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"Because I have his photograph at my bedside and I look at his picture when I go to bed and every morning when I wake up."

Then I tried to get under his skin. "Isn't it correct that you persecuted the Jews because you were jealous of them, of their high intelligence, that they occupied leading positions in art, industries and the professions, and that many of them had superior minds?"

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On November 30, a few days after the trial opened, Hess asked to speak. He said, "I want to address the court that I was playing a game to now. I claimed that I do remember. I do remember. I remember what I did. My game was to win. I am going to win this trial and I am going to win." He did win then because he was the only one who was not guilty."

# PARTICIPANT

The Pitzer College Magazine

Fall 1976



NUREMBERG



# PARTICIPANT

The Pitzer College Magazine Fall 1976

The Participant is mailed without charge to friends of Pitzer College in the United States and abroad. The magazine is planned around themes of current and broad interest, and features articles by the Pitzer College faculty, staff, and alumni, with occasional contributions by outside writers.

The magazine also brings to its readers accounts of the faculty's research, writing and other professional involvement in their respective fields.

Contributions to further this area of the College's effort toward visibility and communication are appreciated and may be sent to *President's Office, Pitzer College, 1050 No. Mills Ave., Claremont, California 91711.*

Pitzer College admits students of any race, color, national and ethnic origin to all the rights, privileges, programs, and activities generally accorded or made available to students at the College. It does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national and ethnic origin in administration of its educational policies, admissions policies, scholarship and loan programs, and athletic and other College-administered programs.

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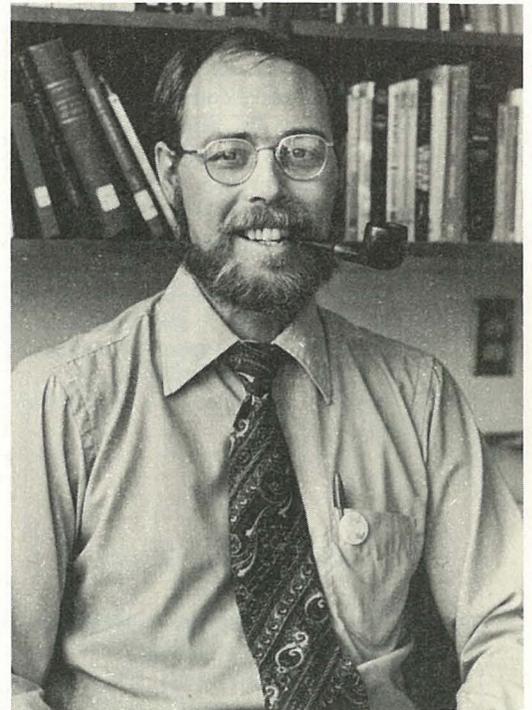
... **Harry Senn**, assistant professor of French, may be the world's leading authority on legends of the werewolf. He has received a grant from the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) for six months' research on werewolf legends in Romania. His article on werewolves from which his Participant article was taken, will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *East European Quarterly*, published by the University of Colorado.

... **Diane Vreuls**, novelist, and her husband, **Stuart Friebert**, poet, have accepted teaching positions with the College — the novelist teaching Creative Writing: Fiction and the poet teaching Creative Writing: Poetry. Ms. Vreuls' work in this issue was excerpted from her novel *Are We There Yet?* published by Simon and Schuster. Friebert's poetry has appeared in *Paris Review*, *Shenandoah*, and other prestigious poetry publications.

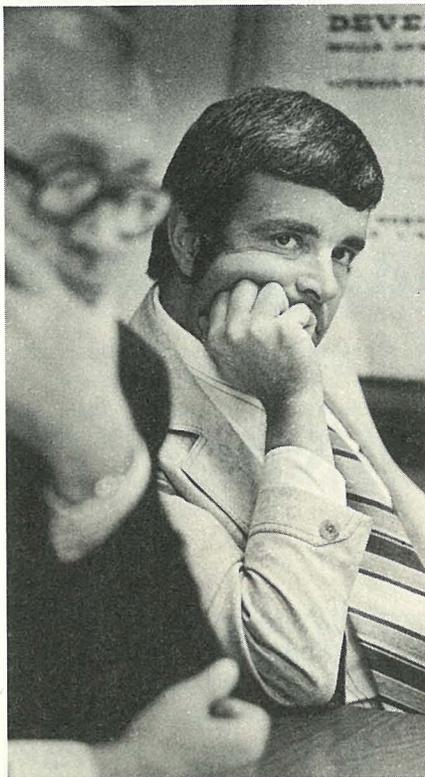
... **Albert Wachtel's** essay is taken from the chapter on "Dubliners" in *Secret Infidel*, the book-length study of Joyce's fiction on which he is now working. Other sections have appeared in the *James Joyce Quarterly*, the *Wake Newslitter*, and *Spectrum*.

... **Nicholas Doman's** distinctive career includes his appointment as Assistant Prosecutor at the world famous Nuremberg Trial following World War II. An international lawyer based in New York, he is a member of the Pitzer Board of Trustees and father of Daniel, a Pitzer alumnus. In an open discussion of "Nuremberg — International Justice or Victor's Vengeance?", held on campus October 6, he was joined by Pitzer faculty members, **Werner Warmbrunn** professor of history, and **Jack Sullivan** associate professor of political studies, for a spirited exchange of views.

... **Sheryl Miller**, associate professor of anthropology, has led or participated in expeditions to eastern and southern Africa in search of elusive clues to early man. She has been entertained by Ethiopian royalty and celebrated by museums whose collections house her finds. Her last trip to Zaire, partially funded by Pitzer College, was an opportunity for several Pitzer students to share her expedition through the External Studies Program offered through the College.



Professor Senn



Robert H. Atwell

This summer one had to be struck by the fact that we are increasingly a spectator society. Most of us just watched the Olympics, one or two political conventions, and a few tennis tournaments, and I sometimes think that our real problem is how to become active participants and then leaders in our field. The lesson of summer is that it is more comfortable to be a spectator, and the move from that role to leadership requires knowing what you want and being willing to pay the price for it.

I think we can draw an analogy to the College. Pitzer was at one time a leader in experimental higher education, and we lost that place not only because others overtook us, but also because we chose not to participate in some of the questionable experiments of the late 60's and early 70's. Instead, we have moved in the direction of curricular specialization. We have developed a reputation as one of the leading small colleges in the nation.

The problems we are now encountering – grade inflation, the writing problem, concerns over the extent of tenure, general education being squeezed out by specialization, difficulty of placing graduates, the shrinking supply of 18 year olds who

## Letter from the President

can afford expensive private colleges – are problems we share with most other small private colleges. We are dealing with all these problems, but in doing so, we need to give more thought to where we want to be, what we want our place to be in the educational cosmos, and what the price will be.

I want to identify some of the important questions which should be addressed by the College, through the Educational Policy Committee and otherwise during the course of this year.

1. Given that less than half of our students will go on to graduate or professional education, what should be our stance on the question of general education? It seems clear to me that we do a better job of preparing students to become teachers and scholars than we do in promoting a rounded general education.
2. How far should we push the very successful New Resources Program, in which there will be about 100 post college age adults enrolled this fall?
3. Should we tackle the writing problem as something having a higher priority than curricular specialization?
4. How do we reconcile the pressures for new curricular offerings – and Organizational Studies is a good example – with the established disciplines. When some of the newer fields may be popular because of their practicality, how do we reconcile their demands with the character of a liberal arts college? The question is both a matter of how to accommodate to shifts in student demand and a question of how far a liberal arts college can go in offering courses which enhance employability as

distinct from imparting the wisdom of the ages.

5. How can we counteract increasing departmentalization of the faculty and again consider the total needs of the College even when our own field group interests may seem threatened?

We will address the educational questions before us from a position of considerable strength. We have a faculty of the highest quality and, while we have many profound differences on matters of educational policy, we are not paralyzed by these differences. In a profession which encourages individuality and free expression, many colleges and university faculties are really a series of armed baronies with the arms being sovereignty in curriculum and faculty personnel actions and the baronies being the departments which exercise this sovereignty. We are fortunate in having a faculty which far more than most is willing to look beyond particular field group interests and which is by and large comprised of people who like each other personally and respect each other professionally.

We also have the strength of a Board which is in tune with the kind of college we are and which better reflects the diversity of our students and our faculty than has sometimes been the case in the past. I also believe that it is a Board which will be able to work with the faculty in identifying and promoting the long range interests of the College.

And so, we are beginning to stir again after the summer hibernation. I hope it can be an enjoyable year. This has always been a lot more than a place to work for most of us, and if we can preserve that quality of collegiality in what we do, we will be far ahead of most places. □



**Nicholas Doman**  
Assistant Prosecutor  
Nuremberg Trial



**Albert Schwartz**  
Dean of the Faculty



**Jack Sullivan**  
Associate Professor  
Political Studies



**Werner Warmbrunn**  
Professor of History

The following discussion, moderated by Albert Schwartz, dean of the faculty, was open to the Pitzer College community. Because of space limitations, the question and answer session which followed the discussion, is not included.

# “Nuremberg — International Justice Or Victors’ Vengeance?”

**SCHWARTZ:** I’d like to start by asking Mr. Doman to set the stage for us about the Nuremberg Trials and perhaps set the stage in terms of his own participation. Mr. Doman, how did you happen to get involved as part of the prosecution team, and what was it like for you?

**DOMAN:** Having been a student of political science and international relations before World War II, and having kept up this interest while in the military service for the United States, I followed with keen interest the developments in Nazi Germany as well as the warnings by the Allied powers with respect to the atrocities and violations of international law. I was a member of the O.S.S., which stands for Office of Strategic Services. It was the principal agency in the United States to gather intelligence and to engage in so-called special operations, intelligence operations to disrupt the enemy and to interfere with and destroy the morale of the people in enemy countries.

I spent a couple of years in this atmosphere, and the facts with which the Nuremberg Trial dealt was my bailiwick. I was involved personally with academic research, in dissemination of intelligence, in special operations, and psychological warfare; so I had so-called on-the-job-training. When the War ended, I was in Italy in the Italian campaign, and after my return to Washington, I

was ready to be sent to the Far East. Then General William Donovan, head of the O.S.S. asked whether I would like to go to Nuremberg to be a member of the U.S. prosecution team.

My reaction was amazement, because I was not a lawyer at that time, nor a member of any bar. I had no prosecution experience. I was a student of history, and maybe an encyclopedia of facts involving the subject matter which was to come up at Nuremberg. But in terms of legal background and knowledge, I had much to learn. I had a law degree which I had never used before and never expected to use. Of course, I said “yes.”

As I recall, there were eighteen American prosecutors who worked with specific tasks. My assignment was crimes against humanity particularly concentration camps. I was also the liaison officer of Justice Jackson, the chief prosecutor of the United States, with the Soviet prosecution. The reason I had this position is that during World War II in my spare moments, I studied Russian. I never acquired fluency, but I had enough knowledge to be understood. They had nobody better at that time, so I was used until they could obtain a more competent linguist.

This was how I got to Nuremberg — by sheer accident, because I happened to be in Washington when the prosecution team was assembled in June of 1945.



*What laws applied at Nuremberg? A hodgepodge of laws. Partly German law, partly a common law of mankind.*



*There were new principles of law established at Nuremberg. Some say ex-post-facto.*



*I had a chance to meet them all as their guide, taking them to their cells.*

As the Soviet liaison officer, I was asked by Justice Jackson to accompany Gen. Nikiehenko and Soviet prosecutor, and his colleagues in the Palace of Justice, show the physical facilities, and identify the accused. In a way, it was a unique exposure because of my temporary assignment as liaison officer with the Russians.

Hess arrived in Nuremberg a day before my guided tour. And the Russians expressed particular interest in having him interrogated. One of the most unforgettable scenes was when Hess was brought in for the hearing. Hess was handcuffed to two American corporals. The interrogation was in English and translated into German for the benefit of Hess.

At that time, Hess did not understand why he was at Nuremberg. He said, "I suppose I'm a war criminal, because otherwise why would I be handcuffed?" And when I asked him who told him he was a war criminal, he said, "Nobody, but I'm handcuffed." Hess then was asked how he got to Nuremberg. He said he was flown from Britain. When I asked, "Where did you fly before?" he said, "I've never been on a plane before." "Then how did you get to Britain?" He replied, "I don't remember."

His memory was faulty, but it was also selective. There was no question, as the doctors later found, that he was mentally unbalanced. He was suffering from a

type of amnesia that is partially self-induced, and he was able to block out certain events that he wished to block out. When I asked him about his connection with the concentration camps, he claimed that he never heard about concentration camps. When he was asked about his first meeting with Goering, the number two man in the Nazi regime, he answered that he never heard of the name Goering. When he was asked if he had heard of Adolf Hitler, he replied that he had.

"How is it that you remember Adolf Hitler?" I asked.

"Because I have his photograph at my bedside and I look at his picture when I go to bed and every morning when I wake up."

He was asked about his participation in the Gestapo which was founded by Goering. He looked confused. "Do you know what the word Gestapo means?", I asked. He said he had never heard of it. When I told him it was an abbreviation for Geheime Staats Polizei, the Secret State Police, the word still had no meaning to him. I decided there was something fishy about his selective memory.

And then we turned to his speeches at the Nuremberg Rally. Every year the Nazi party had a so-called festival, and Hess was always on the platform. With his bushy eyebrows and strong voice, he was a rather eloquent speaker, although his voice was not as strong as Hitler's. Hess claimed that he was never at the rallies at

Nuremberg and that he did not make any speeches.

When we asked him about his role in connection with the prosecution of the Jews, he said nothing.

Then I tried to get under his skin. "Isn't it correct that you persecuted the Jews because you were jealous of them, of their high intelligence, that they occupied leading positions in art, industries and the professions, and that many of them had superior minds?"

That was too much for him. He started to scream. "No, that's false! That's not true! We had to persecute the Jews because they are inferior people!"

On November 30, a few days after the trial opened, Hess asked to speak. He said, "I want to advise the court that I was playing a game up to now. I claimed that I don't remember. I do remember. I know exactly what I did. My game is now finished. I am going to participate in the trial and I am going to face the charges." He did participate for a few days then lapsed into lethargy. His face was a blank wall and he was dreaming again. He was obviously ill.

Talking about the foundation of the Nuremberg Trial, beside the warnings before the end of the War, I refer briefly to the organization of the prosecution. It was decided that it was not technically feasible to have all of the Allied powers on the prosecution team. Therefore, the Big Four, the

United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, and France were the four nations which participated in the prosecution and supplied the judges as well.

Why was there a Tribunal consisting only of judges from the Allied powers? After World War I, war crime trials in Germany were forced upon the German government by Allied powers. Over 900 persons were indicted, but only twelve or so were convicted and only three or four were imprisoned. So the Allied powers had no confidence in trials by the Germans. In addition, Germany was no-man's land politically. There was no German government, no German judiciary, and therefore no machinery which the Allied powers could turn to. The indictments were drawn not only against individual defendants, but also against certain German government and Nazi party organizations.

The prosecution assembled millions of pages of documents. The Germans kept diaries and made records of everything since they wanted to preserve their records for history — just like Richard Nixon wanted to preserve his tapes because his tapes contained valuable historical evidence. So the Nazi party did the same thing and these records fell into our hands. Some were found in salt mines. In many instances, Germans, for a small consideration, led us to the hiding place of these papers. Some of them came from concentration camps. There was no doubt in my mind that practically all of the defendants had to be convicted.

The indictment was the key document. It contained four counts; no. 1, the planning of an aggressive war and a conspiracy; no. 2, crimes against peace; no. 3,

war crimes, mistreatment of prisoners of war, mistreatment of civilians; and no. 4, crimes against humanity. These were new crimes. War crimes were an old concept, but nos. 1, 2, and 4 constituted principles of new law that came to life at Nuremberg — some people say an *ex-post-facto* law. But we had to start in a vacuum.

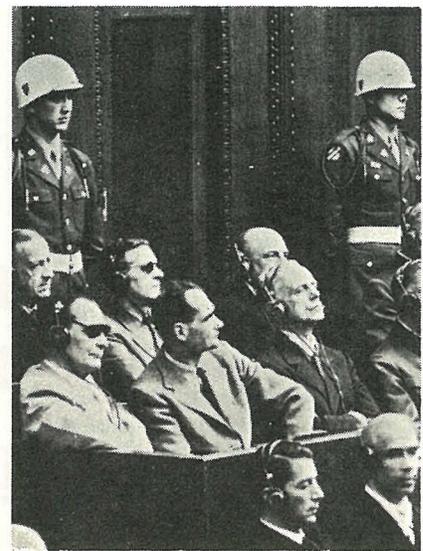
I think eleven of the defendants were sentenced to death, maybe twelve. One of them, Goering, was not executed. For Goering, it was all a show. When he knew that he was going to be executed, he committed suicide. The others were executed by hanging. Some of the military asked to be shot, but they were not given the privilege of being shot.

After the executions and after the defendants served their terms, today only one defendant remains in prison, Rudolf Hess, who was sentenced to life. He is now over 80 years of age and is guarded by about 100 persons.

At least two of the three German defendants who were pronounced not guilty by the Nuremberg Court, were tried by German courts, and they had worse luck there than in the International Military Tribunal. I mention this to indicate that the International Military Tribunal tried to lean over backwards in many ways to insure an equitable trial of the defendants based on documentary evidence they themselves had produced.

What laws applied at Nuremberg? A hodgepodge of laws. Partly German law, partly a common law of mankind, partly a law of nations.

**SCHWARTZ:** Was the intended accomplishment at Nuremberg achieved?



**DOMAN:** The Nuremberg Trial was inevitable. Inevitable in the sense that there were several options, but this was the only feasible option. One option would have been to do nothing. It simply was necessary to bring to trial those who committed the violations of international law, who ordered the mass murders and who were in charge at the highest level. Keep in mind that the individuals tried at Nuremberg were not at the level of Lieutenant Calley. They were the heads of the army and navy and members of the cabinet, and the very top of the Nazi hierarchy. One alternative was to have had a German trial, but as I said previously, it was not technically feasible, and politically, it didn't seem desirable. Had they been turned loose to the German people, we would have had the experience of Mussolini. I was in Italy when Mussolini was executed by the party, and I saw him in Milano hanging with his head down. He had been lynched. There is no question in my mind that those who were tried in Nuremberg would have been killed by the German people.

**WARMBRUNN:** I should like to relate to the question whether Nuremberg "succeeded." On the one hand, Nuremberg has failed because the leaders of those states, East and West, who in the opinions of many observers should have been tried since 1945 for having committed wars of aggression, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, have in fact not been

tried. (It has always seemed to me that Calley was the wrong man to put on trial.) But on the other hand, the Nuremberg precedent has put *some* restraints on the conduct of world leaders, both east and west. For instance, American conduct in Vietnam has been discussed in terms of Nuremberg Law. The pity of it is that there is no International Court before which civilian and military leaders can be tried (and given an opportunity to justify their conduct) at the end of their terms of office.

**DOMAN:** There is a lot of merit to what you say, Werner, but your statement doesn't fully answer the question. The mere fact that not every criminal is brought to justice does not mean the law doesn't exist. There are many murderers, rapists, and robbers who are brought to justice, but statistics show that the majority are not caught, and for political or other reasons they escape trial or punishment. The system of law does work. Unfortunately, only those can be tried who can be arrested and brought to justice. Krushchev could have been tried for the invasion of Hungary, Brezhnev for the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and Richard Nixon, perhaps, for the bombing of Cambodia; but politically, it was not feasible to bring them to justice.

**SULLIVAN:** Part of what you are saying is an important characteristic of international law. The fact that Nuremberg is a precedent is discussed in certain contexts — for instance, the Vietnam War; but that is not a comparable kind of situation to that which existed in 1945. In 1945, there were victors who were willing to say, "Let us make international law and apply it to this case." It seems to me,

too, that the situation in Vietnam showed that certain capabilities may outstrip international law. The west could clearly argue that there was no need for Germans to execute the Jews while pursuing their military goals. On the other hand, many of our actions in Vietnam — massive defoliation and massive relocation of very large cultures — might constitute criminal kinds of action because of what it might have done to the fabric of their social system. You see a situation where technology and the way in which you use that technology may outstrip international law and raise the question that crimes against humanity may be ambiguous, given such developments. There were clear crimes in Germany during the early '40s. What about what we did in Vietnam — the crimes against a particular culture?

**DOMAN:** I have discussed this issue a few times, and I would make the statement that Nazi Germany adopted criminal acts as part of the basic principle of the government — namely, attacking practically all of its neighbors, making slave laborers of them; instituting the concentration camps for systematic torture and murder. The United States did not do this in Vietnam. I regard the United States episode in Vietnam as unfortunate, an exercise of bad judgement, and I believe the United States should not have come to the aid of the Vietnamese government, which was ready to be toppled. The intent of Congress and of the Cabinet was not to exterminate the Vietnamese people. They may have been reckless in defoliation, for instance, and they may have had insufficient respect for human life, but it was not an official policy to exterminate the Vietnamese people.

**SCHWARTZ:** If the Jews were not exterminated, if that had not been part of the Nazi plans, can you envision a Nuremberg trial?

**DOMAN:** Yes. The prosecution and extermination of the Jews was an important part of the Nuremberg Trial, but perhaps not the most important one. The planning and conduct of an aggressive war loomed large in the minds of the prosecutors and to judges, and it will loom large in history to come. Not only Jews were exterminated, but many others as well. In the Mauthausen camp, the commander and his staff kept a record of every prisoner. When somebody died, his name was entered in the death book. The day of his death, his nationality and the cause of his death were given. I was particularly impressed by twelve pages of Spanish names of people who were Spanish republicans. Because they were anti-Franco, they were taken to a concentration camp and were exterminated.

**SCHWARTZ:** Do you recall your feelings when it was over? Was it a successful trial?

**DOMAN:** When I accepted the invitation to participate in the Trial, I believed that it would be one of the great events in history, and I felt fortunate that with my meager legal background, and at a comparatively tender age, I was asked to be a member of the historical team. I am satisfied that it was successful. I felt that Schacht would be convicted, but the fact that the court didn't convict him I don't regard as a sign of success or lack of success. The whole procedure, the insistence on documentary evidence, the cautiousness, and the reasoning indicate that it was a successful trial because it was basically a fair trial. It was a satisfactory experience. □

**W**hy do archaeology? Many people dream of becoming archaeologists, but for most, that dream seems too impractical to become reality. There is no money in it. Armchair adventure is fun, but pictures of jungles evoke romantic notions which are far removed from the heat, insects, diseases, and endless logistic problems which archaeologists must face. But for some, the occasional thrill of discovery is worth the reality of everyday sweat and frequent monotony.

The excitement lies in uncovering something that no one has seen since a human being used it millennia ago. It lies in the detective work of answering questions about the prehistoric past from scanty clues and in learning something previously unknown about the development of mankind. Such discoveries are exciting whether they are concerned with mankind's first becoming human, or with the nearer end of the prehistoric spectrum where people were physically and mentally like ourselves but culturally very different.

Until 10,000 years ago, prehistoric peoples knew nothing of agriculture or domesticated animals. World-wide, people lived as hunter-gatherers. In most environments they were seminomadic, moving in small bands to sources of food. Kinship bonds probably formed the basis on which other social life depended.

Economic reciprocity in terms of shared food may have held bands together. On the other hand, personality clashes and violations of group norms may have caused frequent band divisions. Political and religious leaders were no doubt largely determined on the basis of individual qualities. Most aspects of life were not formally institutionalized.

We infer this picture of Stone Age life from what we know of the few remaining hunter-gatherer groups living today. However, we may be getting an impoverished model for our idea of prehistoric peoples, because present hunter-gatherers have been forced into areas that agriculturalists and herdsmen find unacceptable. These marginal areas support hunter-gatherers, but allow for little of the cultural richness that could have developed in prehistoric times when there was less competition for resources.

In Africa, it has been common until recently to think of prehistoric life in Hobbesian terms — nasty, brutish, and short. Short it may have been. Over half the infants died before age two, and for those past two, life expectancy was only thirty years. But while it lasted, life may have been better than imagined.

My research interest has been in learning what subsistence means were available to hunting-gathering peoples of the last 15,000 years, during which time

environments in many parts of Africa are known to have been much as they are today. The principal geographic area of my research has been southern central Africa studying archaeological remains from Angola, Zaire, Zambia, and Malawi.

Perhaps the most interesting of the prehistoric cultures I have studied comes from the southern Congo Basin, located mainly in Zaire. Here the environment is a savannah-forest mosaic, with dense forest lining the many rivers separated by open grassland on the interfluvial plateaus.

On the basis of surface finds from southern Zaire, it had been assumed since the 1930's that the savannah-forest mosaic was occupied by two distinct cultures, each adapted to a single ecosystem. The riverine forest, moreover, was thought to have been inhabited by two successive Stone Age cultures through the past 15,000 years.

According to this prevailing theory, the earlier people of the valley forest made only large, crude stone tools known as core axes, and hunted only with heavy stone-tipped spears. Later, it was thought, a different group of people who knew the use of the bow moved onto the interfluvial savannah; their culture is known archaeologically by a particular arrowhead form. It was further believed that the valley culture was modified at about this time by the

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## Excavating in Zaire for Fossils of Early Man

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introduction of the bow as a principal hunting weapon, with an arrowhead form quite different from that of the grassland culture. This recent valley culture was thought to have largely abandoned the use of the heavy core axes along with their spears. Archaeologists named all cultural remains from the period of bow and arrow hunting "Tshitolian," after the region in which the first surface finds were identified.

I have gone twice in the summer to the Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale in Belgium, to study Tshitolian remains recovered from Zaire (formerly the Belgian Congo). Previously, I had spent a summer excavating Tshitolian sites in northeast Angola, at the southern perimeter of the same savannah-forest mosaic. Having analyzed materials from many Tshitolian sites, it seemed to me more likely that the Tshitolian was basically a single culture, belong-



Testing geological evidence in stream-cut section of alluvial sediments.

ing to a single group of people. While studying the Tshitolian, I hypothesized that the same Tshitolian bow and arrow hunters occupied both parts of the savannah-forest mosaic; the differences in their material culture represented simply their different modes of exploiting two distinct environments. I also became convinced that Tshitolian peoples made and used the heavy

core axes that had previously been assigned to an earlier period.

The only way to test my hypotheses was to go to Zaire and excavate a Tshitolian site in the heart of the savannah-forest mosaic environment. In 1973, the Director of the National Museums of Zaire extended an invitation, and offered the loan of two Land Rovers with which to transport crew and equipment.

In the fall semester of 1973, therefore, a Pitzer College team traveled to Zaire to excavate at Ndinga, in Kwango Province. Ndinga was selected as the most likely site on the basis of artifacts examined at the museum in Belgium. The research crew consisted of myself as director, and my husband (a physicist), and six Pitzer students. Pitzer College assisted in funding the expedition.

It was an amazing new experience for the Pitzer students, as we set out from Kinshasa into the



The Pitzer Africa Project team.

bush. On the second day, after hard driving and a trying river crossing, we reached Ndinga. Fortunately, the logistics of our field situation were simple to arrange, as Ndinga consisted of a Jesuit mission and hospital as well as a school and government post. We stayed at the mission, which had been built partially on top of the Tshitolian site. Our area of excavation was within easy walk-

ing distance.

After an initial survey of the region and some experimental digging, we began a major trench. A short while later we opened a second trench nearby, where the main artifact-bearing horizon was undisturbed despite surface erosion.

On an average day, we arrived at the site at 5:30a.m. It was just becoming light as we cleared the trenches of insects and frogs which had fallen in during the night, and by 6 o'clock we were already excavating in earnest. Our procedure was to scrape the earth carefully away with a trowel until we encountered an artifact. The position of each artifact was meticulously recorded in three dimensions so that the relative placement of all artifacts would not be lost as the stones were lifted from the ground. Stratigraphic records, photographs, and soil samples also documented our



Trench II at Ndinga, excavated to the main artifact-bearing horizon.

work.

When the main trench reached a depth of over a meter, midday work was almost impossible. The sun baked those excavating under our makeshift screen of palm branches, and there was no circulating air in the trench. We were excavating just before the onset of the rainy season so that ground water would be at its lowest level. Unfortunately, this is also the

most hot and humid time of year at Ndinga, which lies just south of the equator. Reluctantly, therefore, we took a two-hour break for lunch and rest during the worst heat of the day.

The finds were exciting. The first artifact uncovered *in situ*, where it had lain since its user dropped it, was one of the large core axes that had been believed to represent a period earlier than the Tshitolian. Since the core axe was encountered at the top of the deposit, however, it was the most recently abandoned implement at the site. Many core axes were later recovered from our two trenches, distributed from the top to the bottom of the artifact-bearing horizon. Likewise, the special valley style arrowheads called *petits tranchets* were also found throughout the vertical and horizontal extent of our excavations. As there is no disturbance of the site, this positioning of the two types of artifact is evidence that both were used by the same people throughout their occupation at Ndinga. Thus one aspect of my hypothesis was confirmed; the Tshitolian toolmakers used both heavy core axes and small *petit tranchet* arrowheads throughout the same time period.

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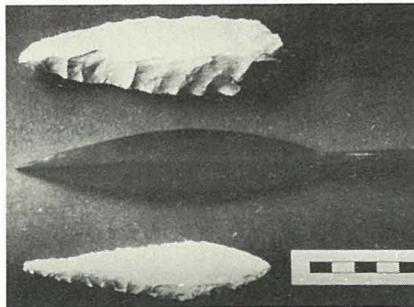
*The excitement lies in uncovering something that no one has seen since a human being used it millennia ago.*

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Our excavations also revealed the exact nature of the site at Ndinga. It was a Stone Age workshop. Quantities of artifacts were clearly broken during the course of manufacture. Several times we uncovered two pieces of an artifact lying where the disappointed toolmaker had tossed them. The nature of the flake scars provides clear indication that the pieces are not finished artifacts which were *accidentally* broken when dropped. In some cases it is possible to see

exactly what the toolmaker's error was; in his attempt to strike a flake off the edge of a core axe, for example, sometimes the angle of his blow was too great and the maker broke his work in two. The excessive angle of the blow is still discernible from measurements of the final flake scar.

Although no wooden artifacts remain, it is evident that not only the stone portions of implements were manufactured at this workshop but the handles as well. The large core axes are woodworking tools used in adze fashion. Although some of them at the site are not completed, other core axes have been finished and show the damage that results from long use and even retrimming on their cutting edges. From this evidence it is easy to picture a group of hunters gathered on the bank of the stream Sangunu, making tools. They may also have created other wooden objects such as food bowls, figurines, or dance masks.



Stone arrowheads from Ndinga.

The Pitzer team demonstrated through finding large and small stone tools together *in situ* that the Tshitolian was technologically more complex than had been believed. Because I have analyzed materials from several grassland sites, including two which were excavated but never published, we did not excavate on the grassland. However, other data we found at Ndinga strengthen my theory that the Tshitolian toolmakers were not restricted to a single ecosystem but used re-

sources of both forest and grassland seasonally to maximize the richness of their lives.

One source of evidence is the technique of artifact manufacture. Although the finished arrowheads of forest and grassland are different in form, the technique by which they were made is the same. This is not a compelling argument in favor of the same people having made both arrowhead types; however, arrowheads from adjacent regions are made by a very different technique.

At Ndinga we discovered the source of the stone from which all artifacts of the region were made. The raw material of all implements from both valley and plateau is *grès polymorphe*; this is found only in the beds of the larger streams which have eroded down to the level of its deposit, while the hilltops comprise only windblown sands. Thus at the very least, the people of the plateau artifacts had to have contact with the valley



Studying major finds from the Ndinga excavations.

floor, source of their raw material. It is most likely that certain enigmatic, crudely-shaped artifacts of no known use which we excavated at Ndinga are in fact rough-outs for arrowheads of grassland form, made to be carried to the plateau before final trimming and use.

Most persuasive is the argument from ethnographic analogy. Although the contemporary BaYaka of the area are primarily agriculturalists, and thus not comparable in life-style to the Tshitolian hunter-gatherers, they

nevertheless make extensive use of the wild foods in their environment, both riverine forest and interfluvial grassland. Although they do not move their villages seasonally the way the makers of the Tshitolian artifacts might readily have moved their camps, the BaYaka demonstrate that the best life in this particular region incorporates the complementary resources of both available ecosystems.

The way in which these resources are exploited by the BaYaka today provides another clue to the prehistoric life pattern of the region. Among the BaYaka, weapons and hunting techniques are different for forest and grassland. If the archaeologist were to find these weapons where they are used, they would look like the material remains of two different cultures: one style for the forest, another for the grassland. Yet we know from direct observation that the BaYaka are the same people simply hunting different game at different seasons using different weapons. Most amazing of all is the fact that, although arrows of this century were tipped with iron, the forms of these arrowheads duplicate almost exactly the forms of the stone arrowheads made and used by Tshitolian hunters of the Stone Age.

This data supports my theory that the Tshitolian hunter-gatherers were not divided into separate riverine and hilltop tribes, but that they alertly exploited the riches of both environments. During the rainy season, Tshitolian hunter-gatherers utilized the resources of the riverine forests and made new tools for the next year from the raw material occurring in the stream beds. They used large woodworking tools such as core axes in the valleys where they found trees to make into bows, spear shafts, digging sticks, and a variety of other artifacts that have

long since decayed. During the dry season the Tshitolian hunter-gatherers carried only the appropriate implements with them onto the grassland. They had the best of both available worlds.

We know from recent ethnographic research that even present-day hunters spend only about half their time in a food quest despite the marginal environments in which they live. The Tshitolian peoples must have had even more leisure time in which to develop their culture. Material things probably constituted only a small part of such cultural elaboration, because they would impede the ready movement which is necessary for hunting-gathering peoples. However myth, folksong, dance, and other non-material cultural expressions may have been developed extensively.

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*The occasional thrill of discovery is worth the reality of everyday sweat and frequent monotony.*

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The region of the southern Congo Basin, with its two complementary ecosystems, may have supported one of the richest Stone Age cultures. The research at Ndinga helped demonstrate some of the basic economics of subsistence there. The artifacts we excavated at Ndinga are all in the collections of the National Museums of Zaire. Perhaps soon the new museum facility in Kinshasa will include in its exhibits the discoveries made by the expedition from Pitzer College.

Sheryl Miller

Editor's Note: The Government of Zaire, which extended the invitation to Professor Miller and the Pitzer team, has gratefully acknowledged their contribution to that country's understanding of its prehistoric past.

## Pitzer Courses

**Human Genetics.** (G) The basic mechanism of inheritance will be considered from the perspective of human heredity. Some emphasis will be given to the genetic basis of behavior, population evolution, and the social implications of genetics. Prerequisite: Anthropology 10 and consent of instructor or Introductory Biology.

**Seminar Primitive Classification.** The course will concentrate on concepts of primitive classification and their relationship to social life, viewing kinship as a classificatory system. Emphasis will be placed on the use of linguistic models in the development of anthropological explanations of classification. Prerequisite: one course in anthropology and consent of instructor.

**Economic Theory: Microeconomics.** Analysis of consumer behavior, theory of production and the firm, resource allocation, market organization, capital theory, public goods, systems analysis, and income distribution. Prerequisite: one year of Principles of Economics or consent of instructor.

**Literature and Politics in France: Machines and the Cultural Revolution.** This course will examine the tensions between technology and its promises and the inner exploration for human happiness. Attention will be paid to the attempts to resolve these tensions and create the conditions for a unified vision of man. Readings will include literary figures such as Hugo, Jarry, Artaud, Appollinaire, Cocteau, Camus, and Robbe-Grillet as well as political commentators such as Descartes, Rousseau, St. Simon, Ellul, Levi-Strauss, Bergson, and Foucault. Taught in English, but French credit can be obtained by completing the readings and writing assignments in French. (Also listed as Political Studies 167.)





# The Price of Dreams: Eveline's Hard Choice of Misery

James Joyce's pronouncements about holding up to the Irish people his "nicely polished looking glass" have understandably led critics to stress the indictment of Ireland in the collection of short stories he called *Dubliners*. But the stories have a wider significance as explorations of the relationship between legitimate human aspirations and the destructive acts of self-deception to which they can lead. The experience of Eveline, the protagonist of the first third-person narrative in *Dubliners*, is a good example. Eveline, at the end of her story, thinks she has bypassed her great chance for happiness.

Curiously, most critics agree, and in doing so miss Joyce's point. They regard Eveline's story as a variation on the Cinderella formula, a version in which the heroine, however, at the last minute fails to accept the attention of her prince. Like Eveline herself they believe an earnest young man named Frank who "fell on his feet" in Argentina has offered her salvation in the form of escape from her drab home in Ireland, and Eveline has refused it. In response, Hugh Kenner, pointing out that no ships sail from Dublin to Buenos Aires, claims that "Eveline" is about a girl who narrowly avoids being seduced and abandoned. Frank, Kenner claims, was looking for a short tryst in Liverpool, perhaps even for someone to work for him as a prostitute. For Kenner, "Eveline" is a permutation of the Cinderella theme in which the prince turns out to be a scoundrel. The two critical stances balance each other,

and both generate possible insights into the characters; but both are problematic.

At a crucial stage in Eveline's deliberations about whether she ought to run off with Frank, the narrator sums up her thoughts with, "He would give her life, perhaps love too" (*D*, p. 40). Eveline's opinion has an advantage over both the common reading of the story and its opposite. On the one hand, since Eveline herself does not believe Frank loves her, there is little hope that salvation awaits her if she leaves with him; on the other hand, doubting his affection as she obviously does, it is at least possible that when she considers Frank her "lover" (*D*, p. 39), she is using the term in its specifically sensual sense, rendering the trip to Liverpool unnecessary for the purpose of mere seduction. Neither of the two critical positions is demonstrably correct. But Eveline, closer to the bone of her experience, is certainly right. Whatever Frank's intent may be he offers Eveline escape.

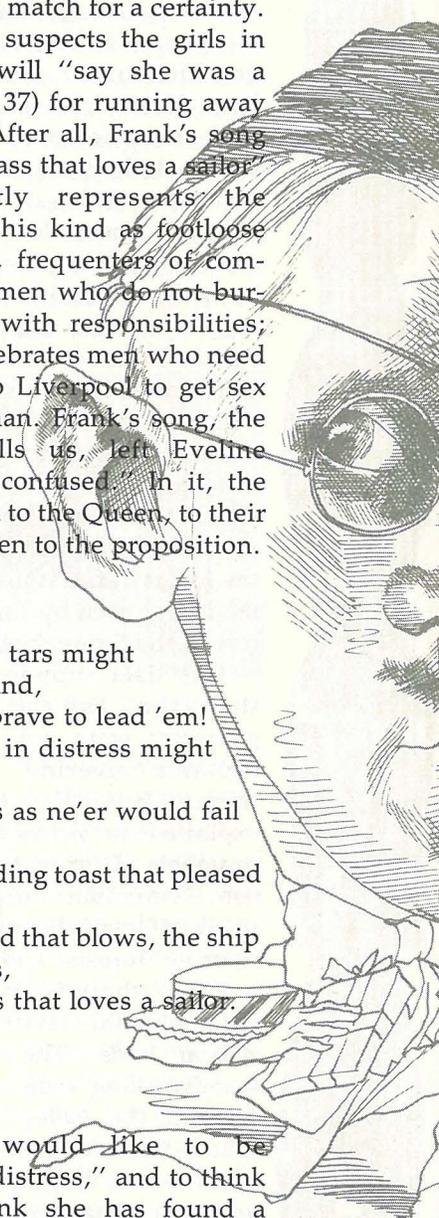
And afterward? Afterward is precisely the problem. Eveline knows very well the consequences of obedience to her mother's deathbed request that she take care of the family; she has tested that course in the past: it entails work at the Stores, housekeeping, bearing up under her father's abuse, and dreaming of escape. But what exactly Frank will be like, what opportunities Liverpool or Buenos Aires will offer her, how she will react to them, she has no way of knowing.

Not only her father and Hugh

Kenner have misgivings about Frank — as we have seen, Eveline herself has them "perhaps love, too." Despite her dissatisfaction, Eveline with some justification values her positions at home and at work. They give her a security which Frank, for all his gallantries, cannot match for a certainty. Hence, she suspects the girls in the Stores will "say she was a fool" (*D*, p. 37) for running away with him. After all, Frank's song "about the lass that loves a sailor" transparently represents the majority of his kind as footloose adventurers, frequenters of complaisant women who do not burden a man with responsibilities; the ditty celebrates men who need not travel to Liverpool to get sex from a woman. Frank's song, the narrator tells us, left Eveline "pleasantly confused." In it, the sailors drink to the Queen, to their land, and then to the proposition.

... that our tars might  
never stand,  
For heroes brave to lead 'em!  
That beauty in distress might  
find,  
Such friends as ne'er would fail  
her,  
But the standing toast that pleased  
the most  
Was the wind that blows, the ship  
that goes,  
And the lass that loves a sailor.  
(*D*. 471)

Eveline would like to be "beauty in distress," and to think that in Frank she has found a



friend "as ne'er would fail her," but even she must realize that she more closely resembles the "lass." And not even that role fits her.

She thinks of Frank as her "lover," but her feelings for him began with delight at having any man's attention and never developed beyond mild affection: "First of all it had been an excitement for her to have a fellow and then she had begun to like him" (*D*, p. 39). Her behavior is as unseemly as Frank's. His sea stories are undoubtedly salted with blarney, but in improving on his actual experiences to impress Eveline he is following a familiar path; if more inventive, he behaves no more reprehensibly than other eager boys with their girls. For her part, Eveline like many a young woman plays a comparable game of deception. She uses Frank to provide and pay for her entertainment, and she contemplates using him to win her freedom. Having filled her days with Frank, she wants him to fulfill her future; there is no mention of her loving or desiring him except for entertainment and material comforts. Whatever Frank thinks of her, Eveline assuredly does not love Frank.

Free of the blinding emotion of love, she ought to be able to evaluate him objectively. If his song fails to spark her suspicions of his intentions, her father's remark should: "—I know these sailor chaps, he said" (*D*, p. 39). In fact, it does. Immediately after recalling her father's attitude towards Frank, Eveline begins to cast about for a face-saving reason to rescue herself from the possible dangers of Frank's proposition. She begins to think of her family, and even of the old man, affectionately: "He would miss her. Sometimes he could be very nice. Not long before, when she had been laid up for a day, he had read her a ghost story and made toast for her at the fire. Another day,

when their mother was alive, they had all gone for a picnic to the Hill of Howth. She remembered her father putting on her mother's bonnet to make the children laugh." And then she remembers the promise to her mother. She knows all too well the limitations of her affection for Frank; and even at this late date in their relationship, his love for her rates only a perhaps.

Her position is clear. First she must admit to herself that Frank may have used her as much as she has used him. Undeluded, she can choose to avoid the risks Frank's offer involves: she can remain in Ireland and seek a more fitting lover; or, acknowledging the uncertainties of doing so, she can go on using Frank pragmatically, this time to get her to Liverpool or even Buenos Aires, where she will either find love with him or seek elsewhere for the happiness she feels she deserves. She can cast the apple of temptation aside or, aware that there may be worms, bite into it. But either of these decisions dissolves the dream that a gallant prince-like man intends to save her; both hold out the prospect of toil and possible anguish with no guarantee of success. Eveline chooses neither.

Instead, she falls back on the soft cushion of self-sacrifice; she prays to God to show her her "duty." As if to predetermine the character of the future she may have with Frank, she creates a duty she owes him: "Could she still draw back after all he had done for her?" (*D*, p. 41). Her choice of duty, whether to her mother or to Frank, as her primary consideration constrains Eveline's future. She reduces both of her possible courses to forms of servitude, and responds by freezing at the boarding gate of Frank's boat. By shipping out without her, Frank strengthens the suspicion that his intentions were dishonorable; but, suspicions aside, Eveline has been decisively in-

jured by her own behavior. Her submission to authority, her duty-filled prayer, backed up by her reduction to duty of her relationships to both her mother and Frank, prevent Eveline from evaluating her situation with respect to her own needs. Self-deceived, she can now face the future convinced that because of a binding promise to her mother, she has missed her great opportunity. She can refuse to distinguish between what she hoped to experience and what she actually did.

Like all tricks of the mind, Eveline's serves a purpose. It saves her from having to face an uncertain future. Like those who are afraid to leave a shelter after a bombardment, Eveline ends up a prisoner of her fear. She suffers a paralysis of the will. If she relinquishes consciously in an act of painful self-assessment the naive and sentimental dream she harbored, Eveline may free herself from the delusion that she has forfeited life. Otherwise, as incapable of destroying her fantasy as of pursuing her own interest, she will cling to a false version of the past that will insulate her from living until she dies.

In writing her story, Joyce was not supporting the improbable and delusive dream embodied in the Cinderella fairytale. Neither was he indulging in a cynical denunciation of Eveline's basic aspirations; her story is not a closed-minded indictment of all romantic hope whatever. Joyce was confronting in fictionalized form one of the unavoidable dilemmas with which our lives burden us — a choice between an uncertain future with the possibility of improvement, and a secure but circumscribed existence, walled in by broken expectations and impossible dreams. The cost of Eveline's unexamined security is her life.



By Albert Wachtel

# Are We There Yet?

Excerpted from the novel ARE WE THERE YET?, published by Simon and Schuster

We are at the top of a hill, looking at hill after hill after hill folding back into the bowl.

"Can you see her?"

"Who?"

"Oma."

"No."

A round loaf rising, from behind the farthest hill. Then the body, bulging and gingham. Two massive arms and the plump, oiled hands. The wide lap. Swaddled legs ending in — there they are — those shoes, men's leather shoes without laces. She is standing against the blue wall of the sky, holding a bowl. Now she seems to be coming towards me, floating from crest to crest, her head gently nudging the clouds. She picks her way through a forest, bending to weed. She pulls up beets, carrots, turnips, twists them into bunches and waves them. Clumps of soil from the roots rain down on the counties.

"Why don't you come when I call?"

"I didn't hear."

"How many times I told you not to lie in the mud. What you doing here, girl?"

"I'm floating."

"Um hmm. Tomatoes are rotting. Chickens aren't fed. And she's floating."

She plucks me up, another vegetable, fills the zinc tub and scrubs, her bosom swaying. I'm

wrapped up tight in a towel and set out to dry.

"Lying in puddles like swine, you're spoiled, that's what you are." Spoiled. Better an orphan left at her door, better a thief. I've been both. Spoiled is the worst.

"I should whip you and put you in bed, you know that."

I know it's Saturday night, deep-dish chicken pie and the Game. We lived alone then and she hated to play by herself. I'm safe: without me she's a cart with one wheel. Nothing, no muddy vices of mine, could come between her and the Game. Sunday to Friday she's straight as a row; accounts never lag, and it's cash on the line. But Saturday night we wash up the pots, shake the cloth and fold it away. It's the only time the table is bare, in fact the only time any wood shows in that house with its crocheted doilies, anti-macassars, small braided rugs. I gaze at that table, naked and shining under the lamp, a magic pond.

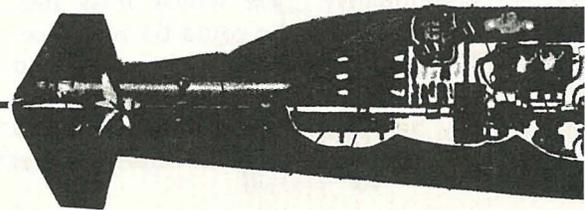
Soon it's filled with the game. Oma's rummy takes three decks of cards, a six-pack of Barq's and a pound of beans for chips, which she counts like a pirate, black eyes gleaming. Ten is her lowest bid. She's not much on her feet, but set at a table she travels till dawn. Scoops up my discards saying "Old Emma, you shouldn't ought

to have done that," and lays out a seven-card run. Soon she's got half the deck in her hands and mountains of beans. Lacking skill I play thin and sometimes can catch her with fifty-eight cards. But she always wins, wins any way she can. She carelessly spills the deck and it comes up aces. Loses cards in the folds of her skirt. Leaning heavily over the board she sweeps my lays to the floor — or hers, depending. When her chips are down she invents: the eight of diamonds is wild, ace can only be low. It's the oral tradition, altered from week to week. I have never found out all the rules.

When the cards shuffle against her, when the luck of the innocent rules, she becomes more innocent still. "Oh well, we don't want to keep score now, do we, Emma. One thing I hate, it's a calculating critter. It's the fun of the game!"

And it was. Watching her mischief, catching her sly, I'd laugh so hard I'd collapse on the table, exposing my entire hand. Skunked every week, but I loved it. Her zeal, her clumsy maneuvers, her delight at winning were so huge I never felt I'd been cheated. She'd given me, Emma Benson, at the mere age of seven, the power to make her rich.

by Diane Vreuls



## SUBMARINE POEM

### I

*You think of moving the captured submarine to a permanent berth alongside the museum in your city. A retired engineer who spent years on a plan to move the Eiffel Tower volunteers a practical suggestion, so you stop traffic on a lovely night in summer and, as thousands watch, you inch the sub across the outer drive. When it's in place you introduce a famous naval commander whose dedication address is piped ashore.*

### II

*At first, the interior of the sub will seem unbelievably complicated, a maze of dials, valves and gauges, every available foot of space occupied, but listen to your guide: though you will lose a good deal of what she says and she talks too much of how cramped the quarters are, running her hand over the checkered blue linen on the bunks, and seems to idolize the enemy captain—carefully she points to a picture of him sitting on a horse on a farm in Bavaria—she will quit her job just before the tour is over and press past you. Miss, stop! Stop, Miss! everyone cries and is plunged in grief.*

### III

*The movies you see later in the theater are official navy films, taken during the actual battle when your forces were overcoming the raider. You press both hands on the slatted wooden seat and stare at the waves, they go right up, blank everything out, and your mind moves to the folding top on the washstand which becomes the captain's desk when he lowers it and draws the blue curtain.*

## DUMB TO ARGUE

*(Guess I'll turn in) You stand up, stretch, run the vacuum over the rug one more time, then you face her, no pew, just knees, she's wearing her puzzle on the couch, you pick up her pencil, toss it back (Do you know the only official Egyptian religion in the fifteenth century?)*

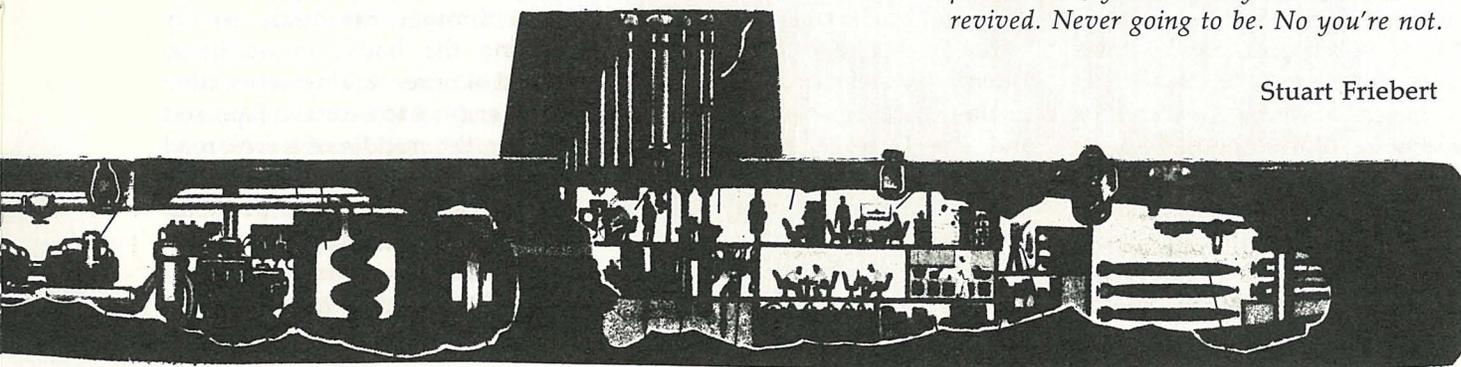
*There's no hotel in town (Thanks, thanks) (Do you want me to put the cat out, run the bulb under the hood so the car will start, sweetheart?), it's winter, no matter what we do. (Thanks, thanks) Less than two words from her, ask her what she has for the wash (Just my slip and bra, oh put these socks in too, who'll get up with the kids, can you? Turn on the electric blanket, I'll be up soon).*

*The weight of the steps under your feet is some mistake, you stare back down through the hall into the den, Chinese checkers sticking out from under the couch! Who said anything about a game at this hour? (Goodnight!)*

*(Anyhow, goodnight, honey) (I said goodnight) She doesn't look up and by and by your hand slides up the banister, you can go the short way alone, weigh yourself on the old scale, put the blanket on, slide your cramped legs down to the end of the sheets. Speech against the rich, one against the poor, sleep.*

*You get up early, cover the kids, make some sandwiches and slip on your hipboots, near the dam you cast out, the fly rises in the mist before it loops over, the water is full of little suitcases, floating off, you lean way over, just miss the handle of one and go into hysterics: it gets darker, you take your boots off, shake the water out, it gets lighter and a new word is created to take your place, pronounced, you're totally lost and not revived. Never going to be. No you're not.*

Stuart Friebert



# Some Werewolf Legends and the Calusari

The following discussion concerns two folklore items rather widely separated geographically in Romania: werewolf legends in northwest Transylvania and the *calusari* ritual studied in southern Wallachia near the Bulgarian border. Although the *calus* is not performed in Transylvania, the ritual and legends belong to a tradition of popular mythology widely distributed and current among Romanian-language inhabitants. Parallel werewolf legends, moreover, are found in most if not all sections of the country, and the nature fairies or *iele* whose potentially maleficent power the *calusari* dancers seek to counteract also belong to the general mythological tradition. Lastly, the ritual was itself at one time more widely distributed over the country.

In June of 1975, Dr. Corneliu Barbulescu from the folklore institute in Bucharest and I traveled to the Bihor region of Transylvania and spent ten days in the village of Petroasa collecting local tales, anecdotes, legends and beliefs and enjoying the hospitality of the villagers.

We came away with a total of 49 items of folklore, many of which were life anecdotes of hunting and of the Second World War; there were local legends of enchanted grottoes and gigantic animals, and some plant-lore; 33 of the 49 items were more recognizable folk narratives and sixteen of these latter were myths of werewolves and the walking dead/disembodied spirits known in Romania as *strigoi*. Each of our four informants related werewolf and vampire myths — in contrast to the sometimes more heterogeneous nature of the re-

maining anecdotes and folk beliefs. It seemed to me that the distribution of these myths in addition to their proportion in the total number of narratives collected indicated their importance to this region's popular imagination. A second conclusion that I drew from these narratives was based on the content of the myths and was further validated, I believe, by our observation and filming of the *calus* ritual in the village of Fratesti, south of Bucharest, in the same month of 1975. It is this: the werewolf and vampire myths were uniformly sober, non-demonic, and meliorative in their depiction of the fierce characters of the myths. These beings of mythology are not automatically malevolent by nature; they were regarded as integral aspects of the village, surrounding nature, and cosmological world of the inhabitants of the community. I believe this derives from the balance contained in, and protection afforded by the corpus of Romanian popular mythology in general, and becomes clearer as we study the place of werewolf myths and *calusari* dancers' ritual in that popular mythology.

In addition to the common use of garlic as a countermeasure in Romania, there are elaborate funeral and burial rites described by Mihai Pop as he recorded them in Oltenia (in western Romania, and in this instance, between the Olt and the Danube rivers). Burial rites there engage the entire community for a whole year and are designed to ease the recently deceased through the marginal space just beyond the living (ala Arnold

van Gennep's *Rites de Passage*) into the land of the dead where all contacts with, and possible returns to, the world of the living are completely severed. It is clear from the preceding that the dead are potentially a source of destructive forces for the living. But the form of such possible desolation is often more prosaic than we are accustomed to in our films of vampires. *Strigoi* are likely to torment the living — especially those with whom they have quarreled: they may sap the individual's life substance, destroy the capacity to give milk in cattle or in nursing mothers, or kill by sucking their victim's blood. They can render a field infertile to the production of corn for five years. And, in a less frightening motif, they may release farm animals from their protective enclosures and make them prey to wolves. Their physical features include a tail; they sometimes have no nose; they do not eat garlic nor sleep in a normal bed. They can take the shape of a horse, a fly, a greyhound, or, by smearing a special ointment from head to foot and taking a swingle or scutcher in their hand, they can fly. Preventive measures against the walking dead begin by binding and burying the *strigoi* and burning leaves of the hawthorn tree over the grave; by driving a stake through the back, or by burning the body. In addition, legend advises taking a wooden scutcher (tool to beat the flax) and striking the middle of a crossroad of the village at nine o'clock repeating "I beat you and dismember you." (Eretescu, p.218)

The walking dead and werewolves are often confused in the

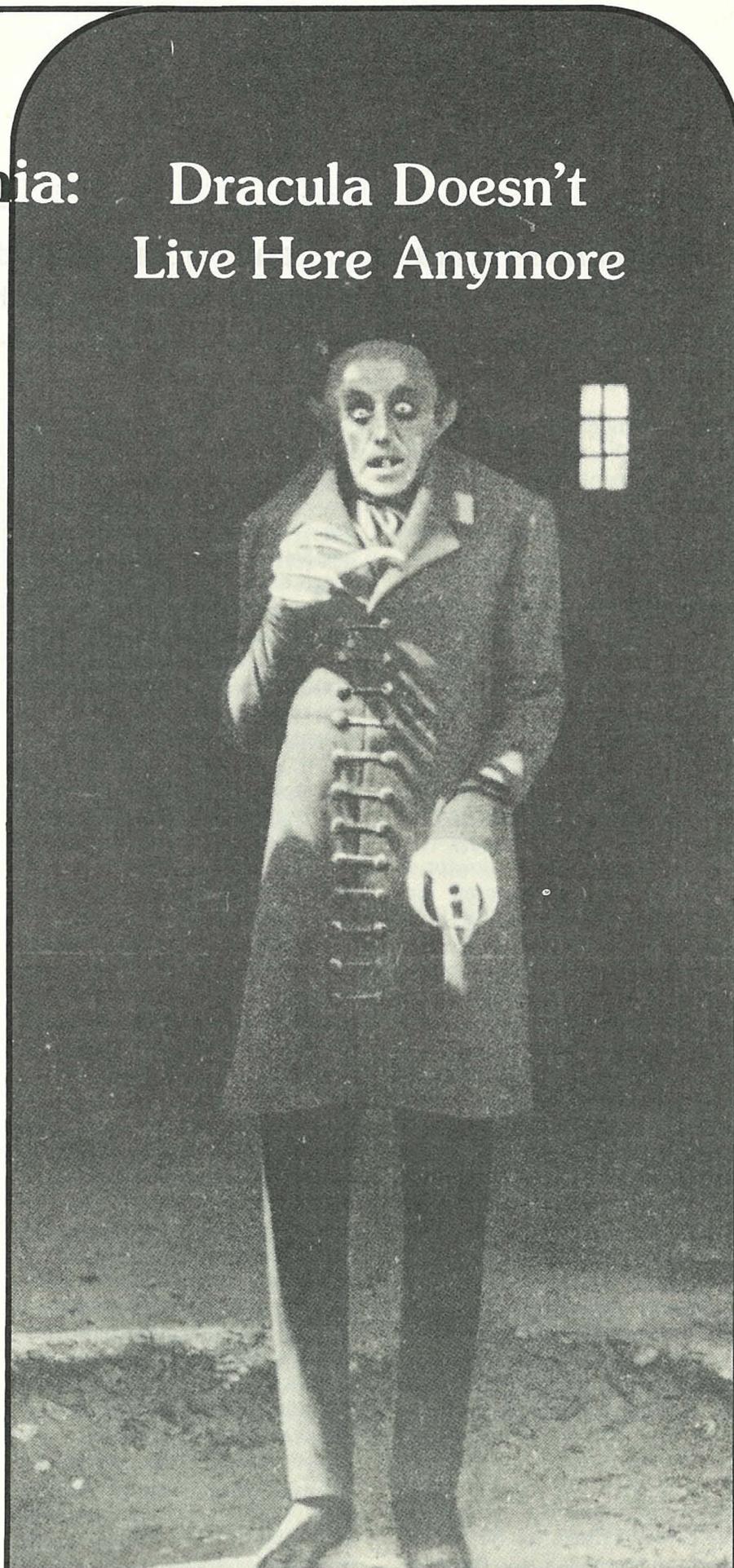
## Ritual in Romania: Dracula Doesn't Live Here Anymore

popular imagination because the former can take the form of various animals. They are, nevertheless, distinguished generally according to whether a living member of the community or a recently expired person has assumed this shape. One of our informants in Petroasa spoke of a *strigoi de lup*; that is, a dead man who had returned in the form of a wolf, in contradistinction to the more usual werewolf.

It is instructive that the walking dead are not exclusively maleficent. One legend tells of a woman with three children who, after her death, returned each night with a basket filled with food for her family. One night the father and his children discovered her and prevented her from departing until the crowing of the cock. The dead woman henceforth did not return. (Eretescu, p.250) A second balancing motif which Professor Barbulescu and I recorded in Petroasa is the belief that wolves are under the direction of Saint Peter himself

The common link between werewolves, walking dead and mythology is the attitude toward Nature. It is there that magical beings reside and where special powers arise which, if not directed and utilized in ritual circumstances for the defense of the community, constitute a grave danger and potentially destructive force.

The narratives collected were mainly of werewolves, that is, living, functioning members of the community who periodically change their shape and constitute a danger to others. Dr. Barbulescu and I interviewed four informants: two women, aged 55 and 73



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## Burial rites engage the entire community for a whole year, and are just beyond the living into the land of the dead where all contacts

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years, and two men, aged 62 and 76 years. The basic and striking theme contained in the legends was the tolerant and even therapeutic attitude expressed toward such potentially murderous beings. The dominant motif was the attempt to help control or overcome what was largely viewed as an enchantment, and to reintegrate the individual into the community. Specifically, to change one's shape is fundamentally an inherited curse, or even, a sacred urge — sacred because of its extra-natural origin. Indeed, a werewolf may even be an agent of God's wrath against a violator of religious law. Uncommon circumstances accompanying birth or death destin a particular person to be a werewolf. For example, it will suffice that he or she be born on a major holiday, or born with the caul, or is the seventh son of the family. Death by drowning or hanging as described in the tales is a cause for the dead person to stalk the living — possibly in the form of a wolf. Or simply, one may contract the malady by sleeping out of doors on the feast day of St. Andrei which is sacred to wolves.

The message of the legends is that humans who have made contact with the chthonic realm are not automatically excluded from the social group, unless, of course, they have completely abandoned the human state. One practice in the defense of the social entity in general is, accordingly, and under the cover of ritual, for certain villagers to cross over into the mag-

ical domain of Nature to communicate with such powers and use them for the benefit of society. An example of this is the ritual of the *calus* that begins on Pentecost and continues for from three to seven days.

The ceremony as we observed and filmed it certainly did manifest equestrian motifs in the costumes as well as in the dancers' movements. The leader of the *calusari* in Fratesti bore the figure of a miniature horse's head carved out of wood strapped to his waist and hanging in front of his abdomen; seemingly impersonating that animal or pretending to ride it. Further, he wore a woven cap with large protruding horse's ears (his shirt was green with leaf and branch designs.) But there was a second motif present in the costumes and movements of the principals: that of the saber carried by the leader, the large batons held by the members of the group, and the generally military cadences and formations they described during the dance. Mihai Pop calls the *calusari* dancers a "paramilitary organization" whose role is to insure the safety and health of the community "amenintate de forte din afara, de forte extraumane." (Pop, p.17) The *calusari* dancers venture into nature to seek the necessary magical powers under the guidance of the community of the dead, who "se gaseste . . . la acelasi nivel cu ielele, care apartin lumii miturilor." (are found in the same world as the nature fairies, who [themselves] belong to the mythological realm) (p.21) Specific-

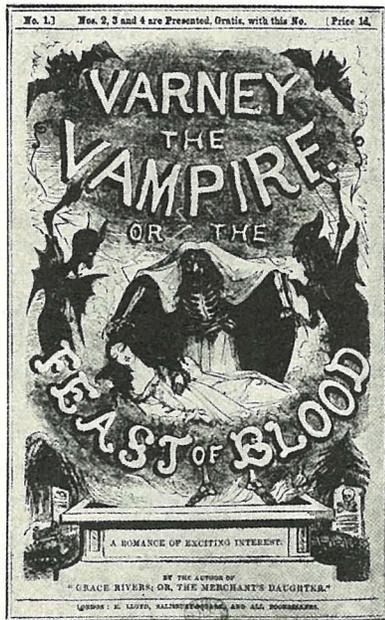
cally, the nature fairies threaten to disfigure and maim any member of the community who breaks the taboo against working in the fields and with metal tools on the Thursdays one-half way between Easter and Pentecost and continuing two weeks beyond the latter.

The ritual consists of an oath which is taken by the dancers on the Eve of Pentecost or on Pentecost, in which each member, with shoots of garlic and wormwood in his mouth, signifies his pledge to participate in the rite during its length of from three to seven days and for a period of three years overall. Each member also agrees to respect implicitly the rules of the ceremony, including celibacy, and to endure the taunts and thrusts of the leader and his saber.

The oath and initiating dance, accompanied by a violin and a hammered dulcimer (*cembalo*) was performed in a full natural setting. In Fratesti, it occurred beyond the apricot orchards on a grassy hill. The thirteen dancers and the musicians thence moved immediately to the center of the village, in the courtyard between the town hall and the school, where they performed again, draining glasses of newly fermented wine, from time to time, and taking infants in their arms as they danced. They departed thence to a crossroads to repeat the dance; thereafter to a playing field on the edge of town, returned to the crossroads, and finally broke their oath for that year off the road but still in the village. The spatial symboliza-

designed to ease the recently deceased through the marginal space with, and returns to, the world of the living are severed.

tion seemed to signify the transference of the magical power from the realm of extra-human beings to the three most significant points in the village. In the natural setting, the *calusari*, under military-like discipline, receive these powers through the mediation of their leader, who, in my opinion, is transformed by the ritual into a nature animal, a



“were-horse.” The dance consisted of circle and contra formations, the hands joined on the ends of the saber/batons, lightly swinging up and down, or with the weapon brandished in the right hand, while the feet executed rapid stamping movements sometimes side by side and at times with one behind the other. Periodically, the chief called out *Hai'l asa* (Hiee 'l asha; “Here, like

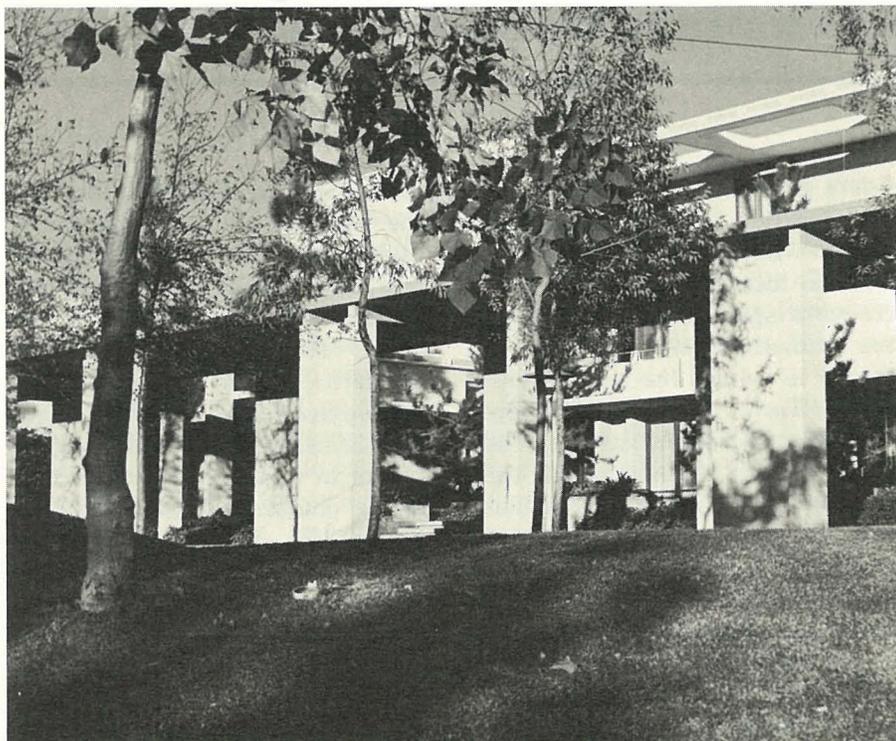
this”) to which the dancers responded *Ia o zia* (“Listen, attention to what he says”) of his gestures to include dashing into the crowd of spectators, and directed the dramatization of the *razboi* or “war” in which the two “women,” a “Turk,” and a “priest” were enacted by *calusari* dancers. The mute chased members of the crowd, brandishing his saber, and, at other times, pursued women. His behavior was, at this point, generally “brutish” as well as maternal and militaristic. He gulped down raw eggs, terrorized a small kitten by pretending to bite off its head, and when seeking out a recalcitrant member of the *calusari* who was insubordinate and mocking to the leader, he went from one dancer to the next sniffing at their genitals. It was here, also, that a block of salt was carried into the ring of the dancers who would impart to it the magical power of protection from sickness. The salt was to be given to the domestic animals.

In the “war” episode, the actors were said to represent “domestic” battles. I interpreted that to mean that the women were disgruntled wives, unhappy at the continued absence of their dancer husbands. But given the aggressive character of the “Turk,” especially so since he carried a one-to-two-foot-long phallus tied to his lower abdomen, and the presence of the “priest” figure, it seemed more likely that the women represented the dangerous *iele* engaged in a struggle with the village. The death of one of the “women” after

some random milling around on the part of the four characters, underscored the latter interpretation, for it meant the end of the “war” drama. The ritual of the *calus*, showed, finally, many similarities with beliefs concerning werewolves and the (un)dead. The *calusari*, first, seek magical power in *nature* for the protection of the community. Secondly, the animal-like movements of the dancers, and the horse’s emblems worn by their leader underscored their parentage with mythological beings, and explained the tolerant and balanced attitudes directed toward what in other cultures are the objects of terror, sensationalism, and titillation. The chthonic sources of power, depending on the context and usage, are, in Romanian folk mythology, beneficent or maleficent; they are not diabolic. The entire community can participate in the ritual of acquiring protective magical forces. There is a social consciousness, in sum, which, in reference to legends and the *calus*, seeks to integrate and utilize for the life of the community a broad spectrum of the human imagination. In Romania, the group ceremonial approach can provide expression for aspects of the *id* that western Europe, America and individual experience consign too often to the suppressed recesses of the psyche.

By Harry Senn

# PARTICIPATING



This has been one of the most successful budgetary years Pitzer College has ever had. For the sixth straight year, the college finished in the black, due in part to responsible fiscal management and accelerated fund-raising efforts on the part of trustees and friends. Through their efforts, and with income derived from a higher student enrollment than anticipated, the college was able to turn an expected \$60,000 deficit into a \$119,209 surplus. Fifty-nine percent of this surplus became part of the budgeted college income for 1976-77. The remainder was allocated to special college projects, primarily in the area of refurbishing buildings and grounds.

During the spring, summer, and fall of 1976, some of the leadership gifts received by Pitzer College were contributed by the following:

## Trustees of Pitzer College

Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Atwell  
 Mr. and Mrs. Felix Juda  
 Mrs. Giles W. Mead  
 Mr. Harold Melcher  
 Mr. and Mrs. Frank Nathan  
 Mr. Russell K. Pitzer

## Foundations

The Ahmanson Foundation  
 Amcord Foundation  
 Avery Foundation  
 The Claremont Foundation  
 Max C. Fleischman Foundation  
 John Randolph Haynes and  
 Dora Haynes Foundation  
 George H. Mayr Educational  
 Foundation  
 John A. McCarthy Foundation  
 Union Pacific Foundation

## Special Notes

The John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles has awarded Pitzer College \$19,050 in scholarship and unrestricted funds for the 1976-77 fiscal year. In addition, the foundation made two \$1,000 Summer Fellowship grants to Pitzer College professors Don Brenneis and David Thomas.

The John Stauffer Memorial Scholarship has been established at Pitzer College with a grant of \$30,000 from the John Stauffer Charitable Trust of Los Angeles. The endowed scholarship is in memory of John Stauffer who was a benefactor and director of the Independent Colleges of Southern California from 1966 until his death in 1972.

Pitzer College received \$75,588 from the Independent Colleges of Southern California fund during the 1975-76 fiscal year. Corporations, foundations, and individual donors contributed \$1,384,000 for distribution to the 15 ICSC participating colleges — the highest amount raised in ICSC history. Sixty percent of the funds are distributed equally among colleges. The remaining 40 percent are allocated according to enrollment. The funds are for unrestricted purposes.

## Parent Participation

Mrs. Richard Novack has accepted the presidency of the Pitzer Parents Association for 1976-77. Mrs. Novack, whose son Jon is a senior at Pitzer, is also joined on the Parents Association Board by Mmes. Robert Bard, treasurer; Milton Bassett, parents liaison; William Below, vice president; Gordon Curtis, parents liaison; and Thomas Hill, secretary.

The Parents Association actively works to assist Pitzer College by raising scholarship funds, and during 1975-76 raised \$10,760 for this purpose.

In May, a special scholarship project was undertaken by the Parents Association for parents of graduating seniors. This project encouraged parents of seniors to establish a scholarship fund in the name of their student as a way of honoring their graduation from Pitzer College, while at the same time providing financial assistance to another Pitzer student. The following named scholarship funds were established through this project, and are gratefully acknowledged:

**M. Quinn Delaney Scholarship Fund**  
— established by  
Mr. Robert Delaney

**Laurie Ann Melcher Scholarship Fund**  
— established by  
Mr. and Mrs. Clayton Shors

**Mark Steven Scher Scholarship Fund**  
— established by  
Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Scher

**Susan Shors Scholarship Fund**  
— established by  
Mr. and Mrs. Clayton Shors

Pitzer College also wishes to recognize the following parents who made significant contributions to the college during the past academic year:

Mr. and Mrs. Moshe Alafi  
Mr. Lawrence Barr  
Mrs. James Carmel  
Mr. and Mrs. John McGreevey  
Mr. Thomas J. Watson, Jr.

### Alumni Participation

The Pitzer College Alumni Association has appointed a full-time Alumni Coordinator. Kristin L. Olsen, '72, began her assignment on September 13, after working for the United Church of Christ's mission board, completing an M.S.J. in broadcast journalism, and traveling and freelancing in the Middle East.

Alumni Association plans for fall 1976 include re-designing the alumni newsletter; establishing alumni office policies, procedures and operations; and hosting a faculty-alumni luncheon at the Faculty House for Marilyn Lester '70, who returns to Pitzer to present a paper at the Privacy Conference in October.

Future Association goals will involve alumni in Commencement to a greater extent, and the eventual organization of Regional Alumni Chapters.

Pitzer alumni who have made significant contributions for the advancement of Pitzer College include:

#### \$1,000 AND OVER

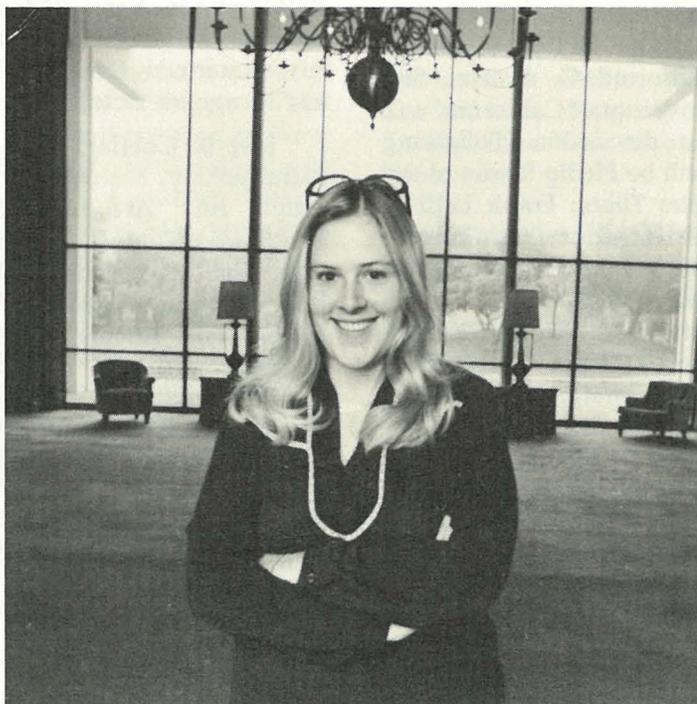
Diane Mosbacher '72  
Nancy Penick '72

#### \$250 AND OVER

Hugh and Linda Miller '74  
Elizabeth Milwe '76  
Roger and Carol Mizumori '72

#### \$100 AND OVER

Kathryn Austin '67  
Ann Lawson Bilodeau '69  
Sarah Oakie Eppenbach '68  
Connie Geisler '72  
Susan Gulick '68  
Mary Kushner '71  
Barbara Thompson McLean '69  
Nancy Martin '70  
Deborah Deutsch Smith '68  
Judith Stainbrook '69  
Margaret Habecker Vizio '68



Kristin L. Olsen, Alumni Coordinator



Senator Carpenter



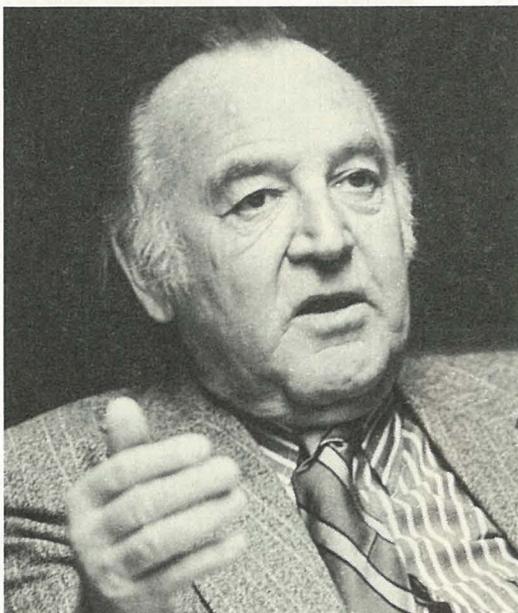
Frank Lalli

## . . . Community Notes

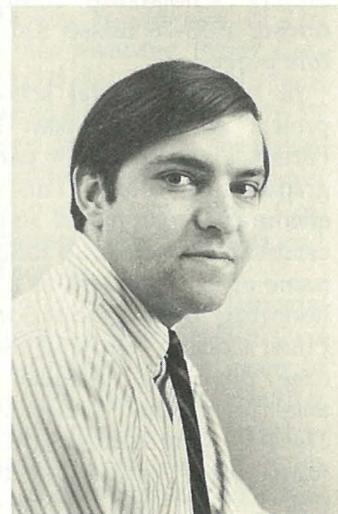
. . . A conference on "**Muckraking, Privacy, and the Public's Right to Know**," scheduled for October 27, will bring to the campus nearly a dozen notables in the fields of magazine and newspaper journalism, sociology, and law. The first session, beginning at 3 p.m., is titled "Effects of Muckraking on Society". Taking part will be Dr. Marilyn Lester, Pitzer graduate, and professor of sociology at Temple University; **Laud Humphreys**, Pitzer professor and noted sociologist; **David Felton**, of *Rolling Stone* magazine; **Martin Weinberger**, publisher of *The Claremont Courier*; **Bob Simmons**, free-lance investigative reporter; and **Eleanor Hoover**, 1976 National Media Award winner of the *Los Angeles Times*.

The afternoon session is titled, "Media Gossip, Privacy, and the Public's Right to Know". Following an introduction by **Eli Broad**, Pitzer College chairman of the board, **Edmund G. Brown, Sr.**, former governor of California, will open the discussion. Following Brown will be **Philip Kerby** of the *Los Angeles Times*; **Frank Lalli** of *New West Magazine*; **Tom Lowery** of *The Claremont Collegian*; **Martin Kasindorf** of *Newsweek*; **James Foy**, editorial director of KNBC-TV; and **Dennis Carpenter**, California Senator. Moderating the afternoon session will be the **Honorable Eric E. Younger**. Judge Younger is among the leading authorities on the topic of "privacy and the public's right to know."

. . . **Michael Goldstein**, assistant professor of sociology, will present a paper, "Searching for Socialists: Black Participation in the Socialist Movement in New



Gov. Brown, Sr.



Martin Kasindorf

York City and Cleveland, 1917-1921", at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History in Chicago on October 30.

. . . **Jose B. Cuellar**, instructor of anthropology, has co-authored an article on "Attitudes Toward Death and Dying: Contrasts by Age, Sex, Race, and Class" for publication in the *Journal of Gerontology*. His review of Edward Marquis' article, "Assimilation, Colonialism, and the Mexican American People" was published in *Sociology: Reviews of New Books*.

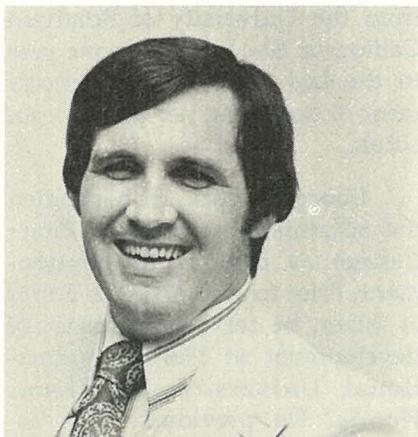
At the Annual Meeting of the Gerontological Society in New York, he presented a paper on "Cultural Relevance of Public Housing for the Older Chicano."

. . . Four appointments to the Pitzer College Board of Trustees

were made by Robert H. Atwell, president; **Ann Lawson Bilodeau**, **Peter S. Gold**, **Ben Winters**, and **Ruth Gold**. Ms. Bilodeau, who graduated from Pitzer College in 1969, is a development officer at the Graduate School of Business, Stanford University. Gold is president of Price Pfister Brass Manufacturing Company and senior vice president of Norris Industries. He is a graduate of Southwestern University School of Law. Winters is formerly vice president and director of Brunswick Drug Company. He is now a consultant specializing in economic and business policy and organizational development. Ms. Gold, known for her many philanthropic activities, has been active in the Music Center and Hollywood Bowl for several years. She also is co-founder of the American Youth Symphony.

... Anthropologist **Susan Seymour** will chair a symposium on "Intra-Cultural Variation and Early Childhood Socialization" for the 75th annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, D.C. November 17-21. As part of the symposium, she also will deliver a paper entitled "Size and Composition of Household in Relation to the Indulgence of Children in India."

... **Susan Corbin**, Pitzer class of '75, is a member of the Viking Mission to Mars spacecraft operations team at Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, California. She is responsible for commanding the craft and for the telemetry aspect of the command operations.



*George S. Peck, Jr.*

... Pitzer College appointed three new full-time and eight part-time faculty members for the 1976-77 academic year beginning September 23.

Full-time faculty members include **Drury Sherrod**, visiting assistant professor of psychology; **Fred Myers**, assistant professor of anthropology, and **H. Roy Kaplan**, visiting assistant professor of sociology. Sherrod received his

Ph.D. from Stanford, Kaplan from the University of Massachusetts, and Myers from Bryn Mawr College.

Three part-time faculty members have accepted positions in the art department. **Edward Forde**, visiting associate professor of art will teach two courses in ceramics; **Janice Raithel**, assistant professor of art, two courses in two-dimensional art; and **Rhys Williams**, visiting assistant professor of art will teach two courses in glass.

Other part-time appointees include **Rabbi Ben Beliak**, Chaplain at McAlister Center, lecturer in Hebrew; **Amyra Grossbard**, instructor in economics; **Beverly Palmer**, instructor in writing; **Tom Savage**, instructor in mathematics; and **Francine Schwieder**, instructor in history.

... **Laud Humphreys**, professor of sociology, was elected to chair the Committee on Standards and Freedom of Research, Publication, and Teaching of the Society for the Study of Social Problems at the Society's annual meeting in New York City in August. The Committee is one of two such official panels that deals with violations of academic freedom for sociologists throughout the North American continent. Humphreys announced during the meetings, at a panel on academic freedom issues which he chaired, that his primary goal for the coming year will be to work closely with the various regional academic freedom committees, as well as those representing other disciplines, to establish means for concerted action on the part of social scientists to counter threats to the academic freedom of both students and faculty in a tightening job market.

At the meetings of the American Society of Criminology in Tucson, Arizona, November 4-7, he will chair a panel on Homosexuality and Crime.

... Thirty-five new students were accepted into the New Resources program for the fall semester.

The New Resources program offers students a combination of three curriculum alternatives: enrollment in regular Pitzer courses and those offered by the other Claremont Colleges, independent studies, and specially arranged courses including seminars, colloquia and vocationally-linked seminars and programs.

In addition to the regular daytime program, Pitzer will offer forty-two evening courses during the fall semester. While evening courses are open to all students, according to **James B. Jamieson**, vice president and coordinator of the program, New Resources students will be given priority in registration for three evening seminars. In addition, one seminar has been designed especially for first time New Resources students.

... **Constance W. Atwell**, associate professor of psychology, has been awarded a three-year grant of \$115,902 by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) to continue her research into "Vestibular Self-Stimulation: Consequences for Vestibular and Motor Development in Infants and Preschool Children."

The study involves a parental questionnaire on 500 children in a nearby community and more intensive study of balance, equilibrium and vestibular reflexes in 80 infants and children. It focuses on

rocking and head-banging behavior in normal children.

Noting that this behavior is usually associated with autistic or disturbed children, Professor Atwell said that it also can be observed in children who are otherwise normal.

Earlier this year, Professor Atwell and her co-investigator Dr. Edward M. Ornitz from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) received a grant of \$34,000 from the Grant Foundation of New York to begin investigation in this area.

... Two articles and a book review by **John Rodman**, professor of political studies, have appeared in recent publications:

"The Other Side of Ecology in Ancient Greece: Comments on Hughes," appeared in *Inquiry: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Philosophy and the Social Sciences*. "Analysis & History: or How the Invisible Hand Works Through Robert Nozick," an epilogue to a symposium on Robert Nozick's "Anarchy, State and Utopia," has appeared in the *Western Political Quarterly*. Rodman also has reviewed "Thomas Hill Green: Philosopher of Rights" by Ann R. Cacoullas for *Political Theory*, an International Journal of Political Philosophy.

... **Sara C. Schurr**, a 1973 graduate of Pitzer, has been named one of ten Congressional Science and Engineering Fellows for 1976-77.

Ms. Schurr, who currently is pursuing an Ed.D. in Human Development at Harvard University, is sponsored by the American Psychological Association.

The Congressional Science and

Engineering program is designed to broaden the perspective of both the scientific and governmental community and to promote effective use of scientific knowledge in government.

... **Rudi Volti**, assistant professor of sociology served as panelist at the International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa August 3-8 in Mexico City. Volti, one of the few sociologists, talked on "Rural Industry and the Prevention of Migration to Urban Areas in China."

... **David Furman's** latest ceramic exhibit, now showing at the Quay Ceramics Gallery in San Francisco has been acclaimed as "beyond dazzling" by one reviewer. Furman is assistant professor of art.

Thomas Albright of the San Francisco Chronicle noted the "compelling expressiveness" of Furman's work. "At a time when dazzling technical skill is almost taken for granted among ceramists, Furman — a Los Angeles artist — is still exceptional, capable of duplicating the textures and the tactility of wood, stone, canvas and so on, with uncanny exactitude, yet always preserving the basic feel of clay." Furman's work will be represented in two forthcoming publications.

Photographs of his ceramic miniature environments, "In the Den With Molly," will appear in the third edition of *Design Through Discovery*, a textbook intended for use by college and university undergraduate students.

Descriptions of classroom concepts and projects as well as photographs of Furman's work will be in "Synectics in Art," written by Nicholas Roukes of the University of Calgary in Canada.

... **Ruth H. Munroe**, professor of psychology, has been appointed a member of the Editorial Advisory Board for the Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology.

... Pitzer College has added two new staff members to the Office of Admissions. Serving as assistant directors of admissions, **Eric Mokofer** and **Marilyn Parker** will travel throughout the United States, visiting high schools and interviewing prospective Pitzer students.

Mokofer, who received his B.A. from Hobart College in New York, spent two years at Hobart as associate director of admissions. Prior to that time, he was an admissions counselor at Grahm Junior College in Boston.

Ms. Parker received her B.A. from Pitzer College and her M.A. from the University of Southern California. She taught for one year in the Los Angeles City Schools prior to accepting her present position.

... **George S. Peck, Jr.** has joined the administrative staff of Pitzer College as director of development. Prior to assuming his duties at Pitzer, he served as director of development at Florida International University in Miami, Florida. He previously was associated with the University of Miami in Florida as associate director of development.

Peck received his B.S. from the University of Miami and has completed a certificate program for graduate studies in management from that university. He is active professionally in the Council for Advancement and Support of Education (CASE), the National Society of Fund Raisers, Reserve Officers Association and Sigma Chi Alumni Association.