



1. Minoan Dress

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MINOAN DRESS*

by

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References in bold type (e.g. 1) refer both to notes and to drawings in Fig. 1; others (e.g. 2) refer only to notes

I The contemporary representations of Minoan dress are so numerous, so accurate, and are distributed over so long a period of time, that it is possible to trace this first indigenous European type of clothing to its essential origins, and also to connect it with later types of clothing in some regions of Europe, which survive into modern times in spite of the wide range, for many centuries, of the quite distinct type represented by the costumes of Greece and Italy in classical times.

It will assist our enquiry if we note at the outset (i) that though skins, fleeces and even furs are occasionally worn by Minoan people, the normal materials for dress are textiles; (ii) that every 'length' of a textile¹ has (a) its lateral edges (selvedges) where the marginal warp threads are bound together by the returning weft, so that they support each other against marginal wear and tear—and sometimes are of stronger yarn for this purpose—and (b) its terminal edges, parallel with the loom beam and roller, at which the warp threads run out beyond the weft, and the weft threads are prevented from fraying out, either by folding the edge of the piece into a stitched 'hem,' or by tying small groups of the projecting warp-threads together, to form a fringe, or a row of tassels. The latter are often recognizable, in ancient representations, and reveal the direction in which the garment has been made up from the original piece.²

The direction of the lines of an inwoven pattern is not decisive on this point, for a striped pattern may result from the introduction of coloured threads either (a) in the original warp on the loom beam,³ or (b) in the shuttle-woven weft, either over the whole length of the piece,⁴ or in a decorative band across each end: for it must be remembered that early textiles were not woven at indefinite length, but in short pieces like a towel or a blanket, which were at first worn as separate garments, and only secondarily made up, and eventually cut up, into shaped skirts and coats.

Where a lengthways and a crossways pattern are combined in a plaid or diaper fabric, it is not easy to discover which element is supplied by the warp threads and which by the weft, even where their rhythm is different.

It will simplify analysis if we deal first with men's dress and afterwards with women's, which is more elaborate.

Men's Dress

The elementary garment at all periods is a short loom-length, like a towel, worn kilt-wise round the waist with a selvedge above and below, and the fringed or tasselled ends overlapping in front, usually a little out of the

middle.⁵ The end patterns in the weft thus reinforce the decorative effect of the fringes. Sometimes a 'codpiece' (penis sheath) was worn,⁶ as by some Libyan people on Egyptian monuments, usually concealed by the kilt, but sometimes protruding through the overfold, and decorated.

This 'towel'-kilt was at first held in position by tucking or tying the upper corners; but when these were made to overlap a cord was used as a girdle, and knotted. In an Egyptian tomb painting the bow loops of such a cord are shown on each side.⁷ On this girdle was slung by a loop the leather sheath of a dagger which is clearly shown outside the kilt in clay figures at Petsofa, in front of the left hip.⁸ Later, the girdle becomes composite. A stiff belt of concave section, like the rim of a cycle wheel, with overlapping ends sliding easily on one another,⁹ is worn over the kilt, and secured by a cord or band lying in the concavity, and apparently encircling the waist several times.¹⁰ This, with friendly help, could be drawn very tight, to give the characteristic Minoan 'wasp waist.' This stiff belt may have been of leather or sheet-metal, to judge from coloured representations. To prevent it from fretting the wearer it was worn over a pad, which swelled out above and below, and was covered with a textile pillowcase, and embroidered.¹¹ Votive models of such belts are associated at Knossos with models of women's dresses (*see below*).¹²

Thus sustained, the kilt was sometimes multiple like a Highland kilt, each layer adorned with a border, which stood out stiffly, the shorter above the longer.¹³ A quite different garment results when the kilt is long, loose, and drawn inwards below between the legs like the baggy 'Turkish' trousers.¹⁴ In its modern fully developed form, the free edges of the original 'kilt' are sewn together from the waist downwards, and the lower selvedge is sewn to itself like the bottom of a sack, leaving an opening at each lower corner for the legs.¹⁵ Above, the selvedge was folded on itself and sewn to form a draw to carry the belt cord. This is the widespread and characteristic garment of the mountain zone, from Persia and beyond (in Greek *ἀναξυρίδες*: Herodotus v. 49, vii. 64) to Britain: Teutonic *Schurz* and our own *skirt* may be the same word. In Asia it was, and is, worn very loose; but the slack can be drawn up through the girdle either all round or in a mass behind, like a bustle.¹⁶ For use in brush-wood or scrub, it is shaped so as to fit tightly from knees to waist, very widely in medieval Europe, and in Albania and Greece till now.^{17, 30} In classical Greece it was completely superseded, but was reintroduced in the Middle Ages from Balkan lands and is worn on the mainland under a pleated linen skirt (*fustanella*).^{18, 30} In another variant the single kilt is replaced by an apron, back and front, suspended from the girdle.¹⁹ This is rare in Minoan Crete, but in Cyprus a similar origin may

* *With Plate A and a text figure.*



MINOAN CLAY VOTIVE FIGURE FROM PETSOFIA IN EASTERN CRETE

The detached head is from another example from Petsofia: both slightly enlarged

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be suggested for the characteristic loin-cloth of early classical times,²⁰ in which the hind apron is prolonged to a point drawn forwards between the legs and upwards in front, to be tied or buttoned to the belt or below it. This remained in use till the end of the sixth century. The Homeric ζωστήρ and the early Greek διαζωμα (Thucydides i, 6) may have been of this fashion; but no representations of them are preserved. Intermediates between this fore-and-aft loin-cloth and the 'towel'-kilt have the lower margin cut high over the hips, and stiffened with a broad border.²¹ Some of them seem to have the front and back aprons connected between the thighs as in the Cypriote type.²²

Vest and Cloak. Above the waist Minoan men usually wore nothing; but elders and dignitaries have a large shawl or blanket thrown foursquare over the shoulders.²³ Rarely this is sewn together down the front, bell-shaped on the shoulders, with a stiff spreading border below.²⁴ Its elaborate scale-pattern of embroidery shows that it is not a garment for every day; nor is it armour, though it seems to have had armholes. At Petsofa one figure wears a plaid wrapped round the waist, with the ends thrown backwards over each shoulder and tucked into the waist-fold behind, exactly as worn by a Scottish shepherd.

In the Late Minoan period²⁶ there are representations of a vest, or tunic, consisting of two rectangular pieces of textile, front and back sewn together from the lower edge to the armpits, and then from the arms to the neck, forming shoulder-straps, so that the vest needed no other fastening. Later there was a slit in front of the neck, closed by laces, hooks or buttons. The lateral seams and the shoulder-seams are usually emphasized by a broad band of colour, and sometimes the arm-and-neck openings have the same, evidently an applied braid or binding.

Quite late (L.M. III) a similar vest, but much longer, is worn both by men and by women, with the addition of short sleeves continuous with the back and front of the garment from the shoulder-seams:²⁷ there is no attempt to insert a separate sleeve-piece: compare the women's bodices below. Evidently this garment is the counterpart of the baggy trousers, except that the armholes are left in the sides, not in the end of the 'bag.' It is quite distinct, in structure and origin, from the primitive oriental undergarment,²⁸ which is of a single piece sewn together down the front, and on either side of the neck for shoulder-straps, and slit from the shoulders downwards for armholes.²⁹ In B 251 the dead man in front of his tomb is wrapped in a mere sheet with selvedge down the front and no sleeve-holes. This is the prototype of the Greek 'Ionic' χιτών for women which Herodotus (v. 87) says was 'Carian,' that is, West Asiatic. Herodotus notes the tasselled linen *chitons* of Egypt (iv. 81) and the embroidered sleeves (clearly 'inserted') of Persian men (vii. 61); and it is contrasted by Greek writers with the so-called 'Doric' *chiton* which belongs to the alternative type of costume, a mere wrapper like a blanket, open up one of its vertical sides, and requiring pins to fasten it.

The Late Minoan vest is represented in Cyprus and survives there until classical times, with the traditional

broad band along the seams: with the 'Cypriote loin-cloth' it is worn inside the kilt, like a modern shirt in Europe and in Albania, whereas in modern Greece it is worn outside³⁰ or replaced by a linen kilt (*fustanella*).

Women's Dress

Though later elaborate, Minoan women's dress is easily traced to the same elementary structure as that of the men. From the waist downwards a simple 'towel'-skirt descended to the feet, and was secured by a girdle looped on itself, with long ends. No doubt this skirt was originally open at its overfold, like that of the men; but at Petsofa,³¹ where it is sewn together from tapering gores—of which one selvedge is exposed obliquely—it converges to form a conical tube. There is no trace of the 'baggy trouser' form in the Ægean, though this is widespread for women in the Mountain Zone to Persia and India. This simplest garment appears in the neolithic graves of the peat-bogs of Denmark and North-western Germany, already 'gathered' in deep folds at the waist, through which the girdle is threaded in holes cut for the purpose.³² It is associated with a bodice or jacket^{46a} which will be compared below with the Minoan bodice; and probably this primitive costume prevailed throughout peninsular Europe. It persists as the essential woman's dress until modern times. Sometimes it has attached a pad to relieve the constraint of the belt.³³

But in Minoan Crete a very early—perhaps the earliest—garment makes provision also, with a similar foursquare shawl or blanket, for the upper part of the body as well as the lower,²⁵ by the simple expedient of wrapping the blanket angle-wise round the waist, so that the opposite angles overlap. From these angles, the lower margins—the outer one fringed, the inner a selvedge—diverged so as to give room for the knees and feet in front, and converged to the downward angle which may reach the ground behind, and provides both protection and a seat on rough ground.³⁴ Meanwhile the upper margins diverge at or below the breasts and leave the throat exposed, and converge behind the head at the fourth angle. One of these upper edges would be fringed, the inner one a selvedge. This upper angle, if the garment is large enough, can be drawn forward as a hood over the head and secured by a band or a pin to the hair; or it can be thrown backwards, and hang reversed between the shoulders, giving double protection against cold. This is the normal dress of the votive women at Petsofa (Plate A),³⁵ where the oblique lower margins are shown as bands of ornaments, and the upper point as an upstanding 'Medici' collar. In the best preserved of these figures the arms protrude from the outer surface of this garment, as if they were thrust through slits near the upper edges. The girdle is a slip knot with long hanging ends.³⁶

Rarely, the women at Petsofa wear a foursquare towel as an apron in front, hanging from the girdle.³⁷ This apron, originally a household precaution, later became an ornate overskirt in full dress, shaped over the hips and hanging to the knee before and behind.⁴³ This pointed and roughly triangular shape may also have resulted from wearing a



FIG. I. MINOAN DRESS: ANCIENT EXAMPLES AND MODERN SURVIVALS
Re-drawn by Miss Mary Potter, Oxford

larger square of textile folded diagonally and tied round the waist by its lateral angles.

Some Minoan skirts, however, of later date but of the foursquare style first mentioned, ended at the belt, which was of the same elaborate construction as that of the men, and for the same reason, to compress the waist. It also served to secure numerous overskirts, each shorter than the one below it, with stiff outstanding edges.³⁸ Sometimes these were consolidated with the foundation skirt as flounces, straight or zig-zag.³⁹ The whole garment was sometimes stiffened by a crinoline frame⁴⁰ and sometimes also looks as if it were a 'divided skirt' sewn up between the legs.⁴¹

Bodice or Jacket. With these belted skirts further protection was needed above the waist, and the same simple device supplied it. A smaller 'square' of textile, like the 'one-piece'⁴² costume already described, was wrapped corner-wise under or over the arms, crossed in front, and secured by a vertical pin. The latter survived in the most elaborate laced corsets (e.g. the 'Cambridge Goddess'),⁴³ and one or two examples of it are known: it has nothing to do with the eventual 'safety pin' fibula.

This 'bodice' or 'jacket' underwent the same adaptations as the 'one-piece' costume, but more elaborately: even in its elaborated styles it could still be attached to the skirt as a single garment.^{43a} (a) the downward angle was worn within the belt, or cut away, as in the 'Zouave' jacket which is worn from Persia to Moorish Africa. It could also be retained as a 'back-pannier' or overskirt, but there is no certain example of this. (b) The lateral angles were cut away and replaced by straight edges, which were drawn together by laces, or loops with buttons.⁴⁴ This was probably primæval, since one of these edges must have been a tassel-edge, and the other a strong selvedge, in which button-holes could be cut. The lack of evidence on this point is examined separately below. (c) The upper angle became a standing collar, which varied in shape, and could be worn like a sailor's collar, either erect or folded back over the shoulders. (d) The slits for the arms, cross-slit at the ends, provided free flaps behind the arms; which were also decorated and stiffened like the collar between them⁴⁵; or they were elongated and laced round the upper arm, like a sleeve. (e) Sometimes the whole bodice was reinforced with stays.

The Foursquare Bodice. It is not easy to distinguish some of these variants from derivatives of the primitive European bodice,⁴⁶ which in colder climates protected the neck, throat and arms by a foursquare garment worn over both shoulders, but slit in the middle of the upper margin to make a place for the neck, and in the middle of each side margin to provide a closed sleeve above, and a free flap below the arms⁴⁷ which folded over the opposite flap and was secured by strings or buttons.⁴⁸ Note here as throughout this primitive dress-making, the care taken to avoid waste of textile or fur, and unnecessary seams.

The Long Robe. On Late Minoan frescoes and on vases from Cyprus, a long foldless garment hangs from the shoulders nearly to the feet, and seems to have arm-holes and perhaps sleeves; but the drawing is conventional and

vague.⁴⁹ As the figures are all in profile, it is uncertain whether it was closed in front like the Ionic *chiton*, or was an open overgarment.⁵⁰ Sometimes it is decorated with many dots, a conventional representation of wool or fur. It usually has a well-marked border, but no girdle.

Beads and Buttons

It is now time to consider the ways in which open garments could be temporarily closed or held together. The fringe-edges of any textile could be knotted or plaited into knots or loops; and a knot could be passed through an opposite loop. On a selvedge, which was stronger, beads or buttons could be sewn, or button-holes cut; or a toggle took the place of a pair of buttons. The rarity of early buttons is easily explained, for a button is but a lop-sided bead, and in neolithic Europe goes back to the bead with V-perforation. On the peasant costumes of Greece and the Balkan lands normal beads commonly replace buttons, and crochet loops along a selvedge avoid cutting button-holes in the fabric. Probably many of the isolated beads in early graves were used as buttons on garments that have perished.

The customary distinction between garments which do, or do not, need a dress-pin—not to mention a safety-pin (fibula)—is therefore not absolute. A notable anomaly is the use already mentioned (cf. ⁴⁷) of a hook-headed pin to lace together two edges with crochet loops or metal rings, instead of a row of buttons or beads.

Headdresses

Minoan men usually wear no head-gear: their hair is dressed in long ringlets falling below the shoulders behind, and more closely curled above the forehead.⁵¹ Rarely there is a flat hat with a brim, like the modern Cretan straw hat.⁵²

Minoan women wear their hair in long ringlets over the shoulders and closer curls piled on the head or behind the neck.⁵³ There are many varieties of straight hairpins with ornamental heads, and some traces of a band above the forehead.⁵⁴ At Petsofa large flat hats are worn pinned far back on the head, and rising high in front, sometimes with rosettes or flowers beneath the brim.⁵⁵ At Knossos there are flat caps,⁵⁶ elaborate tiaras, crown-like⁵⁷ or high and conical,⁵⁸ with a cat,⁵⁹ snake,⁶⁰ and other ornaments. A woman from Tylissos wears a close-fitting cap with decorated edge.

Footwear and Gloves

Characteristic of Minoan men are the top-boots rising nearly to the knee, of white leather like those of modern Crete. There were also sandals, with several straps laced through the margin of the sole,⁶¹ and leathern leggings. The women seem to have been usually barefoot.⁶² Gloves were worn.⁶³

Survivals of the Minoan Types of Dress

Examples have been already noted, of the widespread occurrence of modern peasant costumes which closely

resemble the Minoan, and especially the three-piece woman's dress, of skirt, bodice, and apron; and of the very early appearance of the same type, for example in the early bronze age tumulus of Borum-Eshoi in Denmark.^{32 46a}

These resemblances are the more notable when account is taken of the later habit, also very widespread, of supplementing the essential costume with 'underclothing,' the purpose of which is indicated in its Italian name *mutande*; that is to say, made of a light textile such as linen, which can be frequently changed and washed. The distribution of such underclothing is closely connected with the spread of knowledge of linen from Egypt, where alone it can be shown to be immemorial, or from Babylonia, where the evidence is less complete; but the dress of historic times presumes the use of undergarments, especially in the frequency of an overgarment which is open in front from the neck downwards. This 'night-gown-and-dressing-gown' fashion, indeed, is fundamental in Hither Asia south of the mountain-zone, and has penetrated deeply also into the Highland, with the spread of Babylonian culture.

It is remarkable, in view of the early intercourse between Crete and Egypt, that there is not evidence of linen underclothing in Minoan costume. But the attempt to discover it has rested on the misinterpretation of necklaces and bracelets as hems of tight-fitting vests: and on the other hand, the representations of nude females putting on the heavy flounced skirts⁶⁴ are conclusive. This does not mean that linen was unknown. The dead man's shroud on the Hagia Triada Sarcophagus⁶⁵—white with a broad red border—may be either linen or woollen, as the white skirts of fleeces in the same painting show, but the sleeved dresses of other figures are of the same fashion as dresses elsewhere which are patterned, and certainly not linen. But linen was not common, though in the Homeric Age its use was well established, alongside white woollens. The only possible representation is of a seated woman at Petsofa⁶⁶ who seems to wear a loose-fitting tubular garment from neck to knees or below.

The striking differences in costume which result from the use of linen underclothing are best illustrated from the developments which resulted from the use of starch at the close of the sixteenth century: examples are the Swiss peasant costumes with deeply 'gauffered' frilling above the low-cut jacket, and large balloon sleeves for men and women alike^A; and the fantastic pleated *fustanella* of mainland Greece³⁰—now a separate garment, sewn into a belt—which originated in the practice, still common, of wearing the tails of the linen (or cotton) shirt outside the tight-fitting breeches derived (as above) from the primitive loin-cloth. The same costume has wide bell-sleeves on its linen vest, emerging from the sleeveless jacket, which has been adopted for men in modern Greek mainland costumes.³⁰ The Europeanized Greek court-dress named after Queen Amalia^B is essentially the same as the traditional costume of Samos; and the same components, skirt, apron, belt, open jacket and linen vest with sleeves, persist in the peasant costumes of Epirus,^C with the addition of a sleeved overcoat, open in front, which has intruded from the Turkish women's dress of Asia Minor, in the old

'night-gown-and-dressing-gown' tradition which survives in Calymnos and other islands off the Anatolian coast.

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- PM I-IV: Evans A. J., *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, I-IV, 1901-36 and *Index*. S.V. Dress: Votive
 B: Bossert, H., *The Art of Ancient Crete*, London, 1937.
 BSA IX: *British School Annual*, London, 1902-3, 356-387, pl. VII-XIII.
 Crossfield, Lady D., *Dances of Greece*, London, 1948, pl. 1-4.

Men's Dress

- 1 Textile selvedge and fringe-edge.
- 2 B 545.
- 3 Textile with warp-pattern.
- 4 Textile with woof-pattern.
- 5 BSA 545-8; fringes PM II 744, fig. 479.
- 6 B 269, 275, 285 b, 316, 321, 516, 538; PM II 34ff., III 444ff.
- 7 B 545.
- 8 B 285.
- 9 B 228-9, 231.
- 10 PM I 151; II suppl. pl. XIII.
- 11 BSA IX 378, pl. XI, 32, 33.
- 12 BSA IX 83, fig. 58, cushion-belt.
- 13 B 390 a, 398 e, h.
- 14 B fig. 15, s-v; PM II suppl. pl. XVII.
- 15 Sack-shaped 'Turkish' trousers.
- 16 Sack-shaped, girt high: modern Cretan (after *Dances of Greece*, pl. 2).
- 17 Tight breeches and *fustanella* skirt: modern Greek (see 30).
- 18 B 320-22.
- 19 PM III suppl. pl. XXXIX b, c.
- 20 Cypriote loin-cloth: Myres, *Hdbk. Cesnola Coll.*, New York, 1915, no. 1045-47.
- 21 Minoan loin-cloth, side view: see 6.
- 22 PM IV 197.
- 23 B 394f., 458, 483, 502.
- 24 B 276, 280; PM II suppl. pl. XVII.
- 25 BSA IX 345-6, pl. X 11.
- 26 B 41, 42: vest or tunic, sewn at one side.
- 27 PM IV 388, fig. 333; 403, fig. 335; 413-4, figs. 341-2.
- 28 Oriental vest, sewn up the front.
- 29 B 251: dead man in sheet with selvedge.
- 30 Modern Greek: tight breeches, *fustanella* skirt, belt and jacket (after *Dances of Greece*, pl. 4).

Women's Dress

- 31 B 288.
- 32 Northern gathered skirt: Sophus Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde*, 1897, fig. 131.
- 33 BSA IX pl. XI, 28.
- 34 Minoan primitive wrapper: B 288, 297.
- 35 Petsofa, B 281; Knossos, BSA IX 75-77, figs. 54-57 and 82, fig. 58; PM IV 194, fig. 152, suppl. pl. XLVII.
- 36 B 288, 289; PM I 277, fig. 207 k; II 33, fig. 15.
- 37 BSA IX pl. XI 27; PM III 432, fig. 392.
- 38 B 34, 40, 209, 312-15, 387-399; 400 fig. 401 a; 503, 550.
- 39 B 297.
- 40 B 397 bd; PM IV 344, fig. 287 c and 608, fig. 597 k.
- 41 PM IV 314-5, figs. 330-1.
- 42 Minoan primitive bodice.
- 43 Corset-pin: PM II 236; IV fig. 123 b; 176, fig. 139.
- 43a BSA IX 82, fig. 58.
- 44 B 51; PM III 441, fig. 30 (Boston).
- 45 B 40, 255, 314-5; PM III 28, fig. 15 A; 92-7, figs. 30-34; IV 32, figs. 17, 49, pl. XVII, 176, fig. 139. Stays: PM IV 31-2.
- 46 B 34; BSA IX 384, fig. 3. Sophus Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde*, 1887, fig. 135. In modern Chios the slit is up the front: Argenti and Rose, *Folklore of Chios*, 1949, fig. 70.

47 *PM* III 370, pl. XXV.

48 B 290, 295.

49 B 32; *PM* II 33.

50 B 150.

Headdresses, etc.

51 B 90, 280.

52 *PM* III 461, 475.

53 B 34; *PM* IV 384-5, fig. 319, pl. XXXI.

54 B 64, 81, 88, 227, 235, 500-1, 503.

55 B 83 a-d, 86, 87, 281, 288, 317.

56 *PM* III 427, fig. 297; IV 393, fig. 329 a.

57 B 290, 501, 507.

58 B 289; *PM* II 236, fig. 123 b; IV 36, fig. 4, suppl. pl. XLIV and 76, fig. 134, suppl. pl. XLVII.

59 *PM* III 443, fig. 306.

60 B 401 e.

61 *PM* IV 728, fig. 453.

62 *PM* II 235, 781; III 82.

63 *PM* IV 387.

64 *PM* IV 344, fig. 237 e.

65 B 251, Hagia Triada; *PM* III 69, fig. 39.

66 *BSA* IX pl. XI, 25, 26.

A Modern Swiss peasant costume.

B Modern Greek 'Amalia' costume: *Dances of Greece*, pl. 3.

C Modern Greek Epirote costume: *Dances of Greece*, pl. 1.

OBITUARIES

Ignaz Zollschan, 1877-1948

2 The Royal Anthropological Institute has lost a Fellow who came to Britain some time before the declaration of war in 1939. Dr. Ignaz Zollschan, born in 1877 and educated in medicine at the University of Vienna, became one of the pioneers of X-ray therapy. He subsequently lectured and organized health services in connexion with the University of Jerusalem, and also at Warsaw. President Masaryk supported his plea for an objective and international enquiry into the meaning of race and the prejudices which that term calls up. Coming to live in retirement in England, Dr. Zollschan gathered support for this enquiry, but the outbreak of war put his project out of practical politics. He was naturalized as a British citizen and often attended and took part in meetings at the Institute.

H. J. FLEURE

William James Perry, 1887-1949

3 The death of Dr. W. J. Perry, M.A., D.Sc., on 29 April removes the last of the great trio of champions of the Diffusionist movement in British anthropology. With Rivers and Elliot Smith, he was active from about 1914 until his premature retirement in 1939, consequent on ill health which cut



FIG. 1. WILLIAM JAMES PERRY

short the fulfilment of his life's work, besides depriving anthropology of an original and stimulating thinker.

From the City of London School, Perry went to Cambridge to read maths, and while there he attended lectures by Haddon and Rivers and developed an overwhelming interest in anthropology. The first fruits of the studies in his leisure time from school-mastering issued in 1919 in *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, prepared under Rivers's inspiration during the period when the

latter was defining his new approach to the methods of ethnology. Soon after, Perry was offered the Readership in Comparative Religion at Manchester University, and the next four years there, in close association with Elliot Smith, were important for the development of Perry's ideas, culminating, in 1923, in his major work, *The Children of the Sun*, by which he became known throughout the anthropological world. In that year he came to London as Reader in Cultural Anthropology in the Department of Human Studies set up at University College by Elliot Smith. Perry was Frazer Lecturer in 1924 and Upton Lecturer in the History of Religions at Manchester College, Oxford.

Already the illness was showing itself which was to afflict him for the rest of his life, and in 1930 he visited South Africa in search of health and field experience. He found the latter among the Pondo, but was unsuccessful as regards the former, and after a sojourn during which he was happy in making new and renewing old friendships, he returned home to carry on against increasing odds at University College. Sheer strength of will enabled him to continue work on the new book he had planned, and it appeared in 1935 as *The Primordial Ocean*. In 1939 Perry finally had to give up, and he retired to his home in Hertfordshire, where he greatly missed friendly contacts with the anthropological world. Despite his physical disability he was mentally active, reading extensively up till the time of his death. It was an increasingly distressing experience during the last few years to witness his efforts to express the thoughts which were undoubtedly crowding in on his mind, yet bearing up so valiantly and cheerfully under his affliction.

Perry's was a happy and friendly character, blended of humour, forthrightness and keen perception, and impatient of cant and humbug. Despite the violence of the controversies in which he was involved over the Diffusion issue, he maintained the most friendly relations with most of those who publicly disputed his views. His modesty and sense of proportion enabled him to meet their criticisms and condemnation of his ideas with that quiet chuckle and twinkling of the eyes which disarmed the most intractable. All were welcomed to his room at U.C., whatever their opinions, to talk, argue or lecture. He spared no pains with his students if they responded to his enthusiasm for his subject, and he inspired them with lasting affection and respect.

Space does not allow of the detailed analysis of Perry's contributions to anthropological theory which they merit, and only their general import can be indicated here.

Perry ranged widely over the field of cultural anthropology inspired by Rivers's historical approach and by Elliot Smith's belief in the Egyptian origin of early civilization. Perry's contributions were, however, uniquely his own, and always bore the stamp of his distinctive bent. Not bound by traditional formulas, he was able to set out problems in their simplest terms and widest frame-