosse Verdienstkreuz des Verdienstordens der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Gold Medal, Goethe Institute (Munich), DrPhil(Berlin), PhD(Cambridge), MA(Melbourne), FACE, Corresponding Member of the Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung
Emeritus Professor of Germanic Studies, University of Melbourne. 65 Bay Street, Brighton, Victoria 3186
Council 1969-70
- 1970 SERLE, Alan Geoffrey, BA(Melbourne), DPhil(Oxford)
Reader in History, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria 3168
- Foundation Fellow SHAW, Alan George Lewers, BA(Melbourne), MA(Oxford)
Professor of History, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria 3168

- Foundation *SHIPP, George Pelham, MA(Cambridge), DLitt (Sydney)
Emeritus Professor of Greek, University of Sydney.
59 William Edward Street, Longueville, New South Wales
2066
- Foundation Fellow SINCLAIR, Keith Val, MA(New Zealand), DipPhon,LèsL,
Ddel'U(Paris), DPhil(Oxford)
Associate Professor of French, University of Sydney, Sydney,
New South Wales 2006
Council 1969-; Secretary 1969-71, Treasurer 1971-
- Foundation Fellow SMART, John Jamieson Carswell, MA(Glasgow), BPhil
(Oxford)
Hughes Professor of Philosophy, University of Adelaide,
Adelaide, South Australia 5001
Council 1970-
- Foundation Fellow SMIT, Jacob, Knight in the Order of Oranje Nassau, LittDr
(Utrecht), MA(Melbourne), Correspondent of the Konink-
lijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen
Professor of Dutch and Germanic Philology (Personal Chair),
University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052
Council 1970-
- Foundation Fellow SMITH, Bernard William, BA(Sydney), PhD(Australian
National University), FSA
Power Professor of Contemporary Art and Director of the
Power Institute of Fine Arts, University of Sydney, Sydney,
New South Wales 2006
- 1969 SPATE, Oskar Hermann Khristian, MA,PhD(Cambridge)
Director of the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian
National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital
Territory 2600
- Foundation Fellow *STOUT, Alan Ker, MA(Oxford)
Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, University of Sydney.
12 Lambett Avenue, Sandy Bay, Tasmania 7005
- Foundation Fellow STREHLOW, Theodor George Henry, MA(Adelaide)
Professor of Australian Linguistics, University of Adelaide,
Adelaide, South Australia 5001
- 1969 STRETTON, Hugh, MA(Oxford)
Reader in History, University of Adelaide, Adelaide, South
Australia 5001
- Foundation Fellow *TAUMAN, Leon, LèsL,Ddel'U(Aix-Marseille), DèL(Paris),
HonDLitt(Western Australia)
Formerly Reader in French, University of Western Australia.
58 Hobbs Avenue, Dalkeith, Western Australia 6009

- Foundation Fellow *TRENDALL, Arthur Dale, CMG, KCSG, Commendatore dell'Ordine al Merito, MA,LittD(New Zealand and Cambridge), HonLittD(Melbourne, and Australian National University), DLitt(Adelaide), FSA, FBA
Formerly Master of University House, Australian National University. Emeritus Professor of Greek, University of Sydney. Resident Fellow, Menzies College, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria 3083
Council 1969-70
- Foundation Fellow *TRIEBEL, Louis Augustus, Chevalier de l'Ordre National du Mérite, Médaille de la France Libre, Member of the Royal Society of Teachers, MA,DipEd(London), DLitt(Tasmania)
Emeritus Professor of Modern Languages, University of Tasmania. 1 Lasswade Avenue, Hobart, Tasmania 7005
- Foundation Fellow VAN DER SPRENKEL, Otto Berkelbach, BScEcon(London)
Associate Professor of Asian Civilizations, School of General Studies, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
- 1970 WANG, Gungwu, MA(Malaya), PhD(London)
Professor of Far Eastern History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
- Foundation Fellow WARD, John Manning, MA,LLB(Sydney)
Challis Professor of History, University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales 2006
- Foundation Fellow WEST, Francis James, BA,PhD(Leeds), PhD(Cambridge), FRHistS
Professorial Fellow, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, PO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
Council 1970-
- Foundation Fellow WILKES, Gerald Alfred, MA(Sydney), DPhil (Oxford)
Challis Professor of English Literature, University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales 2006
Council 1969-; Editor 1969-
- 1969 WRIGHT, Judith Arundell, HonDLitt(Queensland and New England)
'Calanthe', Long Road, North Tamborine, Queensland 4272

HONORARY FELLOWS

- 1970 HASLUCK, The Rt Hon. Sir Paul (Meerana Caedwalla), PC, GCMG, GCVO, KStJ, MA
Governor-General of Australia

- 1969 BEAGLEHOLE, John Cawte, OM, CMG, MA(New Zealand),
PhD(London), HonDLitt(Oxford and Sydney), FRSNZ
Emeritus Professor of History, Victoria University of
Wellington. 6 Messines Road, Wellington W3, New Zealand
- Foundation BISSELL, Claude Thomas, MA(Toronto), PhD(Cornell),
DLitt(Manitoba), LLD(McGill, Quebec, New Brunswick,
Carleton, and Montreal), FRSCan
President, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada
- Foundation COOMBS, Herbert Cole, MA,PhD(London), HonLLD
(Melbourne, Sydney, and Australian National University),
HonDLitt(Western Australia), FAA
Chancellor, Australian National University, PO Box 4,
Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2600
- Foundation JEFFARES, Alexander Norman, MA,PhD(Dublin), MA,
DPhil(Oxford), FRSL, FRSA
Professor of English Literature, University of Leeds, Leeds,
England
- Foundation McMANNERS, John, Officer of the Order of King George I
of the Hellenes, MA(Oxford), DipTheol(Dunelm), FRHistS
Professor of History, University of Leicester, Leicester,
England
- Foundation MENZIES, Sir Robert (Gordon), KT, CH, QC, FRS, FAA
Chancellor, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052
- Foundation MYER, Kenneth Baillieu, DSC
President, Myer Foundation, 224 Queen Street, Melbourne,
Victoria 3000
- Foundation WHITE, Sir Harold (Leslie), Kt, CBE, MA, FLAA
Formerly National Librarian, National Library of Australia.
27 Mugga Way, Red Hill, Australian Capital Territory 2603

Committees

Australian National Committee for Historical Sciences

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|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Professor J. M. Ward (Convener) | Professor G. Greenwood |
| Professor A. L. Basham | Professor K. S. Inglis |
| Professor G. N. Blainey | Professor J. A. La Nauze |
| Professor C. M. H. Clark | Professor A. G. L. Shaw |
| Professor R. M. Crawford | Mr H. Stretton |
| Mr W. Culican | |

Committee on Foreign Languages

| | |
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| Emeritus Professor R. H. Samuel (Convener) | |
| Professor J. Bowman | Professor J. R. Lawler |
| Professor A. Cambitoglou | Professor T. Liu |
| Professor R. B. Farrell | *Mr R. B. Rose |
| *Mr E. K. Horwood | Professor G. H. Russell |
| *Professor R. F. Jackson | Associate Professor K. V. Sinclair |
| Professor H. D. Jocelyn | Professor J. Smit |
| Professor A. H. Johns | *Dr Olive Wykes |

* Not a Fellow of the Academy

Committee on Libraries

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| Associate Professor O. B. van der Sprenkel (Convener) | |
| Professor J. T. Burke | Professor J. A. Passmore |
| Dr B. R. Elliott | Professor G. H. Russell |
| Emeritus Professor H. A. K. Hunt | Emeritus Professor R. H. Samuel |
| Professor J. A. La Nauze | Associate Professor K. V. Sinclair |
| Professor H. J. Oliver | Sir Harold White |

Committee on the Dictionary of Australian English

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Emeritus Professor A. G. Mitchell (Convener) | |
| Professor C. M. H. Clark | Professor J. M. Ward |
| Dr B. R. Elliott | The Secretary <i>ex officio</i> |
| Professor R. W. V. Elliott | |

Committee on Journal Subsidies

Dr F. J. West (Convener)
Professor R. W. V. Elliott

Associate Professor K. V. Sinclair
Professor J. J. C. Smart

Committee on Place-Names

Professor C. M. H. Clark (Convener) *Mr F. D. McCarthy
*Mr M. Arousseau Emeritus Professor A. G. Mitchell
*Professor A. Delbridge *Associate Professor J. S. Ryan
Professor R. W. V. Elliott Professor O. H. K. Spate
*Mr B. P. Lambert
* Not a Fellow of the Academy

Research Committee

Professor G. Greenwood (Convener) Professor H. J. Oliver
Professor R. N. Coe Professor J. A. Passmore
Professor R. W. V. Elliott Professor D. H. Pike
Dr J. D. Frodsham Professor A. G. L. Shaw
Emeritus Professor A. G. Mitchell Professor G. A. Wilkes
Dr D. J. Mulvaney The Secretary *ex officio*

Committee for Union Académique Internationale

Professor J. A. Passmore (Convener) Professor B. W. Smith
Professor J. T. Burke The Secretary *ex officio*

Electoral Committee

The Chairman of the seven Electoral Sections and the President, Secretary and Treasurer

Chairmen of the Electoral Sections are:

History: Professor J. A. La Nauze
Classical Studies: Professor G. P. Shipp
English Literature and Philology: Professor G. H. Russell
European Literature and Philology: Professor R. H. Samuel
Asian Studies: Professor A. L. Basham
Philosophy and Religion: Professor J. A. Passmore
Fine Arts: Professor J. T. Burke

Representatives

On the Australian UNESCO Committee for Letters

Professor J. J. Auchmuty
Professor G. H. Russell

Professor B. W. Smith

On the Australian UNESCO Committee for Libraries and Related Fields

Associate Professor K. V. Sinclair

*At the Thirteenth International Congress of the Historical Sciences, Moscow,
16-23 August 1970*

Professor G. F. E. Rudé

*At the Fourth International Congress of Germanists, Princeton,
23-29 August 1970*

Professor H. Kuhn*

*At the Twenty-eighth International Congress of Orientalists, Canberra,
6-12 January 1971*

Professor A. L. Basham

*At the Forty-fifth Congress of the Union Académique Internationale, Helsinki,
7-12 June 1971*

Professor R. W. V. Elliott

* Not a Fellow of the Academy

Report of the Council

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 March 1971

The Foundation

The First Annual General Meeting of the Australian Academy of the Humanities was held in the National Library in Canberra on 19 and 20 May 1970. The President welcomed the Fellows to the meeting and invited them to sign the Charter Book. The roll was called in the order Honorary Foundation Fellows, Foundation Fellows and Fellows elected at the Special General Meeting to inaugurate the Academy in 1969.

On the afternoon of 16 September 1970 the Governor-General, Sir Paul Hasluck, and Lady Hasluck received members of the Council of the Academy at Government House, and he presented the Royal Letters Patent to the President. The latter invited Sir Paul to sign the Charter Book as Honorary Fellow of the Academy.

As part of the foundation of the Academy, the Council commissioned Professor Trendall and Dr West to suggest a design for a Coat of Arms. Their proposal that it take the form of a shield, surmounted by a head of Athena, bearing an open book with the letter A on the left and H on the right hand page, the one illuminated with wattle leaves, the other with the stars of the Southern Cross, was approved by the Council. The matter is now in the hands of the College of Arms.

The first volume of the *Proceedings*, containing the Charter and the By-laws, was published in 1970.

The Fellowship

New Fellows: The following scholars were elected to the Academy in accordance with the By-laws:

Honorary Fellow: The Rt Hon. Sir Paul (Meernaa Caedwalla) Hasluck, PC, GCMG, GCVO, KStJ, MA, Governor-General of Australia.

Fellows: Noel Barnard, BA(New Zealand), PhD(Australian National University), Senior Fellow, Department of Far Eastern History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University

Jan Willem de Jong, DrPhil(Leyden), Professor of South Asian and Buddhist Studies, Australian National University
Henry David Jocelyn, BA(Sydney), MA, PhD(Cambridge), Professor of Latin (Personal Chair), University of Sydney
Wesley Milgate, MA(Sydney), Reader in English, Australian National University
Alan Geoffrey Serle, BA(Melbourne), DPhil(Oxford), Reader in History, Monash University
Gungwu Wang, MA(Malaya), PhD(London), Professor of Far Eastern History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University

At the Annual General Meeting the Academy agreed that in future, elections to the Fellowship should be carried out by the creation of seven sections, to one or more of which Fellows should choose to belong. Nominations, by certificate, should be made within each section, its elected chairman then determining by correspondence with the members the order in which these nominations should be placed before an electoral committee consisting of the chairman of each section, together with the President of the Academy and its Secretary. The electoral Committee recommendations would then go to the Council for consideration.

The Council

The Council met three times: on 20 May and 17 September 1970, and 27 March 1971. Minutes of these meetings were subsequently sent to all Fellows in accordance with By-law 23.

The Committees

Details of the membership of these bodies will be found elsewhere in the *Proceedings*.

The Dictionary of Australian English Committee was informed by the Minister for Education and Science that the Government could not in present financial circumstances support a substantial commitment for the project; a decision confirmed by the Prime Minister to the President of the Academy in August 1970 when he spoke of 'deferred consideration'.

The Place Names Committee held its first meeting in July 1970 'to establish guide-lines for research in Australian place names and to help co-ordinate work in this field'. The committee invited Mr M. Arousseau, who had prepared a paper on the idea of a dictionary, to be a corresponding member. Associate Professor John Ryan has prepared a paper on a pilot survey. It had been proposed to begin research in South Australia but this plan has been postponed. Preparations for making a start in northern New South Wales are well advanced.

The Committee on Journal Subsidies met on 18 May 1970 and resolved to continue its support of a number of journals under the terms of the policy laid down by the Academy in the previous year.

The Committee on Foreign Languages invited Dr Olive Wykes to revise her report 'Survey of Foreign Language Teaching in Australian Universities' (1966). Dr Wykes agreed to do this but explained that a full-time research assistant would be needed. Money for this had not been obtained.

A Committee to report on suggestions to bring Australian scholars more fully into the work of the International Academic Union was appointed by the Council in 1970. So far no decisions have been taken.

The Research Committee which was appointed in 1970 has as its terms of reference: 1. to receive records from committees of the Academy, e.g. Place Names; 2. to make proposals to the Academy about research in the Academy's spheres of interest; 3. to report to the Academy at its Annual General Meeting.

After a report by Professor Auchmuty on the formation and meetings of the Australian National Committee for Historical Sciences, the membership was revised in preparation for fuller Australian participation in the International Congress of Historical Sciences.

Consultative Committee of the Australian Academy of Science, Australian Academy of the Humanities and the Social Science Research Committee

The idea of a permanent Consultative Committee of the three learned societies has been much discussed. The Australian Academy of Science in October 1970 made a formal proposal which was accepted by the other two societies (see Appendix). Since then there has been a great deal of co-operative planning and action. On 17 February a deputation representing the Australian Academy of Science, the Australian Academy of the Humanities, and the Social Science Research Council saw the Postmaster-General on the subject of the increased rate of postage imposed by the 1970-1 Budget on scholarly journals published less frequently than every three months. They have also acted together for scholarly purposes. A joint Symposium has been arranged on the theme of the human use of the water of the Murray Basin. Papers are now being prepared and will be discussed in two meetings, after which a volume will be prepared for publication. Preparations are also being made for a second Symposium in 1972 on the theme of 'Growth and Quality'.

Myer Foundation Grants-in-Aid

Again, through the good offices of the Myer Foundation, the Academy has been able to offer grants-in-aid to six Australian scholars for short-term overseas study leave in 1970-1.

The names of the qualified applicants awarded grants for 1970-1 were:

1. Dr E. A. M. Colman of the University of Sydney to complete a book on the language of Shakespeare;
2. Professor J. C. Davies of the University of New England to complete an edition of Gide's *Immoraliste* (unable to accept: grant refunded);
3. Mr A. A. Field of the University of Queensland to complete a biography of Vladimir Nabokov;

4. Dr J. S. Liew of the University of Tasmania to investigate British Policy towards China in 1911;
5. Dr H. A. Moses of the University of Queensland to complete a transcription of German Colonial Documents on Samoa;
6. Dr June Philipp of the La Trobe University for the finalizing of an investigation into Whig Policy for the Canadas 1830-7.

Proposed Institute in South East Asian Studies

The British Academy has invited the co-operation of the Australian Academy of the Humanities in the matter of establishing this institute in Malaya or Singapore. During the conference on South East Asian Studies, which was held in Canberra in January 1971, a number of interested scholars met to learn more about the proposal. They resolved to give full support and so reported to this Academy expressing the hope that it would also support the proposal. The Academy has the matter under study.

International Bodies

The Academy was represented as follows:

U.A.I. Congress, Brussels, 8-13 June 1970 by Professor J. McManners and Professor Bramsted.

Congress of the International Association for Germanic Studies, Princeton, 23-29 August 1970 by Professor H. Kuhn.

International Congress of the Historical Sciences, Moscow, 16-23 August 1970 by Professor G. F. E. Rudé.

Annual Lecture and Seminars

The First Annual Lecture was delivered by Emeritus Professor A. D. Hope on Tuesday, 19 May 1970, in the National Library Theatre. It was entitled 'The Literary Influence of Academies'.

Emeritus Professor A. D. Trendall, CMG, KCSG, DLitt, FBA, delivered an illustrated lecture to the Fellowship in the National Library Theatre on Wednesday, 20 May 1970. It was entitled 'Recently Discovered Vases and Paintings in South Italy'.

The Symposium at the next Annual General Meeting was agreed on as 'Man's Place in Nature'.

Publications

The Academy published Knight and Martin, *Aspects of Celtic Literature*, as a monograph and agreed to sponsor Cambitoglou, Coulton, Birmingham and Green, *Zagora 1*. The Academy also continued to subsidize journals, and subsidies were given to: *Abr Nahrain*, *Antichthon*, *Musicology*, *Studies in Music*,

Melbourne Slavonic Studies, Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology, Essays in French Literature, and Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia.

F. J. West
Acting Secretary

Appendix

AUSTRALIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

8 September 1970

The President,
Australian Academy of the Humanities,
National Library Building,
CANBERRA. A.C.T. 2600

Dear Sir Keith,

Following our recent conversations, I am now writing to suggest formally that we provide a mechanism for continuing discussions between our two Academies and the Social Science Research Council. I suggest that we arrange for the Presidents of the two Academies and the Chairman of the S.S.R.C., together with one other representative of each body, to meet at least once a year and more frequently when necessary. This arrangement will enable us to discuss problems of common interest and to initiate schemes for joint activities.

I am writing a similar letter to the Chairman of the Social Science Research Council.

Yours sincerely,
R. N. Robertson
President

AUSTRALIAN ACADEMY OF THE HUMANITIES

23 September 1970

Professor R. N. Robertson, F.A.A., F.R.S.
President,
Australian Academy of Science,
Gordon Street,
CANBERRA CITY. 2601

Dear Professor Robertson,

I was very glad to receive your letter of 8 September. The Council of this Academy, at its meeting on 17 September, accepted with great satisfaction your proposal to make provision for co-operation between the three learned societies.

Yours sincerely,
W. K. Hancock
President

*Extract from the minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Social Science Council,
11 November 1970*

The Chairman spoke of the growing tendency to co-operation with the Australian Academy of the Humanities and the Australian Academy of Science, and hoped for Council approval.

Council *approved* the proposal to set up a joint Consultative Committee consisting of the Presidents of the two Academies and the Chairman of the Council for the purpose of continued collaboration.

AUSTRALIAN ACADEMY OF THE HUMANITIES

BALANCE SHEET *as at 30 June, 1970*

| ACCUMULATED FUNDS | | | \$ | \$ | CURRENT ASSETS | | | \$ | \$ |
|-------------------|---|--|-------------|-----------|----------------|--|----------|-------------|----|
| 1969 | | | | | 1969 | | | | |
| 6,376 | Balance as at 1 July, 1969 | | 15,872.80 | | | Stock on Hand: | | | |
| | <i>Add</i> Journal Subsidy for 1967 | | | | | Publications at cost (less allowance for obsolescence) | | | |
| 1,800 | overprovided | | 500.00 | | 6,999 | —Australia 30.6.70 | 9,952.15 | | |
| 7,697 | Excess of Income over Expenditure | | — | | 1,459 | —Overseas 31.12.69 | 1,286.51 | | |
| | | | — | | 59 | Stamps and Stationery (at cost) | 132.93 | | |
| 15,873 | | | 16,372.80 | | 163 | Debtors | 213.17 | | |
| — | <i>Less</i> Excess of Expenditure over Income | | 471.27 | | | Commonwealth Savings Bank: | | | |
| | | | — | | 6,764 | General Account | 4,748.59 | | |
| 15,873 | | | | 15,901.53 | 963 | Myer Foundation Fund | 185.14 | | |
| | | | | | | | — | | |
| | | | | | 16,407 | | | 16,518.49 | |
| | CURRENT LIABILITIES | | | | | FIXED ASSETS | | | |
| | Sundry Creditors: | | | | 779 | Office Furniture and Equipment (at cost) | 1,294.22 | | |
| 300 | Book Subsidies | | 1,300.00 | | 313 | <i>Less</i> Provision for Depreciation | 411.18 | | |
| | Journal Subsidies: | | | | | | — | | |
| 200 | Academy of Japan | | 200.00 | | 466 | | | 883.04 | |
| 500 | Historical Studies | | — | | | | | — | |
| | | | — | | \$16,873 | | | \$17,401.53 | |
| 1,000 | | | | 1,500.00 | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| \$16,873 | | | \$17,401.53 | | \$16,873 | | | \$17,401.53 | |

AUDITORS' REPORT

In our opinion the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account for the Australian Academy of Humanities has been properly drawn up so as to represent a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Academy for the year ended 30 June, 1970.

Dated at Canberra
11 September, 1970

OLSSON & OLSSON
Public Accountants.
Auditors

Obituary



FRANZ PHILIPP

FRANZ ADOLF PHILIPP

A pupil of Julius von Schlosser, Franz Philipp brought to Australia the wide humanist outlook and analytical rigor of the Viennese school of art history. His research on the Mannerist portrait in North Italy was interrupted by the Second World War and by his labours in building up a Department of Art History ancillary to the Herald Chair of Fine Arts in the University of Melbourne, but he always intended that his studies in this field should be his major contribution to scholarship. At the time of his death, on 30 May 1970, he was best known for his work on Poussin and a number of articles on works in the National Gallery of Victoria, to which he brought his vast knowledge of Renaissance art. He believed strongly that the art historian should involve himself with the art of his own time, and although he never intended his substantial monograph on Arthur Boyd to be a *magnum opus* it was the result of some years of intensive preparation and collaboration with the artist. It set a new standard in the critical study and scholarly cataloguing of a major Australian artist and is, perhaps, the work by which the quality of his scholarship will be known to a wide audience.

At the time of his tragic death, he had just completed the first fruits of his Mannerist studies—an account of El Greco's *Funeral of the Count of Orgaz*, in which the masterpiece is related to medieval and renaissance traditions of the funeral monument, an ideal theme for a scholar whose knowledge was always governed by his profound responses to individual masterpieces. His former collaborator, Miss June Stewart, will edit his text.

Franz Philipp will be greatly missed not only by the small but growing circle of art historians in Australia, but by a large number of distinguished scholars who were his friends in related disciplines, especially History. In particular, he maintained close contact with his former colleagues in the Department of History at the University of Melbourne. Among the causes which he had supported was the establishment of medieval studies on a firmer basis in Australia, and one of the reasons why he valued so highly his election as a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities was his hope to support his fellow medievalists in their efforts to secure recognition for their subject.

Despite the high quality of what he himself would probably assess as fragments and instalments of what he hoped to publish, Franz Philipp was first and foremost a great teacher, making a profound impression on the gifted students he attracted and trained for distinguished university and art gallery posts, particularly overseas. He always regarded teaching as the highest of all academic priorities, and much of his learning was acquired as a preparation for his seminars and especially his lectures, which he once described as his 'treasure'. It

is very much hoped that a selection of his lectures will be edited and published as a fitting memorial.

Scholars of his wide humanist outlook and conviction are rare indeed, and those who have come under his influence will always feel an obligation to perpetuate the values of which he was so remarkable and inspiring an example.

Joseph Burke

'Cur'd and perfect':
the problem of Shakespeare's text

H. J. OLIVER

THE ANNUAL LECTURE
delivered to
The Australian Academy of the Humanities
at its Second Annual General Meeting
at Canberra on 18 May 1971

WHEN the President paid me the compliment of the invitation to deliver the Academy lecture for 1971, he indicated that he would particularly welcome a 'scholarly exposition' of some major problem associated with the study of Shakespeare. One cannot live up to that; but Sir Keith's wish in such a matter is my law, and the exposition that follows will be as scholarly as I in my ineptitude can make it. It should not, however, be abstruse; and indeed the theme of the talk might best be announced in an important statement by Professor E. A. J. Honigmann:

A study of Shakespeare's text need not intimidate the general reader—on the contrary, the subject positively invites the common sense of readers uncorrupted with prejudices. . . . Now more than ever this general responsibility for the text of Shakespeare should be publicly asserted, since editors are taking liberties with the text that deserve the most careful scrutiny.¹

Editors are taking these liberties, of course, because they do not believe that the text of Shakespeare as originally published was ever perfect, in the First Folio or anywhere else.

The quotation in the title of this lecture is from the prefatory address 'To the great Variety of Readers', written by or for John Heminge and Henry Condell, and printed in the First Folio in 1623. The relevant section is:

It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to haue bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liu'd to haue set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to haue collected & publish'd them; and so to haue publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them: euen those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued thē. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce received from him a blot in his papers.

Heminge and Condell, it is now generally agreed, were claiming not that all texts of Shakespeare printed before 1623 were 'stolne, and surreptitious', but that some of them were, and that even those were now published in a 'cur'd, and perfect' form. In fact, if one may leave aside, as they did, the problem of *Pericles*, it may be said that Shakespeare texts fall roughly into three main classes:

(i) the seventeen or eighteen plays first printed in the First Folio;²

¹ *The Stability of Shakespeare's Text*, London 1965, p.v.

² The figure depends on one's opinion whether the previously printed *The Taming of A Shrew* is or is not a bad text of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

(ii) —though Heminge and Condell do not expressly say so—those previously printed in a good text and now published again in the Folio (but here, of course, there are many possibilities, including the possibility that a particular Folio play was printed not from the first published text of the play in quarto but from a later quarto, and the possibility that a Folio text is based on a *corrected* quarto);

(iii) the plays previously printed only in corrupt texts. These are the 'diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them'—and even these, the Folio editors claim, are now 'cur'd, and perfect of their limbes'. (The best example of this class of play is *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.)

Modern bibliography has shown that none of these claims can be taken literally—not even the claim that the texts in class (iii) are 'cur'd, and perfect' in the Folio. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, for instance, had been previously published only in the hopelessly corrupt Quarto of 1602, a version that was probably put together by two or more actors relying on their inadequate memory of what had been spoken on the stage. Yet a text as corrupt as this can supply a line missing from the Folio, from which it had presumably been dropped by a simple compositorial error. The Host of the Garter, reconciling (as he thinks) Parson Evans and Doctor Caius, whom he has helped to estrange, says to them, according to the Folio: 'Giue me thy hand (Celestiall) so: Boyes of Art, I haue deceiu'd you both'. It is the bad Quarto that preserves the other phrase that alone makes sense of what remains, and enables us to reconstruct the Host's lines as 'Giue me thy hand (Terrestrial) so; giue me thy hand (Celestiall) so: Boyes of Art, I haue deceiu'd you both'—the first of the parallel phrases being addressed to the 'terrestrial' layman, Doctor Caius, the second to the 'celestial' clergyman, Evans. Again, it is the bad Quarto which for all its imperfections tells us that the name Ford assumed when, in disguise, he bribed Falstaff to attempt Mistress Ford's virtue was not 'Broome', as the Folio has it, but 'Brooke'—much more appropriate for a Ford, and alone making sense of Falstaff's comment when he hears that his client has sent him a draught of sack: 'Such Brooks are welcome to me, that o'erflows such liquor'. (For reasons that can only be conjectured now, 'Brooke' must have been altered to 'Broome' between the time of the first performance of the play late in the 1590s and the publishing of the Folio in 1623.) The Folio text even of *The Merry Wives*, then, is not cur'd or perfect, though it is probably closer to perfection than most modern editors allow.

The second of the three classes of play presents a more difficult problem still, and particularly plays like *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Troilus and Cressida*, where we have a good Folio text and also a reasonably good earlier quarto, but where it is not easy to say what relationship one bears to the other and where the Folio is not directly based on the good quarto or not on that alone. With such texts one needs all the bibliographical knowledge that one can muster. The modern editor knows that he cannot, each time his two texts differ, make a separate choice of the reading that, on aesthetic grounds, he prefers. He will attempt

rather to establish the nature of the printer's copy that lay behind each of the texts, to decide whether, for example, the compositor worked from the author's 'foul papers', or an author's transcript of these, or a scribe's, or a prompt copy that may or may not have been any one of these, or—worse—a previous quarto corrected by reference to any one of these, or a previous quarto occasionally printed from a bad quarto. He will also reconstruct the printing process as best he can, trying to discover, for instance, whether the text was set up by one compositor or more (and in the process he will use evidence of spelling preferences, evidence of which I confess myself highly and increasingly sceptical); and if he can show that the book was set by formes, not pages, and the copy 'cast off' (i.e. that the compositor calculated in advance how much copy was necessary to fill certain pages, and ran the risk of miscalculating), he will not be surprised to find prose set as verse to fill up space, or verse set as prose to save it (or even lines omitted to save it). Then, if he is a good editor, he will refrain from making emendations that are inconsistent with his general theory: to take a single theoretical example, if he has 'proved' that the text was set by a compositor reading foul papers, he will not suddenly base an emendation on a theory that a word or phrase was misheard.

Particularly since Dr R. B. McKerrow published his *Prolegomena*,³ and indeed before that too, a great deal of systematic consideration has been given to such bibliographical and editorial method; and Sir Walter Greg once even claimed, in one of his few unguarded moments, that 'Bibliographers have in fact brought criticism down from the fascinating but too often barren heights of aesthetic and philosophic speculation to the concrete familiarities of the theatre, the scrivener's shop, and the printing house'—and Professor Fredson Bowers has similarly asserted that 'the bibliographical method . . . has provided a superior demonstration since it uses not an appeal to probability of opinion but instead the physical and inexorable evidence of the printing house'.⁴

Unfortunately it is not so. The 'evidence' and 'familiarities' of the printing house are not always 'concrete' or 'inexorable'; they are not even always 'physical' (and McKerrow was wiser than some of his successors when he refused to call such processes 'scientific'⁵). It could be wished that modern bibliographers had paid more attention to a story told by the editor of the new Temple edition of Shakespeare, M. R. Ridley. Ridley sent his 'copy' to the printer for his edition of *Hamlet* (the 'copy' being in fact a corrected earlier printed edition) and was amazed to find in his first proofs not 'the whips and scorns of time' but 'the chips and scorns of time'. He naturally asked himself how the error had occurred, but could find no 'physical' or scientific explanation. The compositor could not have mistaken a printed 'w' for a 'c'; 'w' and 'c', one is told, are not adjacent letters on the monotype keyboard; there was no similar

³ *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare. A Study in Editorial Method*, Oxford 1939.

⁴ Greg, *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare*, 2nd edn, Oxford 1951, p. 3; Bowers, *On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists*, University of Pennsylvania 1955, p. 58.

⁵ *Prolegomena*, pp. vii-viii.

word to provoke the error of dittography. Indeed, the only possible explanation would seem to be psychological: Ridley's compositor had apparently allowed his mind to wander to a poker game or to food.⁶

If now the argument is, as it were, turned round, what appears is this. If *Hamlet* had come down to us in only one text, and if that text had read 'the chips and scorns of time', what credence would have been given to the emendation 'whips'? An editor making the emendation could not have provided one 'scientific' scrap of evidence to justify his conjecture, and without such bibliographical support it would have won scant respect from most of us. From which some may wish to argue that any editorial guess is justified; it would be wiser to argue rather that our text of Shakespeare never will be demonstrably perfect. In particular there can be no one universally acceptable text of all Shakespeare's plays if Professor Honigmann is right in his contention that plays like *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *Troilus and Cressida* exist in two equally Shakespearian texts, one embodying the verbal alterations that Shakespeare made, consciously or unconsciously, when he transcribed from the other. And this theory has not, to my knowledge, yet been satisfactorily rebutted, a mere question why Shakespeare should have bothered to transcribe a play being surely inadequate.

For the remainder of this discussion, however, it may be better to turn aside from such profundities to the plays that were not published until the Folio, the texts of my class (i). One is then faced by the first and what should be the easiest of all editorial questions: when is an editor entitled to think that he can 'cure' such a text?

Presumably he would not nowadays wish to 'correct' for moral reasons, although at least one such notorious emendation stood for many years in editions of *As You Like It*. In Act I, scene iii, after Rosalind and Celia have first met Orlando, following his victory in the wrestling, the Folio has the following:

Cel. Why Cosen, why *Rosaline*: *Cupid* haue mercie, Not a word?

Ros. Not one to throw at a dog. . . .

Cel. But is all this for your Father?

Ros. No, some of it is for my childes Father.

That is to say, Rosalind's concern is for the man (Orlando) whom she would wish to be the father of any child she may have. That sentiment, however, did not appeal to Shakespeare's first major editor, the eighteenth-century scholar Rowe, who emended 'childes Father' to 'father's child', and thus made Rosalind reply that she was worried not about her father but about herself. The emendation, fortunately, is not found in standard modern editions, although it was duly approved by Coleridge and survived in, for example, the Verity edition, for too long used for public examinations in New South Wales. Once the emendation was made, critical conclusions could be based on it, and Hudson, for one, could then assert that when Rosalind says some (to him) outrageous things later in the play, her 'occasional freedoms of speech are manifestly intended as part of her disguise, and spring from the feeling that it is far less

⁶ *William Shakespeare. A Commentary*, London 1936, pp. 153-4.

indelicate to go a little out of her character, in order to prevent any suspicion of her sex, than it would be to hazard such a suspicion by keeping strictly within her character'. Indeed, one emends Shakespeare at one's peril.

We should be honest about this and admit that it is not impossible that Rowe was right—but no editor is entitled to print 'father's child'. As Ridley has well said (p. 140): 'Any one who cares about Shakespeare would rather have interposed between himself and Shakespeare a compositor however stupid than the cleverest editor who ever emended a corrupt passage'. Editors, one feels, admit the principle in theory but too often abandon it in practice.

An example from another Folio play, *Measure for Measure*, may help make the point. In I.iv, the Duke, in the Folio text, begins his explanation of his temporary abdication:

We haue strict Statutes, and most biting Laws,
(The needfull bits and curbcs to headstrong weedcs),
Which for this foureteene yeares, we haue let slip

'Headstrong weedcs', however, will not be found in most modern editions of the play. R. C. Bald's 1956 Pelican edition and Dover Wilson's New Cambridge have 'headstrong willcs'; others, following Theobald, 'headstrong steeds'; and J. W. Lever's New Arden 'headstrong jades'—the last 'justified' on the ground that 'jades' (spelt 'iades') 'could have been misread in Shakespeare's handwriting' as 'weedcs', a statement that to the best of my judgement is simply not 'true'. (A similar and equally unconvincing palaeographic explanation probably lies behind the other emendations.) But why, one asks—whether the argument from handwriting is justified or not—must one emend at all? The New Arden editor has no hesitation: because "'weedcs" (F), though a common figure, creates a pointlessly mixed metaphor'. Shakespeare not allowed to write a mixed metaphor, 'pointless' or not? The dramatist who could not only 'take Armes against a Sea of troubles, / And by opposing end them' but could also in one play write, for example,

. . . ere to black *Heccats* summons
The shard-borne Beetle, with his drowsie hums,
Hath rung Nights yawning Peale . . .

and

Pitty, like a naked New-borne-Babe,
Striding the blast, or Heaucens Cherubin, hors'd
Vpon the sightlesse Curriors of the Ayre,
Shall blow the horrid deed in euery eye,
That teares shall drowne the winde ?

The reason given for the emendation is surely inadequate. Moreover, as Professor G. K. Hunter has shown,⁷ curbs-weeds is a frequent Shakespeare image-link, being found, for example, in *Hamlet* (III.iv.151-5), *2 Henry IV* (IV.iv.54-62) and *Othello* (I.iii.322-34)—and even if he had not shown this, a

⁷ 'Six Notes on *Measure for Measure*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, XV, 3 (Summer 1964), p. 167.

critic might well have defended the Folio text on the ground that the Duke is not uttering platitudes but is expounding a particular political philosophy, that strict laws are necessary to restrain those undesirables whom Shakespeare in another mood might have called the caterpillars of the Commonwealth.

Perhaps, with Hunter's demonstration in mind, future editors will preserve the Folio's 'weedes'. But will the principle be granted—the principle, surely, that much greater modesty is needed when one faces the decision whether to emend at all?

My quarrel with modern bibliography is that, for all its protestations about being scientific, it has in a sense brought the wheel full circle. In a sense we are back with Capell, who thought himself entitled to select from various readings 'whatever improves the author, or contributes to his advancement in perfectness, the point in view throughout all this performance' and added 'that they do improve him was with the editor an argument in their favour; and a presumption of genuineness for what is thus selected'. To all such procedures Pope had already given what should have been the death-blow when he said, in the first note to Book 2 of the *Dunciad*: 'Two things there are, upon which the very Basis of all verbal Criticism is founded and supported: The first, that the Author could never fail to use the very best word, on every occasion: The second, that the Critick cannot chuse but know, which it is. This being granted, whenever any doth not fully content us, we take upon us to conclude, first that the author could never have us'd it, And secondly, that he must have used That very one which we conjecture in its stead.' (Pope's own practice as a Shakespearean editor, of course, deserves the rebuke at least as much as any other's.)

Yet while editors no longer 'select' readings from different texts exactly as Capell felt free to do, is the modern editor really any more scientific if he (or, in the example I am thinking of, she), believing he has proved that a play was set by a particular compositor who averages two errors a page, proceeds happily to emend an average of two words on every page? Is there really much 'science' in the practice of an editor who, having established to his own satisfaction that the 'copy' for a text is suspect, 'will incline to be much bolder in his emendation of *passable but not entirely characteristic readings*'?⁸ The italics are mine but the words are those of our greatest bibliographer, Fredson Bowers—whose practice as an editor occasionally worries me as much as does his theory. For an example, I should like to return to *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and quote Nym's line 'The good humor is to steale at a minutes rest'. At least, that is what the Folio makes him say, and the Quarto for once confirms it, with identical wording. In Professor Bowers's own (Pelican) edition of the comedy, however, Nym's line is 'The good humor is to steal at a minim's rest'. And why? Because the phrase 'minim's rest' appears in *Romeo and Juliet*, and Professor Bowers thinks it a better phrase; and then, *because* he prefers it anyway, he propounds a bibliographical theory to 'justify' his choice and suggests that 'minutes' must have been an error in the prompt book, from which (or a manuscript based on

⁸ *On Editing Shakespeare*, Charlottesville 1966, pp. 110-11.

it) the actor-reporter learnt his part, and which the Folio (perhaps) copied. It is a theory by which one could 'justify' almost any emendation one wished to make in *The Merry Wives* and it is, if I may say so, a desperate one. Sadly one quotes back at a great scholar his own words 'Bibliography is a good servant but a bad master'.⁹

An editor's first duty, to risk another generalization, is to try to make sense of what his text (or his copy-text) says, not overlooking either such possibilities as that the word he does not immediately understand may be a dialectal one (Dr Hilda Hulme has drawn attention to Shakespeare's not infrequent use of Warwickshire phrases) or even that the text may be deliberately ambiguous or evasive, as in *Timon's* 'Thinke it a Bastard, whom the oracle / Hath doubtfully pronounced, the throat shall cut' (where editors who emend to 'thy throat' remove the very doubtfulness that enabled classical oracles to continue pronouncing). Indeed, if *Timon* is, as many of us still believe, a play that Shakespeare did not finally work over, to reduce it to 'order', the editor who 'emends' it freely, to tidy it up, is doing what Shakespeare did not feel like doing himself—and there is probably no greater presumption than that.

The only justifiable creed for an editor, it seems to me, is one of radical conservatism, and I cannot wholeheartedly agree with Sir Walter Greg, and others who perhaps misunderstand him, on the wisdom of backing one's own judgment.¹⁰ In a sense, no doubt, one always does back one's own judgment; but there is surely much to be said for Dr Johnson's sentiments as expressed in a note on a line in *Cymbeline* (quoted with approval by Honigmann), 'I am willing to comply with any meaning that can be extorted from the present text, rather than change it'. To say which is not to agree either with Johnson's own editorial practice or with Professor Honigmann's own eclecticism. (The conclusion that the latter's investigations point to is rather that there is no such thing as one right text of *Hamlet*.)

The argument is not intended to lead to the decision that editing ought to be abandoned in favour of the production of facsimiles or to imply that emendation is superfluous. It is a plea for greater editorial humility and a greater readiness to admit that the despised compositor with his 'copy' in front of him, and with his knowledge of the language as it was spoken in his own day, is more likely to be correct than, as Johnson so well said, 'we who read it only by imagination'. Emendation ought to be confined to what, in McKerrow's phrase, is 'certainly corrupt' and he, of course, great scholar that he was, realized how many questions the phrase begged—but at least it would rule out 'headstrong jades' or the 'minim's rest'.

Bibliographers and editors have their favourite and oft-told stories about critics who, basing their critical judgments on certain texts in ignorance of the bibliographical facts, have perpetrated 'howlers'. They tell how Caroline

⁹ *Textual and Literary Criticism*, Cambridge 1959, p. 116.

¹⁰ Quoted, for example, by Bowers, *On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists*, pp. 6-7.

Spurgeon included in her statistical analyses of Shakespeare's imagery 'images' that were in fact only editorial guesses; they tell of F. O. Matthiessen's verdict that the phrase 'soiled fish of the sea' in *White-Jacket* was 'peculiarly Melville's', when in fact 'soiled' was a misprint for 'coiled'; and Dr Leavis has not been allowed to forget his mishap when to make a point about the influence of Dickens on the early Henry James, he quoted *Roderick Hudson* not from the original text of the 1870s but from the revised version of some thirty years later. To these we must now unfortunately add the critic who, claiming to be the first to respond accurately to what certain Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists actually wrote, often quoted what they 'wrote' from badly edited nineteenth- or early twentieth-century texts, and based critical judgments about the shortness of *Dr Faustus* on the A text, without any apparent awareness of even the existence of the B text, which in the opinion of most modern bibliographers is probably closer to what Marlowe composed.¹¹

These are indeed cautionary tales—but there is a relevant proverb about people living in glass houses; and editors are living in glass houses if they persist in emending Shakespeare because they will not allow him a mixed metaphor or will not permit him to use in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* a phrase different from one he used in *Romeo and Juliet* a few years before.

'Bibliography must precede criticism', Professor Bowers has written.¹² One sees what he means, but it is true only in a sense.

¹¹ The points are made by R. W. Dent in a review in *Modern Philology*, 63 (1965-6), pp. 252-6.

¹² *On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists*, p. 51.

Discovering Man's Place
in Nature

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IT IS EXACTLY a century since Charles Darwin published *The Descent of Man* and the pioneer anthropologist, E. B. Tylor, wrote his influential *Primitive Culture*. Darwin's departure point in 1871 was his assumption that the 'high antiquity of man has recently been demonstrated . . . and this is the indispensable basis for understanding his origin'.¹ Tylor shared Darwin's views and proposed to apply to human culture the principles which Darwin applied to biology. The comparative study of human societies, stated Tylor, 'is a subject apt for the study of laws of human thought and action'.²

Historians of social anthropology, physical anthropology, and prehistoric archaeology emphasize that evolutionary theory shaped and gave purpose to those disciplines. In Australia it largely determined the scope of serious investigation into Aboriginal life. Academic interest apart, there were many and diverse opinions held about the Aborigines from Dampier to Darwin and beyond.³ Probably the most significant factor in the nineteenth-century climate of opinion was the mundane combination of contempt and moral superiority which sustained the majority of settlers. It was undoubtedly at this community level of racial contact that the fate of the Aborigines and ideas about their effective place in nature were determined. Consequently it may seem rather irrelevant to seek intellectual influences operating upon the common man in this harsh, individualistic environment.

Yet I believe that it was the prestigious armchair theorists overseas and their influential disciples in Australia who gave academic respectability to these existing racial notions. Thereby governmental policies were justified and thinking men were influenced even into later generations. These observations and the examples which follow are not intended as moral judgements on evolutionary-conscious anthropologists, for these latter should not be divorced from the context of their times, but they do assist an understanding of how Europeans thought of Aborigines and why certain policies—or non-policies—were approved.

It chanced that 1871 was the year in which Anthony Trollope arrived in Australia. His impressions of the Aborigines are a useful reflection of the ideas held by his hosts, the 'man on the land'. It must be emphasized that similar comments abound in other contemporary sources. 'It is their fate to be abolished',

¹ Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, London 1871; 2nd edn 1883, p. 2.

² E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 2 vols, London 1871; 1929 edn; Vol. 1, p. 1.

³ I have examined these questions in several publications, especially 'The Australian Aborigines 1606-1929: Opinion and Fieldwork', *Historical Studies*, 8, 1958, pp. 131-51, 279-314; 'Fact, Fancy and Aboriginal Australian Ethnic Origins', *Mankind*, 6, 1966, pp. 299-305; 'The ascent of Aboriginal Man: Howitt as Anthropologist', in M. H. Walker, *Come Wind, Come Weather*, Melbourne 1971, pp. 285-312.

Trollope observed with equanimity of the Queensland situation. 'The race is doomed, and is very quickly encountering its doom', he added of Victoria.⁴

To ameliorate the material condition of the failing population is manifestly our duty; towards saving them from hunger and pain much may be done;—but I think we mistake our duty when we prepare for them a prospective course of civilized life, which can only be of real use to them on the condition that they are to remain among us as a permanent people.

Such views combined scorn for a race apart with a convenient belief in its rapid extinction, tempered by a humanitarian solicitude best compared to that felt by members of the Royal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Popular opinion in these matters was paralleled by that of the experts. The inevitability of the extinction of races deemed inferior was a tenet of Darwin's *Descent*.⁵ It is significant that he ranged the Aboriginal and the negro with the gorilla, as constituting the contemporary 'break between man and his nearest allies', while he predicted the extinction of all three.⁶

Darwin's direct involvement with Australian Anthropology was slight, but Tylor's was prolonged. Writing in 1871, before Lewis Henry Morgan's classic expression of the same doctrine in *Ancient Society*, Tylor proclaimed that the trend in society was 'from savagery to civilisation'; he quoted with approval Dr Johnson's aphorism that 'one set of savages is like another'.⁷ He assumed the psychic unity of mankind, which enabled him to select similar cultural traits in societies of postulated comparable status, and to assess the stages through which higher societies had passed.⁸ The logic of his historical reconstruction is interesting.

Such examples of progression are known to us as direct history, but so thoroughly is this notion of development at home in our minds, that by means of it we reconstruct lost history without scruple, trusting to general knowledge of the principles of human thought and action as a guide in putting the facts in their proper order.

Tylor clearly had no interest in 'savages' as people, but was concerned with abstract social institutions or material traits. These discrete elements were removed from their cultural context and set into a presupposed hierarchical framework. His approach is well exemplified in his 1893 study 'on the Tasmanians as Representatives of Palaeolithic man'; a title which itself is revealing.⁹ He assigned them to 'the lowest intellectual and industrial level' known—'their ideas and habits conform in a general way to the characteristics of normal or healthy savagery . . . their arts, language, religion, social rules, are on the usual lines of the lowest tribes of man, only at simple and rude stages'.¹⁰ Tasmania, he concluded,

⁴ A. Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand*, London 1873, pp. 75, 503.

⁵ See pp. 191-2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 619.

⁷ *Primitive Culture*, Vol. 1, pp. 6, 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 6, 15.

⁹ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 23, 1893, pp. 141-51.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

has no small importance in the light it throws on the problem of civilization. A people isolated from interference from without . . . so that circumstances to no great extent compel improvement or bring on decay, may . . . remain comparatively unchanged in their level of culture, even from remote prehistoric ages, just as mollusca of species first appearing far back in the earlier formations may continue to live and thrive in modern seas.¹¹

The concept of primeval savagery or of primitive human fossil society is writ large in the literature of the Aborigines. As regards the Tasmanians, it was echoed until recent years, but no one bettered Noetling's specious summary of 1911:

The Tasmanian race had already reached their highest point of evolution, it was impossible for them to go further; they could not conceive new ideas, or make new inventions, and had the race existed for another thousand years . . . they would have . . . been where they were at its beginning. It is unquestionable that the incapability of the Tasmanians to adapt themselves to new ideas or surroundings accelerated its [sic] extinction.¹²

However, Tylor's influence and that of other social theorists was more pervasive than this. He and Lewis Henry Morgan were mentors to A. W. Howitt and Lorimer Fison, the pioneers of Australian anthropology. Indeed, without Morgan and Tylor, it is doubtful whether Howitt would have turned to serious anthropology. When Baldwin Spencer was appointed to the Chair of Biology at Melbourne University in 1887, Tylor was a referee, because Spencer had worked under him at Oxford. Thirteen years later Tylor was also a signatory to a petition which was presented on behalf of seventy-seven English anthropologists, scientists and politicians to the governments of Victoria and South Australia. It was written by J. G. Frazer, author of *The Golden Bough*, and it was instrumental in sending Spencer and Gillen on their transcontinental anthropological expedition of 1901.¹³ Its challenging phraseology reflects the philosophy which motivated it, and nowhere is the web of intellectual kinship which united evolutionary theorists demonstrated more clearly.

We, the undersigned, being convinced that the scientific study of the institutions and beliefs of savages is of the greatest importance for the understanding of the early history of mankind, desire respectfully to represent to the Government of Victoria that it is in its power to contribute effectually to the advancement of science by co-operating with the Government of South Australia in a scheme for investigating some of the aboriginal tribes within the territory of the latter Government. . . . Of these tribes very little is known, and unless an investigation of them is undertaken promptly, it is to be feared that, like the aborigines of Tasmania, they may pass away before any trustworthy account of them has been placed on record. The loss thus

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

¹² F. Noetling, 'Further notes on the habits of the Tasmanian Aborigines', *Pap. Proc. Roy. Soc. Tas.*, 63, 1911, p. 107.

¹³ I am preparing a biography of Spencer in which I will document these statements. The petition is owned by Spencer's daughter, Mrs A. Rowan, to whose assistance I am deeply indebted.

entailed on science would be grievous as well as irreparable; for in spite of the disappearance of so many of the Aborigines, Australia still offers one of the most interesting fields of observation now open to the student of primitive man; and it is to Australia, more perhaps than to any other quarter of the globe, that anthropologists are now looking for the solution of certain problems of great moment in the early history of society and religion.

Spencer became Australia's most distinguished anthropologist and a voice of authority in Aboriginal affairs. But his work and that of Howitt and other early workers must be assessed within their intellectual framework and preconceptions. Enlightened and humanitarian men though they were, they would be unlikely to find favour with the present Office of Aboriginal Affairs. In this context we may comprehend the mechanistic sentiments of Spencer's Presidential address to the 1921 AAAS (ANZAAS) Congress.¹⁴ Even as late as 1927 he summarized them as follows in his preface to *The Arunta*:

Australia is the present home and refuge of creatures, often crude and quaint, that have elsewhere passed away and given place to higher forms. This applies equally to the aboriginal as to the platypus and kangaroo. Just as the platypus, laying its eggs and feebly suckling its young, reveals a mammal in the making, so does the Aboriginal show us, at least in broad outline, what early man must have been like before he learned to read and write, domesticate animals, cultivate crops and use a metal tool. It has been possible to study in Australia human beings that still remain on the culture level of men of the Stone Age.¹⁵

Only within the present generation has the popular image of the Aborigines shifted from the standpoint that they are living human fossils, and many promoters of tourism have yet to receive the message.

From reflections on past thinking about Aboriginal Man's place in nature, let us turn to the present archaeological evidence relevant to prehistoric men in general. Possibly few non-specialists realize that recent fundamental discoveries in the field and in the laboratory are as revolutionary in their implications in 1971 as was Darwinian theory in 1871. Two developments overshadow all others in post-war archaeology. The first concerns the invention of new techniques for dating the past, and secondly, archaeologists working systematically and in close interdisciplinary co-operation with both social and natural scientists have extended prehistoric frontiers into hitherto unexplored regions. This combination of a chronology in depth with expanded and disciplined geographic horizons has produced prospects of the human past which challenge traditional patterns.

Man's concept of time and his means of measuring it are crucial determinants both of his understanding of his origins and of his status in nature. To outsiders, for example, the Aboriginal Dreamtime appears a timeless and irritatingly vague notion; yet for Aborigines who do not count with calendars or separate creation times from the era of mankind, it affords a comforting immediacy with the creation landscape and their ancestral beings. Hindu chronology may appear

¹⁴ AAAS, XV, 1921.

¹⁵ W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta*, 2 vols, London 1927, Vol. 1, p. vii.

more exact, because it allows a succession of Ages, including some thirteen million years since the Golden Age began. Yet in reality, this conveys little more than a consciousness of separate identity. The Mosaic time scale possessed an attractive but delusory precision for pragmatic European minds, while Biblical years proved accountable to Archbishop Ussher's calendar. The intellectual constraints which it imposed have been probed in Greene's stimulating essay, *The Death of Adam*.¹⁶ Shakespeare was aware of the accepted time scale when he observed, through Rosalind's lips, that 'the poor world is almost six thousand years old'.¹⁷

Even when such guidance was followed and all past data were crammed into its mould, there was no means of dating objects occurring outside the normal literary chronological frame of reference. The problem was expressed succinctly by that quotable seventeenth-century antiquary Thomas Browne, during his musings on cremation burial: 'A great obscurity herein, because no medall or Emperours Coync enclosed, which might denote the date of their interrment'.¹⁸

Nineteenth-century science brought some order and depth into the chaos of human prehistory. The first step was the formulation of the three technological divisions—the Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron. Next came the geological touchstone of stratigraphy, with its sporadic application to archaeological excavations, to be accompanied by proof of the geological antiquity of tools and the recovery of ancient human fossils. These developments are a familiar story; I refer to them only to emphasize them as essential elements in the intellectual climate of 1871.

This system lacked absolute chronological precision, although it possessed geological relative time depth. However, by making informed guesses, writers inferred times scales. Gordon Childe's *What Happened in History* (1942) is a good example. Childe estimated half a million years since the advent of man and compared this with the 5,000 years of written records. Today it appears that Childe underestimated by a factor of 4 or 5. Prehistorians may claim as their preserve perhaps the first 99.9 per cent of human existence, before historians may examine the records of the balance.

Radiocarbon 14 dating is so established today that the technique needs no description. It has provided fair precision for the past 50,000 years, and significantly, it has been applied to the human occupation of every continent. Subsequently, further geophysical or geochemical methods have been perfected which underpin carbon 14 dating. Of greater relevance here, however, is the Potassium-Argon dating technique which ages rocks rich in potassium, such as basalts.¹⁹ Provided that human relics are sealed beneath a lava flow, for example,

¹⁶ J. C. Greene, *The Death of Adam*, Mentor Books, 1961.

¹⁷ *As You Like It*, IV.i.83-4.

¹⁸ *Urne Buriall*, Everyman edn 1906, p. 105.

¹⁹ D. Brothwell and E. Higgs (eds), *Science in Archaeology*, London 1969, include discussion of recent advances in scientific applications. The summary of prehistoric research which follows is an amalgam from many sources. The most recent treatment is that by Grahame Clark, *World Prehistory*, Cambridge 1969.

the dating of that rock provides a minimal age for the buried remains. The principle applies to rocks whose ages range from a few hundred thousand to millions of years, thereby extending 'absolute' ages far beyond the reach of carbon 14. Its present archaeological application concerns chiefly the East African Rift Valley. At Olduvai Gorge, stone tools and a presumed hut are estimated to be 1.8 million years old, while further north both in the Omo Valley and near Lake Rudolf artefacts are aged between two and three million years, with hints of even greater antiquity.

These data raise anew the problem of defining humanity. It is claimed that these early inhabitants were tool-makers, as opposed to instinctive tool-users. Even so, the makers probably were Australopithecines, hominids of upright stance, some four feet tall and weighing fifty pounds. Despite a relatively large brain proportionate to its size, cranial capacity of *Australopithecus* was within gorilla range. Is the archaeologists' standard criterion, that 'tools make man', incorrect? Yet it does rest upon the premeditation implicit in tool preparation, which makes the prehistorian one with the theologian in claiming rationality as the key to human perception.

It must be accepted, however, that probably one million years ago mankind already had colonized the Old World, from Germany to Indonesia and from Cape Town to Peking, thereby witnessing to his environmental adaptability even at this early period. The human fossil evidence concerns the species *Homo erectus*, a tool-maker of some ability, although his mean cranial capacity of 978 cc contrasts with modern man's capacity of over 1350 cc. Recent research also has forced physical anthropologists to re-appraise their taxonomy of *Homo sapiens*. An archaic *Homo sapiens* is allowed a life-span of greater than 250,000 years, and this designation now includes Neanderthal Man, the 'cave man' of popular fiction.

Man has an immense antiquity, although in the context of the evolution of species, the emergence of modern man appears remarkably rapid. On the other hand, man's initial cultural development was slow, despite a social mobility which allowed him to occupy the Old World. The past 50,000 years, which fortunately fall within the range of radiocarbon dating, witnessed an upsurge in cultural innovation and territorial expansion which resulted in the occupation of all the inhabited continents. This colonization, which included the sea crossing to Australia, occurred at least some 20,000 years before men domesticated animals and plants. Is this quickening of ideas and inventiveness related to the development of sophisticated language wherewith to communicate them? These changes are manifest in new and fundamental inventions such as the bow and spear thrower, in entirely new stone and bone working technology, in material culture—clothing, lamps, and sizeable huts; and they may be plausibly inferred in ideology (burial, grave goods, art, co-operative hunts and possibly a solicitude for the aged).

Carbon dating also challenges accepted ideas of sedentary society. The term mesolithic (middle stone age), once coined to fill the hypothetical hiatus believed to separate Palaeolithic hunting societies from those based upon agriculture, is

redundant. The gap exists no longer, as archaeology attests a gradual transition of groups from hunting to farming. Changes were rapid: experiments in the new economy were made in the Middle East perhaps 10,000 years ago. By 7,000 BC sedentary peasants occupied a ten acre settlement at Jericho; a thousand years later, Catal Hüyük was a thriving Anatolian city. The historian of the Ancient Near East must reckon with dynamic changes in economy, population density and settlement patterns, architecture and social regulation millennia before the origins of writing, perhaps by 3,500 BC. Given the achievements of these men who lacked writing, is its existence necessarily the basic criterion of civilization after all?

Because archaeologists no longer confine their activities to Biblical and Classical lands, some of the light which traditionally shone from there has dimmed. Much ink has been spilt on the controversies of independent development of culture versus diffusion from a common centre. Independence is winning the battle in the New World, and the Pacific region now offers intriguing evidence to confound uncritical diffusionists. This is best illustrated by Australia, the neglected continent of archaeology.

It is salutary to consider that even in this country history since Cook signifies no more than 0.5 per cent of the human story in Australia. Historians may reply that the vital issues of mankind concern only their terminal fraction. To prehistorians, this smacks of Europocentrism. Historical comprehension requires that Australia before Cook be envisaged as a period during which the Aborigines both played a creative role and were agents of environmental change. The Europeans did not enter a timeless and changeless land, and Aboriginal Australia deserves more attention than historians have paid it.

Given the limited extent of archaeological research in Australia, it is interesting to note that already a number of significant discoveries have been made. The oldest cremation burial site known in the world was discovered at Mungo, western New South Wales, dating from almost 30,000 years ago, at a time when this semi-arid region was a chain of brimming freshwater lakes.²⁰ As the grave contained pellets of ochre, some aesthetic function may be inferred. Indeed, art incised on the walls of Koonalda cave, in the darkness below the Nullarbor Plain, is at least 20,000 years old, considerably older than much European cave art, although the motifs are comparable.²¹ My own excavations at Kenniff Cave, in Queensland, recovered quantities of pigment in every layer, spanning in all 19,000 years; the same materials were used there a century ago to paint stencils on the walls. Here, then, we have evidence for art and ceremonial as ancient as the standard text-book examples cited from the Old World.

Recent discoveries of human burials aged between six and thirty thousand years may provide fresh insight into human evolution. Amongst the archaic

²⁰ J. M. Bowler, Rhys Jones, Harry Allen and A. G. Thorne, 'Pleistocene human remains from Australia: a living site and human cremation from Lake Mungo, western New South Wales', *World Archaeology*, 2, 1970, pp. 39-60.

²¹ R. V. S. Wright (ed.), *Archaeology of the Gallus site, Koonalda Cave*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra 1971.

Aborigines there was apparently a remarkable persistence of physical characteristics which link the Aborigines with fossil man in Indonesia, including the long extinct species *Homo erectus*.²² It is possible that Australia may provide vital clues on the problem of what relationship existed between the small-brained *Homo erectus* and modern man, a major step in defining Man's true physical place in nature.

Our region contributes new data to the history of technology. Both in Arnhem Land and in the New Guinea Highlands stone tools have been excavated which were ground deliberately to form axe-like cutting edges.²³ Some of the Australian specimens possess a groove which assisted the secure fastening of the handle, which constitutes a further 'progressive' trait. European archaeologists once claimed that stone grinding ushered in the Old World Neolithic period, several thousand years ago. Yet the new Australian finds are older than 20,000 years and constitute the earliest known examples of this technology, while the New Guinea specimens also are older than 10,000 years.

Even in the history of animal domestication, Australia's dingo has claims as the world's earliest domesticated species. It is recorded near Mt Gambier about 8,000 years ago, but it cannot have been domesticated there. It is an introduced dog species, which must have been domesticated in Asia, ferried to Australia and migrated across the continent by that early date. Surprisingly, some of the oldest evidence for the presumed collecting of wild grass seeds and their grinding for flour must also be inferred in Australia. At least millstones are known which possibly are older than 10,000 years.²⁴ Surprising evidence for the classic non-agricultural continent!

The moral of axes, dogs, and watercraft to carry them and their owners is that Australian prehistory cannot stand alone. Results of recent research in Asia are relevant. Ground stone tools also occur at least 15,000 years ago in Japan and probably contemporaneously in southeast Asia.²⁵ The world's oldest pottery has been excavated in Japan, where it is almost 12,000 years old. Claims have been advanced for horticultural activities in Thailand and Formosa which may be exaggerated, but they do at least indicate that the systematic harvesting of wild plants was practised, and this incipient form of horticulture was practised at about the same date as the celebrated Natufian cereal harvesters at Mt Carmel,²⁶

²² Most of the evidence is under review; the twelve burials excavated at Kow Swamp, near Cohuna, are the most intriguing finds. See A. G. Thorne, 'The racial affinities and origins of the Australian Aborigines', in D. J. Mulvaney and J. Golson (eds), *Aboriginal Man and Environment in Australia*, Canberra 1971, pp. 316-25.

²³ *Ibid.*, Carmel White, 'Man and environment in northwest Arnhem Land', pp. 148-55; J. P. White, K. A. W. Crook and B. P. Buxton, 'Kosipe: a Late Pleistocene site in the Papuan Highlands', *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.*, 36, 1970, p. 168.

²⁴ D. J. Mulvaney and E. B. Joyce, 'Archaeological and geomorphological investigations on Mt Moffatt station, Queensland', *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.*, 31, 1965, p. 192.

²⁵ R. Morlan, 'The Pre-ceramic period of Hokkaido', *Arctic Anthropology*, 4, 1967, pp. 164-220; J. Golson, *Beyond the Wallace Line* (forthcoming).

²⁶ Kwang-chih Chang, 'The beginnings of agriculture in the Far East', *Antiquity*, 44, 1970,

hitherto the agricultural pioneers. Recently, pollen analysis in the Indus Valley indicated that cereal grasses may have been cultivated there since 7,500 BC.²⁷ If these findings are confirmed, it will challenge further the primacy of the 'fertile crescent' in agricultural history.

That prehistoric peoples played a passive, parasitic role in the environment has been an accepted doctrine for the past century, but this is under revision as the result of several new approaches, all of which have an Australian application. I refer to them only in passing to illustrate the new perspectives.

The first is the possibility that human activities, particularly due to the firestick, have changed the vegetational pattern, with calamitous consequences for the fauna and the land itself. In Europe, even hundreds of thousands of years ago, during the Great Interglacial period, human occupation at Hoxne, Suffolk, coincided with traces of burning. This was evidenced by the presence of charcoal, while an analysis of the pollen indicated a definite retreat of the forest margins and a growth of grasses.²⁸ From Tasmania come intriguing hints that the Aborigines deliberately kept forest trackways open and incidentally kept the rain forest at bay in extensive open clearings.²⁹ There are suggestions that this also may have been a major factor on the mainland, and the problem is awaiting pollen analytical definition.

If man could change the environment through clearance and related erosional factors, he also may have changed the distributional pattern of fauna. An American botanist, Paul S. Martin, has claimed that during Pleistocene times, man was responsible for the extermination of numerous species of American and African mammals, particularly giant forms. Their extinction was due either to selective hunting or to changes in the vegetation upon which the animals depended, consequent upon firing.³⁰

Australian biologist, Duncan Merrilees, has applied this thesis to Australia, under the provocative title 'Man the Destroyer'.³¹ There is little doubt that there was a chronological overlap between the arrival of the first hunters and the disappearance of some of the giant marsupial species. However the positive identification of a butchering site, comparable to American sites where mastodon were slaughtered, still has to be made. The later introduction of the dingo was a further scourge to native fauna, and the combined onslaught of the hunter and his dog must explain the relatively recent extinction of several mainland

pp. 175-85; C. Gorman, 'Hoabinhian: a pebble-tool complex with early plant associations in Southeast Asia', *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.*, 35, 1969, pp. 355-8.

²⁷ Gurdip Singh, 'The Indus Valley culture seen in the context of post-glacial climatic and ecological studies in northwest India'. *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* (in press).

²⁸ R. G. West, 'The Quaternary deposits at Hoxne, Suffolk', *Philosoph. Trans. Roy. Soc. London*, B, 239, 1956, pp. 265-356.

²⁹ Rhys Jones, 'Fire-stick farming', *Australian Natural History*, 16, 1969, pp. 224-8. Jones is preparing a detailed evaluation of the evidence.

³⁰ P. S. Martin and H. E. Wright, *Pleistocene Extinctions*, New Haven, 1967.

³¹ D. Merrilees, "'Man the destroyer" late Quaternary changes in the Australian marsupial fauna', *Jour. Roy. Soc. Western Aust.*, 51, 1968, pp. 1-24.

species, including the once continent-wide Tasmanian Devil (*Sarcophilus*) and Tasmanian wolf (*Thylacine*).

The most challenging re-appraisal concerns human society itself. Within the past decade anthropologists and ethnologists have carried out objective, quantitative fieldwork amongst surviving hunter-gatherer groups. Although some Australian workers, including T. G. H. Strehlow and Donald Thomson, anticipated this interest and the results by many years, the implications are only dawning in the anthropological world. What is evident today is the full extent of the geographic and biological expertise possessed by indigenous peoples and the degree to which their annual life cycle is adjusted to a realistic exploitation of resources, in conjunction with a close spiritual bond between man and man and man and nature. The climax came in 1966 at the 'Man the Hunter' congress which appraised the situation and posed research problems on a global basis.³² The planned economy, balanced diet, extent of social welfare services and the enviable amount of leisure time enjoyed by these alleged parasitic and over-worked nomads is becoming evident. It requires a re-thinking of the 'primitive' social order as portrayed by Gordon Childe and many other writers who have interpreted social evolution for our generation. This is a landmark in our appreciation of our past. From savagery to civilization truly represents man's technological progress, but man is more than his tools and what he eats, and the depth of 'savage' spiritual life provides challenging food for thought.

Indeed, some recent enthusiastic accounts of the simple hunting life possibly foreshadow a return to a new concept of the noble savage. At least this time it is based upon a truer understanding of the depth of the spiritual life of technologically unsophisticated peoples, and their close bonds with the land and its intelligent exploitation. I am reminded that in a book concerned with dating the human past, Frederick Zeuner once remarked that 'man is but too inclined to regard himself as the main figure on the earth's face'.³³ Of course, this is just the point of attempting prehistoric research, because this is indeed man's correct place in nature.

³² R. B. Lee and I. De Vore (eds), *Man the Hunter*, Chicago 1968. Recent outstanding work in these fields in Australia has been carried out by Nicolas Peterson in Arnhem Land and Richard A. Gould in the Western Desert.

³³ F. E. Zeuner, *Dating the Past*, London 1950, p. 2.

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