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THE ARROW, THE HUNTER, AND THE STATE

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IN THE study of ancient statecraft one is constantly running across references to a gadget that seems so minor and so mechanical that its great importance is easily overlooked as a key to the nature and origin of empire. It is the contention of this paper that the *marked arrow* supplies decisive evidence for describing the process by which hunters were able to impose a system of government on the world. The marked arrow not only supports the growing suspicion that the peasant societies of the great river valleys became conquering empires by virtue of a discipline forced on them from without,¹ but goes on to show how such a transformation could take place. Whereas only farmers possess the industry and stability necessary to sustain a great state, the marked arrow indicates that it was nomad hunters of the steppe, with their expansive and aggressive ways, who first brought such a state into existence. Both elements, expansion and stability, must be combined if real empire—not a mere adding of fields to fields on the one hand, or the quick plunder of a continent on the other, but a program and technique of permanent, universal rule—is to be achieved.

The present study undertakes to show how by using marked arrows in a peculiar way prehistoric hunters solved the problem of exercising dominion over vast and scattered areas, and then applied the same solution to the more difficult problem of welding peasant and nomad cultures into some sort of union, resulting in the great centralized state of historic times.) Three basic questions only will be treated: what the marked arrow was, how it worked in exercising its control over the loosely-knit and widely-ranging tribes of the steppes, and how those tribes used it to coerce the unwilling tillers of the soil to cooperate in bringing forth the great state.

I

Modern observers have described how the native hunters of the northwestern coasts of America secure their harpoons and arrows by putting marks of identification on them, thus guaranteeing both the return of the weapon to its owner and the right of the latter to possess the game it has slain.² In this as in other things these people have preserved the ways of that Magdalenian hunting culture of which their own has long

been held to be the last direct survival.³ From the same venerable source are descended the marked arrows formerly found all along the northern steppe of Asia and among those Scandinavian bear—and whale—hunters who in ancient as in modern times placed their legally registered marks on hunting arrows and harpoons (which they also called "arrows") to insure their return to their owners and lawful possession of the kill.⁴ This practice of marking arrows was once general among the American Indians,⁵ and still survives among primitive hunters in various parts of the world.⁶ Indeed, nothing could be more natural than to put some mark of identification on a highly prized object designed to be risked in the gamble of the hunt.

But the mark upon the hunter's arrow is more than a mere identification-tag; it is a high and holy object, sharing the "immortal power" of the arrow itself. An arrow in flight is an awe-inspiring thing; once released (so many a proverb proclaims) the arrow is beyond human control, and finds its mark only by the workings of imponderable fate. Throughout the world the arrow is a prime instrument of divination, and enjoys first place in primitive games of chance;⁷ it is the spirit weapon that alone can prevail against the demons or pass through the absolute void between other worlds and our own.⁸ The incredible range and accuracy of the primitive arrow that so astound the civilized observer are proof to the savage himself of the operation of a supernatural power, as is evident in the prayers that the legendary heroes of the steppe—Finnish, Norse, Russian, Kazakh, Turkish, and Yakut—address to their three enchanted arrows before releasing them,⁹ and for instance, in the arrow-prayers of

³ The history of the problem is given by W. J. Hoffman, "Graphic Art of the Eskimo," *U. S. National Museum Papers*, 1895, pp. 763-5, pp. 934 ff.; see F. M. Bergounioux and A. Glory, *Les Premiers Hommes* (Paris: Didier, 1945), pp. 232-9.

⁴ H. S. Falk, *Altordische Waffenkunde* (Christiania, 1914), pp. 69 ff., p. 101.

⁵ W. J. Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XIV (1892-3), p. 278; A. C. Fletcher and F. La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," *ibid.*, Vol. XIII (1891-2), p. 287; Wm. Bray, "Observations on the Indian Method of Picture-Writing," *Archaeologia*, Vol. IV (1781), p. 168; Hermann Meyer, "Bows and Arrows in Central Brazil," *Smithsonian Report*, 1896, pp. 553, 561, 568, 571, 576 ff.; Fritz Krause, *In den Wildnissen Brasiliens* (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 264, 268-70, 360, 392-4.

⁶ Danzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-38; Stewart Culin, "Chess and Playing Cards," *U. S. National Museum Report*, 1896, p. 881.

⁷ Hans Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Leipzig, 1927-37), Vol. VI, pp. 1597-8; Sirith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Bloomington, Ind., 1932-6), D1655, 1314.1.1-5; Stewart Culin, *Games of the North American Indians* (Washington: Smithsonian Inst., 1907), pp. 36-43.

⁸ On demon-arrows, see Ignatz Goldzieher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (Leiden, 1896), pp. 29-33, 87-89, 117; Bächtold-Stäubli, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 1597; Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, ed. Stallybrass (London, 1885), pp. 436, 846, 1761. On the space-travelling arrow of the wizards, Herodotus, *Hist.*, IV, p. 36; cf. Erich Beche, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. 1, pp. 16 ff.; Jas. Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta* (Oxford, 1883), Pt. 2, p. 153; *Völuspá*, pp. 31-33 (36-37).

⁹ *Kalevala*, trans. J. M. Crawford (N. Y., 1888), pp. 80-81; Paul B. Du Chaillu, *The Viking North* (N. Y., 1889), Vol. 1, p. 79; V. P. Avenarius, *Kniga Bulin* (8th ed., Moscow, 1913), No. 10, pp. 108 ff.; No. 6, pp. 59 ff.; No. 3, pp. 34 ff.; A. S. Orlov, *Kazakhskii Geroicheskii Epos* (Academy of Sciences: Moscow, 1945), p. 41, n. 2; p. 83; N. K. Dmitriev, *Turyzskoe Narodnoye Shaski* (Leningrad: Govt. Press "Foreign Literature," 1949), pp. 38-41; Fr. Gieser, *Turkische Märchen* (Jena, 1925), pp. 75-84; M. A. Sergiev, *Yakutskii Folklor* (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel, 1936), pp. 59 ff.

¹ M. Hoernes, *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* (Vienna, 1939), Vol. II, pp. 392-6; T. Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. II (1943), 159-172; C. H. Bishop, "The Beginnings of Civilization in Eastern Asia," *Smithsonian Report*, 1940, p. 431, pp. 433-445.

² F. Heizer, "Poison Whaling," *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology* (No. 24, Bull. 133, 1941) pp. 421, 429-36, 440, 446; Ales Hrdlicka, *The Aleutian and Commander Islands* (Philadelphia: Wistar Inst., 1945), pp. 130, 132; Theodor Danzel, *Die Anfänge der Schrift* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 38.

the Indian and the Beduin,¹⁰ all eloquently expressing the humility of men about to entrust their lives and their fate to a power beyond their control.

The problem of the hunter is to enlist this strange power in his own interest. This requires recourse to the ingenious economy of the hunting-fetish, that go-between without whose aid a man can neither prevail against the game he chases nor enjoy lawful possession of it once taken.¹¹ Among a variety of fetishes which achieve these ends, the mark placed upon a shaft is particularly useful, for not only does it establish legal claim to the kill, but it is "the soul of the arrow," directing the missile to its prey and endowing it with superhuman force.¹² Both for identification and as hunting magic the sign on an arrow is a preeminently practical thing; it gets and it proves possession—a point on which hunters are extremely sensitive. Out of sight and beyond the hills, the smitten quarry is still the sacred property of him whose mark adorns the fatal arrow: why shouldn't such a useful claim to ownership apply to other things as well? By sticking his arrow in the ground beside any object the Vedda claims that object as his own. A natural transition carries the authority of the marked arrow into a wider economy of human affairs.

II

Throughout the ancient world a ruler was thought to command everything his arrow could touch. Thus whenever a ruler of the North would summon all his subjects to his presence, he would order an arrow, usually called a "war-arrow" (*herör*) to be "cut up" and sent out among them. Upon being touched by this arrow, every man had immediately to "follow the arrow" (*fylga örur*) to the royal presence or suffer banishment from the kingdom.¹³ The arrow itself, in fact, was thought to pursue the wretch who failed to heed the king's behest.¹⁴ The "cutting" of the arrow was the placing of the royal mark upon it, giving it the force

¹⁰ J. Curtin and J. N. B. Hewitt, "Seneca Fiction, Legends, and Myths, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology Annual Report, Vol. XXXII (1910-11), pp. 317 ff.; F. H. Cushing, *ibid.*, Vol. II (1882-1), pp. 41 ff.; cf. S. Colin, U. S. National Museum Report 1896, p. 881, n. 1; M. C. Stevenson, "The Zuni Indians," U. S. Bureau of Ethnology Report, Vol. XXIII (1901-2), p. 332. The Arab hunter must call on Allah with each bow-shot; Al-Bokhari, *Kitab al-Jami' as-Sahih*, ed. M. Krehl and T. W. Joyntoll (Leiden, 1908), Vol. IV, p. 7, and breathe on his arrows, exactly like the Zuni; Georg Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (Berlin, 1897), p. 125. For arrow-prayers in India, see Victor Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde Antique* (Paris, 1904), p. 152.

¹¹ Cushing, *op. cit.*, p. 39; J. Gillin, *The Barana River Caribs* (Peabody Mus., 1936), pp. 180, 183-4; Hoernes, *Natur- und Urgesch.*, Vol. I, p. 512.

¹² Ed. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- u. Altertumskunde* (Berlin, 1908), Vol. III, p. 378; Culin, *loc. cit.*; E. W. Nelson, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, Vol. XVIII (1896-7), p. 159; cf. p. 154; Dantel, *Anfänge der Schrift*, p. 34; Du. Chaillu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 71, 79, 92. To give his arrows greater power and accuracy Ishi changed the markings on them; Saxton Pope, *Hunting with the Bow and Arrow* (N. Y.: Putnam, 1947), pp. 26 ff.

¹³ Saxo, *Historia Danorum*, ed. H. Jantzen (Oslo, 1900), p. 244 (153=228-9); for the Norse expressions, see G. Vigfusson and R. Cleasby, *Icelandic Eng. Dict. s.v. or.*

¹⁴ Karl Weinhold, "Beiträge zu den deutschen Kriegsalterümern," *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin*, 1891 (Phil.-Hist. Kl. 29), p. 548; the king's arrow pursues breakers of the King's Peace; Bächtold-Stäubli, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1598.

of the king's seal.¹⁵ As often as not the arrow took the form of a simple rod (*stefni*), bearing marks of authorization while the message was delivered by word of mouth, a technique recalling that of Australian and some American primitives in sending their message-sticks.¹⁶

The summons-arrow is common to the whole northern steppe, where exceedingly archaic forms of it are to be found, and where it has survived until recent times.¹⁷ Both as war-arrow and invitation-stick (depending on whether it is rejected or accepted) it appears among the American Indians, especially of the Northwest.¹⁸ But its most significant occurrence is found in altered but easily recognizable forms in the classical civilizations of the Old World.

The herald of Zeus goes forth to summon his subjects armed with a golden wand that subdues all creatures with its touch. Hermes got this staff originally from Apollo, who brought it with him as an arrow from the land of the Hyperboreans, somewhere in the northern steppe.¹⁹ Hermes' speciality is rushing through the air by means of his messenger-staff, the Caduseus, which is winged at one end like an arrow, and pointed at the other; holding to this the god is able to fly through space, to the upper and lower worlds if need be, exactly as Abaris, the Hyperborean shaman, flies over all the earth as Apollo's emissary when he grasps the arrow that the god has given him as a sign of his authority.²⁰ It is not necessary to multiply parallels to show that in the earliest stratum of Greek legend we have a typical summons-arrow, wending its way from the far north to impose law and civilization on the world in the name of Zeus.²¹ The first message of Rome to Carthage was a symbolic caduseus and javelin (*hastae simulacrum*) inviting the Carthaginians to submit or be subdued by force (Gellius, *Noct. Att. X*, 27).

¹⁵ Weinhold, *loc. cit.*; Falk, *Altordische Waffenkunde*, p. 102; Finnur Jonsson in his edition of *Egils Saga Skjalgrimsosonar* (Halle, 1924), p. 9.

¹⁶ Vigfusson and Cleasby, *op. cit.*, p. 42. The message-staff (*bothkefli*) was readily "in einen Pfeil umgeschmitten," Weinhold, *op. cit.*, pp. 548 ff.

¹⁷ Weinhold, *op. cit.*, pp. 548 ff. German *Botenholzer* survived into the late Middle Ages; Jantzen, *Saxo* p. 244, n. 1. Summons-arrows used by the Seljuk Turks in the 13th century; Fikret Islihan, *Die Seldschuken Geschichte des Akerayi* (Leipzig, 1943), p. 28. These still survive in North India; Hoernes, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 521; cf. the "ulam-staff" of the Lama gods; C. A. S. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism* (Peiping, 1931), opp. p. 212.

¹⁸ W. E. Roth, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, Vol. XXXVIII (1916-7), p. 582; *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, (1908-9), p. 362; G. Mulley, "Pictographs of the North American Indians," *ibid.*, Vol. IV (1882-3), pp. 87-88; W. J. Hoffman, *ibid.*, Vol. VII (1885-6), p. 227, Pl. xii.

¹⁹ Apollo gave the staff to Hermes as a symbolon (Homer, *Hymn to Hermes*, 527-530) exactly as he gave an arrow-symbolon to his friend Abaris, the Hyperborean, who used it as Hermes did his staff, to carry him through the air as a messenger of the god (M. Crusius, in Roscher's *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Vol. I, p. 2819). On the Hyperborean origin of Apollo's arrow and Hermes' caduseus, see Crusius, *ibid.*, p. 2807-9.

²⁰ Crusius, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 2815. Origen, *Contra Celsum* III, 31, reports the belief that Abaris shot himself through the air like an arrow, a favorite trick of the Asiatic shaman.

²¹ Robt. Eitrem in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* 8, 781-4, and 3, 1170 ff. It is the arrow which gives the title of Pantokrator, *ibid.*, 8, 791, O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religion* (Munich, 1906), p. 1072.

In Israel the Lord, calling upon a city to declare its allegiance to him, sends his rod to it, and a herald (a man of *tushiah*), seeing the name on the rod, calls out to the people: "Hear ye the rod and the one who hath appointed it!" That this rod was an arrow will presently become apparent.²²

An impressive demonstration of the authority of the summons-arrow is the early and widespread rite of the four world-arrows. The Olaf-Trygvason saga states a number of times (c.102, 104, 222) that summons-arrows were sent "in the four directions." For the oldest and greatest festival of India, the Asvamedha, the King must send messengers in the four directions to order "all who have been conquered by his arrows" to appear before him. The common use of the summons-arrow in Aryan India makes the meaning of the rite clear.²³ At the creation of the world, according to Zuni doctrine, four marked arrows, "the word-painted arrows of destiny," were carried "to the regions of men, four in number," an event resembling a yearly ritual of the Kwakiutls of the Northwest.²⁴ A variant of this is the shooting of arrows in the four directions, as in the Ghost-dance of the Sioux, where four sacred arrows were shot into the air towards the cardinal points to symbolize the conquest of the earth by the tribe.²⁵ A like practice is attributed in Jewish legend to the Emperor Titus and to Nimrod who, from Jerusalem and Babel respectively, shot arrows in the four directions and claimed dominion over all that lay within their range.²⁶ The rite appears also in Indo-Iranian creation myths, and in the Sumerian story of Adad and the Zu-bird.²⁷ In the Old World and the New it is also common to depict the swastika with its four arms formed of marked arrows—plainly the four world-arrows.

Related to the world-arrows is the world-wide practice of making a sanctuary by marking off an area on the ground with the point of an arrow, dividing it into four sections by a cross with its arms to the cardinal points.²⁸ The Germanic custom of claiming land by shooting a fiery arrow over it²⁹ may be related to the oldest land-measurement in India,

²² Micah 6:2; cf. Jer. 48:17, Ezek. 19:10-14; A. S. Yahuda, *The Accuracy of the Bible* (London, 1934), pp. 10-113.

²³ P. E. Dunoyer, *L'Asvamedha* (Paris, 1927), pp. viii, 384, 386, 356, 380. *Supra*, n. 17.

²⁴ Culin, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 46; cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. III, pp. 378 ff., fig. 6; F. Bous, "The Kwakiutls," *U. S. National Museum Report*, 1895, pp. 503-9, 517, 521.

²⁵ James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XIV (1892-3), pp. 832, 915 ff.; the conquest motif, pp. 788 ff.

²⁶ M. Gaster, in J. Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, pp. 810, 783; the Nimrod version is in the *Book of Jasher*, 9:35.

²⁷ A. F. Carnoy, *Iranian Mythology*, Vol. VI, *Mythol. of All Races* (Boston, 1917), pp. 302 ff., 308; Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Pt. II, pp. 94 ff., 103, Pt. I, pp. 18-22. The Zu-bird, contending for the government of the world, was smitten by the arrow of the god, who thereupon "founds his cities in the four regions." P. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen* (Berlin, 1903), p. 49.

²⁸ Carnoy, *loc. cit.*; Bachold-Straubli, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 1598; La Flesche, in *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XXXIX (1917-8), p. 234; Cushing, *ibid.*, Vol. II (1883-4), p. 42; W. J. Hoffman, *ibid.*, Vol. XIV (1892-3), pp. 196-9; Cicero *de divinat.*, I, 17; Ludwig Werniger, "Feralis Exercitus," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Vol. IX (1906), pp. 246-8.

²⁹ J. A. MacCulloch, *Eddic Mythology*, Vol. II of *Mythol. of All Races* (1930), pp. ii, 201.

which was the range of a throwing-stick or "measurement by arrow-casts," later supplanted by measurement in bow-lengths.³⁰ The apportionment of land by the drawing of arrow-lots was common to the Assyrians and the ancient Norse (whence the expression "lot and scot"),³¹ and recalls the common medieval custom of transferring the ownership of land *baculi more*, by the conveyance of a staff or arrow.³² A marked arrow passed among the guests at a royal banquet in the North announced the transmission of a man's estate to his heir (Flateybok I, 164).

The ancient and universal concept that God governs the universe and keeps order in it by an arrow, the swift messenger of his wrath that searches out and blasts any who would challenge his authority,³³ can only have had its rise in a real summons-arrow, for everywhere this heavenly arrow—the thunderbolt—is held to take the tangible, actual form of a prehistoric stone-headed arrow.³⁴ It is the arrow of the *summus deus*, held on loan by an earthly king as a gage of divine support, that everywhere gives the latter his earthly power and authority,³⁵ just as the marked arrow of the individual hunter, as a fetish or grant of supernatural power, gives him might and dominion far beyond his own puny capacity.

The dread offices of the marked arrow were not reserved to kings alone. Throughout the northern steppe it was the custom to require all who came to the king's assembly to bring arrows with them, and to present these personally to the king. From these arrows a census was taken, each man submitting but a single shaft, which represented him and bore his mark, for "both in the Old World and the New, the arrow came to stand as the token and symbol of a man."³⁶ To arrows thus used may be applied, for want of a better term, the name "census-arrow."

³⁰ E. W. Hopkins, "Remarks on Numbers," *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII (1902), pp. 144, 147 ff.; the arrow cast "is confined to estimating time." The Osage arrows that measure the earth "in flight denote time" as well; La Flesche, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 265 ff., 369.

³¹ Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, 1925), Vol. II, p. 275; Benj. Williams, "House-marks of the Dimashkers," *etc.*, *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXVII (1856), pp. 381-3.

³² R. Riddell, "Ancient Investitures in Scotland," *Archaeologia*, Vol. XI (1790), pp. 45-47; O. Morgan, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI (1855), pp. 393-7; Saml. Pekue, *ibid.*, Vol. III (1775), pp. 1-2; B. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

³³ See Aeschylus *Eumen.* 727 ff., *Prometh. Vinc.* 358-63, 374, 917; Virgil *Aen.* VI, 587; H. Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 117, 123; Williams, *Chinese Symbolism*, p. 91; II Kings 19:17-19; Ps. 74:3, 18; 13 ff.; 64-7, *etc.*; *éché.* 9:14 Koran Sura 18:44; Bern. Schweitzer, *Heakles* (Tübingen, 1922), pp. 184-6; E. A. W. Budge, *Book of the Dead* (N. Y., 1913), Vol. II, pp. 400 ff.

³⁴ C. S. Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 87-89, 85, 94, 101; G. Wainwright, "The Emblem of Min," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XVII (1931), pp. 186-93, and Vol. XVIII (1932), pp. 161 ff.; and Vol. XIX (1933), p. 43; P. Sebillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France* (Paris, 1907), Vol. IV, p. 67; Gruppe, *Gräcische Mythologie und Religion*, p. 773, n. 5.

³⁵ Herm. Kees, *Ägypten* (München, 1933), p. 177; Ps. 45:6; Winckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 123; Henry, *Magie dans l'Inde*, p. 151 ff.; *Great-Oddy saga*, ed. Boer, pp. viii-ix, xv, 14, 69; Kalesala, trans. Crawford, I, 167, II, 434, 530 ff.; when the hero twangs his bow Zeus himself thunders in the heavens, *Odyssey* xxi, 1.

³⁶ Culin, *U. S. National Museum Report*, 1896, p. 881; cf. Hoernes, *Natur- und Urgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 562 ff.

The census-arrow is found among the Scythians (Herodotus IV, 81), Tartars, Persians, Georgians, Norsemen, and American Indians,³⁷ and it survived in recognizable form in India, Egypt, and the Far East.³⁸ But like the summons-arrow, it is most frequently met in altered but unmistakable form among nations that had long given up the hunter's way of life.

One of the oldest Jewish-Christian legends tells how all the men of Israel were required to attend a great assembly, bringing each his staff, to be handed over to the High Priest and used in a lottery for the distribution of brides.³⁹ In the Koranic version of the same story (*Sura* III, 39), it is not simply a staff, however, but an arrow that every man must present, and this conforms not only with the primitive Beduin usage, but also with the original Jewish custom. For in Israel it was necessary for every man at a national assembly to be represented by a "rod" with his name on it (Num. 17,2); every tribe was a rod as well (Num. 34, 13-29), the tribal rods being "each one inscribed with the name of the tribe" (1 Clement Ep. c.43). Now the purpose of these rods, Gaster has pointed out, was to determine allotments of brides, and the act was performed by throwing rods into the air and reading their message by the manner of their fall; this, Gaster observes (Hastings Encycl. IV, 809f.), is "tantamount" to the shooting of arrows. It is in fact the commonest form of arrow divination, and seems to hark back to an older dart or throwing-stick which is commonly identified and interchangeable with the arrow in archaic divination practices.⁴⁰ Gaster's interpretation is substantiated when one turns to the northern steppe to find ancient Scythian, Turkish, Finnish, Mongol, and Ossete tribes regulating their land-and bride-lotteries by the actual shooting of arrows which were marked, like the rods of Israel, with the contestants' names.⁴¹ Related practices are found throughout the North. Thus the winning of Penelope has supplied Homer with a prize nugget, which Finsler has traced back to the northern steppe.⁴²

³⁷ Joinville, *Historie de St. Louis*, xciii, 475-8 (Tartars); C. Huart and L. Delaporte, *L'Iran Antique* (Paris: Michel, 1943), p. 381; Fr. Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde* (Leipzig, 1873), Vol. II, pp. 86 ff.; Carnoy, *Iran. Mythol.*, pp. 207ff., 302ff., 308; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London, 1932), p. 331; *Norges Gamle Love*, Vol. II, § 1; that these are census arrows appears from *Havamal* 120a, 132a; for the Indians, Boas, *U. S. National Museum Report*, 1895, p. 52; Mallery, *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. X (1888-9), p. 365; Culin, *Games of the North American Indians*, pp. 227 ff. (fig. 307), 49, 51, 53, 233-4.

³⁸ Hoernes, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 521, n. 1 (India); R. Lepsius, *Aeg. Ztschr.*, Vol. X (1872), p. 86, cf. Wainwright, *Journal Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XVII (1931), pp. 190 ff.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Vol. IX, p. 126 (Koryak); R. Grousset, *L'Asie Orientale* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1941), p. 442.

³⁹ *Proto-Evang.* XIII, 6-11; *Evang. Mariae* V, 15; VI, 1; Clement, Ep. I ad Cor. c. 43; A. S. Rappoport, *Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel* (London, 1928), Vol. II, pp. 254-8.

⁴⁰ Jul. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 132; Culin, *op. cit.*, pp. 383, 33, 45; cf. W. J. McGee, "The Seri Indians," *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XVII (1896-7), pp. 198-200; G. Wainwright, "The Throwing Sticks of Hiny-Hm," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XVII (1931), p. 162, and Vol. XIX (1933), p. 50 ff.; E. Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, s.v. baculus No. 9.

⁴¹ Dmitriev, *Turjetsk. Narod. Skaz.*, pp. 203-5; Giese *Türkische Märchen*, p. 115; A. Von Lütjens of Menar, *Finnische und estnische Volksmärchen* (Jena, 1922), pp. 34-37; A. V. Gurjevich and L. E. Eliassov, *Starie Fiolkiar Pribykalya* (Ukhan-Uhde: Buryat-Mongol Govt. Press, 1939), Vol. I, pp. 194-200; S. Britaev, *Osetinskie Skazki* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1939), pp. 117-140.

⁴² Geo. Finsler, *Homer* (Leipzig, 1924), I.1.156-7.

The use of all these marked arrows in the making of legal decisions takes us right into the heliastic courts of the Greeks, where every juror had to present a specially colored wand (Cakteria) for admission, exchanging it for a *symbolon*, which he would exchange in turn for his day's subsistence.⁴³ Both the name and the use of the token identify it (as any lexicon will) with the classical *tesserae* or feasting tickets, and the first *symbolon* or *tessera hospitalis* on record was the arrow that Apollo gave to Abaris: the Scholiast calls this arrow a *symbolon* and says that it supplied Abaris with all the food and drink he needed.⁴⁴ Another link between the original arrow-token and the classical *tesserae* is furnished by that common but enigmatic form of *tessera* described as a "section of reed."⁴⁵ For from time immemorial the Arabs had employed reed arrow-shafts, devoid alike of feathers and heads, but bearing some marks of individual ownership, "to make division" at their tribal feasts.⁴⁶ In the *Pastor of Hermas* (Simil. 8, 1-6), all who come to the assembly of the Lord present sections of willow-reed for admission, each receiving his proper place as designated by certain cuts (*schismata*) on his rod. Slips of wood were used also in the North to assign places at banquets, but these first appear as arrows, with the specification that "every man's arrows were marked."⁴⁷ The red Indian who received an invitation-stick (usually arrow-formed) was required to keep it and bring it with him as a ticket to the feast.⁴⁸

Why and how arrows, of all things, came to be used as feasting tickets may be best explained by an episode from the *Osvar-Odds Saga* (39, 9-13). The text gives an authentic picture (as R. C. Boer has shown in his edition of the saga) of a time when a great hunting culture flourished on the plains to the east of the Baltic. There is a tremendous hunt, after which everyone returns to the royal *hirthstofa*, where each guest is assigned his proper seat. All the game is then brought in and thrown in a heap before the king (as in the Greek *katabolia*), who personally examines all the arrows and as the marking of each is noted has his herald give public recognition to its owner for his contribution to the banquet. The same pleasant rite enlivened the feasts of the heathen Beduin: Jacob

⁴³ Arist. *Rep. Athen.* 32, 13 ff.; Aristoph. *Eccles.* 297.

⁴⁴ Crusius, in Roscher, *Lex.* I, 2819.

⁴⁵ H. Nibley, "Spasiones," *Classical Journal* Vol. XL (1945), pp. 518 ff.

⁴⁶ Koran *Sura* II, 216; *Mu'allagaat* II, 104; IV, 73 f.; VI, 63; T. Noeldke, *Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 36, 77; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 ff.; Geo. Sale, *The Koran*, Intd. Sect. 5; cf. the story of Ayesha in Bokhari, in E. Harder, *Arabic Chrestomathy* (Heidelberg, 1911), p. 21, and Al-Harri, *Maqamat*, s.v. *wasim*.

⁴⁷ Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, Vol. I, pp. 350 ff.; *Egils-Saga* 48, 6-7; *Osvar-Odds Saga* 38, 9-10; *Heers manne skeyti var thar markat*, cf. *Havamal* 8a.

⁴⁸ Mallery, *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. X (1888-9), pp. 365, 367; cf. Boas, *U. S. National Museum Report*, 1895, pp. 522 ff.

has pointed out the survival of the arrow-lottery from those tribal meals of the Arabs at which all the meat was first thrown in a heap and then distributed by portions to each man as his arrow was drawn and his name called out.⁴⁹ Various hunting tribes of the eastern and western hemispheres have the same custom,⁵⁰ while the Greek and Roman *teserae* follow the pattern: the *teserae* were regarded as lots and distributed by lot, each holder receiving the right to share in a feast to which he was supposed to have contributed some prize of the hunt.⁵¹

Marked arrows could, like the Hebrew rods, represent tribes as well as individuals at the feasts. Each of the fifty-two Tartar tribes in the time of Ghenghiz Khan would bring an arrow marked with its name to the great assembly, where one man would be chosen King of the whole nation by a double lottery, first of tribal arrows, then of shafts bearing the names of individuals belonging to whichever tribe won the first drawing (Joinville, *St.L.* 93, 475-8). Bundles of fifty-two rods, bearing individual and tribal markings, also represented the full membership of Indian tribes in assembly: Culin says these rods were once arrows.⁵² Bundles of seven divination arrows standing for the combined gentes of the Osage⁵³ recall like tribal bundles of the Scythians, Alans, Slavs, and ancient Germans⁵⁴ (who also chose their leaders by drawing willow lots), and these have been compared in turn with the Persian baresma⁵⁵ and the Roman fascis, a bundle of twelve rods (the rods of Israel were likewise tied in a symbolic bundle of twelve, I Clem. Ep. 43), standing originally for twelve Etruscan tribes (*RE* VI, 2002f.). The cosmic numbers twelve, seven, fifty-two, have astral and divinatory significance and suggest the modern card-deck, which Culin holds is derived from "a quiver made up of the different arrows of the individuals of a tribe . . ." ⁵⁶ This communal aspect of the marked arrow was always fundamental to its nature, since arrow-marking was ever as much a bid for public recognition as for divine support.

⁴⁹ Jacob, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 110-3.

⁵⁰ Danzel, *op. cit.*, p. 39; J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, p. 415; Bous, *loc. cit.*; Cushing, *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. I (1881-2), p. 32.

⁵¹ Nibley, *op. cit.*, pp. 537-9.

⁵² The Algonquins used 52 rods; Culin, *op. cit.*, p. 49, the Hupa 53; *idem*, p. 235, the Sauk and Fox 51; *idem*, pp. 233, 235; cf. pp. 228, 46 (fig. 307).

⁵³ A. C. Fletcher and F. Lu Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe," *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XXVII (1905-6), pp. 242, 274; La Flesche, *Smithsonian Report*, 1926, p. 494.

⁵⁴ Grimm, *Teut. Mythol.*, Vol. IV, p. 1636; Herodot. IV, 67; Ammian. 31.2.24; Bede HE V, 10.

⁵⁵ The Persian King, sitting with the Baresma of divination spread out before him as he gives away wealth at the New Year (Carnoy, *Iran. Mythol.*, pp. 299 ff.), recalls the host at the Indian feast, giving all his wealth to his guests, whose arrow-staves lie spread out before him; Bous, *op. cit.*, p. 508, Hoent's lottery in the Golden Age (*Voluspá* 63), and the King of Babylon (shaking out arrows) at the New Year, Meissner, *Bab. u. Assy.*, Vol. II, p. 275; Ezek. 21:26.

⁵⁶ U. S. National Museum Report, 1896, p. 881; cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, etc. (Univ. of London, 1917), p. 4; T. C. Foote, "The Ephod," *Jnl. Bibl. Lit.* XXI (1902), pp. 1-48.

III

The rise of the great state depended, as Moret has recently pointed out, among other things on the development of writing, by which art alone a ruler can extend his word of command indefinitely in time and space.⁵⁷ Such control at a distance was the very function of the marked arrow, and Hilprecht has given strong arguments for deriving the earliest written documents, archaic cylinder seals, from "the hollow shaft of an arrow, marked with symbols and figures."⁵⁸ If Hilprecht's theory failed of general acceptance, it was because no one could see how the arrow fitted into the picture. In view of the uses of the marked arrow by hunters, however, that should be fairly clear, especially if one considers a few related facts that may be briefly listed.

1. The earliest gods of writing, Nebo, Cadmus, Hermes, etc., were arrow gods.⁵⁹

2. Some systems of writing of mysterious origin, such as Ogam,⁶⁰ Runic,⁶¹ and Himyaritic, first appear as arrow-marking.

3. In the Far East, according to Culin (*Nat. Mus. Rept.* 1896, 887), "the ancestry of the book may be traced to the bundle of engraved or painted arrow-derived slips used in divination."

4. The cylinder-seal and the arrow are interchangeable not only as tokens but actually as weapons (an utterly incongruous equation in itself), the seal serving as an arrow-missile, and the marked arrow serving as a seal.⁶²

5. The first writing, the first seals, and the marked arrow, all spring from the same basic need: if, as Herzfeld maintains, the idea of property that produced the seals and writing is as old as humanity itself,⁶³ may

⁵⁷ A. Moret, *Histoire de L'Orient* (Paris: Presses Univ., 1941), Vol. I, pp. 96 ff.

⁵⁸ H. V. Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the Univ. of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1888), Vol. I, pt. II, p. 36; W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910), pp. 3-4. If the cylinder seal was derived from a cylinder amulet (E. Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Mitteilungen aus Iran*, Vol. V (1932), 151-53), the marked arrow itself is such an amulet.

⁵⁹ A. Jeremias, in Roscher, *Lex.*, Vol. III, pp. 64 ff.; G. H. Eiren, *Ancient Oriental and Other Gods* (Univ. of Chicago, 1940), pp. 78 ff.; Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 400; M. H. Ananikian, *Armenian Mythology*, (Vol. VII, *Mythol. of All Races*), pp. 32 ff. (Nabu); N. Erman, *Ägypten und die Götter der Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 82, 89-94, 114, 275, 277 (Nabu-Nebo as Hermes-Mercury); pp. 11, 18 ff., 132, 146 (Nisaba, equivalent of Egyptian Neith, Budge, *Bk. of the Dead*, Vol. I, p. 186; cf. Wainwright, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XXI, p. 154. On Textilipoca, the Mexican Apollo-Hermes as arrow-god, see Selzer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 341.

⁶⁰ J. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom* (London, 1898), p. 268; G. Dottin, in *Hastings Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 788; C. Vallency, in *Archaeologia*, Vol. VII (1785), pp. 276 ff.; Hoernes, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 304; J. A. MacGulloch, in *De la Saussure, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, Vol. II, p. 610. Taken together these references make the case clear. Rune, arrow, and feasting-ticket are plainly identical in Havamal B., 120a, 130a.

⁶¹ *Egils-Saga* 12-15, 72, 16; Du Chaillu, *Vik. North.*, Vol. II, p. 92; B. Williams, in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 381 ff.; Jacob, *Bedünenleben*, p. 110, n. 2. The oldest runes appear on arrow-heads, Blinkenberg, *Thunderweapon*, p. 85; e.g. the Kovel spear-head. The strongest rune was an arrow, Williams, *op. cit.*, 388.

⁶² Jensen, *Keilschr. Bibl.*, Vol. VII.1.900, pp. 45, 47; cf. E. D. Van Buren, "Seals of the Gods," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, Vol. X (1934), p. 170; Louis Ginsberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, Vol. IV (1947), p. 151; Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 133.

⁶³ *Archaeol. Mitt. aus Iran* V, 1-53.

we not look for a still older form of property-marking than the cylinder seal? And is not such a form the marked arrow, which everywhere precedes it and so strikingly resembles it? The fact that the cylinder seal originated very probably somewhere in the north of Asia supports the suspicion.⁶⁴

Whatever its origin, the writing of documents was conceived for the same end as the marking of arrows, and the two meet on common ground in the archaic cylinder seal; seal and arrow grew up together, having performed identical functions from the first as instruments of identification and authority.

Equipped with such an effective tool, the men of the steppes enjoyed a powerful advantage over the settled agrarians who did not have, because they did not need, anything like it. Against them it was devastating and achieved a permanent conquest; it was an utterly cynical form of persuasion to which they had no answer.

The peasants of the Old World tell a remarkably uniform tale of a mad hunter from the North and East who claimed to rule the world in the insane conviction that he had conquered God with his arrow. Such an one was the archaic and mysterious **Nimrod**, the mighty hunter of the steppes, who shot an arrow into the sky (standard shaman practice)⁶⁵ and when a shower of blood ensued believed that he had conquered God and won for himself the universal kingship.⁶⁶ The story is based on a genuine hunting ritual of great antiquity,⁶⁷ but the literary reports all chill with horror at the thought of the man who first turned his arrows from the hunting of beasts to become "a hunter of men," who founded the first great state, invented organized warfare, and "made all people rebellious against God."⁶⁸ He it was who challenged God to a shooting-match with the blasphemous boast, "It is I who kill, and I who let live!" (Koran II, 258). In reply to which his followers were turned to stone by God's arrows, while their leader was driven mad in the same peculiar manner (by a fly in the brain) as that Roman Emperor who would destroy God's temple, and who shot his arrows in the four directions from Jerusalem, claiming dominion over the whole world.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ J. Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past* (Princeton Univ., 1946), pp. 19 ff.

⁶⁵ Thompson, *Motif-Index* F1066; U. Holmberg, *Finn-Ugric Mythol.* (Boston, 1927), p. 404; Grimm, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 1479; *Kalevala*, trans. Crawford, II, 530, and pt. 33; Herodot. V, 105; *Hastings Encycl.*, Vol. IV, p. 828; Roth, *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XXX (1908 f), p. 361.

⁶⁶ Erimin, *Ishbed. i Stat.* 303; *Jewish Encyclop.* s.v. "Nimrod"; *Bk. of Jasher* 9:29.

⁶⁷ Herodot. IV, 26; J. G. Frazer, "The War of Earth on Heaven," in his edition of Apollodorus (Loeb, Cl. Lib.) II, 318-326. *Kalevala*, Crawford, I, 287; *Jasher* 9:20-26.

⁶⁸ K. Preisendanz, in *Pausanias*, *RE* 17, 624 ff.; A. Jeremias, *Das Alt Testament*, etc. (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 158 ff.; *Jasher* 28:20; 27:2-10; 26:17; *Clem. Recog.*, Vol. I, pp. 30 ff.; J. Grivel, "Nemrod et les Ecritures Cuneiformes," *Soc. of Biblical Archaeol. Trans.*, III (1874), pp. 141-3, gives a list of his sinister epithets.

⁶⁹ Sale, *Koran*, note to Sura 21, 70; O. Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt*, Vol. II, pp. 447 ff. The goddess of Guruhum were destroyed in the same way, according to Al-Bakri (ed. Wüstenfeld), I, p. 25.

A hundred names might be substituted for that of Nimrod. Japheth, the common ancestor of the people of the northern steppe (Gen. X, 2f), as Japetus challenged the rule of Zeus and was smitten by the thunderbolt, even as was his son Prometheus, and for that matter all the other giants. It needs only little research to learn that the crime and the punishment of Nimrod was repeated in the case of Aesculapius, his father Apollo (the Admetus story), the Hyperborean Orion, Sisyphus, Salmoneus, the Emperor Julian (who was smitten by St. Mercurius, the arrow of God), Romulus Silvius, Otos and Ephialtes, Nebuchadnezzar (as legendary son of Nimrod), Lepreus, Bootes, the Cyclopes, Gog and Magog, Esau, Goliath and his brother, who had an archery contest with David (Talmud, Sanhed. 95a), Eurotos, Philoctetes, Herakles and even Odysseus.⁷⁰ The "Cannibal Hymn" from pre-Dynastic Egypt describes the deceased Pharaoh as a Mad Hunter who seizes the government of the universe and throws all things into disorder, just as the equally ancient Vulture Stele describes the great god Ningirsu as "a beast of prey from the steppe," even while praising him as the author and ruler of all.⁷¹

Folklorists have long identified these terrible hunters of the East with the ubiquitous Wild Huntsman, a great lord or lady who will do nothing but hunt, who holds his agrarian hinds in utter contempt, and publicly announces that he prefers hunting to heaven. Invariably this monster is in the eyes of the peasantry under a terrible curse, and he usually ends up by being turned to stone when God's bolt overtakes him.⁷² Yet his is the rightful rule: "In the rural life of Europe," write Peake and Fleure, "the waste and hunting rights down to our time have typically belonged to the 'lords' in a very special and intimate way . . ." and they argue that this equation of hunting and ruling is the result of prehistoric invasions of Europe by hunting nomads from the Russo-Turkestan steppe.⁷³ Such a conquest is not a unique event in history, however, but a characteristic one, as when in the eleventh century Saxon farmers found themselves saddled with the outrageous hunting-laws of an invading Norse aristocracy.⁷⁴ It is the monotonous theme of Asiatic history right into the 19th century, when Khazakh, Kalmuk, and Jungar nomads moved in from the east to subject and "govern" the peasants exactly as they were oppressed and controlled by the Scythians in the days of Strabo (Geog. VII, iv,6).

⁷⁰ Lucien, *de saltatione* 46, includes Odysseus among other mad giants.

⁷¹ R. O. Faulkner, "The 'Cannibal Hymn' from the Pyramid Texts," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. X (1925), pp. 102, 97-103; A. Deimel, *Sumerische Grammatik* (Rome, 1924), p. 142.

⁷² Grimm, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 918-950; Ludw. Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* (Berlin, 1889), Vol. II, pp. 156, 225-8, 243-6, 246-50; Schweitzer *Herakles*, pp. 76, 86, 223 ff.

⁷³ H. Peake and H. J. Fleure, *The Steppe and the Sown* (Yale Univ., 1928), p. 59.

⁷⁴ P. H. Leathes, "Exemption from Forest Laws, etc.," *Archaeologia*, Vol. XV (1836), pp. 209-224; S. PERRE, "Hunting Customs of the Ancient Britons and Saxons," *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 165 ff.; M. Barrington, *ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 47, 50.

The tradition of the Mad Hunter presents the uniform picture of peasant societies enduring the overlordship of nomad intruders from the perennial reservoirs of central Asia, whose way of life was utterly abhorrent to them, and to whom their own was quite incomprehensible.⁷⁵

IV

But may the human race be so neatly divided into men of the steppe and men tilling the soil? It may indeed, and it is the arrow that does the dividing. Since the bow can be used effectively only by experts, its general employment ceases whenever hunting is given up as a way of life, only to be resumed in periods of migration.⁷⁶ Archery is thus either all-important or negligible in a culture, and the ancient world is divided sharply into two camps, those who use the bow and those who do not (Pliny Nat. Hist. 16, 65 (36)). The division is of course geographical: when encroaching forests drove the big game out of Europe at the end of the Paleolithic, the hunters followed their quarry, to preserve on the steppes of Asia a way of life largely forgotten in their former homelands.⁷⁷ The resulting cultural dichotomy is the basic fact of history, since civilization as history knows it is the rather calamitous result of bringing these two forms together. Here the marked arrow seems to have played a major role.

The civilized people of antiquity had a common tradition that the *summus deus* at the beginning of everything won dominion of the universe by smiting a dark adversary with an arrow.⁷⁸ As has been seen God rules the universe by an arrow, and the classic emblems of authority—sceptre, wand, spear, trident, double axe, crozier, lotus-staff, fleur-de-lys, etc.—may be traced back rather easily to a common identity with the prehistoric thunderbolt, taking the tangible form of a stone-headed arrow.⁷⁹ Throughout the vast reaches of Asia men were, to use Pliny's expression, "under

⁷⁵ Grousset, *L'Asie Orientale*, pp. 304 f., 307; Hoernes, *Nat.-u. Urg.*, Vol. II, pp. 122, 392-403.

⁷⁶ On its sudden neglect, Hoernes, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 487-8, 275-7; Sophus Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde* (1897), Vol. I, p. 253; H. Meyer, *Smithsonian Report*, 1896, pp. 553, 560; Turner, *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. X (1888 f.), p. 312; La Flesche, *Smithsonian Report*, 1926, pp. 487-8; N. Fatis and R. P. Elmer, *Arab Archery* (Princeton Univ., 1945), p. 5; Finsler, *Homier* 1:269 ff. On its reappearance, E. Sprockhoff in *Fests. Reallex. d. Vorgesch.*, Vol. X, p. 106; S. Müller, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 131; F. Lammer, in *Pauly-Wissowa RE* 19.2.1427.

⁷⁷ Sprockhoff, *op. cit.*, Vol. X, p. 106, cf. pp. 102-3; *Peaks and Fleurs*, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Carl Schuchardt, *Altseuropa* (Berlin, 1935), p. 135; C. S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (Harvard Univ., 1939), pp. 166-8, 46-48, 71-74.

⁷⁸ A few examples: *Enuma Elish* (Babyl. Creation Hymn) iv, 101 ff.; H. Schaefer, "Der Speer des Hesus," *Aeg. Zschr.*, Vol. XLI (1904), pp. 68-70; *Idem*, *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 80, 85; Wainwright, "Letopolis," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XVIII (1932), p. 162; Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta* ii, 287; Grimm, *op. cit.*, 1332; Wernicke in *Pauly-Wissowa RE* 2.23; Kalevala, trans. Crawford, Vol. II, p. 434; Vol. I, p. 284; Moses of Chorene, ed. Lauer, (Reimsburg, 1865), p. 22; E. T. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China* (London, 1922), p. 182; Grese, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-84; Culin, *Games of the North American Indians*, pp. 32 ff., 267.

⁷⁹ For extensive comparisons, Blinkenberg, *Thunderweapon, passim*; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1925), Vol. II, pp. 473, 1045-9, 574, 774, 777, 780, 786-9, 198-200; E. D. Clarke, in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XIX (1821), pp. 386-400; H. B. Walters, "Poseidon's Trident," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XIII (1892 f.), pp. 13-20; Dougherty, in *Annals of Am. Schools of Or. Research*, Vol. V (1925), pp. 6-8, 19; Yahuda, *Accuracy of the Bible*, pp. 106-9, etc.

subjection to the reed." From the Chinese war-lord in the East to Saladin in the West the arrow—a real arrow and a marked one—is the ultimate symbol of authority, the banner itself being originally but a message-strip tied to an arrow.⁸⁰

With that arrow go those techniques of empire which no farmers could have invented: even Rome borrowed her theory and practice of empire whole-cloth from the East, where, so far as we know, the first man to achieve actual rule of the civilized world was no Egyptian or Babylonian (though they all dreamed of being Cosmocrator) but Khian, a nomad Hyksos from the steppes.⁸¹

Symbols of rule and ownership at a lower level were those armorial bearings of the Middle Ages which, whether copied from the tribal insignia of the East⁸² or adapted from the earlier house-marks and land-marks of the West,⁸³ were originally the arrow-marks of hunters.⁸⁴ The aristocracy were hunters, whose arrogant and blasphemous mottoes (usually proclaiming the bearer's power to maim if offended) and whose weird and unearthly disguises were designed to inspire paralyzing dread in the simple rustics who by the mere suspicion of presuming to hunt on their own would incur penalties worse than death. Whenever the noble strain was threatened with extinction, it could always count on eager volunteers from the ranks of the bourgeoisie to replenish the blood and maintain the hunting tradition: add to Froissart's testimony the English glue-manufacturer in his vast, dark "lodge," or the Russian baron, or German industrialist of the nineteenth century diligently cultivating the hunter's way of life in the midst of purely agrarian societies of great antiquity.

⁸⁰ For China, Culin, in *U. S. National Museum Report*, 1896, pp. 882 ff., 885; on Ghenghis Khan and Prester John, Marco Polo, *Travels* I, 213 (xlx), the arrow nature of the staves being clear from Wm. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore in North India* (Oxford, 1926), p. 309. On wands of office in the Near East, E. D. Clarke, in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XIX, p. 398; cf. the chart by T. Canaan, "Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine," *Journal Palest. Oriental Soc.*, Vol. VI (1926), p. 129. Pl. iv, who also shows how the weapon became a banner, *idem*, pp. 121, 123, 125-9; cf. Al-Waqqidi, *Futuh ash-Shami* (Calcutta, 1854), p. 34, n., *Papenische Volksmärchen* (Jena: Dietrich, 1938), p. 43. Al-Maqizi, "Life of Saladin," in F. A. Arnold, *Chrestomathia Arabica* (Halle, 1853), Vol. I, p. 168; Vol. II, p. 87. J. von Karabacek, "Saracenische Wappen," *Wiener Akad. Sitzungsber. Hist.-Phil. Kl.* 157 (1908), pp. 20 ff.

⁸¹ F. J. E. Raby, *History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1934), Vol. I, pp. 13 ff.; the pedigree of the Imperial eagle is Asiatic, Dougherty, *Ann. Am. Sch. Or. Res.*, Vol. V (1925), p. 7. On Khian as first Cosmocrator, Moret, *Hist. de l'Or.*, Vol. I, p. 475.

⁸² B. Thomas, *Arabia Felix* (N. Y., 1932), p. 204, n. 1; *Append. v*, 379, 69; Danzel, *op. cit.*, p. 35. That the wasm of heraldry was originally an arrow-mark is clear from Al-Hariri, *Maqamat*, s.v. *wasm al-qadh*.

⁸³ B. Williams, in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 384-7; Danzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-41; E. Freshfield, *Archaeologia*, Vol. L (1887), pp. 2 ff. The "Markes of Sundrye of Chief Mene of Virginia" 1590, as published in *The American Antiquarian*, Vol. XX (1898), pp. 338-40, are all arrows.

⁸⁴ As in Scotland the arrow "crest" reproduces the mark of the owner's tartan, so the Arabs call the marked arrow and the striped garment of the nobility by the same name, *sahm*; Lane, *Arab-Eng. Dict.* 1:4.1455, no. 8; Al-Munjid (Beirut, 1937), p. 30, s.v. *burd*; Mu'alaqat 1.79. For a like identity in the New World, H. Meyer, *Smithsonian Report*, 1896, p. 553.

⁸⁵ Hoernes, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 550-7.

The ways of the hunting nobility with all their social and political implications have been traced back to the great hunting parks of Asiatic monarchs.⁸⁵ These "paradis:s" prove beyond any doubt that Kings must be Hunters. The ancients, East and West, visualized power, glory, and dominion as embodied in the person of the Cosmocrator, earthly counterpart of the Creator, enthroned in the midst of a vast assembly of birds and animals as well as of men and jinns. The picture of the Great King being acclaimed in a single mighty chorus by all living things assembled before his throne meets us full-blown in Sumerian creation hymns; it is reflected in accounts of Adam, Yima, Orpheus, Ninurta, and others as Lord of the Animals and King of the Golden Age; it is a favorite device of the Hellenistic orator and the darling theme of Jewish and Arabic commentators, whose Solomon sits in the midst of the demons and animals as ruler of the world; it produced the Physiologus and the Bestiaries, and provides the setting of *Reynaert the Fox* and many a scene in *Kalila and Dimnah*, Babrius, and Aesop, and it begot the Medieval Parliament of Birds, which is not so far from Aristophanes. And wherever we are treated to this wonderful spectacle of the world-king and the assembly of the animals, whether in song, drama, fable, or sermon, it is made to serve as a commentary on government.⁸⁶

But the grandiose concept of the universal ruler gathering all the birds and animals in his presence (the theme of the Reynard and hoopoe stories is that one creature alone fails to answer the summons) is no mere flight of fancy nor invention of allegory. Eye-witness accounts of the vast ordered animal-parks of the Great Khan, the Mongol Emperors at Peking, and the Kings of Persia, Assyria, and Babylonia leave no doubt that the staggering project was actually carried out as an adjunct of universal rule.⁸⁷ The thing was adopted by the Hellenistic rulers along with their claims to divine authority, and copied from them (or taken over directly from Bagdad) by the Byzantine Emperors, who transmitted it in turn to the kings of Europe—throne and court everywhere follow the same pattern, which is that of Solomon enthroned in the midst of men and animals.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ A. Wünsche, *Salomons Thron und Hippodrom* (Ex Oriente Lux ii, 3) (passim); Aug. v. Gall, *Basileia Tou Theou* (Heidelberg, 1926), pp. 128 ff., 205; M. Jastrow, "Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature," *American Journal of Semitic Lang.*, Vol. XV, pp. 193-214; Darmesreter, *Zend-Avesta* I, 11 ff., 15-18; II, 98-101, 202; A. Götz, *Kleinreden* (München, 1933) 133-5; Mich. Psellus, *Scythica*, 442-4; Lucian *De astrolog.* 967; Dio Chrysostom. *Orat.* XL, 32-41; XXXII, 63-66. Fr. Dieterici, *Thier und Mensch* (Leipzig, 1881). Thalabi in R. Brünnow's *Chrestomathy* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 2 ff. The literature on this theme is very voluminous. For early Christian versions, Clement, *Ep.* 1, 20; *The Apostolic Constitutions*, II, 96 f., etc.

⁸⁷ Marco Polo, *Travels* I, Isl (Gr. Khan); Grousset, *L'Asie Orientale*, pp. 341 ff., 367, 364 (China and Indo China); Huart and Delaporte, *Iran Antique*, pp. 283, 372; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Vol. IV (1944), pp. 37, 39, 55, 56 (Persia); Jeremias, *Hb. d. Or. Geist.*, pp. 177 ff., 193; Dan. 4:21 ff. (Bab.-Assyr.).

⁸⁸ W. W. Tarn, "Ptolemy II," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XIV (1928), p. 247; Constant. Porphyrogenitus, *de cerim. aulae byz.* (Ed. Reiske, 1829), p. 568, I, 89 ff., 404 ff.; Corippus, *Justin II*, 62 ff.; *Byz. Ceremonialbook* (10th Cent.) in G. Sotter, *Byzant. Geschichtsschreiber* (Heidelberg, 1929), pp. 33ff. On the Bagdad version, A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 366.

The royal parks of central Asia (the Chinese call the park the Paradise of the West, and the Babylonians placed it in the North, cf. Isaiah 14: 13-14) were no invention of royal vanity, for the system of reserving certain areas in which animals are sacrosanct (called by the Arabs *jiwar*) is a perfectly practical one. The actual assembly of the animals recalls the great tribal hunts or animal-drives of the past: Albiruni has described such a drive taking place in the immense royal park at Bagdad in the tenth century; it was ritual, of course, but when was the hunt not a ritual?⁸⁹ It should be remembered that ritual animal drives, like the great dances of the Indians of the Southwest, are aimed at increasing and protecting the game as well as exploiting it.

But when game is thus protected, and when it is herds of ungulates that one is driving in the hunt, how close is hunting to herding! Jacob speaks of the tame gazelles that regularly turn up in the *jiwar* whenever animals and men meet on a peace footing. Nevertheless, hunting and not herding is the original motif, though the distinction between them is sometimes very fine.

V

Though the arrow rules the world its victory is not final. For over against its claims must be set the equally valid and venerable claims of the Black Earth, the Mother of Gods and Men, inculcating the deep conviction that a man can possess only the earth he "quickens," all other ownership coming under the head of fraud. To those who work the soil, the holding of more land than one can exploit is wasteful and meaningless, an offense to God and an affront to Justice herself.⁹⁰ The hunter's arrow, on the other hand, marked with his noble "crest," gives him within the limits of a preserve necessarily much vaster than that of any farmer the divine right to possess and dominate whatever it can reach. And so the issue is drawn: to those who held broad lands, *baculi more*, the arrow was the high and holy symbol of possession; to those who cultivated those lands it was "looked upon . . . as the appropriate missile of the robber, or of one who lurked in ambush."⁹¹ The antithesis is complete: there is no understanding between Abraham and Nimrod because each is sure the other is mad.

⁸⁹ Albiruni *Chron.* (Ed. Sachau) p. 226; cf. Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 397. The ancient feast of Artemis the huntress at Laphria was such an animal-drive, Pausan. VII, 18, 7. On the *jiwar*, Jacob, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 210 ff.; cf. H. Gollancz, *The Book of Protection* (London, 1912), pp. xxxiv, xliii-xli, esp. lxxxiv (No. 24); Ginsberg, *Legends of the Jews*, Vol. IV, p. 142; Von Gall, *op. cit.*, pp. 241 ff.; Bachtold-Stäubli, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1403, 1404 ff. See especially A. F. L. Beeson, "The Ritual Hunt. A Study in old South Arabian religious Practice," *Le Muséon*, LXI (1948), pp. 183-196.

⁹⁰ W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (1907), p. 95 ff.; Boaz Cohen, "An Essay on Jewish Law," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*, Vol. VI (1934-5), pp. 124-5, 127, 136; W. Ashburner, "The Farmer's Law," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXX (1910), p. 97; Vol. XXXII (1912), p. 87. Cf. Plutarch, *Solon* xv, 5; Hesiod, *Erga* 22-314; Varro, *de Re Rust.* 1.102; Plutarch, *Numa* xvi, and *Apophtheg. Roman.* i; Dionys. Halic. 3.1.

⁹¹ J. Y. Akerman, in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXIV (1852), pp. 186 ff. Yet in the Middle Ages only the rich used the bow; T. D. Kendrick, *A History of the Vikings* (N. Y., 1930), p. 35; S. Müller, *Nord. Altert.*, Vol. I, pp. 253, 148; Cf. La Flesche, *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XXXIX (1917 f.), p. 364.

At present a man's signature performs the offices formerly consigned to his seal and for which but a few generations back the actual possession of a staff or tally-stick was indispensable.⁹² Thus man has taken another step away from the arrow, but that is only incidental: even the most primitive alteration, the removal of head and feathering, changed the form of the thing almost beyond recognition. It is the function that remains intact. A mere mark or symbol still bestows proprietary right, operating through unlimited time and space, over anything on earth. This is no mere refinement of lawyer's wit, nor is it a universal human concept: it is rather, as its lineage shows, the hunter's peculiar idea of property and right.

Since the marked arrow has long since become an antiquarian oddity, it would be wrong to claim that it still divides the world into two camps as of old. Nevertheless there is no other teacher that can show so well how our world came to be a perennially divided one. The marked arrow demonstrates, what without it would be a mere surmise, that civilization is the issue of a forced union between two fundamentally hostile ways of life, a union which however productive of history has never been a happy one.

⁹²H. Jenkinson, in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LXII (1911), pp. 367-380; Vol. LXXIV (1924), pp. 289-324.

RECRUITMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE CLASS OF THE BRITISH CIVIL SERVICE

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THE EXIGENCIES of a world war forced many countries to venture into unexplored techniques of governmental processes not only in the political but also in the administrative field. The public service in Great Britain was no exception. It therefore seemed appropriate to examine in some particular the effects of World War II on a specific area of the British Civil Service. The top layer—the Administrative Class, which has long enjoyed an enviable reputation—was chosen for the purposes of this study.

The pre-war method of qualifying for this class is known to every student of personnel management. The class is divided into four grades: the undersecretaries, assistant secretaries, principals, and assistant principals. Recruitment, by a rigorous, competitive examination has traditionally been made at the bottom level—that of assistant principal. The pre-war procedure consisted of a comprehensive written examination on university subjects and an interview. The written examination had a total possible count of one thousand marks, of which three hundred were for general papers, compulsory for all, and seven hundred for optional papers upon subjects chosen by the candidate from a prescribed list. The interview had a possible count of three hundred. All candidates had to be between the ages of twenty and twenty-four, and all who were accepted were started at the assistant principal level.¹ The entire responsibility for these examinations rested upon the Civil Service Commission.

With the outbreak of the war, the Commission was relieved of this responsibility, permanent recruitment (except in rare instances) was suspended, and responsibility for temporary recruitment was placed—at least in theory—in the Ministry of Labour and National Service. Because of the tremendous increase in the number of civil servants to be recruited, age limits were waived. Although most of the recruits to the Administrative Class were college graduates, they were drawn from all occupations. During the early part of the war, any central control that

¹The London salaries for the Administrative Class, as published in the *Civil Estimates 1949-50*, are given below. Provincial salaries are somewhat lower.

	SALARIES	
	Men	Women
Assistant Principal	£ 400 — £ 750	£ 400 — £ 650
Principal	£ 950 — £ 1250	£ 830 — £ 1075
Assistant Secretary	£ 1320 — £ 1700	£ 1160 — £ 1550
Assistant Undersecretary	£ 2000	£ 1825

Above these are the permanent heads and deputy heads of the Departments, paid £ 3500 and £ 2500 respectively. The normal starting salary for a recruit is £ 400. For further information see the Chorley Committee Report "Remuneration of the Higher Civil Service," Cmd. 7635. (1949)