

A CONSPECTUS OF THE WORLD'S CULTURES IN 1500 A.D.

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The culture-area concept has had an important if not universally accepted rôle in ethnology and archaeology for more than half a century. The history of this controversial heuristic tool has been ably discussed elsewhere, and it is not our purpose here to resume the dispute (Woods, 1934; Lowie, 1937: pp. 36-37, 125, 287; Kroeber, 1939: 4-7). We need only note in passing that among the contributors to culture-area mapping or description have been individuals impelled by a variety of theoretical or practical considerations, whose diversity is suggested by a list including Ratzel, Frobenius, Schmidt, Wissler, Kroeber, Cooper, Herskovits, Montandon, Linton, Steward, Murdock, Bacon, Naroll, Russell, and Kniffen. As Murdock says (1951, p. 415), "the culture area concept, though long since divested of most of the theoretical significance ascribed to it by Wissler, still retains its classificatory importance. It is nearly as useful in ordering the immense range of ethnographic variation as is the Linnaean system in the ordering of biological forms." Forde's remarks (1937, p. 466-467) are very apt, and brief enough to quote in part: "The world can be empirically divided into a number of culture areas, or territories, over which certain crafts, economies and social patterns dominate human activity. The number and size of such areas will depend to some extent on the refinement of discrimination, but Polynesia, the Northwest Coast or the south-east African cattle-rearing area are obvious examples. Within such culture areas, if defined in broad terms, there are often great and important variations in detail. . . . The concept of culture areas is a valuable one, for it expresses briefly the local diffusion of a number of elements, and their integration in a basically similar pattern. But its abstract character must be realized. It cannot replace the reality of cultural variation in time and space, and must not be allowed to obscure the individuality of particular societies." Boas stated the final *caveat* several times (1930; 1938, pp. 670-671), and similar warnings have been uttered by many other anthropologists.

North America and Africa have been divided into culture areas more often and by more people than the rest of the world, with South America perhaps running a poor third. As Spoehr has pointed out, Oceanian culture areas have coincided roughly with conventional geographers' and navigators' divisions — Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia — even though anthropological convenience might be better served by forming a Micro-Polynesia out of the first two (and perhaps splitting Melanesia along the lines of its major linguistic cleavage) (1952, pp.

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458-459). Except among the adherents of the *Kulturkreis* School, Australia with or without Tasmania has usually caused little trouble as a single culture area. Eurasia has been neglected, at least by some American ethnologists who find the culture-area concept useful in other continents, on the ground that its history is too complex and its ethnic distributions too intricate and discontinuous to permit any useful resolution into culture areas.

Dissatisfaction with culture-area mapping has stemmed both from the misleading impression of cultural homogeneity within the borders of given areas, and from the arbitrary nature of the boundaries themselves. These criticisms are valid only to the extent that all cartographic representations on small scales are misleading to the uninformed. The map is not the country, to borrow a phrase from the General Semanticists. Whether it be a map of soil-types, crops, average annual rainfall, or geological structure, the symbolic conventions of the cartographer are a trap for the unsophisticated. Unfortunately, even the most perfect, large-scale terrain model, in natural colors and textures, is less useful for most purposes than the semi-diagrammatic, two-dimensional map. Another criticism of culture-area maps is that they suggest the stability of units which are in reality dynamic entities in constant flux. No cultures are static geographical features, it is objected, and a culture area map does great violence to our conceptions of cultural change. This objection is meaningful only where the culture-area cartographer has failed to specify (or imply) the time level for his presentation. Maps giving the distribution of any cultural phenomena — political boundaries, transportation facilities, towns and settlements — are just as misleading if the map-user naïvely assumes a timeless quality in such matters. To boggle at mapping the boundaries of aboriginal Meso-America because we know that its borders have shifted through time, or because it was a growing, changing complexity, while accepting maps of such entities as the Holy Roman Empire or the Hanseatic League is at least exceedingly inconsistent.

With a few exceptions (Ratzel, 1885; Russell and Kniffen, 1951) culture-area mappers have represented conditions as they existed at some conventional period in the past. For North and South America, convention dictates that areas of aboriginal culture are shown as they existed just prior to European contact. Since the pre-contact period spreads over more than 450 years, cartographic confusion has been unavoidable. Kroeber (1939) was forced to adopt the expedient of a westward-moving time-level in his monumental study of cultural and natural areas in native North America. Swanton, engaged in a partly similar study, although concerned only with tribal territories rather than broader culture-area units, adopted instead the year 1650 for his map (1952, pp. 3-10) — a choice which led him to admit some anachronisms, such as showing Indian groups in the Antilles, where they had become nearly extinct by that time. In the *Handbook of*

South American Indians (Steward, 1946-1953), much attention was devoted to migrations and displacements of tribal groups, especially in Brazil and the Chaco, but the culture-area maps employ the same shifting chronology as Kroeber's North American ones.

For Africa, the areas of cultural similarity have been represented as they were before the massive European onslaught after 1850, save in the extreme south, where the Bushmen-Hottentot are shown as they were prior to the Dutch settlement at the Cape. European trading posts on the Guinea Coast, as well as Arab bases on the East Coast, are omitted — presumably because it is felt that their cultural influences were negligible. Oceanian conditions are depicted as of the late 18th century, except in Indonesia, where Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch establishments push the pre-contact period back into the 17th or even the 16th century. That culture-area mappers have been seeking to avoid only European overseas influences, and not the comparable effects of other high civilizations on more primitive areas, seems very clear in Indonesia, where Hindu-Buddhist and Chinese penetration is of very long standing, and Islamic influences spread by Arab traders and missionaries of overwhelming importance.

In Asia, the convention so far seems to be to represent the cultural situation before the overland eastward expansion of the Russians, and before England, France, and other European powers had begun to transform their trading privileges into the colonial empires of southeastern Asia — that is, before the 18th century. To indicate Hokkaidō as wholly Ainu or T'aiwan as entirely Indonesian would require a still earlier dateline. Ratzel (1885) chose to show his *Gürtel neuerer (nordlicher) Kultur*, identified with Christendom, stretching clear across Asia to Vladivostok. Ratzel's map was really more of a prophecy than a presentation of cultural fact in 1885, since Russian outposts on the Pacific were still linked with the metropolis by routes passing through wilderness inhabited mainly by reindeer-herding nomads. The special difficulties which arise in drawing up a culture-area map of Asia have been discussed and, it would seem, resolved, by Bacon (1946), Kroeber (1947), Naroll (1950), and Patai (1951).

Why have anthropologists preferred to devise culture-area maps for some period in the past, and the past prior to the great overseas and overland expansion of European civilization in particular? Precisely because European exploitation of what Webb has called the Great Frontier has obliterated many significant cultural facts — facts which are crucial for the understanding of the ways in which human institutions develop and change. For many ethnological purposes it is definitely more instructive to deal with the Americas, for example, before the native societies were overwhelmed by Spanish, Portuguese, French, or English settlement. Of course one may find it useful to prepare a culture-area map of the world of today, as Russell and Kniffen (1951) have done. Such a mid-twentieth

century map would show not only the Europeanization of most of the New World and of many large areas in Africa, Asia, and Oceania, but recent extensions of the orbit of Sinitic civilizations into T'aiwan, central and northern Manchuria, Hokkaidō, Sinkiang, and in the form of merchant colonies into southeast Asia and Indonesia. Parts of Polynesia (and, until 1945, Micronesia), too, have become outposts of Sinitic culture, or, more accurately, blends of native, European, and Sinitic elements. The West Africans taken to the New World as slaves did not altogether abandon their African heritage, especially in the Caribbean, the Guianas, and the north coast of Brazil. Since the start of the European expansion, moreover, a few islands have been added to the oecumene — Spitsbergen, in the Arctic, and several South Atlantic and Indian Ocean islands previously unknown to mankind. Mauritius, with its nearly half million people of African, Asian, Indonesian and European origin, is both the most important of these additions and an excellent example of the fact that overseas cultural expansion in modern times has not been confined to Europeans.

Our map (Fig. 1) attempts to show the distribution of the major areas of cultural similarity around 1500 A. D., when overseas European exploration had produced cultural changes in only a few areas, notably the Antilles and the Canary Islands. Iceland had long been a part of the European orbit, but the Norse Greenland colony had withered away, leaving only a few traces in the Eskimo Inugsuk culture which succeeded it. The shifting dateline of the "ethnographic present" is abandoned in favor of a reconstruction of conditions at a specific date in the past.

It has been objected that we lack reliable ethnographic information or substantiating archaeological data for such a reconstruction, especially for the interiors of Africa and the Americas, not yet explored by Europeans, or for parts of Oceania not yet even "discovered" by Western navigators. For North America we may counter this criticism by pointing to the amount of archaeological reconstruction in the last two decades, which provides a surer basis for cultural mapping than reliance on later explorers' and travelers' accounts alone. In some parts of the non-European world we have abundant historical records as in the Far East or the Islamic lands, and in others our ethnographic knowledge seems sufficient to permit a reasonably reliable backward extrapolation to 1500 A. D.

More difficult than the task of reconstruction of the state of affairs 450 years ago is the problem of deciding the degree of cultural subdivision to adopt for a world map. In part this is a matter of map scale. At 1:10,000,000 we could indicate tribal or band boundaries, but lack the data for such detail at the date selected. At 1:100,000,000 we would still be faced with the problem of whether to divide or lump the cultural blocs of northern Eurasia or Arctic America, or whether to show Europe as a single entity or as three or four related but nevertheless clearly distinct units. Others have pointed out the distortions involved in trying

to map such tiny groups as the Vedda, Semang, or Congo pygmies as cultural types comparable in importance to the Chinese or Meso-Americans. Regions with a high degree of cultural diversity like the Caucasus also lead to cartographic dilemmas, like those which always arise when it becomes necessary to make a line symbolize a transitional zone, a shatter-belt, or a complex overlapping of elements. Another feature of small-scale world maps is the awkward necessity of using lines enclosing vast sea-spaces in order to show the relationships of scattered island groups, as in Oceania.

Just as the rationale of culture-area mapping does not imply that the cultures within boundary lines are homogeneous, or share equally in some arbitrarily selected traits, so it does not insist that boundaries have equal strength or meaning at all points. The border between Chinese and Mongol cultures is far sharper than that between the prevailing Muslim Indus Valley from Hindu areas to the east. The differences between the Eskimo and their inland Athapaskan neighbors are much clearer in northern Alaska and the Mackenzie district than they are in the lower Yukon region. This has been roughly indicated on our map by varying the thickness of boundary lines.

The map does not concern itself with political domains except incidentally. Southeastern Europe in 1500 A.D. was under Ottoman domination, but this fact does not warrant our including the area in the predominantly Muslim Near East nor in the Central Asiatic realm from which the Turks originally came. Southeastern Europe in 1500 A. D. was still predominantly Greek Orthodox in religion, Byzantine, and with a peasant base having much more in common with the people of the western Mediterranean lands than with eastern Anatolia, Syria, or Mesopotamia. Likewise, Islamic states were in control of most of the coastal lands of Indonesia at that time, but we would be unjustified in representing an Islamic culture-area extending all the way from Morocco to the Moluccas. Political control, particularly under modern conditions, may be the forerunner of rapid acculturation to the culture of the ruling power, but ordinarily the process takes several generations. At times, an entire culture-area may be brought under centralized political control; instances include the Inca Empire, the Roman Empire, and China under the Han dynasty. More often, imperial regimes fail to incorporate all portions of the culture-area with which they are affiliated (Aztec, Habsburg, Mogul).

The mapping of pastoral areas in the Middle East and in Central Asia has caused difficulties in the past, but Patai (1951) has clarified the problems sufficiently to enable us to proceed. Patai shows that the Middle Eastern pastoralists are a marginal phase or facet of the predominant sedentary population of farmers and townspeople, whereas the Central Asian pastoralists are clearly the majority and the significant cultural unit in their geographic area. Perhaps a parallel exists in Africa, where the Bedouin are outnumbered by the peasant farmers and city-dwellers, whereas the Tuareg and the Tibbu are dominant in the Sahara, and,

mutatis mutandis, correspond to the Kazak or the Mongols. Cartographically, the problem is to minimize the visual effect of assigning vast spaces to a few thousand nomads, when the cultural centers of gravity, so to speak, are limited to small but intensively cultivated tracts, towns, and cities.

Unless one has facilities for putting information onto a globe, questions of map projections may be raised. For world maps of small scale it hardly seems necessary to insist upon some equal-area projection, or a conformal one; the purpose of a culture-area map is not to enable one to make accurate measurements of areas nor to plan great-circle routes. By now everyone should be aware of the limitations of the various projections and of the impossibility of achieving all the advantages of a globe in a two-dimensional map. The Mercator projection is used here without apology; it fits into a rectangular page with the least waste of space, and it lacks the interruptions which equal-area projections must have.

Granted the wisdom of preparing a world culture-area map for 1500 A. D., there are still several ways of proceeding. One method is to work out a culture-historical scheme which purports to demonstrate basic genetic relationships between culture-patterns. The *Kulturkreis* map thus unites Fuegians and Australians in spite of much evidence for the very long separateness of their histories. The chief sorting criteria are certain marriage and kinship institutions, resulting in categories such as "free patriarchal" (i.e., non-exogamous) or "neo-patriarchal". Minor criteria include such diverse phenomena as bow-types, bellows, and rabbit-clubs.

Murdock's recent reworking of data in the *Handbook of South American Indians* was based on the use of nine criteria, which resulted in a map of South American culture-areas differing in many respects from the eclectic joint effort of the collaborators engaged in that massive compilation, but guided mainly by the culture-area divisions set forth by Cooper. Unfortunately the rest of the world is not covered by sets of handbooks assembled on a uniform plan, and the labor of filling in the information called for in Murdock's schedule would be out of proportion to the scientific utility of the map which would result. When the *Human Relations Area Files, Inc.* extends its coverage, perhaps an effort of this sort may be justifiable.

One could use the approach of Russell and Kniffen with their "culture-worlds" and "culture-realms", adjusted for 1500 A. D. rather than 1951, but here the error seems to be one of over-generalization. While the "culture worlds" method yields none of the strange bedfellows found in the *Kulturkreise*, it often fails to bring out certain significant discontinuities. The inertia of the old physical geographic tradition has overcome the cultural approach to regional geography to the extent, for example, of losing sight of the Southeastern United States as a unit of contemporary Anglo-American culture (Russell and Kniffen, 1951, p. 516);

their cultural regions are in many cases the old physiographic provinces. Africa comes off best, perhaps because its physiographic provinces are so poorly marked.

A thoroughgoing lumpner might block out a few tracts of cultural similarity and dispense with the finer subdivisions. Nine superareas could be recognized: Europe; North Africa-Middle East-Central Asia; Monsoon Asia-Indonesia-Madagascar; Africa south of the Sahara; Micronesia-Polynesia-Melanesia; Australia-Tasmania; Nuclear America; Marginal America; Boreal. Such Procrustean treatment does violence to many facts. Tibet and the Sahara have little in common, and the Northwest Coast of British Columbia is in odd company among the Patagonians and the Amazonian forest cultures.

An approach which eliminates culture-area boundaries altogether but still conveys much useful culture-historical information is that employed by Braidwood, Krogman, and Tax (1946) in their series of twelve world maps. A combination of shadings and cross-hatchings, enclosing lines, and a few simple circular symbols serves to indicate food collectors, food producers, political power and/or intellectual-aesthetic culture centers, trading integration, overseas or distant empires, and the like. The compilers have achieved their aim of stimulating an interest in, and furnishing "some understanding of, the problems raised by the great diversity of human cultures through all time and space" (1946, sheet 3). Their work is not intended to be a substitute for a world map of culture-areas.

To return to the accompanying map (Fig. 1), the culture-units shown have been numbered to correspond with their order on a tabulation which begins with the Tasmanians and ends with the Japanese. The 76 units recognized in this classification have been grouped according to a variety of criteria in which economic factors are given heaviest weight. For the non-agricultural groups the classification also rests on natural environmental factors such as desert, steppe, Arctic coast, or tropical rainforest habitats, which, when combined with a statement of economic level is almost sufficient as a characterization: "tropical rain-forest hunters and gatherers", or "Arctic coast hunters and fishermen". When it comes to the more complicated problem of classifying the farming cultures, technological criteria are supplemented by reference to features of social structure, religion, or aesthetic activity. While the arrangement may seem to be a crude reflection of unilinear evolutionary theories of cultural growth, it is actually so because of the fact that such an ordering is the most concise. Beyond a certain point in the list, for example, all units are agricultural; beyond another point, they are urban; beyond another, literate, plow-using, with iron metallurgy; and so on. Any other arrangement would require frequent retractions of attributes. Roughly similar classificatory "keys" are widely used in biology — to facilitate the field identification of fishes, for instance. Acceptance of the convenience of these "keys" certainly does not imply that their units are necessarily in a genetic or evolution-

ary series. Closely related forms in a genetic sense may sometimes differ more than distantly related forms, at least externally. To the writer, there is no reason at all to suppose that Old World pastoralism is a single, coherent cultural emergent, with identical antecedents in all the lands where it has arisen as a way of life. Yet for descriptive purposes it may be better to relate otherwise disparate cultures under the rubric of pastoral nomadism than to try to affiliate them according to some historical scheme. In any case, placement of the pastoral nomads before the farmers does not mean that pastoralism preceded agriculture in time, any more than Western European culture is older or more primitive than Chinese culture because they have been numbered 70 and 74 in the tabulation and on the map.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE WORLD'S CULTURES IN 1500 A. D.

I. NON-AGRICULTURAL

A. *Hunters and gatherers* with chipped and/or polished stone tools, basketry, wooden or bark containers rather than pottery, with few exceptions; bow and arrow and dog except where noted. Small, loosely organized bands with local exogamy. Generally monogamous. Kinship terminology and ceremonials may be fairly complex. Supreme deity belief general. Shamans the only specialists. Burial of the dead. Incidental agriculture in a few instances where noted. By 1500 A.D. many of these groups had obtained iron tools and weapons by trade from neighboring Old World peoples of more advanced technology.

1 through 21: nomadic or semi-nomadic with simple and usually temporary shelters forming small camps. 1 through 11: dwellers in tropical forests or savannas, temperate forests. Near nudity common.

1. Tasmanian (no bow and arrow, no dog; rolled bark rafts, self-tipped spears, cudgels; digging stick; nudity)

2. Congo Pygmy (few stone tools, but iron-bladed weapons common, acquired by trade in forest products with sedentary agricultural neighbors, 52; clear-cut chieftainship)

3. Vedda, Paniyan, Kurumba (fish-poisoning, wild-honey gathering, use of cave shelters)

4. Andamanese (dugout canoes, some with outrigger; harpoons for hunting; crude pottery — all probably fairly recent diffusions from insular neighbors of area 56)

5. Sakai and Semang (wild plant foods very important; much use of bamboo, almost no stone implements; Sakai have blowgun, pile- or tree-dwellings)

6. Kubu (marshland nomads, shelters of leaves and branches on platforms)

7. Punan (blowgun; silent trade with agricultural neighbors, 56)

8. Philippine Negritos (with local borrowings from neighboring agricultural

peoples, 56 and 73) (N. B. The New Guinea Negritos are farmers not especially different in culture from other peoples in the western part of area 45.)

9. Ciboney (primary dependence on seafoods; rock shelters and caves as common habitations)

10. Gê-Botocudo (casual agriculture practiced by many groups, but subordinated to hunting, fishing, wild-plant gathering; conical and beehive huts)

11. Gran Chaco (agriculture known but secondary; hunting, fishing, gathering predominant)

12 through 17: dwellers in desert, semi-desert, or steppe regions with a few exceptions as noted. Capes of skins, furs, common in cold weather.

12. Bushmen (camp circle pattern, sacred campfire; ostrich-egg containers and sucking tubes; realistic paintings of game animals on rocks; no water-craft)

13. Australian (wide environmental range, including tropical rain-forests, temperate eucalyptus forests, in addition to steppe and desert; no bow and arrow; boomerangs, spearthrowers, parrying-clubs, cudgels; bark rafts and bark canoes in some districts; pituri chewed as narcotic; kinship usages typically complex with moieties, marriage classes, elaborate initiation rituals for males, circumcision, subincision, decorative scarification, tooth excision, bull-roarers, churingas, localized totem-places. Some influences from New Guinea area (45) in north, including dugout canoe, outrigger, possibly not present in 1500 A.D.)

14. Great Basin (seed-gathering very important; finely woven baskets, some groups acquainted with pottery, maize agriculture, tailored skin clothing, sinew-backed bow; infant-carrying cradles)

15. Baja California (reed-balsa rafts, fishing, shellfish-gathering very important; birdskin capes; spearthrower)

16. Texas-Northeastern Mexico (gathering of pecans, prickly pears important in economy)

17. Patagonian-Ona (skin shelters or windbreaks; some use of bolas [sling-stones], masked initiation rites for males; no watercraft)

18. Chono-Alacaluf-Yahgan (canoe-nomads in region of far south temperate beech-conifer forest coastlands; fishing, shellfish-gathering, seal-hunting; bark canoes and for Chono, plank canoes also; masked god-impersonation rites)

19 through 21: Arctic and Subarctic forest and tundra hunters and fishermen, with little use of plant foods. Tailored skin clothing, northern Eurasiatic shamanism.

19. Northern Athapaskans-Northern Algonkians (skin or bark conical tents; bark canoes, bark containers; winter hunting on snowshoes; moccasins, toboggan; excellent tailored skin clothing (also in 20, 21, 22, 23 below)

20. Yukaghir (hunting of wild reindeer; dogsleds, dugout canoes)

21. Central and Eastern Eskimo (sealing and fishing with complex gear, includ-

ing flexible-shafted harpoons; kayaks, dogsleds; skin summer tents, winter houses semisubterranean, passage entry, interior platform, occasionally use of igloo as winter dwelling; pottery, bow drill, much ivory and bone carving; Inugsuk culture in Southwest Greenland, Thule culture elsewhere)

22 through 27: sedentary, with substantial houses grouped in permanent or semi-permanent villages. Tendency toward somewhat greater complexity in socio-political life and ceremonialism.

22, 23: Arctic and subarctic tundra coastlands with sea-mammal hunting and fishing more important than land hunting.

22. Western Eskimo-Aleut-Koniag (semi-subterranean houses of turf and driftwood, men's clubhouse; kayak and umiak; summer skin tents of several shapes; thick pottery, stone lamps; spearthrowers, complex fishing gear, harpoons, ice-creepers, snowgoggles or visored wooden hats, composite bow, elaborately carved wooden masks; plate armor of bone, wood, ivory, hide; some whaling, with accompanying ceremonial features)

23. Kamchadal, Maritime Chukchi, Koryak (underground dwellings with roof entry; many traits of 22, above; by 1500 A. D., iron tools by indirect trade with peoples of area 28)

24 to 26: North temperate conifer forest fishing peoples, with salmon fishery most important, high development of wood-carving, some woven textiles.

24. Ainu, Gilyak, Goldi (plank or dugout canoes, quadrangular plank or thatched houses; bear ceremonialism; metal tools, weapons, cloth, ceramics, rice-wine, etc. by trade with peoples of areas 74 and 76)

25. Northwest Coast (plank houses, dugout canoes, highly developed wood-carving, though much less flamboyant than the style developed in the area after European 18th-century contacts; some groups with whaling; slavery, strong emphasis on social rank and tangible symbols of wealth)

26. Plateau (subterranean dwellings or mat-covered huts; dugout or bark canoes; semi-naturalistic style in bone and bone carving; snowshoes; slavery and other coastal traits probably not yet present in 1500 A. D.)

27. Central Californian (oak parkland environment characteristic; acorn the food staple, stone mortar, pestle; fine coiled basketry; earthlodge or domed thatched dwellings; reed balsa, some plank canoes on southern coast; extensive use of clamshell and abalone shell ornaments; nudity, grass skirts; some moieties; elaborate religious cults)

B. *Pastoral nomads* with tools and weapons of iron, either of local manufacture or by trade; dairying common but not found in all groups; shelters often portable. (In 1500 A. D. the only pastoral groups in the New World were some of the Atacameño, but their permanent villages and agriculture are factors important enough to omit them from this category of cultures and place them within the Andean area, 62)

28. Reindeer pastoralists (northern conifer forest or tundra environment; dairying, reindeer sled in west; saddle and pack use of reindeer in central portion, with some horse-herding and milking; dog-traction and no dairying in east; tailored skin clothing, boots; sociopolitical structure usually simple, with a few groups organized on a tribal basis; Northern Eurasiatic shamanism; skin or bark summer tents, winter housing regionally varied, from log cabins to semisubterranean structures)

29. Canary Islands (sheep and goat herding, considerable fishing, some farming; not nomadic; metal artifacts recent, from Spanish who conquered area in early 15th century)

30 through 44: Desert, steppe, tropical savanna, and mountain grassland or mountain tundra environments. Dairying important; herding one or more of the following species: cattle, yak, sheep, goats, horse, camel. Normally in symbiotic relation with sedentary farming peoples who supply grain and other products. Pastoralists often politically dominant, with farmers as social inferiors; also often very warlike, raiding for livestock or the accumulated surpluses of sedentary villagers. Predominantly patrilineal and patriarchal.

30. Saharan (camel, horse, goat; systematic robbery of trans-Saharan caravans; by 1500 A. D. Muslims of schismatic sects; social classes, serfs, slaves)

31. Arabian (camels, horses, goats; pavilion tents; blood-revenge, patterned hospitality; coffee; Muslims; tribes and chiefs; some literacy, books, etc. through close relationships with urban centers of area 66)

32. Near Eastern Mountain Pastoralists (sheep, goats rather than camels; sedentary winter villages; extensive summer migrations in mountain pasturelands, transhumance; Muslims; pavilion tents)

33. Hindukush-Pamir Pastoralists (use of high alpine meadows; sheep, goats; yurts — felt-covered frame houses, semi-portable; Muslims)

34. Kazak-Kirghiz (cattle, sheep, horses, some camels; felt yurts; tea and *kumyss*; elaborate tribal organization with leadership hierarchy; close relationships with town-dwelling, farming groups in oasis areas, 66; Muslims)

35. Mongols (cattle, sheep, horses, some camels; yurts; tea; considerable use of Chinese-manufactured goods; composite bow, crossbow; elaborate tribal organization; monogamy; in 1500 A. D., not yet under strong Lamaistic Buddhist influence, but adhering mainly to a form of Northern Eurasiatic shamanism; some Muslim, Nestorian Christian, Northern Buddhist influences; political power of various Mongol hordes fading from Russia to Mongolia itself, the Golden Horde having receded from the Volga in 1480 with the rise of Muscovy, area 69, and the Mongol overlordship of China having ended in 1368; other ruling groups of Mongol origin thoroughly urbanized and Islamicized by this time)

36. Tibetan pastoral (yak-herding on tundra plateau; felt-making; Lamaistic Buddhism [see below, 37]; crossbow; tents)

37. Tibetan sedentary (limited agriculture; a few towns, monasteries; some polyandry; inflated-skin rafts; Lamaistic Buddhism, with strong Chinese and Hindu-Buddhist iconographic influences)

38. Western Sudanic (cattle, horses; Muslim and non-Muslim tribes and conquest states; rulers in mud-walled towns, with markets — see 66)

39. Eastern Sudanic (same as above; padded armor for warriors and their horses; Bornu kingdom Islamic state since about 1200 A. D.)

Areas 38 and 39 may be similar enough to lump together, except that external cultural influence on 38 has been mainly trans-Saharan from Morocco, whereas 39 has received more perhaps from the Nile Valley area)

40. East Horn (cattle, horses; Somali and Galla already Muslims, engaged in campaigns against the Christian Abyssinians, 65)

41. Nilotic (sedentary pastoralists in clay-walled, thatched-roof houses; fairly elaborate monarchical institutions in some tribes; non-Muslim; cattle receive great attention)

42. East African Cattle Herders (cattle very highly emphasized, warfare primarily cattle-raiding; bride-wealth with cattle payments; blacksmiths form a caste; age-class organization for males; mud or brush domed huts in compounds [kraals]; subordinated farming caste raises sorghum, millet; beer)

43. Western Bantu Herders (cattle, goats; skin mantles and skirts, some agriculture)

44. Hottentot (cattle, domed huts; little or no agriculture; hunting fairly important; hereditary chiefs; start of contact with the Portuguese at the Cape of Good Hope, 1498)

II. AGRICULTURAL

Sedentary, with villages or larger concentrations of population possible, though not always achieved. Pottery in most groups.

A. *Simple digging-stick or hoe cultivators* without plow, without wheeled vehicles, no metallurgy.

45 through 47: Oceanian island peoples, mostly within the tropics. Coconut, taro, yam, sweet-potato (?); chickens, pigs; cannibalism fairly common; ornate wood carving; shellwork; thatched dwellings on piling or stone platforms; fishing very important except in some interior parts of largest islands; navigation highly developed, with sails, outriggers.

45. Papuan-Melanesian (possibly should be two areas; masked societies, head-hunting, skull-cults, cannibalism fairly common; men's secret societies and men's clubhouses; some matrilineal social organization, avunculate, moieties; intricate spiral-motif woodcarving art; very elaborate hair-dress, ear- and nose-ornaments,

hair-bleaching, etc. Pottery, large shields, betel-chewing, polished stone adzes; grass garments)

46. Micronesian (wicker armor, shark-tooth swords; petty kings; grass-skirt clothing; some stone structures)

47. Polynesian (barkcloth; *kava*; chiefs or kings with intricate etiquette; priestly hierarchy; stone religious enclosures, platforms; pottery absent; bow and arrow a toy; evolutionary cosmogony; human sacrifice)

48 through 51: Diversified American environments, woodland, steppe, desert. Maize, squash, beans as staple crops; tobacco; fairly complex social organization common, with clans, chieftainship; pottery often ornate; no metallurgy, but some artifacts worked from native copper, gold.

48. Eastern North American (bark, thatch, or earth-covered dwellings; dugout or bark canoes; hunting important in spite of farming; women do most of the farm work; elaborate military complex, tribal councils, some confederacies; burial and temple mounds; in 1500 A. D. the cultural center for this area lay in the lower Mississippi Valley; clothing of skins, some tailored, some bast-fiber textiles)

49. Southwestern (multi-room stone or mud structures, or brush or earthlodge scattered dwellings; painted pottery, cotton textiles; men do farm work; some fairly elaborate ceremonies with masked dances; recent arrival of nomadic hunting-gathering groups from north, area 19, engaged in frequent raids against sedentary farm villagers)

50. Amazonian (manioc a major crop; slash-and-burn clearing of fields; thatched houses, often communal; blowgun; hammock; elaborate body-painting, feather-work; nudity common; intensive warfare, frequent cannibalism)

51. Chilean (potatoes a staple crop; thatched huts; some llamas, guinea-pigs; plank, dugout, or reed-balsa watercraft)

B. *Advanced digging-stick or hoe cultivators*, without plow except where noted, without wheeled vehicles; metallurgy present.

52 through 59: Tropical forest and savanna environments.

52. Congo Basin (banana a staple crop; thatched houses, often in stockaded enclosures; dugout canoes; much river fishing; chickens, goats, sheep; bark-cloth clothing; well-developed wood carving; slavery, human sacrifice, frequent cannibalism; some complexly organized monarchical states, such as the Kingdom of the Congo, flourishing in 1500 A. D.)

53. East African Lakes (lake fishing; war canoes; elaborate monarchical institutions, stratified societies with ruling caste often of pastoral background; banana a staple crop; beer-brewing)

54. Guinea Coast (millet, banana, oil-palm; some sheep, goats, and a few cattle; gabled houses in walled or fenced enclosures; temples; large towns and a few cities;

regular markets, market-days; complex socio-political structures, with kings, courts, priesthoods, secret societies, slavery, human sacrifice, some cannibalism; "bush-schools" for children of both sexes; high development of musical instruments, musical forms; bronze casting of portrait sculpture; Benin Kingdom powerful, Portuguese traders becoming active, in 1500 A. D.)

55. Assam-Burma Hill Tribes (dry-rice agriculture; some megalithic structures; tattooing, head-hunting; small tribal groups with frequent blood-revenge feud attacks on neighboring villages; chickens, pigs)

56. Indonesian Hill Tribes (dry-rice agriculture, some wet-rice farming with high development of irrigated terraces; chickens, pigs, some carabaos; men's clubhouses; traditional law often highly elaborated)

57. Southwest China-Indochina Hill Tribes (millet, dry-rice farming; feudal tribal communities, often with two social classes; crossbow; clothing of loom-woven textiles, showing considerable borrowing from Chinese, area 74; some literacy for magico-religious purposes in native ideographic scripts patterned after Chinese)

58. Forest enclave hill tribes in India (slash-and-burn agriculture; regular trade with plow-using lowland village settlements; cattle or water-buffalo dairying; religion strongly influenced by popular Hinduism; becoming integrated as low castes in adjacent Hindu societies)

59. Madagascar (wet- and dry-rice cultivation; cattle-raising very important in some areas; raphia, bark-fiber clothing; rectangular, gable-roofed houses; some taro and millet agriculture; elaborate tombs; familial ancestral cults; petty chiefly tribes, a few small kingdoms; slavery; Arab traders already active by 1500 A. D. Piston-bellows in metallurgy)

60 through 62: Tropical American lowlands and highlands, rainforest, tropical dry scrub forest, temperate highland vegetation.

60. Circum-Caribbean (maize agriculture, fishing; loom-woven cotton textiles; thatched huts, some stone sculpture, little masonry construction; stratified social structure, with chiefs and petty states, rulers sometimes accorded quasi-monarchical privileges, litters, harems, etc.; human sacrifice and some cannibalism; dugout canoes; tendency toward matrilineal descent; gold and some copper metallurgy, gold by trade to non-metallurgical groups in area. By 1500 A. D. a major invasion of groups with culture of Area 50, Amazonian, was taking place in Antilles, and, more significantly, Spanish [area 67] explorers had begun to establish outposts as the basis for an overseas colonial empire which was to destroy native culture completely in this area and reorganize it drastically elsewhere in the Americas)

N. B. Cultures beyond this point can be considered "civilized" for the most part, with 63 excepted, on the basis of criteria originally set forth by Childe, as follows:

Increased size of settlements and of political units, providing for much larger

associations, greater intricacy of relationships; tribute- or tax-gathering agencies, with centralized accumulation of capital; writing (excepting Andean Area, 62, and Finnic Area, 63); beginnings of exact and predictive sciences, such as arithmetic, geometry, astronomy; high development of economic institutions, making possible great expansion of foreign trade; full-time specialists engaged in techniques such as metallurgy; a privileged ruling class; states — societies based fundamentally on residence within an area, instead of, or on top of, social organization on the basis of assumed kinship ties. Some of these traits have occurred together in the culture-areas listed above, with the Guinea Coast perhaps coming closest to meeting the criteria for civilization.

61. Mexican-Mayan (highly developed stone architecture and sculpture; some towns and one great urban center; cacao-bean currency, markets; intricate calendar system, arithmetical notation, picture-writing; military-conquest empire, priest-hoods, warrior-nobility; extensive human sacrifices, some cannibalism; gold, silver, copper, metallurgy; ceremonial ball-game, ball-courts; in 1500 A. D. the Aztecs had imposed their rule on most though not all Nahuatl-speaking groups, as well as on the Otomi, Totonac, Huastec, Zapotec, Mixtec, and other groups; the Tarascans formed an independent kingdom; in Yucatan, the Maya were divided into petty warring groups; the great ceremonial centers had been mostly abandoned or allowed to decay)

62. Andean (highly developed stone architecture; roadways and suspension bridges for couriers, pack-trains; high developments in gold, silver, bronze metallurgy; regular herding of llama, alpaca, vicuña, with fine textiles of their wool; potatoes an important crop; *coca*-chewing, *chicha* beer; *quipus*, knotted-string records, but no writing system; in 1500 A. D. the Inca Empire controlled nearly the entire culture-area, as well as the northern portion of Area 51, under a very highly centralized, bureaucratic, state-socialist despotism)

63. Finnic (northern forest and meadowland environment; dairying, cattle, horses; swine; log-cabin dwellings; bark containers; institutionalized sweat-bathing; shamanism, horse-sacrifices; iron tools and weapons; by 1500, some groups becoming Christianized and otherwise brought into the orbit of Muscovy, Area 69)

C. *Advanced Plow farmers*: All the following areas are characterized by a fully developed iron technology, most bladed tools and weapons for regular use being made of this metal. Cultivation with ox-, horse-, or water-buffalo-drawn plows; small grains — wheat, barley, oats, rye, millet, rice — the basic food crops; cattle, sheep, goats, swine, horses, asses, some camels, elephants, water-buffaloes in special areas; chickens, ducks, geese; dairying except in Sinitic and Southeast Asiatic-Indonesian areas, with important use of butter and/or cheese; wheeled vehicles, potter's wheels, simple spinning wheels in most areas; loom-woven textiles of linen,

cotton, wool, silk; coinage, markets, bazaars, shops, with merchant classes engaged in far-flung overland and overseas trading; social structure commonly stratified, with nobility, clerical or learned classes, merchants and craftsmen, servants, serfs, slaves. Many towns and cities, often walled for defense. Highly developed land and sea warfare, with cavalry, some use of cannons. Large ocean-going sailing vessels for trade and naval warfare. Writing, books, libraries, with scripts derived from Near Eastern alphabet except in Sinitic areas 74 and 76. Some distillation of alcoholic beverages. Incipient mechanization of labor in several areas, with water-wheels, used for irrigation, grain-milling, etc., some use of wind-mills, clocks, locking mechanisms, pulleys, screws, winches, etc.

64. Caucasian (although linguistically heterogeneous, predominantly of Eastern Christian rites; some towns; viticulture; in 1500 mostly under alien — Turkish — political domination, by this time largely Islamicized, cf. Area 66)

65. Abyssinian (Christian, affiliated with Coptic church in Egypt; some Jewish and Muslim groups present in area; stone-walled, circular churches with thatched roofs, religious frescoes; barefooted, bareheaded, but dressed in cotton robes, close-fitting trousers; fans, parasols; mead and beer principal alcoholic beverages, staple food millet, mutton, goat's flesh. In 1500 Nubia was still held by petty Christian kings, and was perhaps closest culturally to nearby Abyssinian highland area. Portuguese missions were already in Abyssinia.)

66. Sedentary Islamic farmers and town-dwellers (irrigation and flood-control agriculture; date-palm, melons, sugar cane, cotton, coffee supplementing grain crops; extensive overland camel-caravan trade, and high development of seaborne commerce, especially on Indian Ocean; mud-walled towns of mostly adobe dwellings, brick public buildings, mosques, with wide use of the true arch and the dome; some towns supplied with water from public aqueducts; high developments in textile-weaving, including silks, carpets, and tapestry; highly developed leather-working; fine steel blades and damascene-work in a few centers. Religion Islam, stressing monotheism, saints' cults, divided into many sects; in most of the Area, significant minorities of non-Muslims, including Christians, Jews, or Hindus. Legal system elaborated. Position numerals, advanced mathematics including algebra, geometry; astronomy, optics, and scientific navigation fairly highly developed; universities at Cairo and Bagdad. Close economic and political relations with adjacent pastoral nomads of Islamic religion in areas 30, 31, 32. In the year 1500, the major units of the Islamic sedentary area included: Songhoy, centered on the Middle Niger, capital at Timbuktu, university of Sankoré; Morocco just receiving the last of the great waves of Andalusian Moorish refugees; Tunisia under the Hafsids, a growing fusion of Arab and Berber cultures, Tunis a major urban center; Egypt under the Mameluke sultans, engaged in struggle with the Osmanli Turks and in the western Indian Ocean with the newly-arrived Portu-

guese; Anatolia mostly under Osmanli domination, though Christian-Byzantine remnants still of local cultural importance; struggles for power by Turkic and Mogul dynasts in Iranian Plateau area, with great cultural renaissance still under way in Herat and Samarkand, with great mosques, tombs, tiles, miniature painting; Persians still in control in Iraq. North India on the verge of imperial reorganization under Mogul [Islamicized Turco-Mongol] auspices).

67 through 70: European north temperate and Mediterranean environments, Christians with small numbers of Jews in some areas, Turkish-Muslim overlords in southeast. Realistic stone sculpture, wood-carving, and portrait-painting; harmony and notation in music; numerous monasteries; widespread use of true arch, dome, vault in public architecture; political disunity characteristic, with many principalities, duchies, free cities, some republics, some emerging national state kingdoms, one shadowy "empire"; long distance overseas and overland exploring expeditions under way for commercial purposes, facilitated by the improvements in shipbuilding, navigational aids, and the use of crossbows and cannons; social structure feudal, but breaking down in the most active trading centers. Paper and printing with movable metal types or woodblocks replacing parchment manuscript books.

67. Southwestern Europe (Roman Catholic, with elaborate ecclesiastical hierarchy, many religious orders and institutions, including hospitals, universities; Roman-Greek art and architecture, as well as literary forms being revived actively; wine and olive cultivation very important; dwellings mainly of stone masonry, often with roof-tiles; cane-sugar production, silk-culture under way; artesian wells; time-keeping marked by ringing of church-bells, some use of watches, water-clocks, and hour-glasses; spectacles, forks)

68. Eastern Mediterranean European (Greek Orthodox or Syrian Rites; politically under domination of Osmanli Turkish pashas; Byzantine architecture; wine, olive, etc. as in Area 67, above; in 1500 the area was decidedly decadent in a cultural sense, suffering from economic distress from diversion of trade, soil erosion, harbor silting, etc.)

69. Eastern European (Greek Orthodox and the emergent Russian Orthodox offshoot thereof; dwellings predominantly of wood construction; much trade in raw materials — lumber, honey, furs; Muscovy arising as political power, having driven back the Tatars of the Golden Horde; use of tea, beer; frontiers with Area 70 only recently Christianized; peoples of Area 63 being brought into Muscovite cultural orbit gradually)

70. Northwestern European (Roman Catholic, but with serious defections about to take place on the basis of earlier abortive movements or heresies; northeastern and northern frontiers still in missionary phases of Christianity — Livonian Order in the Baltic area, Swedish acculturation of Finns under way; dwellings charac-

teristically of frame or frame-and-plaster construction with thatched or shingled roofing; public buildings still in derivations of the Gothic style for the most part, high development of stained window glass; mining technology very advanced in Erzgebirge region; printing and use of paper making rapid headway but not yet general; sea-fisheries expanding, for cod, herring, perhaps already operating on the Western Atlantic banks; a few universities, but definitely far behind Area 67 in the degree of revival of the literary, scientific, and scholarly levels attained in Graeco-Roman civilization)

71. Indic (rice, wheat, millet, tropical fruits, nuts, spices, cotton; silk-culture; palm-wine; water-buffalo, humped cattle, and trained elephants in addition to sheep, goat, horse, etc.; stone architecture and sculpture highly developed for temples, palaces; dwellings mostly mud-walled, thatched; numerous scripts and great linguistic diversity; elaborate caste divisions, representing the world's most intricate social structure then as now; political power held by princely families of warrior-caste origin or alien Muslim invading groups. Hinduism predominant, but divided into numerous sects and diversified popular cults, with significant religious minorities including Jains, some Buddhists (concentrated in Ceylon and on the northern Himalayan frontier), Parsis, Jacobite Christians, some Jews, Sikhs just developing; in some regions, large numbers of Muslim converts; numerous enclaves of forest tribal peoples, 58, above; Portuguese traders already arriving; monasticism, asceticism, very subtle philosophical systems among the religious and intellectual elites; dramas, very highly developed dance; widespread food restrictions on beef, some religious vegetarianism; in 1500 the major Hindu-ruled state was Vijayanagar in south; in north, various Muslim kingdoms, of which the Delhi sultanate was most powerful)

72. Mainland Southeast Asiatic Lowland (highly developed rice agriculture, with water-buffalo; few horses or cattle, no dairying; cock-fighting, betel-chewing; batik; use of elephants for forest work and warfare, princely display; Buddhism, chiefly of Southern or Hinayana type; alphabetic scripts via Ceylon or Southern India, palm-leaf books; monasticism, ornate Hindu-Buddhist art and architectural style; formalized dance-dramas, puppet-shows; dwellings thatched, bamboo construction, on piling; in 1500 the Kingdom of Pegu was powerful, northern Ava kingdom only recently organized from contending petty chieftainships, and under strong military pressure of Shan tribes, Area 57; in Siam, Thais had established capital at Ayuthia and were engaged in conquest and vassalization of the Cambodians with their Mahayana Buddhism and remnants of Shivite Hinduism; meanwhile, Annam expanding southward into Cochin China, introducing strong Chinese cultural influences from Area 74)

73. Indonesian Lowland (highly developed rice agriculture as in 72, above, material culture little different, although maritime emphasis perhaps considerably

greater; religion in 1500 undergoing rapid conversion to Islam, with Hindu-Buddhist refugees from the fallen Madjapahit Empire concentrated in Bali; petty Muslim states in Sumatra, Java, Malaya, with outposts in coastal Borneo, southern Philippines, Moluccas; Malacca a great trade emporium linking Indian and western Pacific Ocean coastal lands, with Arab and Chinese commercial ties, though soon to fall under Portuguese control; Arab influences aside from religion include coffee, Arabic writing, simplified and austere version of mosque architecture, replacing the ornate Hindu-Buddhist temples of the Madjapahit regime; Chinese influences also strong, including tailored jackets, trousers, silk textiles, porcelain trade wares, etc.)

74 through 76: Sinitic, with intensive rice, millet, or wheat agriculture; swine, cattle, some goats, but no dairying; extensive water control for irrigation, drainage, flood-protection, or canal transport; highly developed stone- and wood-carving; roof-tiles, with characteristic curving ridge; very high development of ceramics, including true porcelain; high development of silk textile art; writing ideographic; printing from wood-blocks on paper; Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist sects; long historical-literary-philosophical tradition, shared by all participating units of Sinitic cultural type.

74. Chinese (highly centralized governing bureaucracy selected through civil-service literary examination system; postal services; in 1500 A. D. China, under the Ming Dynasty, was the largest political entity on earth, and probably the wealthiest and most populous country that had ever existed up to that time under unified rule and more or less homogeneous cultural traditions; with feudalism long since abolished, the social structure consisted of fairly open social classes — peasant farmers, craftsmen, and laborers in the towns and cities, merchants, landed gentry, scholarly governing elite, and a small hereditary imperial nobility of recently humble origin; far-ranging sea-trade with Indonesia and Southeast Asia; fireworks, some cannon; rice wine and some distilled rice brandy; encyclopedias, anthologies, theatricals, puppet-shows; landscape painting, portraiture, fine bronze and brass-casting, extremely high developments in ceramics, ivory-carving, etc; factory-system for production of pottery, textiles, book-publishing; Annam, recently freed of direct political control, closely patterned on Chinese culture, expanding southward into Cochin-China.)

75. Korean (in many details, closely patterned after Chinese, above, but with an alphabetic system of writing in addition to ideographs, recent inventions of movable-type printing, rain-gauges; long passed its cultural peak of achievement, and moving into a period of invasion and stagnation)

76. Japanese (likewise similar to Chinese Area, above, but with a full-fledged feudal social structure, local nobles and their warrior henchmen at war with each other under a shadowy central "imperial" government; notable differences from

Chinese culture in Shintō religion, perpetuated alongside introduced Buddhist sects, possession of two native syllabic scripts used to supplement Chinese ideographs, domestic architecture and Shintō shrine architecture showing in their use of wooden construction, roof-form, piling, possible affinities with Indonesia, Area 73-56; strong maritime orientation, much dependence on marine food products, including fish, shellfish, seaweeds, and with some whaling).

The contents of the brief cultural characterizations above are far from satisfactory, but are perhaps sufficient for our purposes. The utility of the culture-area approach has been often challenged, but an examination of anthropological literature over the past generation indicates that is firmly established in practice if not in theory. Many partisans of extreme anthropological functionalism or of equally extreme cultural psychologism have nevertheless found this tool of historical-geographical analysis useful; units such as "the Southwest", "the Plains", "the Northwest Coast", "the Northern Algonkians and Athapaskans" are often mentioned in the writings of the culture-and-personality school.

Several standard objections to culture-area mapping have been shown either to be without foundation, or to be deficiencies of cartographic presentation generally — at least of mapping on small-scale bases. The advantages of devising a map for a particular date rather than for a shifting chronology have been stated. More important than the problem of deciding upon a date-line for such a map is the matter of the degree of subdivision — partly a question of map-scale, and the related factor of legibility, but also partly a question of the purpose of the map in the first place.

A world culture-area map for 1500 A. D. should dispel some overly simplified notions of the homogeneity of so-called "primitive cultures", which in some disciplines are regarded as little more than responses to geographical environment. Instead, such a map should call attention to the role of historical processes — diffusion, migration, conquest, political expansion, and the like, in producing the complex mosaic of the world's cultures. It should also help to weaken the Europe-centered world-view prevailing among many scholars, whose culture-historical perspectives often resemble the fanciful "Texan's map of the United States" in their allocation of historical time-space.

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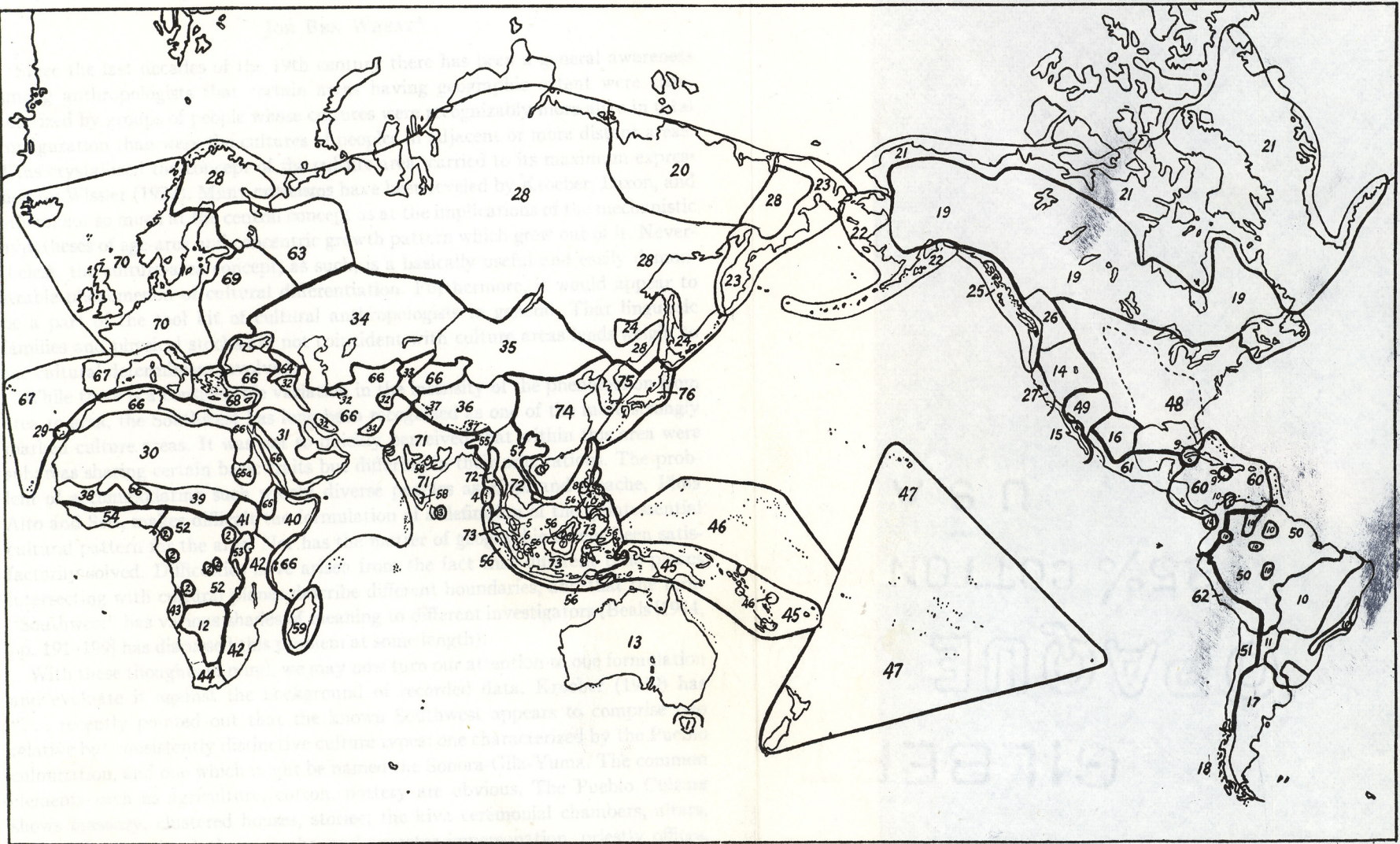


FIGURE 1. A world map of culture-areas for about 1500 A. D.