

Figured
without this
would be
like tea
can

Robert Dyson observed a set, 2 3/4, 2 1/2, 2 1/4, 2 1/4 and 3/8
to the set in place is

not to name Oracle Dishes

The take note of direction Give name
N E S W
Put a Counting

a name
of indents...

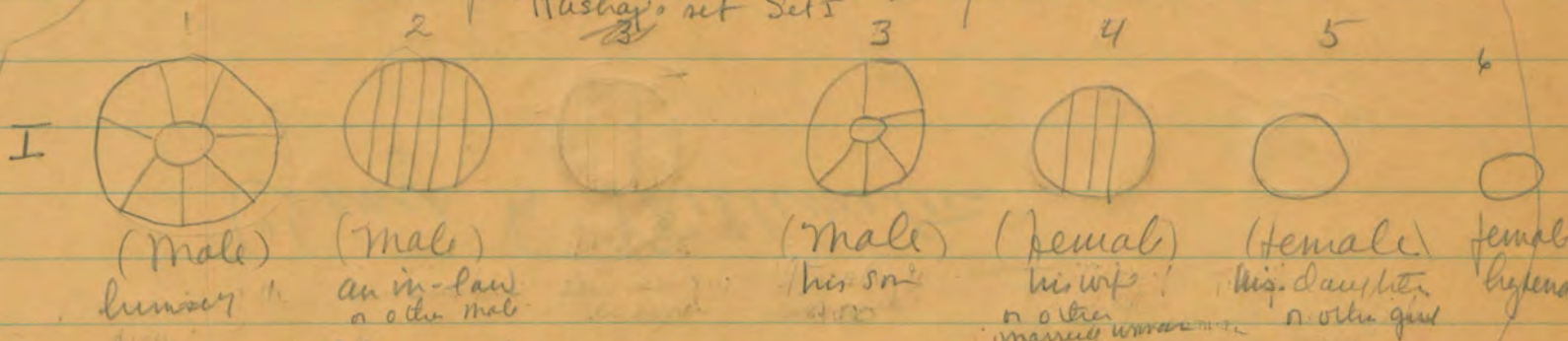
Material: eland hide, is preferred because
it is heavy ^{and stiff} but other heavy hides may
be used. ~~Any part of the hide of~~ ^{the hide may be cut from any part of the hide of} either male or female
animal may be used.

Change to mm
See Dyson
??

Description: The dishes vary in size from two to three
inches in diameter, and are about 1/4 inch thick.

In each set no two dishes are exactly the same size.
Some sets of dishes are pierced at the
center and carried strung onto a thong.
Others are not pierced and are carried
in a bag. A few have designs
scratched onto them, the purpose
of the design is to make them easy to distinguish.
Others have designs as illustrated
in plate.

See plate
with notes
Cast
Hollow



See June 13
1953

bits of hair left on one side, to make them
distinguish them from the other, and to
show clearly which are the top and bottom sides

But irregularities in size, in
the form, the color
and chamo surface markings make
each dish unique. The M set of dishes
over

observed by the author which had designs
The author, ~~observed~~ ~~is~~ ~~illustrated~~
(of radiating and parallel line) is illustrated as
Set I...

Change & Miller

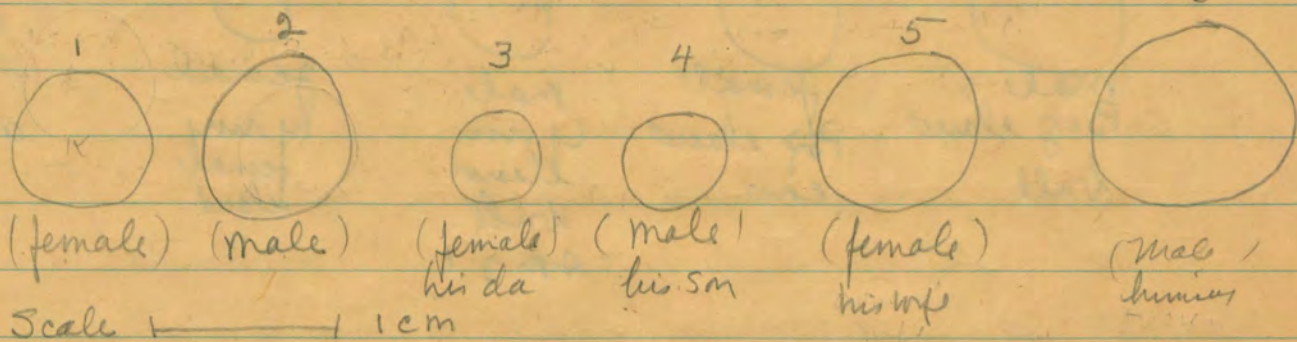
Some pictures of drawings

Measure thickness
will this
size 1 inch - check in page one

Always one dish (larger one) are considered to be male and the smaller one as female's different number, each in different sets. The word for small dish is *khxu*. *go* is male, *di* is female. *na* is large & old *ma* is small & young. *si* is the plural suffix.

I Tashaj's set

II Laj 18m's set



look up
about this
in Feb 7
for relations size

III #Toma's set

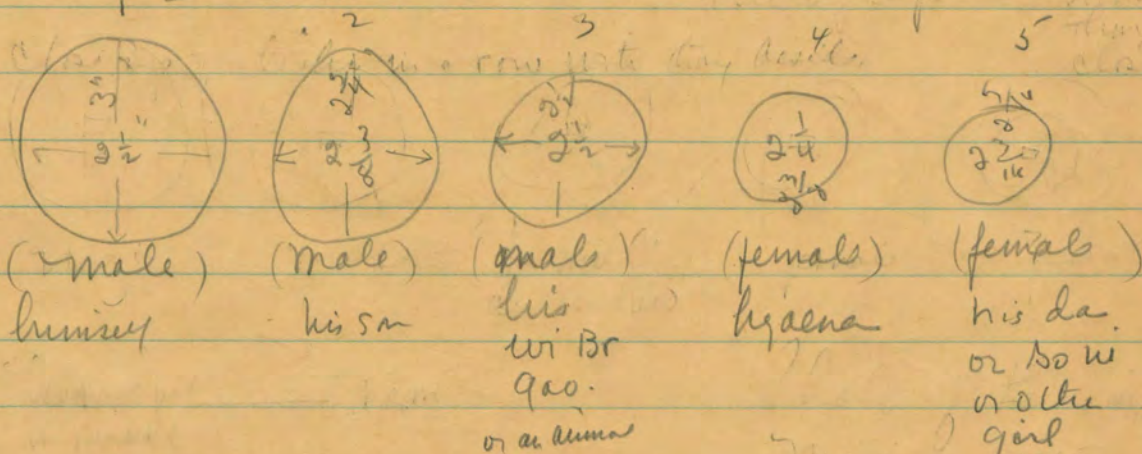


Photo of
huming
dish
me in?

#Toma had a sixth dish, for his wife, but ^{had} lost it.

Feb 7 Huming's eldest son's wife
relation huming's creation might be

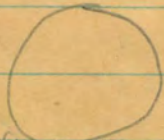
Another tin
huming's eldest son's wife

5^u

a photo of dishes we have
in stump with end beside, seal,

IV Quo Medicin: set

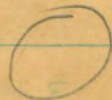
I am indebted to Robert Dyson for
the following example by Quo Medicin
of naming the dishes for animals



male
Big claud
bull



female
Pig claud
cow



male
Young
claud
bull
SM 71



female
Young
female
claud



a myaena

Leave empty
mant. heading.

Spae.

Make abbrev
paraphrase

1a

TP The word for ~~the~~ disk is ~~the~~
/khu. Some are called male disk, (larger ones)
some female (slightly smaller than the male)

Disk are said to be male and female, large and small. They
are called

/khu !go !na large male disk

/khu !go ma small male disk

/khu di !na large female disk

/khu di ma small female disk

The smallest one of all may be
called "hyaena", as I shall explain presently.

Each man gives his own order

to his disks and consistently piles them up
in his hand in that order, to throw them. ^(at the top of the top of the pile)

The largest disk is ^{often} at the ^{in the order} first, but not necessarily

so. (See set 4.) We saw the number one disk ^{often}
placed by some men at the top of their pile
the others at the bottom.

put sets (p. 2) anywhere hereabouts

p. 3 follow

First top? →
Feb 7 1957
First bottom? →
?

Dear Richard

I have again been away from my desk.

" I hope that there will be more discussion about the
about the ~~curious~~ question of ~~optimum~~
condition ^{substance} for ~~hundreds~~ and ~~gatherers~~
Each people must be considered individually
Conditions of their lives could vary so much
that we could not generalize quickly
We would have to define the
parameters

and the reasons

RB

who makes
who uses

The number of dishes in a set is not fixed. Only 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 were observed. (One man said he had had six but lost no; another said he could have more than six if he wanted to.)
A man makes his own set of wishes or may receive a set in the form of gift giving. Only men were observed to throw the dish

indent 3

Ordinary
Margin

IP Any man may do so. He sits on or beside a Kaross, piles the dishes in the palm of his left hand, covers them with his right hand, pauses to formulate the question he will ask, either in his thought or aloud in words, blows on the dishes, bangs them down onto the Kaross, pulls his hands quickly away & rolls them ^{not on edge} setting them ^{not} to rest as they fall. He slides them carefully and from their position in relation to each other, he makes his interpretation. IP It is usual for a group of men to gather around when some one is consulting the dishes. The man who throws ^{always} has his say but all ^{with} ^{the} ^{best} ^{of} ^{them} take part in the interpretation. They do not agree by any means, and dish throwing sessions are occasions of ^{ribald} ^{insults} ^{and} ^{laughter} among men who ^{are} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{plain} ^{relationships}, who call each other fools ^{and} ^{wags} for not seeing that the dishes are saying this not that.

beside a Kaross

Then insert see one

consult the

Some throw purple sails, showed nothing - could not see read the thrower would then try again. Put later

Some people suggest any way. Some say, Others know better.

A man attributes an order to his set of dishes
and ^{always} picks them up in that order.

On the several occasions in which
we attended dish throwing sessions, ^{and enquired}
^{about them} we recorded ^{interpretation}
of what the dishes gave information about.

Mag. no.

All of them concerned only the two
above mentioned subjects hunting
and the doings of absent persons.

We acquired ^{some} information on about
sixty ^{cases}. All dealt with the
two above mentioned subjects, hunting
and getting ^{not getting} meat and the doings
of absent persons whom the people at
the session wanted to know about,
with the exception of a few ^{cases} which
predicted rain.

Don't forget
women

Do not have to ask a Ganesha
can throw and see what
the dishes have to say.
How did they know that was
Ti Ka. They just knew

On the whole they appear to
 take the interpretation seriously
 however even if they do not reach
 consensus and were often given and intent
 sometimes they seem to approach a consensus
 sometimes not. and often were given and intent
 in searching for the meaning. Some shots
 people said showed nothing, could not be read. In the

case the hunter ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~by~~ ^{by} ~~again~~

Most frequently the information which
 the men seek to obtain

from the dishes has to do with
 hunting. The dishes are asked to tell the
 hunters ^{in what direction} where to look ^{for game} and to predict ^{their} success or
 failure. ^{at the camp} What has occurred, if a hunt is ^{proper} ~~proper~~.

to tell the purpose

Hunters carry them with them on a hunt and consult them
 while they rest in the shade. It is encouraging to
 have them show meat to the west or wherever it may be.

Means

friends, what has been happening, to
 those people, and what will happen

TP The dishes are ^{also} asked to give news of the
 whereabouts of absent relatives and friends
 and to tell what has been happening
 to them, where they will go, what will happen.
 (usually will be get meat)
 When someone was throwing, our Bushman
 interpreter Ngani would ~~always~~ come up
 and ask "What news do you get?"

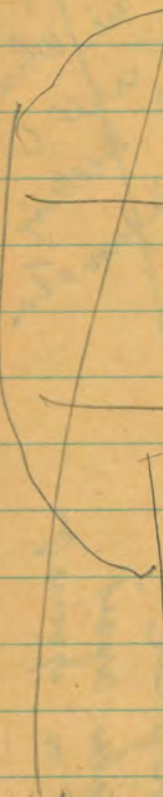
Kuind
 went

over

encouragement [p 6787 Feb 7.] ✓
 (Poma says he takes his dishes
 when resting in the shade during a hunt.
 They tell him he will find an animal
 and he does.)

Say the question on the area of inquiry determined the identity to be absolute or in general. In instances if +Toma was throwing the dishes and he wanted to know what was happening to ~~Grand~~ Helmets group who were at the In order to interpret the dishes an identity, which may be more or less general or absolute, specific, is attributed to each. The identity is changed to be appropriate to the information the thrower is seeking to obtain. ^{say} Qui said ^{group's} his six dishes (in general) represented himself his wife his son his daughter. The other two

Part of the



Insert above

The dishes may be made to represent people, animals, fire, sun, rain or other things? (watch in note)

Lage Qui said that four of his six dishes (in general) represented (1) himself; (2) his son; (3) his wife; (4) his daughter. The other two were (5) a female (6) a male to represent relatives, visitors, shiager or animal. +Toma also had six dishes, three male and three female: (1) himself; (2) his ^{eldest} son; (3) his brother-in-law or another relative; (4) ^{a female dish was} a hyena (it had small white spots of hair left on which +Toma said were ^{on person} for breasts), or, this dish could represent a non-Bushman; (5) his wife; (6) his daughter or a

Part 1st

not a Bushman closely related to the thrower or a Bushman

One

as then certain identities would be changed at any time. When the people wanted to know about our doings, ~~for example~~ they changed them to our family and ~~road~~ ^{area}

~~John (Marshall) who is away, is well. He will return. I saw Geo. Ma (Leanna Marshall) will get him in the truck. They return together. We are sitting by the fire on the way. // do is~~

with identities appropriate to the area
 in which we are seeking information

In fact I did not think I recorded on reading interpretation in which they were not changed.
 but, not all given precise entel

what seems to be appropriate. He sees two young males apart. They must be so and so going for water

~~for men to interpret the dish as identity
 with appropriate time context is attempted &
 look. Can understand general identity in info
 must be the new context, in info
 a more creative "sense"~~

Mangetti place in the west the dish would in general way represent that group. Person's identity to each dish. He throws - look, and

obviously No. 1. Lumsden would be Geoffrey and
 but #1 ma would

then sees

When the smallest disk is hyena p:6
it plays a part in the hunting interpretation p:6
but also acts as a negative or evil principle.

no space

~~These identities could be grasped
at any time as examples of the
interrelation will show.~~

When a disk turns upside down
it means death or it may mean
sun or fire the latter two being favorable
signs. Informants were not able to
explain this very explicitly. Examples of
interpretations will illustrate some of this point.

1. A thumb by Gao Medicum

(I am enabled by Robert De son's robe
made by Gao Medicum with set of disk
in this example) 4 and 2: Bushman
(How he knows it is a little buck he could not say - just turns.)
Kills a little buck. 3: sundown

③
① ⑤
④ ②

(young bull in the west).
1 and 5: in the west. Interpretation:
A man killed a little buck at
sundown and the story is told
at the weyft.

Next below
↙

Example of interpretations follow.

look up in
note →

In order to interpret the dish
the thrower attributes ^{as} identity to each. It
might be an animal, ~~to be hunted~~ a
person, rain or fire or

The following are examples of such attributed identities.
Elizabeth Thomas recorded one ^{attributing} which + Thomas
had attributed himself to the largest disk
a male in-law to the next largest
his son to another,

Part
table

to the disks of set 1

See 787 EM
misc
manus

The attributions may be ^{more or less} general (such as
a male relative, a female relative,
and may be used for many things
and may question or they may
be specific identifications may be
attributed to an appropriate disk if
the thrower is asking specifically about the
person or thing. Lag 1 Qui described in
general attribution.

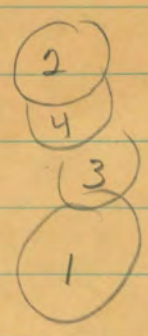
Ques: are fire and sun always upside down.

8

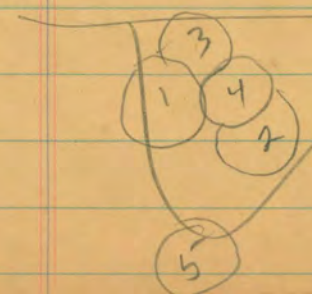
714.

I was unable to ^{to enable me to understand the system soundly} ~~elucidate~~ ^{reunite} clear precise statements about upside down disks, about the disks which are calling ^{disks} by aena fire sun, and to understand more about rain. We was told that if a disk falls upside down this means death. It can, as far as I

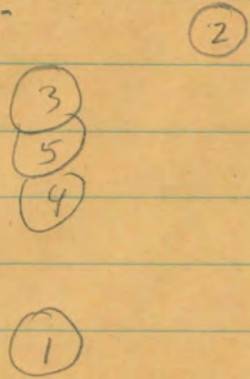
9. could make out, mean ^{but more than it means} vague evil fortune ^{which is 5000} the death of an animal and meat for the people, or what ever the thrower thinks it might mean along those lines.



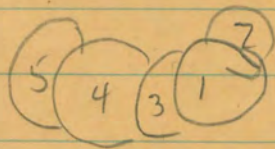
This cast by +Toma with set III was interpreted as follows 3 and 4 are animals. 1 and 2 are upside down; they mean the death of those animals. 5 (is set III, the disk for +Toma's daughter) means that someone they know will kill those animals for them.



1, 3, 4, 2 are meat. 5 upside down is fire, the people will have meat.



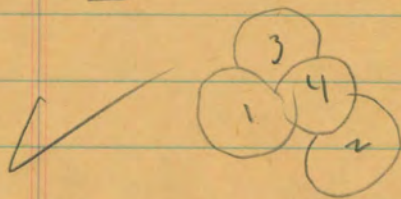
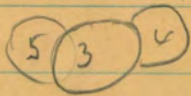
3 4 5 are upside down They are the bones of dead animals 1 is someone who comes and sees the bones. 2 is a Bushman leaving in Samangai gai.



This shows more than 5 bones The people are all gathered around a fire in front of a shelter.

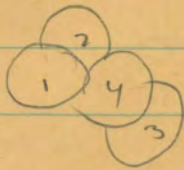


5 3 4 are ^{our} Trucks 2 is someone looking at them 1 is upside down is Sun. This is also a favorable sign as 5 is when it was called fire. Why it is ^{suppliment explanation} some times I called fire and some times sun eluded us. The thrower somehow feels it is appropriate. 1 2 3 4 are meat



5 is fire

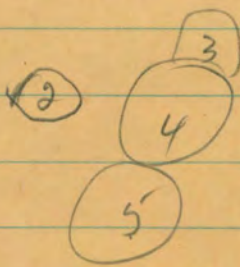
A cast 6, #Toma with set III



(5)

This time, 1, 2, 3, 4 are meat
 5 is ~~fire~~ ^{upside down, is fire} ~~upside down~~, a favorable sign.
 Interpretation: The people
 will have meat.

A cast 6, #Toma with set IV

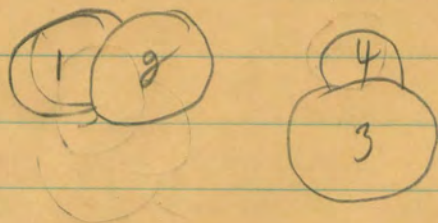


(1)

3, 4 and 5 are meat.
 1 is ~~fire~~ upside down, is fire
 2 is #Toma's eldest son.
 Interpretation #Toma's
 son will be the owner
 of the meat

The fact that in the above casts one
 and 5 are apart and are upside down
 is what makes them "fire" but
 why "fire" no one could tell. "It is our
 custom" is the usual; King explanation
 for what is not known or not explicit.
 Disks in similar position, ^{upside down,} may also be
 called sun. Sun like fire has is a
 favorable sign, and sun may
 also indicate direction.

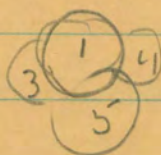
5



5

1 is Gus going away
 2 is his planning
 and talking,
 also going
 3 and 4 are the
 people there in
 the way
 5 upside down is his
 the favorable sign

2



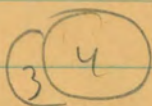
2 is John Marshall, ^{He is away,} the
 other are ourselves
 there in the way -
 Interpretation: John
 is still away at home.
 We are there the way.

2

1

2 is John ^{again,} He is safe, at home
 3, 4, 5 He will not come
 to Gulsche in many
 days

5



1 upside down, is his
 favorable, also, as when
 5 was five,

2

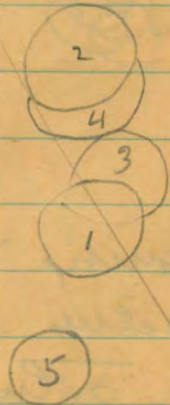
3

Thurs 2 -

7

2. ~~by + Roma with set III dish~~

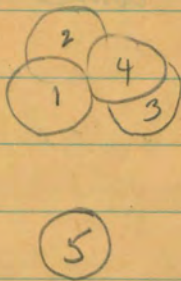
✓



3 and 4 are animals, 1 and 2 are upside down and mean the death of the two animals. 5 is the man who kills them.
 Interpretation: Disk 5 is + Roma's daughter, this means that someone they know will kill the animals for them.

3. ~~Another by + Roma with Set III dish~~

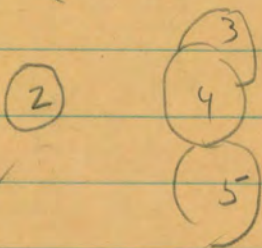
✓



1 2 4 3, this time are meat. 5 is fire, ^{upside down} a favorable sign.
 Interpretation: The people will have meat.

4. ~~Another by + Roma with Set III~~

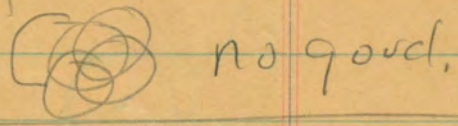
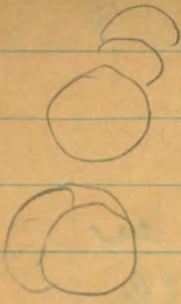
✓



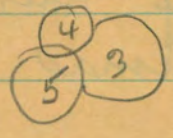
①

3 4 5 are meat 1 fire upside down. 2 is + Roma's son. 1 is fire upside down.
 Interpretation: + Roma's son will be the owner of the meat.

the upper three are upside down, the lower two are right side up.
 An example of a cast that was no good, said no good examples.



get this right



2 is John
 1.5 the sun coming up
 3, 4, 5 are ourselves

Interpretation: sun is coming back from the north. This will come from the north west (which everyone knew used as the direction to use as compass)



No drawings of
Dogs from my land, note.
have zeroed.

To Do look up 1Ta'igoina Tare
in Blect 1Ko di " 1Kxam + Ra

The information we succeeded in
acquiring was, nevertheless, too little to
enable me to grasp the system of
interpretation to my satisfaction. As usual
the Bushmen could not explain exactly
how they knew what the dishes said,
they just knew. Robert Dymon's note
from 1951 bears me out in this. + Gao
Medicine told him precisely that
+ Tona told me what some people
don't know ^{any way} - they just guess, but
other know better. But when I asked
him and others about the system
they use all were vague. ^{Never like}
I have some data and some impressions
to record,

Some
casts
cannot
be
read

they say
nothing

each dish
right
side up
has definite
top and
bottom side

Say about design the purpose, which is to
help him recognize the dish.
Say two dishes, Qun are (Tare + Kxam + Ka are for strange
fishes & beasts)
All this is easy enough but where
I am less secure in my understanding
is the interpretation of the following.

death
in the
west

Hyena Sun fire rain
hyama - June 1 - '53 - ^{game animal} predator beast
Non Bushman Negative principle jewel?
It is the "strange" one the informant says.

E.M. If turned upside down when the
face it means death or the sun
or fire which is good luck.
How do they know which -

I could not
get any more
5/59

(Toma, Feb 7, 1953) If the dish turns
upside down it means death -
death of an animal - meat for the people
death of a person.

Add women may look on. Never saw any Kuro
a attempt join the discussion of the meaning,

As I said ^{some} identity is attributed
to the disks according to the information
the thrower is seeking. He would
to know about Geo Helms's people who
are at their Mangetti place. Did they
get meat? When are they coming back?
He need not - according to my understanding
attribute ^{precisely} an identity to every ^{subject} disk before ^{he} throws
but throws and looks. The disks fall
all together in a bunch except one
if that one is the biggest - the one
the owner says is himself - that would
be Geo himself except ^{from his group} probably hunting
if that one were the one corresponding
to the owner's son it would mean
that one of the young men had to travel
back to a distant water hole for water
if they screamed out in a line poultry
toward Gantscha that might mean
that they ^{group} was returning, or would be soon.

On one occasion the attributer
called one disk ^{the son} John Marshall and
his big son, Famine Marshall and that
morning they learned that John who
was away was well. that he would
return much sooner than we expected
which he did. That morning the disk
revealed that Titka had eaten too much

da
they seemed new to the ones ones wife - m
as the disks were just direct stated & repeated
also

oo
70

ga
behaviour

and would not come to visit us that day
a while which also proved to be
correct. Lions had killed meat, ~~and that~~
there was meat toward the west but
far away, ^{and that} the rain we come

Several throws showed nothing, could not
be read. Others revealed that some

They don't attribute

We observed sets of five and six disks. Six appeared to be the usual number. But the number is not fixed. One could have more if one wanted, but Toma explained that if the disks were many - such as eight or ten - he could not know ^{at once} what they said. They do not make as clear a statement as five or six and he could not understand as well what they said.

I was not able to put enough work
into the question of interpretation ^{to} feel satisfied.
As the Medicine told Robert Dyson he does not know
how he knows (what the throw means); he just
knows.

It proved impossible to work
~~any amount of a hard enough~~ on the
subject of interpretation by other things
had a satisfactory understanding
to find a way to understand the
system of interpretation through. The
Informant could not tell precisely
On several subjects ^{if we worked hard enough} what appeared to be
complex yielded to understanding ^{and a system became} apparent
~~we worked hard enough and a system was~~
~~revealed because apparent.~~ Perhaps
there is ^{a sound system} in the interpretation of the
various disks and because I could not
work hard enough as it I failed to find it.
However, I am inclined in this case
to believe that the

I did r

Oracle Disks

To Do

Ask Richard the spelling of Khu
disk.

Look up in Black - disk /Tu /Ko
1 Kxam #Ka /are

987

Check if any more notes
I have consulted

1951 Dyson p. 1 p. 5 p. 15

Dec 1952 Handley p. 17

1952-3 EM Mic. p. 1-3

1953 Feb 7 LJM pp 1-19

ii

1953 June 3 B LJM p. 1-2

Wrote to me
Ask John who paid for collection of Bartlett & Peabody
L.J.M. will work on oval disk



Apims -

get name.

Sag varied in get photos.

Is I ah to sew? See lead bands.

give me no tortois shell

Black. Look up under for ostrich egg shell, lead.

Do not
know

* Do some thing on right handed men