

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS ON LAMMA (舶遠洲)
ISLAND NEAR HONG KONG.

PART V.

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This article will present evidence of the greatest importance, — finds offering a link with the culture of the Yellow River i.e. the historical Chinese Culture, taken to be of the period 1000—500 B.C., and yet perhaps also with the wide-spread Indonesian culture. It should be noted that from Lamma we have also finds which indicate an intimate relation of one or more sites with the *prehistoric* culture of Yang Shao (Yellow and Kansu Province): such are stone arrow-heads and daggers (or perhaps more correctly spear-heads) together with stone rings and typical rectangular axes of III P types. The whole difficulty of the Lamma finds is the amazing variety of the material and yet certain unique and distinctive features qualifying cases of obvious relation to other cultures known from other regions. This, while affecting the present article, only helps to make the study more interesting. One is handling something new even where it seems almost Chinese. Evidently there is a chapter of Chinese beginning still to be written by archaeology.*

To link up with the third article of this series, H.K.N. IV, p. 151, an additional remark on Chinese bronze casting will be introductory. In (45) Pt. IV, there is a remarkable article by Mr. Liu Hsü Hsia on the technique of Bronze Casting in the Yin (Shang) Period. The article cites and explains the ancient form of the character 鑄 (to cast bronze) which dates at least from the early Chou period. It depicts a pair of hands pouring out the molten (fire) metal from a crucible into a mould. The mould is represented by the element that is now read as 皿 (a vessel) but is here the pictograph of a bowl on a comparatively high foot; in the casting process this must represent a funnel or some kind of opening for the metal to pass into the *vertical* mould (see figure 1, a.). In H.K.N. Vol. IV, p. 151, it has been shown that the Lamma bronzes and the Lamma mould belong to such a technique. We shall meet this technique again below.

Here we may note that the other site HSY (contiguous but supposedly older or at least of a ruder culture) has yielded definite proof of local casting in the shape of the metal droppings or outpourings, apparently from the vicinity of the mouth of the mould: these pieces of patinated bronze were found with a large number of stone flakes (some of a very smoky quartz—obsidian?) evidently the debris of a factory.

Still one more note. An analysis of a piece of bronze, a fragment of a blade from Tai Wan, was made for me by Mr. Simpson, the Tai Ku metallurgist. He was of opinion that the other pieces which show a lead-like lustre would give a similar result:—

* For Shao Yang types found at Lamma compare (30), Plate XXXIII, 7-10, taken from J. G. Anderson, *An early Chinese Culture* Plate VI, 7-10: but compare also (30) Plate XXX, 11, 15, 18 (Norway, Gotland, Finland). Opsimolithic Bone-culture.

Sn. 18.35: Cu. 65.00: Pb., 12.84: Fe & Zn (not possible to give separate values) 3.81 (Compare the analysis of the Dong-son Bronzes in Goloubew: *Age du Bronze* B.E.F.E.O. 1929, p. 46: but there more lead than tin).

An arrow-head gave the astonishing analysis:—

Cu., 40: Fe., 40: Sn. 20,—but that specimen will be published in the next article. The very important piece that comes next belongs to the lead-lustre kind.

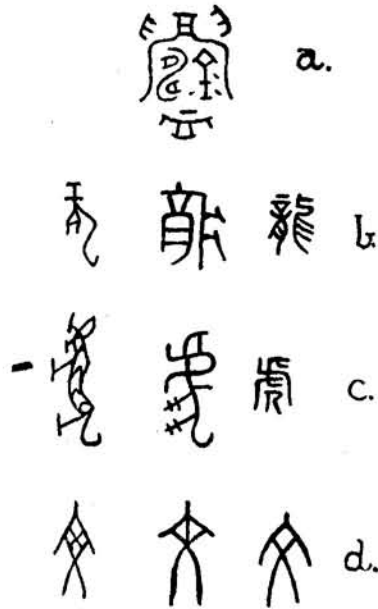


Figure 1.

(a) Shang-Chou (Bronze) Ideograph for Bronze Casting. Modern 鑄. (45) p. 595.

(b)—(d) Series, each of three pictographs, showing ancient forms of (b) 龍, the dragon, (c) 虎, the tiger, (d) 文, now meaning, "written literature," "civilization" and etc. see Giles, Dictionary, No. 12633. In each series, the *first* is a form from An Yang, the "Bone" characters (see 殷契卜辭, Nos. 646, 643 and 殷文字類編 Part 9, 1); the *second* is a form from Shang-chou bronzes (see 說古文籀補 and 補 under the proper character); the *third* is the usual Lesser Seal form.

The small knife,—“bodkin,” because we want to be a bit vague as to its possible use—illustrated in Plate 10, No. 1 is the most interesting thing that I have found on Lamma and I ask for indulgence in being allowed to discuss it at some length. It suggests many lines of research which would entail an enormous amount of illustration: I suppose that those of my readers who are interested will follow for themselves the references. For my part, I wish here to thank Dr. Herklots for his generosity in providing so much illustration even at the cost of his personal work in sketching and preparation. This delightful little piece was found already broken in two pieces, a foot or so apart in the W cut (at its centre) 74 ins. deep. The dimensions are; length .130 m.: greatest width of head, .023; of blade, .015;

the height of the head is for the most part, .020—with an additional .005 for the snout; the pattern on the body is at greatest (diagonal) length, .045; average width .010. The lead lustre is very marked on all outer surfaces, especially looking like white metal at the flatter part about the tip (reverse side); a bronze green patina fills depressions, though under the lead-lustre a dark bronze colour is perceptible in most places.

The shape and technique call for careful attention. It was cast in a double-sided mould: details of back and front do not agree in execution or in register; taken with the evidence of the fins, it is clear that the halves of the mould did not meet properly and the ensuing result spoiled the *à jour* effect designed by the artist. One side of the head has more careful detail than the other and the reverse side of the body is very rough with no ornament but has (below the line of fracture) a carefully made shallow spoon-like hollow reaching down to a narrow rim about the point. A median longitudinal section shows a curve such that if the bodkin were laid on a flat surface with its back face down, the point would be standing free in the air: this peculiar shape together with the other marked curve shown by a transverse section across the blade suggests very obviously the influence of a prototype cut from a bone (or a bamboo tube). The technique conforms to the process of casting in a vertical mould (with the point below) and with the important details concentrated in the "alpha" half of a double mould (see H.K.N., Vol. IV, p. 151-2). These points are also found in the technique of the "assegais," the peculiarly Lamma weapon to be described below, the chief difference being in the head part which shows a rectangular section here and so too down to the fracture (except for a "finger-tip" depression behind the upper spiral of the pattern). The spoon shape is perhaps more marked in this bodkin and suggests the name Pi shau 匕首 (spoon head), a name given in Chinese literature to an ancient type of poignard.

The very distinct calligraphic quality of the ornament of the head suggests the surmise that the "pattern" for the (fire-clay) mould was a piece of carved bone on which the design had first been boldly sketched with a brush and ink. As we now know, even if this object were Chinese, this would not exclude a date earlier than the third century B.C. for Chinese scholars have proved that characters were being *written* on bone or shell before 1000 B.C. (An Yang, (56) pp. 417-418). Perhaps the fineness of the body ornament would have demanded the use of wax, a technique known certainly to the Chinese, if not to others. It speaks for the use of a "pattern" finished by *polishing* that there is a very definite ridge line without prominent ridge-rib down the front face below the band of ornament, just such a boundary as we get on well-polished stone or bone implements.

So much for the technique; now for the exceedingly interesting ornament.

THE HEAD: erect front view. *Left* hand side: above, a snouted upper jaw: below this, the mouth open, and in the gaping space ("horror vacui") an appendage of the jaw (fang or dragon-moustache): next, the lower jaw and beneath it ("horror vacui"), a plume-tuft of beard. Note

a few dots below that again. *Right* hand side: above, the forehead reaching back and down into what may be a horn or a long ear (this member shows some inner relief, so perhaps is an ear). Forehead and jaws are connected by a bold curve in which ("horror vacui") is a pointed lanceolate process difficult to describe in terms of surface anatomy—the whole area seems to correspond to the eye region, as we shall see by analogies to be discussed below. The lanceolate process may be the eye-brow tuft.

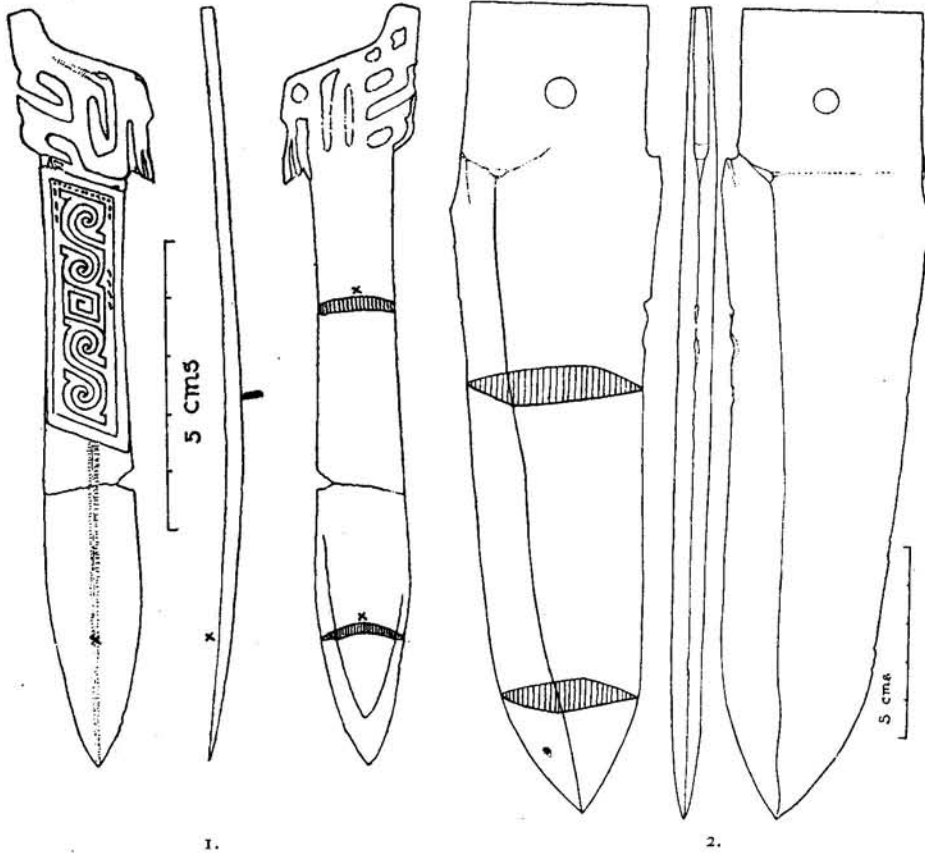


Figure 2.

No. 1:—Zoomorphic "bodkin." Perhaps related to totemistic tattooing as practised by the Yueh peoples. Note that sections indicated are longitudinally concave but transversely convex to the front (decorated face). Compare Nos. 5 and 10.

No. 2:—Stone "knife" which exactly resembles the so-called Chou sacrificial knives of jade—these latter being conventional reproduction of early "ko" forms (so, Pelliot). Note drilling of hole in haft and of corner angle of shoulder.

The reverse gives the same scheme but not all so carefully done; peculiar are two details of the reverse,—one is a distinct opening as if an intended "*à jour*" in the forehead and the other a vaguer indication of nostrils by the snout (see text-figure 2, No. 1).

The neck-line of the head is set at an angle to the horizontal so that the snout stands well up and the beard is clear of the neck line.

THE BODY. On the whole, swelling gradually and gracefully to a sector from which it then tapers to the tail—suggests the merman or a serpent,—and, in Chinese pictures of Han times, such deities as Fuh-hi 伏羲 and Nü Kwa 女媧: on this body, a very well executed, well proportioned panel of ornament. This consists of two double spirals, one on each side of the maze or key motive that is known in Chinese archaeology as the “thunder” pattern: the upper spiral is continuous with the “thunder” field. The panel is framed in lines of trapezoid dots that give the impression of a rope pattern.

It would be easy on the basis of such work as the recent important work of Carl Hentze on *Mythes et Symboles lunaires* (known to me through a very full review in *Anthropus* XXIX, p. 293 sq.) to explain all this as phallic and lunar, for snakes, lances, spears and arrows, double-spirals for lightning (電 i.e., lower part of sign) and the thunder motive all fit in with ideas of moon, water, fertility and the like—even here we have the dragon as well—but I confess to an uneasiness in all those reductions to solar or lunar myths. So here I suggest the rather prosaic interpretation that the central “thunder” motive stands for an externating of the beast’s heart with the upper double-spiral doing the duty of lungs (it is linked to the “heart” actually) and the lower double-spiral substituting for the many important tubular organs of the lower body. It would be possible to explain the whole merely as markings or scales, but there seems to be more organisation than mere external markings would demand: and the panel stops before reaching the hollower part that suggests the beast’s tail: that is, the panel is just where one might expect a not—very—definite beast to keep most of his internal machinery. Again, Mdlle. Colani has found in the Haut Laos at Thao Kham a most interesting little bronze man (very uncertain date, but prehistoric) who has two separate spirals for the nipples on his breast and another for his navel (50) Plate XXXIX, 1: the Laos piece is very crude but belongs to a spiral tradition. Indeed, the double-spirals on our piece suggest affinities with the prehistory of Indo-China where in the “tangent-spiral” form they are very common on decorated bronzes; the little spurs on our spirals are noteworthy—on an Ordos bronze (44), Plate IV, 4a; an ingenious artist using the spiral for a deer’s rump makes the tail of one such projection and the animal’s *foot* of the other. Just such double-spirals are to be found on Dong-son Bronzes (Goloubew, B.E.F.E.O. XXIX, Figure 14 and Plate XVI). There is in truth no definite norm for interpreting the use by an artist in an age of artistic freedom of some widespread motive which lies within his artistic tradition. Above, a meaning is suggested that (1) keeps within the zoomorphic theme, (2) may be supported from the psychological standpoint by an explanation given to Fr. Dore for certain groups of lines in a Chinese charm (51) English Trans: Vol. III, No. 66, p. 253

It is in the explanation of an apotropaic charm acquired in the region to the East of the Grand Canal, therefore the seaboard region of China (Kiangsu Province—and in view of our affinities by the way of sea-migration, H.K.N. Vol. IV, p. 134, this region is very pertinent to our purpose). Fr. Dore’s informant explained a group of strokes with three

members, each consisting of a three gapped comb, as "*intestines, heart and liver* of the Ngao "*sea-monster*." 鯨. I hope to show elsewhere that we have here in Aberdeen, just as right through Fr. Dore's charms, extraordinary survivals of a neolithic cult. The interpretation given is just touching the truth which should be "the stripes of the Black Tiger," but I cite it here chiefly as showing the cult mentality of regarding a magic beast as possessing life by symbolic organs. Actually another of those charms, No. 93 can be best explained as the rebus figure of a spirit: in it too we have spirals in two groups, our above or beside and the other below a figure like an elaborate A: the A suggests the solar plexus region, the upper group would then be ribs and breathing organs, the lower the abdominal region; this is further confirmed by the topmost sign of all (above the first spirals) which suggests a face, whereas the lowest is a familiar cabalistic sign combining apparently the equivalents of Linga and Yoni. However I am not very much concerned if my suggestion is adopted, for the immediate source of spiral motives—the Danubian Bandkeramic Culture of the Neolithic period—shows spirals on pottery images that are now acknowledged to be body-painted or tattooed cult images: and on those a *rhomboidal* region is found on the lower front of the trunk separating often spirals above and below. Thus the upper spirals might be the breast and the lower vulvar. The remoter ancestor, the Miolithic Magdalenian, obviously developed the double spiral out of a pair of eyes—hence its affinity to the breast motive. But I shall have more to say about this below.

As to the frame about the spiral panel, the apparent suggestion of the tress motive might be thought to give us a date—and that a fairly late one (say in the first century B.C. or A.D.)—but the idea that this motive reached the Hwai Valley about the third century B.C. (28) p. 115-6, seems to be under revision by those best qualified to speak on the subject, the Stockholm experts (49), p. 225: it seems that the Hwai Valley style may now go back to the seventh century B.C. We should note here that the same scholars also think that they are in the position to assign a style to the lower Yang Tsze Region (both banks) in which the double-spiral is typical (avant-propos by Andersson) (28) p. 100: as I am not aware that the pertinent pieces have been yet published, I record this view here, for we may have to look there for dating of our spirals. It points perhaps also to the rehabilitation of Arousseau's Yueh theory (46) in the form of a common remoter origin for the Yueh Kingdoms.

Now we come to discuss the head—and I am afraid that it will take some time for it presents some important hints. Comparison with Chinese art of the Chou, Ts'in, Han and even later suggests immediately that it is a dragon's head—(48), Nos. 49, 62, 92 the snout, "moustache," beard and horn seem sure marks. The body of a dragon is often rendered in two-dimensional art by a long stripe with parallel sides but showing a bend upwards in the centre and kinds of fins or feet below; such a piece of Chou bronze is in the Eumorfopoulos Collection, another perhaps closer to our dragon is of late Chou date (48) No. 49 and the same style is found on textiles of *Hainan* Island made by the Li tribes (47) Tafel XXXIII, 1. This last is interesting in view of the relations shown to exist between

Tongking finds and our Lamma ones (H.K. Vol. V, p. 51). Compare also (11), Plate 12.

Between the Red River region and Hong Kong the coasting link is always the more likely and Hainan is intermediate. But if following up the clue of the calligraphic quality of the lines, we compare our "dragon" with Chinese characters, it is not the dragon but the tiger's head that shows a striking similarity in structure. Figure 1, c. shows the oldest form of reliable dating (about 1300 B.C. from the "bone characters" of Anyang) and we see the same lines in the later form of the Han—"Lesser Seal." The likeness to our figure is clear: one might descend to details, of snout, mouth and its fangs or beard but the general scheme of lines is apt illustration for our piece. I do not want to press the joint more than to take it as evidence of close relation to Chinese technique. It does not very much matter whether the beast is of any determinable species of the genus "mythical beast," just as the *precise* interpretation of the spirals in an anatomical sense is of no great value except in the general lines of the motive as determinable by what we know of the art of China and this region. However, we note that the ancient "dragon" character, Figure 1, b, and its modern derivative 龍 emphasize rather the dragon's horn standing erect over a down-turned head: that makes the left hand side 音 of the modern character and it now has parted company with the grand curve of the body with its bristling ornaments (the right hand side)—Only this curved sweep ㄣ finds its echo in our "head."

A larger and very wide question now presents itself: in intimate relation to that dragon body-line it really might open up a long research into Early Chinese artistic motives. There is to be found on objects of bone, ivory, bronze and perhaps also of jade a certain scheme of lines underlying zoomorphic designs; the scheme taken as a unit in itself has a definite schematic relation to the well know "tao t'ieh" head motive if it be repeated in opposed pairs usually so that the tail curves become the big horns and the "scheme's" horns coalesce to make the central horn. (cp. (6), IV, 周羊鼎; VII 周史尊). I am not aware that this suggestion has been made before: as it has some value for my present research, I must in consequence wander a bit far from Lamma for a while: most of the instances referred to in illustration are of the style of art proved to be associated with An Yang—whether that must necessarily be taken to be about 1300 B.C. is a question that has disputants for both sides: it is evidently earlier than the late Chou and the evidence of the "bone and carapace oracles" does seem definitely to place it in the late Shang—but it might be argued that bones and bronzes do not really belong to the same period nor the pottery (especially the famous white stuff and the recently discovered glazed stuff—(58) pp. 680-1), though these are for us here of primary importance. It is anyhow definitely Chinese and of the historical culture and it is also the art of An Yang,—so we may call it the An Yang type of Chinese art (11), Plate 13.

In this style the recurrent scheme is this; in a field that in generally trapezoid, one side presents a gap as of a mouth orifice seen in profile: associated with this above or/and below are some short incurving

(Schnörkel) lines: the other side of the trapezoid shows at the lower part a bold curve: above that some straighter lines that do duty as horn or crest-tuft. Figure 3 (10), (12), shows a broken up zoomorphic pattern that reverts to the general scheme. The scheme admits of very varied application as it is simply an animal head with open mouth and at the opposite side a tail member. But the surprising thing is the variety of figures which can be worked out on this scheme. Figures 3-5 show instances. The scheme is often used for the handles of weapons (knives, "ko" processes on Chinese axes derived from the shouldered axe type) or for the heads of hair pins (bone or ivory). It may be used vertically as in representing a bird standing so that the figure from feet to head continues the line of the blade or of the pin, Figures 3 (13), 4. It may be used horizontally so that the blade or pin issues from the mouth aperture and the tail-sweep rounds off the upper extremity of the article decorated. Figure 3 (9). (See (11) Plate 10.A).

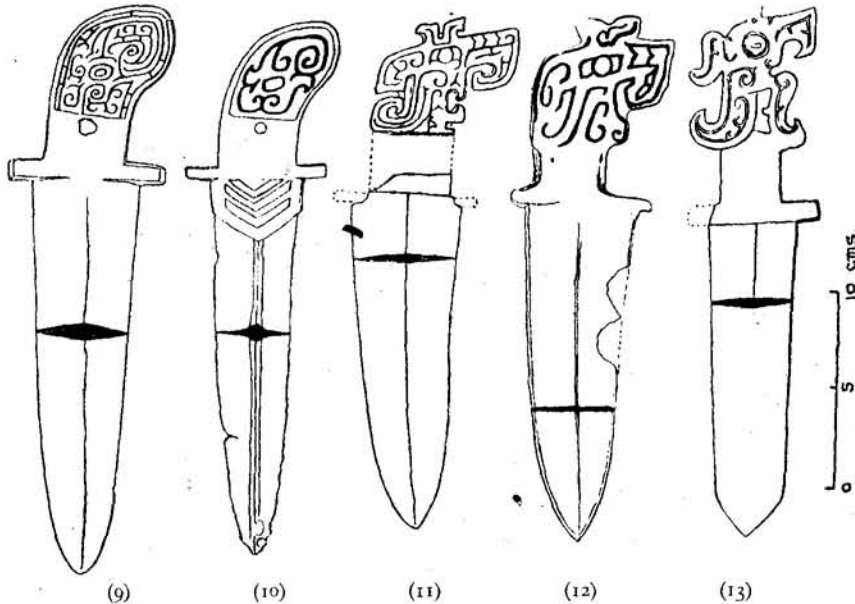


Figure 3:—Chinese Bronze Weapons of early "ko" form. Reproduced from S. Umehara (57), Plate 12, (numbered 9-13 as in original publication).

It may depict a monster with gaping mouth whose hinder parts become a bunch of spiral bands in which one may distinguish elements starting from the upper back as well as from the rump or tail: or it may be a bird in which the mouth part changes into a robin like breast and the "lower jaw" becomes feet and claws.

And it can even be traced in the feet of bronze vessels where the foot is a whole bird or dragon whose tail makes the standing surface (11) Plate 27: (48) No. 3.

Generally speaking, it is noticeable that the eye keeps its function amid most of the metamorphoses; it is on that account that I think we

must find the eye amid the loop on our piece. Cp. eyes and nose on prehistoric pottery—a schematic t'ao t'ieh (11) Plate 6. The scheme was very lasting and we find it developed freely but still surviving on the spoons from the famous Pao Chi hsien set Metrop. Museum, N.Y. (11) Plate 35: these spoons seem to be at least late Chow if not already Ts'in (third century B.C.)*

Our head belongs to the scheme but with peculiar characteristics that are not found on other pieces to my knowledge. It is merely a head—and so the tail region of the other pieces is drawn here into the back of the head. There is none of the refined detail usual on the other specimens. But the scheme is there and one would place it morphologically between the An Yang bronze knives (see text-figure 4) and the Pao chi spoons. Note particularly (11), Plate 11.A.

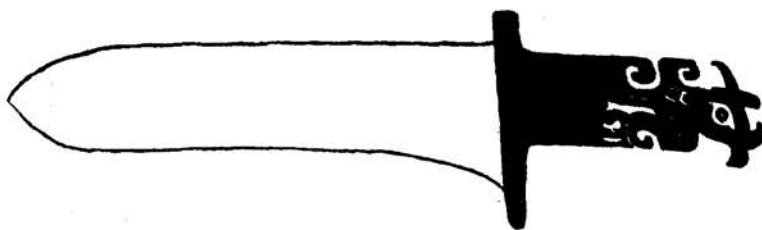


Figure 4:—Bronze Sacrificial Knife from An Yang. Re-drawn from (61) p. 276.

Possibly our piece was intended for binding on to something as one might conclude from the rougher finish of the back; the broad undecorated surfaces of the front might then have been covered by a binding of coloured material, even gold wire, which would have come up through the empty spaces left à jour in the design.

Combining head and body, we have obviously a "Bestiarium" creature which it will task the Hong Kong Naturalist to classify. It is always possible that the spirals on the body with their little spurs indicate feet,—but even so the body is dragon-like. We may compare the serpent (—) like beast that makes the rib of the "ko" in figure 5: he has taken the place of the chief beast's tongue there; but he has a body like our animal though his head is more serpent-like. The extent of decoration on it is like that on our figure and it is there the diaper such as is so usual on pottery; doubtless, scales.

Now, our monster as a decorated *whole* will occupy us profitably. In the second century B.C., it was the commonplace of Chinese writers to say of the Southern people of the Yuch 越 (confessedly the "indigenous" people whom the "Chinese" found in these regions of ours) that "But little of the people's occupation is in land business: most is on the waters: so the people keep their hair short and TATOO THEIR BODIES to be like the scaly 'varmint'" (Hwai Nan Tsze) before 123 B.C. (46) p. 249, note, sqq. The particular 'varmint' is otherwise described as a dragon or a

* Note the socketed celt in the Eumorfopoulos Bronzes, A. 163 which has † (as on our bronze H.K.N., Vol. IV, Pl. 20, No. 6) and the "Tao T'ieh" and this scheme.

“kiao” 蛟 which commentators suppose to be an alligator: the idea of tattooing being explained as a kind of camouflage to escape the maw of the beast. Anthropologists are in no doubt about the totemistic contexts of the custom. My purpose in this quotation is obvious: we have here a monster of the *dragon* breed: his body is decorated with the *spirals* so common a motive in the *tattooing* from Dyaks and the rest down to the Maoris: the piece comes from the region once inhabited by the Yueh who were just such a totemistic people. Was this beast their totem? And his markings their tattooing pattern? But we must also remember that modern Chinese archaeologists accept the evidence (45) (56) of a statue from An Yang for the practice of tattooing by the Chinese of that culture and even further argue from it (and the use of rice and the buffalo) to an important strain of Southern influence in that civilization (56), p. 104.

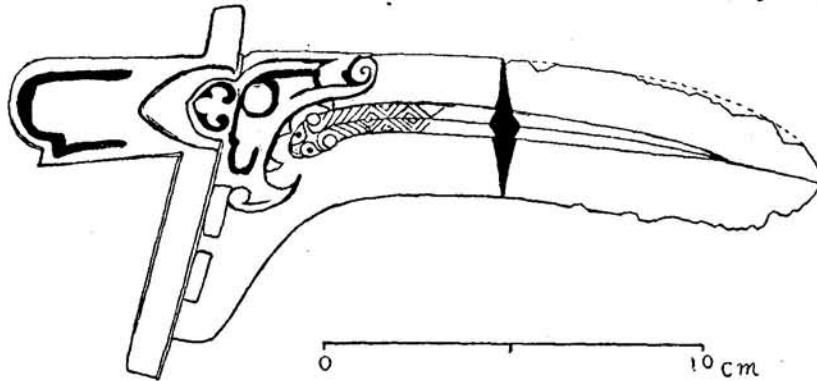


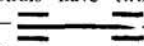
Figure 5:—Bronze “ko” with zoomorphic decoration. Reproduced from S. Umehara (57), Plate 15, ii.

Very ancient use of tattooing by the Chinese people seems to be proved by the character 文 (“wen,” now used for “literature, culture,” as well as in the older significance of “written strokes”). The two characters 文身 are used to describe tattooing: the second is a pictograph of the human body and the first in its An Yang form and subsequent shapes is certainly the pictograph of a man seen displaying a good area of the front of his trunk: on this central trunk space there are usually markings, see figure 1, d, and this would seem to be the particular ideographic value—the tattoo marks: the fact of the character being in use at An Yang postulates an earlier origin—but that touches the great mystery of the origin of Chinese characters which still awaits its solution from archaeology. In the bone characters, it is already found in the classical contrast 文武 wen wu, “Civil and Military (officials),” showing by its very meaning considerable evolution from the “tattooed man” (just as the “nose” sign was already used in Shang times for the meaning “from”; H.K.N. Vol. III, p. 222). We can only conceive a bridge by deriving the origin of writing (or of the honourable profession of the scribe) out of the religiously valent tattoo strokes (or from the guild of tattoo-men); perhaps the “civil officers” are the medicine men or privileged men as distinct from the fighting men—wu (a character showing the ‘ko’ halberd over the marching foot or the war-dance). This may seem a wayward diversion, but in

reality I wish to point out the possibilities of connection: EITHER (1) of the piece directly with Chinese An Yang culture as already suggested by the independent examination of the head part, OR (2) of the relation of the Yueh people to the An Yang Chinese if we regard the piece as being clearly of the Yueh (the Bear is likely to have been the totem of the Yellow River people, as in the myth of Ti Yü, the great Flood expert, or the tortoise) "whose business was in the waters." To what extent were the Yueh the brothers of the Chinese? There is a very interesting question which I should like to see answered by archaeology—and I think the answer would clear up our finds.*

The importance I attach to this may be suggested by the following indications which it seems to me I should now put out boldly though they may be received with much misgiving: I am well aware of the difficulties they present in view of the present defective knowledge of Chinese beginnings. There is a very definite connection between the Lamma finds and the An Yang finds. I am allowed by Professor Shellshear to refer here to his remarkable short sword or dagger in bronze from Lamma. He has deposited it in the British Museum; I am writing from my notes for which he kindly gave me the chance of a close study of the piece when it had been found: the nearest parallel I know for the very attractive scroll panels, three in number, is to be found on the very distinctive white ware from An Yang—the "Leitfossil" of that site. This ornament is based on a peculiar development of the double (abcurving) spiral in which S lines are combined with a sort of H with double central bar. In turn, I now believe that the "Double F pattern" of H.K.N. Vol. III, p. 233 sqq. is intimately related to this pattern from An Yang. Mr. Sueji Umehara's book (42) is here indispensable for illustration and I am afraid it is hard to come by. The pattern I refer to on the An Yang wares is to be found (42) on plates XXV and XXX or on Plate VI of (58). Furthermore our fragment H.K.N. Vol. IV, Plate 13, fragment 11 is closely related to the

* The zoomorphic scheme (mouth, curling tail) paired in another way that might make the t'ao-t'ieh appears on the Dong Son Bronzes (Golubew. B.E.F.E.O. XXIX, Plate XVI) and on a bronze from Nanh-binh B.E.F.E.O. XXVII, Plate XXVI.

[Note: Developing this idea of tattooing as a practice of ancient date in China and still lasting at least to the closing century of the Shang period, if the explanation of the character Wen 文 given above is right, one might suggest that the Price of the West Ch'ang 昌, the father of the founder of the Chou has an unsuspected appropriateness in the post-humous honorific, King Wen 文王. We recall that he busied himself with the mystic and sacred signs known as the Eight Diagrams, revising them in new combinations: we recall further that those diagrams were first revealed in the mythical period to Fuh-hi (whom Chinese Art even in the Han period represented as a kind of man-dragon or man-serpent) as signs on the back of a beast emerging from the waters of the River. This looks very much at home in a totemistic origin for the very important Wen signs and would suggest a line of research to test whether the Eight Diagrams are not in origin certain ritual scarifications of totemistic value (class or tribe). If one were to substitute for the markings on our bodkin the whole and broken lines of the diagrams, one would naturally, take the broken lines for the spirals and the whole line for the central square meander: the spirals have two distinct members at each end of the link. We should thus have the symbol:— symbol for water! Perhaps our beast is a descendant of the original totem that appeared to Fu hi."]

design (42) Plate XVIII, 2 and I have since found fragments of this style in a technique recalling the cloissonée metal work already in practise in the An Yang culture. Further, glazed ware has been found at An Yang (58) p. 68; analysis has shown the glaze to be felspathic (not the usual early lead glaze): a specimen of our glazed cups, H.K.N. Vol. IV, pp. 58 sqq. has been subjected to fire tests and trial analysis which prove a felspathic glaze that did not melt below 950° C. (the highest controlled temperature to which the piece was subjected). As to the "Double F" ware, the site YSW, practically continuous with Tai Wan (but unfortunately almost impossible to investigate because of occupation), has yielded many fragments apparently of an earlier but similar stone ware which shows a clear double spiral that must be the origin of our "Double F"—and that spiral with its dividing curves is amazingly like the Magdalenian carvings as in (30) Taf. XV, 10, more than any resemblance it has to Danubian Band Keramik stamps such as (30) T. XLIII, 8: it seems to be the break-up of this motive that gives the circles of H.K.N. Vol. III, Plate 37, fragments 13-15. Thus we knit our wares to the same spirals as on the distinctive An Yang wares. But we too have a couple of varieties of stone knives such as those of An Yang: also similar bronze arrow-heads. It is only our "ko" type that seems certainly later than the prevalent An Yang type: ours is of the type with three main holes and one subsidiary upper hole—and that has been dated by Li Tsai to late Chou—but that we shall discuss in a future article. The Yueh people had some distinctive relation to the "Ko" 戈 weapon: 越 and bronze weapons. There are too the "trade-marks" H.K.N. Vol. IV, p. 60, and I am almost ashamed to admit that I think they can put up a good case for being related to the Yin writing: I say "ashamed," for I am conscious of the apparent folly—perhaps before I come to the crucial moment of discussion, I shall have more direction for my way. At present, I think we must take the bronze as contemporary with the pottery of "Double F" and kindred types including the glazed cups and say that it stands in some unexplained but close relation to the An Yang culture; the "ko" shapes apparently from the finds are contemporary and may force a later date, let us say provisionally middle of the first millennium B.C. The interval between that and the supposed date of An Yang perhaps could be bridged, if we could suppose that the Yueh were really very closely akin to the Yellow River people and had come South—or let us say remained South—after they had parted with the people who settled in the North. Some such idea and not a wholesale expulsion might explain the existence of a Yueh Kingdom near the mouth of the Yang Tsze. M. Arousseau's famous paper (46) has sharpened a problem which may thus find another reintegration. Of course, we have the still more astounding relations to the Yang Shiao prehistoric culture and this forces on us the hypothesis of a conservation in one Southern culture of elements which got separated in the North: I here would refer for the first time to some fragments, apparently only one pot, which show a "sun-cross-wheel" motive associated with big curving lines that in the parts extant intersect like the ogives of mediaeval "fischbalg" seals—the relation to the Tripolje type of Yang Shiao spiralling seems obvious: above I have mentioned other contacts: I hope some day to illustrate them convincingly.

There remains still the discussion of the purpose of this implement—and that will come after we have described the next and very closely related group of objects.

This is a group of ten dart tips made of bronze—"assegais" is a convenient name. As far as I can see from available literature, this precise type of weapon is not known from elsewhere in China: it would be daring to say that it has never been found in other cultures—but this I can say and it is to me amazing;—one of the most like things I have come across in books is the type of bone arrow-head from the Solutrean and Magdalenian of Cantabria (Spain: Magdalenian in South France): these are thus described in (30) p. 155: "The curved bone arrow-head of the Cantabrian Solutrean is found in the Magdalenian there as well as in the South of France: it is then somewhat more markedly curved and has a larger attachment surface for the shaft." The picture (30) Taf. XIII, 16 shows the complete likeness. It must be recorded in passing that stone "coups de poign" of *Asturian* type have been found on the apparently slightly earlier HSY and similar sites (possibly here, it should be called Hoa-binhian from the Indo-China type). What the significance of this resemblance may be, cannot be said for the present, save that these pieces are still more convincingly developed from a bone prototype than the bodkin described above. Figure 6 shows how perfectly the curve is of the bone technique. In one piece the curvature longitudinally is as much as 5 mm. on a length originally about 80 mm. (No. 9).

About the nature of this weapon we have no doubt, for by an extraordinary chance one of the pieces, Plate 11, figures 13, 14, retains still some of the original mounting. A thin skin of bamboo fibre was laid lengthwise along the external (relative to the hollow side) surface. The bamboo shaft was laid in the central hollow and to hold this more securely there is sometimes (Nos. 7, 5, 12) a central stud or rib on the bronze: the shaft was then wrapped round with a light sheet of fabric (bark-cloth?) and then bound firmly with strings which look like our modern hempen twine. In most cases there is a ridge on the external face as far as which the binding comes. Probably it is owing to the wrapping in fabric that most of the specimens retain on the outside face very clear imprint of the binding cords which were sometimes very neatly crossed (No. 12 and No. 5), sometimes just bound straight across. I can find no trace of such a binding as de Morgan gives for a rather similar shaped flint harpoon tip from Helwan in Egypt (59), figure 83, 4: consequently the tip must have been assymmetrically placed unless they could be mounted in pairs: our piece Nos. 13, 14 was certainly single. That it was a weapon would follow from the design of an arrow-head rendered in line-relief towards the tip of No. 10 (fig. 6) in which the bronze's central ridge does duty in the design for the shaft. One peculiarity of the hafting follows a very primitive bone technique in a very interesting way; Nos. 7, 6, 13, 14, show a notched outline at the butt end which is not a fracture but a deliberate use: in No. 13 it is seen actually hafted. This takes us back again to Solutrean (stone arrow-tips) e.g. (30), Plate XIII, 3—which is from the Grotte des Harpons, the same place which gives spirals like ours described above! But a real bone parallel is provided

by a dagger from the "opsimolithic" Angara culture (a very possible line of influence for China) which shows in addition a decorative motive directly derived from a binding such as No. 12 shows—the dagger (30) Plate XXXI, is much bigger, but it is like enough to our piece except that it is straight.

These weapons are certainly contemporary with the "bodkin": this is apparent from the technique as well as from the finding of a very good specimen recently (not figured here) on the same level and not far from the site of the "bodkin"; in two cases they have been found with polishing stones (III P objects), No. 9 and the recent specimen; three were found in the E cut, No. 5 and No. 12 at 4 ft. 8 ins., No. 9 at 5 ft. 8 in.: close to this last was found a cup with "trade mark" as H.K.N. IV, Plate 12, 7. But along with Nos. 5 and 12 which were found together were two bronze arrow-heads, a bronze dagger (or spear-head) and two stone rings of the III P type: nearby were found more arrow-heads and a typical "ko." The dagger was of exactly the same shape as a smaller weapon found near the "bodkin." It should be noted that the tip of No. 5 was found at a considerable distance and at a slightly lower level. No. 6 which I have deposited in the Ecole Française at Hanoi was also found in two pieces, one above the other; the tip end at 36 ins., the butt at 46. Nos. 7 and 10 respectively at B 36" and K 35".

Nos. 8 and 11, I acquired from the foki of a sand-junk who had himself dug them out and was positive in asserting that they had been dug out at about two feet from the surface: he contradicted his own men who suggested a lower depth.

Many circumstances confirm their dating as contemporary with the other bronzes. First: most of them show a lead-lustre surface: even in the Plate 11, the white shine on No. 5 is obvious. Secondly, the use of the "stop-ridge" on the convex exterior is to be compared with the stepped axes, both stone and bronze (H.K.N. Vol. IV, pp. 139, 148): the butt was not inserted as awls are into a handle but was simply tied on to a shaft (figures 13, 14) and the purpose of the step was to keep the surface of the binding down to the level of the weapon's face. Thirdly, on Nos. 8, 11, 12 and the other one which has been recently found, there is a motive of spiral ornaments symmetrically placed about the central ridge from this stop-ridge for a centimetre or so towards the point: on none of the specimens is it well worked out, but seems to an amateurish attempt at ornament: the motive appears to be that of the "T'ao t'ieh" head: this has been found on a socketed celt (now in the British Museum) at Lamma by Professor Shellshear; above we have pointed out how the "T'ao t'ieh" motive is connected with the head of our bodkin. See text-figure 6, Nos. 11, 12.

The great importance of this group of weapons is the distinct bridge it makes between a time when darts were made of bone and a time when bronze was plentiful enough to run the risk of losing it by a cast. A very definite bone parallel is given us by the find in the neolithic (not chalcolithic) shell-heap of Tosando (near Fusan, Korea) of a *very similar implement of bone*, showing the same double curvature (35) Vol. V, Part 4, Plate IV, No. 7 (and 6): the context of the Korean piece included stone-implements

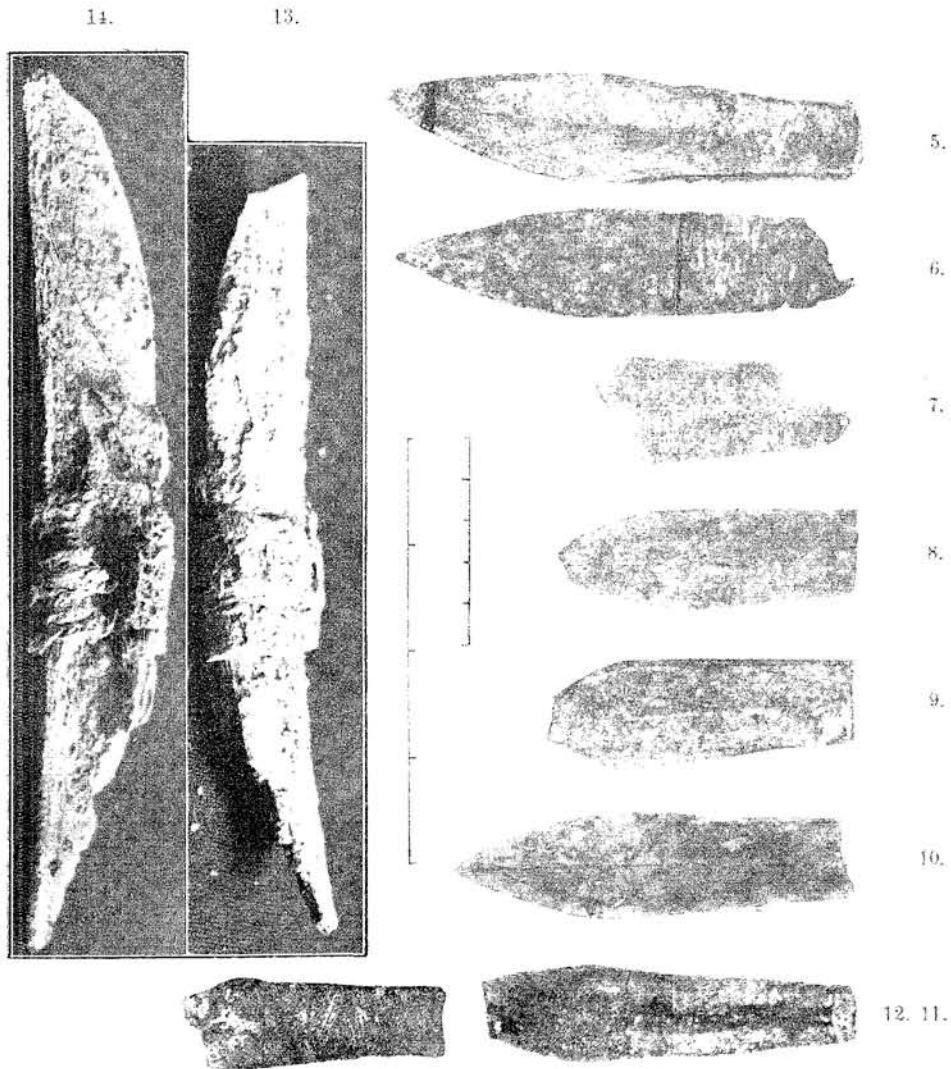


Plate 11. Nos. 5-13. Bronze "assegai" tips. A form of weapon seemingly never yet found outside Lamna. Important sections are given in the text-figure illustrating figures 5 and 10. Nos. 13-14 are two views of the one weapon (slightly different scale) which still keeps fragmentary remains of the shaft and the binding: No. 13 is lateral exterior view; No. 14 shows interior with burst string binding; in both views the tip is above. Scales in centimetres.

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of a protoneolithic type that we get at HSY, (the earlier site) at Lamma (35) id., Plate III. This link with Korea, is of great importance and we shall come back to it later. But the bone parallel from Korea sets us off in the direction of the Northern steppes to look for links, and we shall come back to the bodkin against.

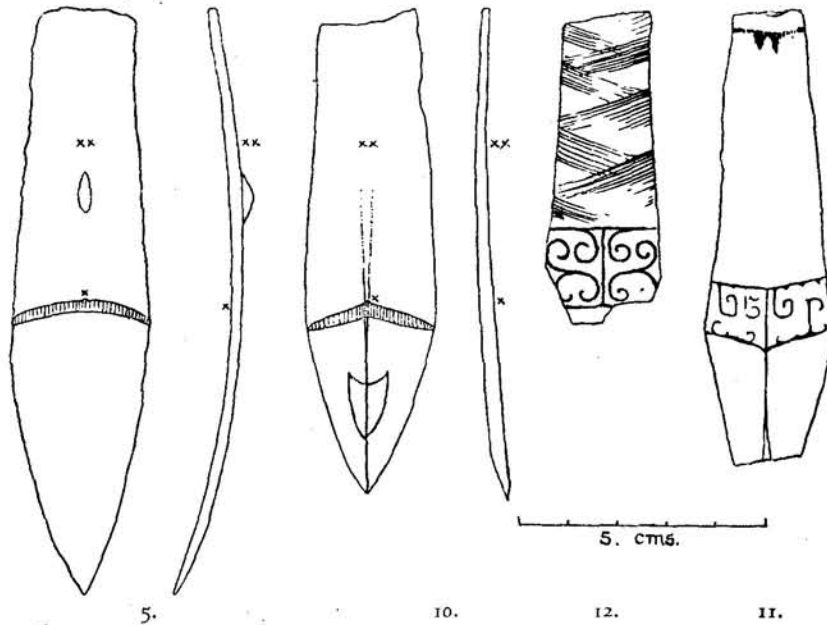


Figure 6.
 No. 5:—Bronze "assegai" tip. Note: stop-button is on the inner *concave* face which was applied to the shaft (see Nos. 13 and 14). It is difficult to realize that the longitudinal section is convex to that face.
 Nos. 10-12:—Bronze "assegai" tips showing decoration of outer face. Motives are in raised (cast) ribs. No. 10, has design of barbed *arrow* (of type found often in Japan in stone or bronze): Nos. 11 and 12, scrolls developed from degraded "t'ao t'ieh" head. No. 12 shows very distinctly the traces of the lashing to the shaft (two crossing "tapes" of fibrous texture—bark cloth?—were used, so too No. 5; whereas Nos. 6, 7, 13 show plain transverse wrapping).

Another parallel of great importance (to which I have referred already in H.K.N. Vol. IV, p. 136) is from Dr. van Stein Callenfels' work on Guva Lawa at Sampung (Java) (20) Plate XI, E and F (page 22 of the text refers to Plate IX, evidently by a printer's error). E seems to be an arrow-head of bone, 6.1 cms. in length, and F an "assegai" now broken in two (like our No. 6, the fracture probably indicates the top of the shaft) but apparently originally 9-10 cms. long: both pieces were found in the trial excavation of this famous site where Dr. Callenfels revealed the strange phenomenon of a completely bone-using culture lying between two neolithic facies. (20) does not give cross or length sections: so we do not know to what extent these pieces agree exactly with the Korean bone and our bronze: they seem however to show an inner hollow and the peculiar slicing off of one side of the butt as on our Nos. 6, 7, 13 (14). Of the Korean specimens one (No. 7) has two pointed extremities; the other (No. 6)

finishes like our No. 10 but is given in (35) as broken. Dr. Callenfels (20) p. 28 has discussed the puzzling likeness of his bone-artefacts with those of Mdle. Colani in "the Province of Hoa-Binh" (60) Plates IV, VI, IX, and by certain other considerations is led to look to Japan for a solution: the big difficulty being that Hoa-binhian is regarded as palaeolithic, whereas the Sampung bone things must be of neolithic date. Now, it is an obvious fact that the archaeology of these regions is as yet far from being clear—and it is patent that Lamma (and Hong Kong) finds add their quota of mystification. So here we anticipate by indicating that the Hoa-binhian "coups de poign," the derived "hand-spitze" type and the well-known Hoa-binhian "hache courte" have turned up on our Lamma sites and even on other parallel sites on the main island. It looks very rash to suggest such things where the authorities of Mdle. Colani and Dr. Callenfels have pointed otherwise, but it seems to me that a palaeolithic culture must have gone on side by side with a neolithic right up to a time when bronze broke in. "Palaeoliths" and "protoneoliths" seem to be the usual accompaniments of rude black corded pottery (in greater bulk, with other soft wares in smaller quantity) and sometimes even of neolithic III P axes.*

It was noted above that the head of our No. 1 is set at an angle so that it and the neck line slopes up. Looking behind the actual motive employed—it seems that an archaeologist must be imaginative and daringly so—it is possible to see in this a grouping of lines which in other bone or horn arts produces the figure e.g. of a wild goat or a horned beast standing on ground that slopes upward with feet converging to the rock on which it stands—the "good shot" beloved by the hunter of all ages. This occurs frequently in the art of the Steppes, whatever it be called—"Scythian," "Ordos" and the rest: it is found on the beautiful pottery of Susa I and it inspires the ivory combs of Badarian art (Egyptian mixoneolithic (30) pl. XXXVIII, 7 or the bone of the Northern European Bone culture (Gotland Opsimolithic Kammkeramic (30) XXX, 21). Mas d'Azil shows a miolithic but very beautiful example (54) figure 117, 2, on a throwing-stick of Quaternary times. This suggests that the big spiralling curves of the Chinese An Yang scheme go back to the comb teeth of the earlier bone pieces for their tradition: thus we should have a link back away across Asia to an art inspired by the hunting on more northerly steppes or mountains. But thus we should also be content to find the relations of our bodkin to An Yang motives based in some *tertium quid* on which each draws in its own way.

As to the purpose of the bodkin, analogy suggests that it was either ornamental or ritual: not for any very rough use—it can hardly have been intended for mounting like the assegais. Perhaps it was a hair-pin (such as the Hoklo boat people from Fukien wear in pairs)—perhaps a tattooing knife (but the analogy of Polynesian implements is against that)—perhaps a token gift or "diploma" see (45) IV for interesting revelation of such a custom at An Yang (but then the unfinished quality of the back does not

* See however v. Stein Callenfels and I. H. N. Evans: Report on Cave Excavations in Perak (1927) p. 12 for results in direction of text.

commend it)—it seems too good for a knitting needle (for nets or in weaving)—but it has been at any rate a long theme.

Our next piece is a very beautiful specimen of a very definite type; Plate 10, No. 2. It is a knife (of primitive "ko" type) very carefully polished from a metamorphosed schist richly powdered with bright golden spots of pyrrhites. Though it is of stone, I include it here, as if found alone, it would be immediately described as, "a sacrificial knife of the Chou period." All the well-known books illustrating early Chinese art reproduce pieces closely resembling our piece but in jade, not stone. Figures 3, 4, above show the same shape as found in the bronze implements of the An Yang and typical Chinese bronzes. The very distinctive shape showing asymmetric sides of the blade, so that the chief cutting blade is concave is found too in the fourth period of the European Bronze age (54), Figure 61, No. 28. It is this shape which gave the Chinese "ko" or halberd and which should have the two qualities of sure entrance by its point and throat-cutting at the concave curve (well-known passage in the "*K'ao Kung Ki*" re the ko). This piece has the hole in the handle pierced from one side only: this Professor Pelliot takes for similar jade pieces as a sign of earlier dating—i.e. about the late Chou. In his (35), Plate V, 1 and 2 will be found very similar pieces which he dates as "End of Chou." His notes on these pieces in his introduction are (pp. 15-20) of great interest when applied to our piece; "Our jade 'knives' would then be the final stage of evolution of the halberds ('haches-poignards') but they have never been hafted. If this exposition is correct, we have from it just this indication of date, that our 'knives' must go as far back as a time when there was still a tradition surviving from the ancient stone halberds. But this tradition which had already admitted much change took shape in types which by comparison with the real old stone halberds of the neolithic period had gone through a long evolution, and yet were very different from the bronze halberds then in actual use. In other words we should be dealing with artificial types—and in consequence with objects of a relatively late date." There is an authoritative opinion of a great authority: actually Professor Pelliot saw this piece (and was delighted with it) and pointed out its actual resemblance to the objects of his study. I would suggest that the prototype of this implement may be fashioned from a polished tooth (e.g. lamina from an elephant's tooth such as I have found at ALC site near here). This would explain the peculiar grooving and serration so often occurring on the butts of the jade specimens. A mammoth rib makes a like knife (30) T.XXII.

One peculiar feature is the system of bevelling by which the ridge made by the bevels on the other face from that photographed is worked completely very near the concave edge. Note the section in text-figure 2.

The piece was found long before the Government excavations, somewhere about the latter cut A at a depth of 27 ins. Pelliot remarks that all pieces of known provenance are from tombs: ours is certainly not. Perhaps it was a "pattern" for casting. At Lamma, it *falls into line* with a whole series of polished pointed weapons in blue-black schistic stone: specimens

come from Tai Wan, HSY (mostly but not all very fragmentary) and YSW. Menghin (30) p. 245 connects this type of implements very confidently with the North European Bone culture, and that of Angara. Certainly Yang Shiao and Binh ca though far apart yield other parallels, and South Manchuria and Japan also come in: but of that in our next. H-G brings all that style into his III P. (25). For the present we are content with this definite link with at least the Late Chou of the Yellow River People. But it looks as if skilled workers in stone had here *copied* the jade of the North into a schistic material more familiar to them.*

The next piece introduces another characteristic type of Lamma weapon, probably to be described as a spear-head rather than as a dagger: daggers in these regions usually have the handle cast as one piece with the blade whereas we have a fair number of whole pieces or fragments showing the tang with a hole: we have also one real dagger with its handle, and the outline of its blade differs entirely from these pieces. Typically all these spear-heads show a clear-cut shoulder meeting the tang at right-angles: from the point of the shoulder, the blade (each of the two edges) flows in a concave curve which near the point region passes by a slightly convex section into the actual tapering lines of the point—altogether a very pleasing shape: this will appear better on other specimens later. Janse's important article (53) does not show any with quite the same lines, though the scheme of tang with the marked ridge would fall under his D Class, section III which he would put at the earliest at the end of Chou (53) p. 100. This piece was found in five different fragments well separated in the ground: three before the Government dig—at 17, 24, 32 ins. respectively and one fragment in A at 36 ins. and the tang fragment in B at about 24 ins. Accompanying these were pieces of black rough ware with a conventional branch pattern (variation of corded *au panier* style), cp. H.K.N. Vol. IV, Plate 13, 4 for pattern, but here in a much rougher execution and ware; also fragments of the greenish ware that imitates bronze, ib. p. 67. Everything points to this belonging to the same style as the assegais and bodkin above and that it is local seems to be indicated by the unfinished condition of the casting at various points about the edges—the fins seem never to have been trimmed: the pattern seems blurred as if it had not been a good casting, but the oxidization makes it difficult to pronounce confidently as to this.

The pattern on the blade is not visible in the Plate 10, No. 3: it runs in two symmetrical strips down each side of the central rib on each face of the blade—but there is not complete symmetry between the two faces: the pattern starts at a different element on each side though the elements of the motive seem to be the same everywhere. The design is made up of maze (meander) oblongs (thunder motive as above) broken into groups by minor groups of antithetically juxtaposed triangles; the dividing lines of the scheme are planned at an angle to the horizontal as on the spiral panel of the bodkin. This arrangement is strangely comparable to a "mystery" pattern cut into a tree by the Australian aborigines and not to be seen by

* Street-hawkers in Hong Kong use an implement of similar shape (*bone* or *shell*) for skinning and dividing pumelos.

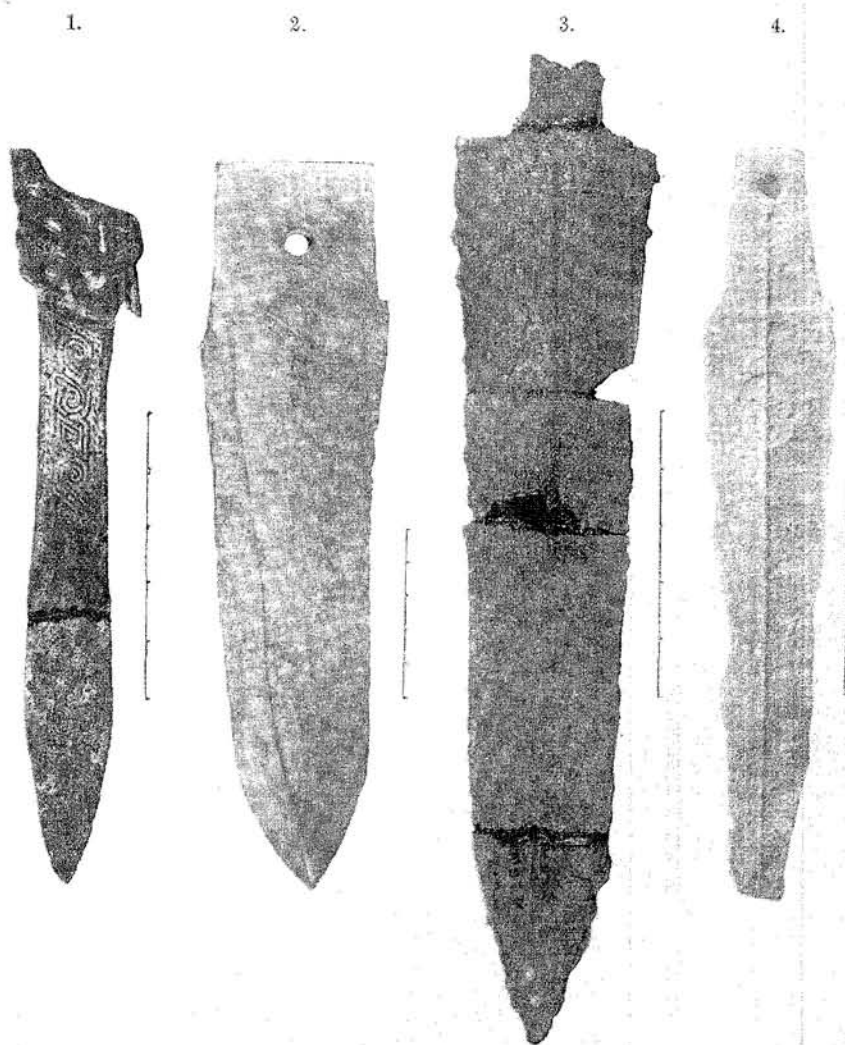


Plate 10. No. 1. Bronze "Bodkin".
No. 2. Stone "knife" (or conventional "ko").
Nos. 3-4. Bronze "daggers" or (more likely) spearheads.

Scales in centimetres.

the profane (47) figure 19. It stops well short of the weapon's point and ends itself in a pointed tip. It is not a typically Chinese pattern though it has likeness to such An Yang motives as (45) Part I, Plate XV. The tang shows a tress band along its sides: this argues against its having been mounted in a haft and points rather to an evolution into a ritual weapon from one which formerly had a handle bound about with cord or textile material: on our sole dagger we have still pieces of the original binding—seemingly leather and Janse's (28) Plate XV, 46 gives instances of a parallel derivation. Text-figure 7, No. 3.

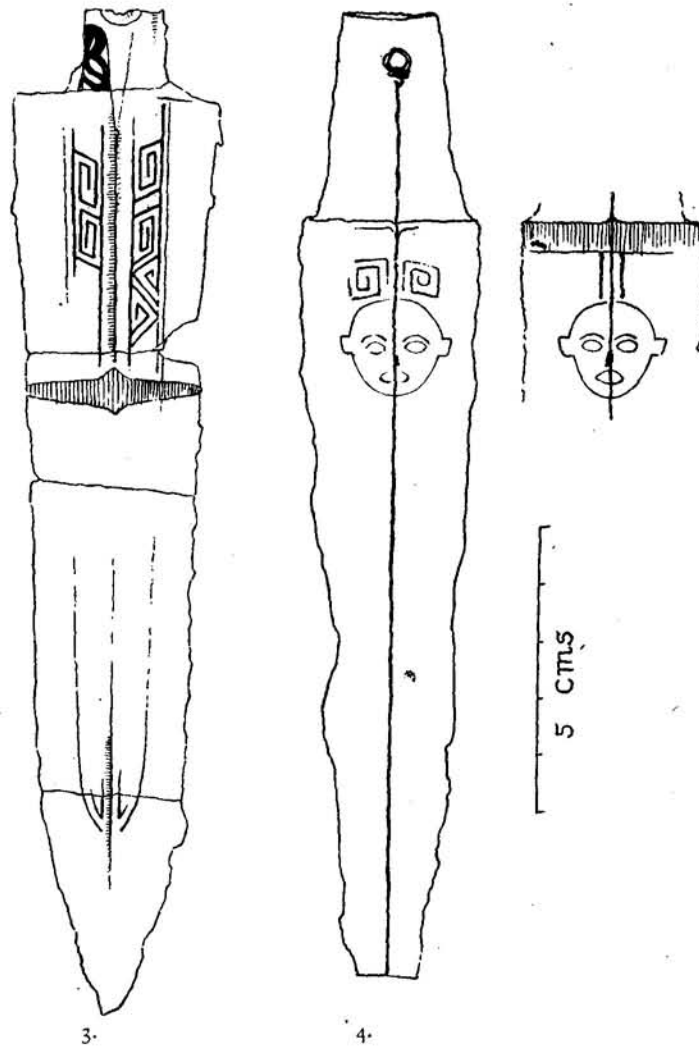


Figure 7.

No. 3:—Bronze "dagger"—more likely to be a spear-head.

No. 4:—Bronze "dagger" or spearhead (olim deaurata) of ritual or ceremonial use: shamanist or head-hunting (and/or animistic) motive.

June 1934.

Lastly comes a very rare article, unfortunately in a bad state of preservation. It was picked up on the beach at Tai Wan and must have been long exposed. The surfaces and the edges are badly corroded, but still the great interest remains—on each side of the blade below the shoulder is a face or mask, apparently human (see Plate 10, No. 4 and figure 7). On one side the head sprouts up into a pair of outcurving conventionalized horns, one on each side of the central rib. The features are rendered by raised lines for the lips, eyebrows, eyes amid the face which with the ears is sunken below the surface of the blade. The resemblance to the famous head on the bronze drum in Baron Sumitomo's collection is striking (almost all books of Chinese art have reproductions: O. Siren's *Pre-Han Art*: A. de Tizac's *Art Chinois* where the text p. 208 gives the date as Chou while the Plate 43 gives "Ts'in": Ashton's *Introduction to the Study of Chinese Sculpture* gives an excellent detailed "close-up": S. Umehara's *White Pottery* (42) and of course the fine but rare publication of the Baron Sumitomo Collection). Here I wish to call attention to the horns that mount from each side of the Sumitomo head above the ears: these horns are covered with little lines or markings such as occur on the Chou buffalo reproduced in H.K.N. III, p. 239, figure 5 (as related to the "Double F" marking). And from the top of the Sumitomo head there is another single horn mounting straight up. The same device occurs on a so-called "T'ao t'ieh" head in (6) Vol. IV, p. 3: we have the excellent authority of Mr. Yung Keng (59) p. 820 for pronouncing this a genuine Shang piece; its inscription would then place it in the closing years of the dynasty i.e. the An Yang period. Now quite recently C. Hentze has shown that a gold crown of a somewhat similar arrangement found in Korea as late as the Han Dynasty should be interpreted as the crowns worn by shamans in a cult allied to that of the steppes (52). Indeed his Plate 28, figure 8 would almost tempt me to look for a derivation of the "Double F" from the horns mounted on a horse victim. However, this suggestion of Shamanism is very interesting in view of all that we have heard above about the contact with bone-using cultures, the typical steppe facies. The Sumitomo drum seems to represent a monster with human features, triangular body but monstrous claw-limbs—a spirit. As⁷ pointed out in (42), the drum figure is closely related to a stylized figure on An Yang white wares. The drum would be Shamanist. Our piece seems definitely a cult object: at least it is ceremonial—recently it has been proved from the An Yang bones (45) Part IV that "spear-heads," apparently of bronze were sent by the An Yang monarchs as diplomatic presents or credentials.*

The head on the other side is in far worse state: it does not however seem to have any horns, but three straight ribs connect its apex with the bar across the shoulder of the weapon—the style of the head seems different and suggests a head-hunter's trophy** suspended from a house-beam: perhaps to avoid sensationalism, we should say an ancestor's head prepared

* Hoc Latine discatur ob prudentiam: cultellus noster olim auro nativo saltem in parte insculpta obductus fuit (quod reactione chemica probatum est).

** For head-hunter's trophy adorned with horns, see (47) p. 933 and figure 573 visible amid carved spirals. Also (30), p. 187.

for preservation such as the rather pleasing specimen from Sepik, New Guinea (47) figure 61 (with its spirals and nose piercing—lately Aberdeen has given us a fine nose or lip-plug of stone).

With that we come to conclude this article which has grown so long over a few objects typical of Tai Wan and apparently belonging to its strata of "Double F" and glazed wares. These things however are of great interest and must play a big part in finally determining the age and culture with which we are faced. It is evident that Lamma falls into none of the groups explored hitherto by archaeology. There is evidently an earlier culture with neolithic axes and with softer pottery: and there is a more developed culture with bronze implements and very good pottery; and the second had certainly time-contact with the first—for certain sites which seem to belong almost completely to the first culture have given cruder versions of the later good pottery in very small quantity. But these earlier sites seem all to yield Hoa-binhian stone implements (Faustkeil, Handspitze) from the immediate context of the neolithic things: it is possible that the solution lies rather in different ethnic strata, not so much in chronological sequence. But even in the make-up of the later facies, there are complicated strands—and the comparison with Semrong Sen becomes ever more interesting: e.g. the strong bone element vigorous in S-S where the arrow-heads show the marrow-hollows wide open as blood-channels; the excellent pottery: the amount of bronze reported: the use of agalmatolite: the enigmatic script-markings on a kind of stamp:—but S-S always is the earlier: it suggests that the people who produced the S-S culture produced the Lamma culture at a later date, possibly by a side branch which threw off from a parent stem later in time and nearer in geography to China. What we have seen above seems to require some direct inspiration from the source too of China's culture and implied is a recent contact with the Northern Steppe Lands—and yet we are far from the "Scythian" art on the one hand and from traces of the efficient, highly civilized Han art on the other. But we shall have more to examine later.

Before concluding, I am under an obligation to express my thanks to those who have helped in some important respects towards the making of this article: Professor Shellshear, Drs. N. Matsumoto and Sueji Umehara of Tokyo and Kyoto, Mr. Simpson of the Tai Koo Laboratory. Also Plates 10 and 11, figures 4, 13 and 14 were photographed for me by Mr. P. Dragon to whom I owe my thanks.

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