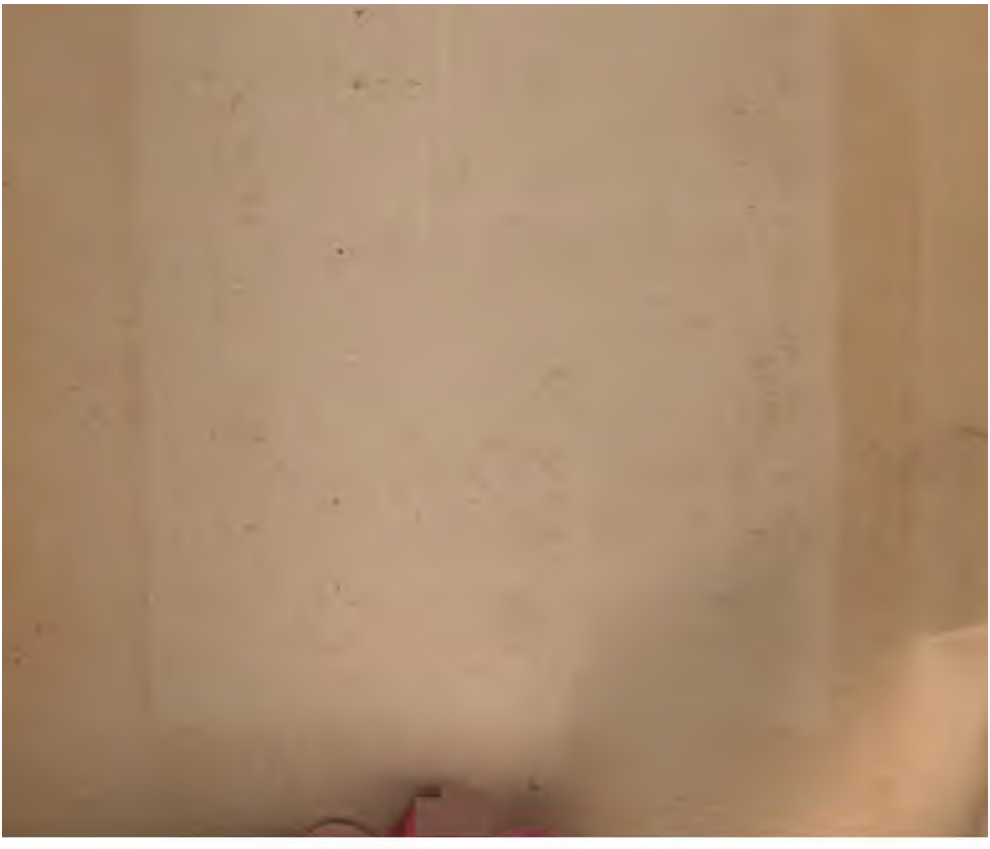


THE NORTHERN TRIBES

OF

CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

THE NORTHERN TRIBES OF CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

BY

BALDWIN SPENCER, M.A., F.R.S.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD
PROFESSOR OF BIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

AND

F. J. GILLEN

SPECIAL MAGISTRATE AND SUB-PROTECTOR OF ABORIGINES
SOUTH AUSTRALIA

London
MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1904

TO

DAVID SYME, ESQ.

WHOSE GENEROSITY

RENDERED OUR WORK POSSIBLE

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHORS

PREFACE

THIS work may be regarded as a sequel to the *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, published by us in 1899. The interest which the results therein recorded aroused amongst anthropologists, and the desire to learn more of the customs and beliefs of the aborigines before it was too late to study them, led to a request being made to the authorities concerned to grant the authors leave of absence for a year in order to prosecute further studies amongst the tribes situated in that part of the Northern Territory which lies between the Macdonnell Ranges and the Gulf of Carpentaria. The Government of South Australia and the Council of the Melbourne University at once acceded to the request, and the Governments of the former state and of Victoria rendered valuable assistance in providing substitutes to discharge the duties of the authors during their absence.

There still remained the difficulty of securing funds to defray the actual expenses of the expedition. Through the generosity of Mr. David Syme of Melbourne this difficulty was soon removed, and we were free to make all the necessary arrangements. In offering our warmest thanks to Mr. Syme, we can only express the hope that the results of our work are such as to justify his generosity.

Some months before our departure we sent up stores by camel team to the stations at Alice Springs, Barrow Creek, Tennant Creek, and Powell Creek on the overland telegraph

line, and the ability to use these as depôts was of great assistance to us. The Government of South Australia, in whose territory we were working, rendered us every possible help. Our special thanks are due to Sir F. W. Holder, then Premier of the state, Sir C. Todd, the Postmaster-General, the Hon. R. W. Foster, Commissioner of Public Works, and Mr. T. Gill, for the great personal interest which they took in our work and for most valuable help in many ways.

Through the kindness of Sir C. Todd we were able to have all of our stores packed and despatched along the overland telegraph line under the supervision of Mr. F. H. Chance, to whose cordial assistance we are much indebted. At a later period we were much indebted to the kindness of Sir Alexander Peacock, the Premier of Victoria, and the Hon. R. Philp, Premier of Queensland, through whose kindness, in sending a pilot steamer to our assistance when we were stranded on the Macarthur River, we were able to cross the Gulf of Carpentaria into Queensland.

In view of the nature of the work which we desired to carry out, we determined to travel with as small a party as possible, and, from amongst very numerous applicants, had no hesitation in selecting Mounted Trooper Chance to take charge of our horses and impedimenta, and generally to supervise the work of the camp. His previous experience in Central Australia, his tact in dealing with natives, and his trustworthiness, were already well known to us. He rendered us the most loyal and valuable assistance, and our experience proved that we could not have made a better choice.

The only other permanent members of our party were two natives of the Arunta tribe, named Erlikiliakirra and Purunda. They accompanied us right through the whole journey. Their only remuneration, as they had no use for money, consisted of clothing, abundant food and tobacco. Shortly after our arrival on the shores of the Gulf of Car-

pentaria they started on their return journey, mounted on horses and armed, in case they might meet with hostile natives before they reached friendly tribes. On the journey north we had arranged for their food supplies, and, some time after our return, were glad to hear that they had reached the south in safety.

Our work was much facilitated by the existence of the isolated telegraph stations on the overland line to Port Darwin. Without in any way disturbing the natives, who still, to the north of the Macdonnell Ranges, practise the customs and retain unchanged the beliefs of their fathers, the few widely scattered telegraph officials, by their consistent kindly treatment of the natives, have come to be regarded by the latter as their friends, and this fact served us in good stead. To Mr. P. M. Byrne of Charlotte Waters, Mr. M'Feat, the officer in charge at Alice Springs during our visit, Mr. W. Scott at Barrow Creek, Mr. J. Field at Tennant Creek, and Mr. F. J. Kell at Powell Creek, we are indebted for every assistance which it lay in their power to render to us.

Some time after our return from the expedition, we paid a visit to the Peak Station, close to the north-west end of Lake Eyre, our object being to investigate certain special points amongst the Urabunna tribe. To our friend Mr. E. C. Kempe, the owner of the station, we are indebted for assistance which enabled us to accomplish, in a relatively short time, work which, without his friendly help, might have caused us much trouble and delay.

Through the kindness of the late Mr. J. Angas Johnson of Adelaide, we were provided with a phonograph, and so were able to secure records of native songs associated with both the ordinary corrobborees and sacred ceremonies. Our photographic apparatus consisted of a biograph and a half and a quarter plate camera. The first named was one of the Warwick Company's instruments; the second, with a

Goertz lens attached, was specially made for us in Melbourne by Mr. W. Gray, and fitted with metal dark slides; the third was a Goertz-Anschutz folding camera. The biograph we only used during the first part of our journey, taking it with us as far north as the Macdonnell Ranges. It was not practicable to carry films further and retain them undeveloped for more than a year, especially as the last few months of our time were to be spent in the damp heat of the Gulf country. Both of the cameras, however, went through the whole expedition without any mishap, and, despite heat and dust interminable, served their purpose admirably. A certain number of the numerous photographs taken by us are used in the illustration of the following pages.

Up to the present time there has been no reliable and detailed account published of the organisation, customs, and beliefs of the tribes inhabiting the wide extent of country lying between the Macdonnell Ranges in the centre of the continent and the Gulf of Carpentaria. Practically nothing is known of their customs, and such accounts as are published of their organisation, apart from the brief outline which appeared in our previous work, are very misleading inasmuch as they represent these tribes as counting descent of the "class" in the female line. The present work is an attempt to fill this gap in our knowledge of the Australian aborigines.

In one or two instances friendly critics of our previous work were evidently perplexed in mind as to how it was that we had been allowed to see, and even photograph, ceremonies all knowledge of which is kept carefully hidden from any but initiated members of the tribe. The explanation of this is to be found in a sentence in the preface to the same work, wherein it is stated that one of the authors had spent the greater part of twenty years amongst the Arunta tribe, and that *both of us are regarded as fully initiated members of the same tribe.*

Those who have worked amongst savages will realise that this enabled us to see things and to gain information of a kind quite inaccessible to the uninitiated worker, however observant he may be. As an instance of what this means, we may say that on one occasion, when coming into contact with a strange tribe, in a camp nearly two hundred miles away from our last halting-place, we were a little surprised to find that the natives knew all about us. They were not only quite friendly, but seemed anxious to help us. Later on we found out that the tribe amongst whom we had last been working had actually, unknown to us, sent on two men to tell the strangers that we were friends, and that they were to show and tell us everything without fear. It may also be advisable to point out that all of our information has been collected at first hand.

Starting from the region of Lake Eyre in the south, we studied the tribes inhabiting the country crossed by the telegraph line as far north as Newcastle Waters. From this point we struck east, until, following down the Macarthur River, we reached the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. We were thus able to trace a gradual change amongst the tribes in regard to organisation and beliefs, and at the same time to demonstrate a fundamental agreement in regard to certain important matters. Perhaps the most interesting result of our work is the demonstration of the fact that, in the whole of this wide area, the belief that every living member of the tribe is the reincarnation of a spirit ancestor is universal. This belief is just as firmly held by the Urabunna people, who count descent in the female line, as it is by the Arunta and Warramunga, who count descent in the male line. We have also been able to extend widely the area over which the belief is held that the members of the totemic group are regarded as responsible for the increase of the animal or plant which gives its name to the group.

So long as these two beliefs were only known, with

certainty, to exist amongst the Arunta and one or two closely allied tribes, it might perhaps be possible to regard them as "sports," but in the light of our further knowledge this idea is clearly untenable. As we pass northwards we find the Arunta beliefs and customs merging into those of the Kaitish, the latter into those of the Warramunga, Tjingilli, and Umbaia, and these again, in their turn, into those of the coastal tribes, the Gnanji, Binbinga, Anula, and Mara. Not only is this so, but in the south we find the beliefs of the Urabunna tribe agreeing fundamentally with those of the Arunta. We are thus able to demonstrate the fact that there is no radical difference, so far as important beliefs and customs are concerned, between tribes which count descent in the male line, and others which count it in the female line. In the matter of totemic names the curious system of the Arunta tribe in which they follow, of necessity, neither in the paternal nor in the maternal line merges on the one hand into that of the more northern tribes, in which the descent is strictly paternal, and on the other hand into that of the southern tribes, in which it is strictly maternal.

Taking every class of evidence into account, it appears to us to be very difficult to avoid the conclusion that the central tribes, which, for long ages, have been shielded by their geographical isolation from external influences, have retained the most primitive form of customs and beliefs. It is an easy matter to imagine the beliefs of the more northern tribes resulting as a modification of original ones, more or less similar to those now held by the central tribes, but the reverse process is not conceivable.

In view of certain statements made in regard to our previous work on the Arunta tribe, it may perhaps be advisable to point out that this tribe appeared, for the time being, to stand out in more or less strong contrast to other Australian tribes, simply because it was the one which had

been studied in greatest detail. Thanks especially to the work of Messrs. Howitt, Fison, and Roth, we already know a great deal about such matters as the organisation and initiation ceremonies of various Australian tribes, but, up to the time when we commenced our work upon the Arunta, it is only fair to say that, apart from initiation ceremonies, no serious attempt had been made to investigate other forms of sacred ceremonies—in fact the existence of such was not suspected. It is now too late to attempt the study of these amongst those tribes in regard to whose organisation and customs all our knowledge of Australian tribes was previously based. That ceremonies and beliefs, possibly in details different from, but probably in essential features akin to, those of the central tribes have not been described is no proof at all that they did not exist. It can scarcely be imagined that the idea of reincarnation of ancestral spirit individuals, and customs such as Intichiuma, should be confined even to the very wide area over which our investigations have been spread. Indeed Mr. Roth's latest work in Queensland shows clearly that the idea of spirit children entering women, and that sexual intercourse has nothing of necessity to do with procreation, is a very widespread belief amongst the Australian aborigines, and is by no means confined to the tribes amongst whom its existence was first described by us.

In regard to matters of this kind negative evidence is of very little value. At the present time the natives in Central Australia carry on their ceremonies in secrecy, without the few white men who are scattered over the country knowing, as a general rule, anything about them. Only initiated members of the tribes are allowed to attend and take part in them, and, whilst the ordinary observer or traveller may learn much about their organisation, he will know nothing whatever about the more sacred or secret matters, and will have no reason to suppose that the natives perform,

what has been called an elaborate ritual, such as we have described in the Arunta tribe. Even an investigator sufficiently conversant with, and trusted by, the members of the tribe to be allowed to see the initiation ceremonies, might easily overlook the totemic ceremonies unless he happened to be present just at the particular time when they were being performed, or made special inquiries in regard to them.

A word of warning must, however, be written in regard to this "elaborate ritual." To a certain extent it is without doubt elaborate, but at the same time it is eminently crude and savage in all essential points. It must be remembered that these ceremonies are performed by naked, howling savages, who have no idea of permanent abodes, no clothing, no knowledge of any implements save those fashioned out of wood, bone, and stone, no idea whatever of the cultivation of crops, or of the laying in of a supply of food to tide over hard times, no word for any number beyond three, and no belief in anything like a supreme being. Apart from the simple but often decorative nature of the design drawn on the bodies of the performers, or on the ground during the performance of ceremonies, the latter are crude in the extreme. It is one thing to read of these ceremonies—it is quite another thing to see them prepared and performed. A number of naked savages assemble on the ceremonial ground. They bring with them a supply of down, plucked from birds which they have killed with boomerangs or gathered from plants, and this down they grind on flat stones, mixing it with pipe-clay or red ochre. Then, drawing blood from their own veins, they smear it over their bodies and use it as a gum, so that they can outline designs in white and red. While this is in progress they are chanting songs of which they do not know the meaning, and, when all is ready and the performers are decorated, a group of men stand at one side of the cere-

monial ground, the decorated men perform a series of more or less grotesque evolutions, and then all is over. It is difficult, if not impossible, to write an account of the ceremonies of these tribes without conveying the impression that they have reached a higher stage of culture than is actually the case; but in order to form a just idea the reader must always bear in mind that though the ceremonies are very numerous, each one is in reality simple and often crude. It is only their number which causes them to appear highly developed.

We have endeavoured, as before, to set forth the results of our work so that the reader may see, on the one hand, the actual facts, and, on the other, the conclusion at which, in certain cases, we have arrived after a consideration of them.

In regard to the question of the terms of relationship, the more we know of the conditions existing in Australian tribes, the more strongly do we feel inclined to support the conclusions arrived at by Messrs. Howitt and Fison in regard to these matters. As we stated previously, it was these two workers who laid the true foundation of our knowledge of Australian anthropology, and we are glad to have the opportunity of again acknowledging not only our indebtedness to, and our admiration of, their work, but also our appreciation of the generous interest which they have taken in our own.

The publication of Mr. Howitt's work on the native tribes of South-eastern Australia, Mr. Roth's work on the North-eastern tribes, and our own on the Central and North Central tribes will probably supply anthropologists with a very fair idea of the organisation, customs, and beliefs of the native inhabitants of the central and eastern parts of the continent. The western half is still, anthropologically, almost a *terra incognita.*

In conclusion, we have once more to acknowledge our

indebtedness to the great interest which Dr. E. B. Tylor and Mr. J. G. Frazer have taken in our work. To Dr. Tylor one of us is indebted for his introduction to anthropological work at a time when it seemed very improbable that he would have the opportunity of working amongst savage tribes. To Mr. Frazer we are indebted for help which we cannot adequately acknowledge. Not only has he devoted much valuable time to the reading and correction of our proof-sheets, as the work has been passing through the press, but we feel that we owe more than we can express in words to his constant and generous assistance and to his stimulating influence.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER VIII

CHAPTER IX

CHAPTER X

CHAPTER XI

CHAPTER XII

CHAPTER XIII

CHAPTER XIV

CHAPTER XV

CHAPTER XVI

CHAPTER XVII

CHAPTER XVIII

CHAPTER XIX

CHAPTER XX

CHAPTER XXI

CHAPTER XXII

CHAPTER XXIII

CHAPTER XXIV

CHAPTER XXV

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES AND MAP

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Distribution of the tribes dealt with—Nature of the country in which they live—Names of the tribes—Not derived from the words for yes or no—Identity or close agreement of the tribes in regard to important customs and beliefs, associated with the existence of very distinct dialects—An attempt to explain this—Isolation of the tribes brought about by changes in climatic conditions—The original rite of initiation probably that of knocking a tooth out—Changes in regard to customs have apparently passed down from north to south—Those of the Arunta and Kaitish tribes probably represent most nearly the original customs common to the ancestors of the central and north-central tribes—Tribal government—Five old men arranging all matters concerned with a long series of ceremonies in the Warramunga tribe—Headmen of the local groups—This position more important in the southern than the northern tribes—Succession of headship of local groups—Power enforcing custom in these tribes is not simply an impersonal one—Authority more concentrated in the Warramunga than in the Arunta tribe—Introduction of changes in customs rendered possible by meetings of the older men—Division of the tribes into local groups—Geographical distribution of the moieties in the Warramunga tribe—Names for local groups—Character of natives—Contiguous groups and tribes as a general rule live on friendly terms—Treatment of the women—Life of a native sharply marked off into two parts—one concerned with ordinary and the other with sacred matters.

IN our previous work we dealt mainly with the native tribes inhabiting the centre of the continent. We were concerned more especially with the large and important Arunta tribe whose territory, before the white man made his appearance on the scene, extended from about the Macumba River in the south to seventy miles north of the Macdonnell Ranges. The Arunta may be looked upon, in regard to its organisation and customs, as typical of the important group of tribes occupying the very centre of the continent. The group includes the Arunta, Ilpirra, Unmatjera, and Kaitish

tribes, all of which have fundamentally the same organisation, customs, and beliefs, and may be spoken of, using the term first proposed by Mr. Howitt, as the Arunta nation. The northern limit of this nation is the Davenport Range. The accompanying map indicates approximately the distribution of the tribes in the area of the continent which we traversed.

We have previously described the nature of the country occupied by the Arunta. The lower steppe lands of the central area of the continent gradually rise until they merge into the plateau forming the higher steppes, the average altitude of which, where the Macdonnell Ranges rise above it, is 2000 feet. This plateau extends over a great area, dipping gradually away towards the north. Its highest part almost coincides in position with the Tropic of Capricorn, and forms what is called the Burt Plain, immediately to the north of the Macdonnell Ranges.

The following elevations will serve to give a general idea of the slope of the country. The Burt Plain is 2600 feet; about one hundred and twenty miles to the north of this lies Central Mount Stuart, the top of which is also 2600 feet; the plain at its base is 1800 feet. The elevation of Barrow Creek, fifty-five miles to the north, is 1700 feet; that of Tennant Creek, one hundred and fifty-four miles further to the north, is 1300 feet; and the height of the summit of the Murchison Range, which rises from the plateau some thirty miles to the south-east of the former, is 1700 feet. Powell Creek, one hundred and twenty miles to the north of Tennant Creek, is 1000 feet; and Newcastle Waters, seventy miles further north, is 700 feet. Passing away towards the north-east, the plateau slightly rises as the watershed is approached. The elevation of Whanaluru, one hundred and fifteen miles to the east of the line, is 950 feet. Less than two miles to the east of this the actual line of watershed is crossed, the elevation being approximately 1000 feet. It will be seen that the rise on the western side of the so-called coast-range is only a slight one. This is followed by a more sudden dip down into the coastal country around the Gulf of Carpentaria,

ending finally in long stretches of mangrove swamp which fringe the shore-line.

From the southern part of the higher steppes rise the James and Macdonnell Ranges, with here and there bold bluffs reaching the height of 5000 feet. The most striking feature in the physiography of this part of the country is the fact that the main rivers all run southwards, taking their rise to the north of the ranges, and piercing them by means of wild picturesque gaps and gorges. Except at flood times most of the gorges are dry, and afford the only means of traversing the ranges.[1]

On the great northern plateau there are only a few streams, all of them draining inland. The most important is the large course represented, except during the actual rainy season, by the chain of holes known as the Newcastle Waters, swelling out southwards, at its termination, into the so-called Lake Woods—a most misleading title, as it is merely an overflow of flood waters. A few other water-courses meander over the plateau, descending from comparatively low hills such as the Foster, M'Douall, Murchison, and Ashburton Ranges, but they are sooner or later lost in the scrub or grass lands which cover the whole of the plateau.

The plateau, in fact, really forms an inland basin with its edges slightly tilted up along the watershed line. In the south the latter runs parallel to the Macdonnell Range, and then turns northward, running roughly parallel to the telegraph line, away to the east of this for nearly three hundred miles. It then takes a great sweep out eastwards, reaching close to the Queensland border, somewhat to the north of Cammoweal. There it joins the coastal watershed, to the east and north of which the rivers run down to the Gulf of Carpentaria, or empty themselves into the sea along the north and north-east coast of the continent.

Standing on the northern edge of the Macdonnells you look out across the great Burt plains, thinly covered with mulga scrub, and traversed here and there by lines

[1] For a description of the steppe lands, see *Native Tribes of Central Australia* (in all future references this work is indicated by the letters *N. T.*), pp. 1-7; also *Narrative of the Horn Expedition*, 1896, pp. 11-102.

of gum-trees which mark the course of a few dry creeks. Away to the west the ranges run almost in a straight line, dipping abruptly under the southern margin of the plain, but to the east they curve round northwards to join the Strangways. After travelling on for about one hundred miles you pass through a broad gap in a low range of granitic hills, the highest points of which, Mounts Boothby, Wells, and Glaisher, rise to a height of from 300 to 600 feet above the plain. Away to the north the plain, with its monotonous covering of mulga scrub, stretches to the horizon, its level line broken only in the far distance by two lonely, dome-shaped hills, one almost due north and the other away out to the north-east. The former marks the very central point of the continent, and has been appropriately called Central Mount Stuart, after its discoverer. In the distance it looks like a solitary rounded mass, but on near approach it is seen to be really a group of hills with one main central mass, the height of which is said to be 800 feet above the plain. This country is the home of a small tribe called the Unmatjera. Fifty miles further north the Foster Range runs roughly east and west across the plain, and marks the southern boundary of the Kaitish and the northern of the Unmatjera tribe. A few miles to the south of this range, along the banks of the Stirling Creek, we met for the first time with the bean-tree (*Erythrina vespertilio*), which is of the greatest service to the natives. Its soft wood is easily treated with their primitive stone implements, and manufactured into *pitchis* and shields. For the most part the bean-trees seemed to have suffered severely from the prolonged drought—in fact some of them were quite dead, and the majority looked far from flourishing. The Stirling Creek flows to the south in a broad valley which nearly cuts the Foster Range in two, leaving only a comparatively narrow saddle, about 300 feet in height, joining the western and the eastern portions. From the top of the saddle, looking southwards, the great plain stretches on every hand to the horizon, the line of which is broken only at one spot by the low dome of distant Central Mount Stuart. On the north side the same plain country extends as far as one can

see out westwards, but immediately to the north and east rises a succession of flat-topped hills with bold escarpments closely similar to those of the lower steppe lands. At the base of one of these is the lonely Barrow Creek station. These ranges and the plains around are the home of the Kaitish tribe. During recent years the drought has very seriously affected the natives. Fortunately, while we were there, two inches of rain fell, replenishing the water-holes, and in a very short time the country was green with fresh herbage.

A few miles to the north of Barrow Creek the hills cease, and for about thirty-five miles the country is as desolate as possible. It is absolutely flat, with not a trace of even a dry water-course, and but little vegetation. Stunted gums, porcupine and spear grass thinly cover the sandy plains. It is quite a relief to come once more into mulga country, and then, some twenty miles further on, the low Davenport Range is crossed. The main part of it is formed of quartzite, but in the heart of the range, and extending roughly east and west, is a valley filled with granite, which has weathered into large boulder-shaped masses of such a striking form that the place is known as the Devil's Marbles. Low ridges of granite run in various directions along and across the valley, and on some of these the huge boulders are poised like rocking stones. The valley is hemmed in by quartzite hills from 200 to 300 feet in height.

Following down the course of the Dixon Creek to the north for a distance of about six miles the open plain country is again met with, and a few miles further to the north the Bonney Creek, running east and west, is crossed. This lies in the country of the Warramunga tribe, the Davenport Range forming really the dividing line between the Warramunga and the Arunta nations. To the south we have the Kaitish, Unmatjera, Arunta, and Ilpirra tribes, and to the north a group of tribes closely allied to one another, the Warramunga, Wulmala, Walpari, Tjingilli, Bingongina, Umbaia, and Gnanji. From the Bonney there stretch some sixty odd miles of plain country to the

northwards towards the M'Douall Range. Out to the east, however, the big mass of the Murchison Range is not very far away, and a few little creeks meander out from it towards the west, fringed with gum-trees. Every now and then, especially on the flats near to the Gilbert Creek, there are fine specimens of *Eucalyptus terminalis* with its brilliantly white trunk, on which the natives rub their forehead bands to make them white.[1]

The M'Douall Range is crossed by means of a gap, and immediately to the north of it, on a desolate plain thickly dotted over with ant-hills, is the Tennant Creek telegraph station. On the south and east side of the plain runs the creek—dry, of course, with the usual fringe of gum-trees; to the north and west it merges into the miserable scrub of stunted gums and porcupine grass.

The M'Douall Range, together with the Murchison, where, save in drought times, there is an abundant supply of water-holes, are the strongholds of the Warramunga tribe, or rather of the southern division of this, the northern groups roaming mostly over the more open country around the Phillips Creek, amongst the low ranges and broken country around Attack Creek, and as far north as Renner's Springs.

From Tennant Creek north to Powell Creek, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, there is the usual class of country, loamy plains covered with mulga scrub or stunted gums or porcupine and spear grass, the latter sometimes reaching so great a height that it hides even horses from view. Creeks such as the Gibson, Hayward, Attack, and Morphett run out from low sandstone ranges and lose themselves on the plains to the east. At Renner's Springs there is a series of the latter along a line about half a mile in length. The water, which is fresh and warm (about 90° F.), bubbles up in the middle of patches of black-coloured soil and is soon lost on the surrounding plain, which is bordered by low, flat-topped hills of quartzite. Close by there is a special quarry from which the stone used for making the flaked knives and picks is obtained

[1] When the trunk of this tree is rubbed a white powder comes off.

by the natives. Renner's Springs form approximately the northern boundary of the Warramunga and the southern of the Tjingilli tribe.

Out to the east there lies what is spoken of as the table-land country, or the Downs, on which, at long intervals, are outlying cattle-runs. In this part great, gently undulating downs extend away to the Queensland border. Sometimes they are covered for scores of miles by grass with scarcely even a small shrub to be seen. In other parts belts of low timber run across, or there may be many weary miles of "blue bush" swamp. Here, during the dry season, the ground is scarred with great cracks. During the rainy season the lower-lying parts are absolutely impassable bogs. The fall of the land on the downs is so slight that the watercourses are but ill-defined, and during the rainy seasons the water spreads far and wide over the country, rendering travelling both difficult and dangerous.

As far north as Powell Creek the vegetation of the higher steppes is more or less uniform. The scrubs are mainly composed of mulga, stunted gums, and mallee gums, with patches of Hakeas and Grevilleas and small shrubs such as Cassias and Eremophilas. The river-courses are bordered with *Eucalyptus rostrata*, and the flood gum (*Eucalyptus microtheca*) grows on the flats around them. Other gum-trees, such as *E. terminalis* and *E. tesselaris*, are also not infrequently met with, and on the ranges pines (Callitris), fig-trees (Ficus), and "orange" trees (Capparis) are often seen. Powell Creek marks the commencement of a change in the vegetation. Bauhenia trees appear here for the first time, and with their dense bright green foliage, red flowers, and long red pods, give a decided character to the scrub.

The telegraph station is placed on rising ground above a pretty little water-hole, and lies nearly at the southern end of the low Ashburton Range, which from this spot runs northwards for nearly seventy miles. A little to the west of the range lies the chain of water-holes to which the name of Newcastle Waters has been given. In times of flood they are united, and the surplus water finds its way southwards and forms Lake Woods. When we passed by them

the water-pools, though still of fair size, were completely separated from one another. In all of them the water was of a milky colour, due apparently to fine particles of clay held in suspension.

This country is the home of the Tjingilli tribe.

At the north end of the Ashburton Range we turned away to the east, our intention being to strike Borroloola near to the mouth of the Macarthur River on the Gulf of Carpentaria. Newcastle Waters is 700 feet above sea level, and from here to the east the land rises very gradually. On the watershed, which, near to the headquarters of the Laila Creek, is roughly a hundred and fifty miles from the coast, it reaches an elevation of 1000 feet. Approaching from the west there is no indication of anything like a range, —the ascent is perfectly gradual, in fact almost imperceptible. The so-called coastal range in this part is merely the more or less abrupt edge of the plateau, which has been cut into by wide valleys that have been formed by the rivers flowing away to the gulf.

Leaving the Newcastle Waters we followed up a broad water-course, which in flood times is united with the former round the northern end of the Ashburton Range. The water-course is very often so ill-defined as to be scarcely recognisable as such, but the presence of the "india-rubber" or "gutta-percha" tree (*Excœcaria passiflora*) is usually an indication that a creek, or at least land liable to flooding, is close by. At intervals "blue bush" swamp, with its dangerously cracked ground, has to be crossed. In the rainy season matters are still worse. On the other hand, the so-called "hedgewood"-tree is an indication of somewhat higher land, and its sight is as pleasant to the traveller in this part of the continent as that of the "india-rubber" tree is the reverse. In the "hedgewood" scrub the ground is firm, and travelling is not accompanied with the continual risk of a horse suddenly falling headlong as the result of slipping its foot into a great crack. Along the water-courses there were a few large pools of milky-white water, the largest fully half a mile in length. On these pelicans, ibis, ducks, and spoonbills were abundant, and at sunset, when the

cockatoos and pigeons came in to water, the pools were alive with birds. In these parts, except in very dry seasons, the natives have no difficulty in regard to food supply. This tract of country out to the east and north-east of the Ashburton Range is occupied by the Gnanji tribe, which is on friendly terms with its western neighbours the Tjingilli, and its southern the Umbaia. The Gnanji extend westwards to the watershed country. We met with them at Karabobba, a favourite camping ground of theirs, about twenty miles to the west of the actual line of the dividing of the waters. Whanaluru, a water-hole about two miles from the divide, is another favourite camp, where they come to feed upon the stems and roots of the water lilies, whose beautiful bright blue flowers deck the surface in countless thousands. On the eastern side they extend for at least twenty-five miles, as far as a permanent rock-hole called Pinda, where they came into contact with the Binbinga tribe. The latter is the most inland of the group of coastal tribes with whom we came into contact, and occupies the country drained by the upper waters of the Macarthur River and its tributaries, one of which, the Laila, we followed down. There is no lack of water in these parts, though, except just during the rainy seasons, even the Macarthur does not actually run.

From the watershed to the Macarthur station is a distance of about a hundred and ten miles. Our track led along by the side of the Laila Creek until it joined the main stream, and then along the broad valley of the latter. During the distance mentioned the total fall is 800 feet. From the station to Borroloola the distance is forty miles, and the track lies along the northern side of the valley, which is furrowed by a succession of creeks running in from the north-west to join the Macarthur, whose course is roughly from south-west to north-east.

Borroloola is now a remote and decaying, or rather decayed township, which has communication with Port Darwin by means of a small trading steamer which calls in at the mouth of the river four times a year. The river is not navigable for anything drawing more than five feet of water, and is affected by the tide for about five miles beyond

the township, which is distant some fifty miles from the mouth. Further up than this there is no stream of water, but only a series of disconnected water-holes.

From Borroloola to the coast, and across into the Pellew Islands, which lie immediately opposite to the mouth of the Macarthur, the country is occupied by the Anula tribe, who navigate the river, and the sheltered sea between the mainland and the islands, in dug-out canoes, which they obtain from the Malays, and in bark canoes of their own making.

In regard to the names of the tribes these, so far as we could discover, have no reference to the words for "yes" or "no" in their respective dialects, as they frequently have in the case of the tribes inhabiting the south-eastern parts of the continent.[1] Nor on the other hand have they any reference to the word for man. In the case of the Warramunga the word *warrego*, used for "no," naturally suggests a connection of this kind, but if it be so, the natives themselves have no idea whatever of the fact. The only instance in which we could get any explanation was in that of the Arunta, amongst whom the word is said to mean "loud mouthed." In the Arunta the word for mouth is *arokita*, in the Kaitish it is *ara*, in the Warramunga and Walpari it is *thalla*, and in the Tjingilli *ara*. The word for lips in the Arunta is *arinbinba*, in the Kaitish *pirtnia*, in the Warramunga *nuru*, in the Tjingilli *ara*, in the Walpari *kurta*. The word for yes in the Arunta is *wa*, *wabala*, *yakwi*, and for no *aiitja* or *arongo;* in the Kaitish yes is *yau* or *wakwia*, no is *appioka;* in the Warramunga yes is *inyia*, no is *warrego* or *warraginia;* in the Tjingilli yes is *unthana*, no is *pathu;* in the Umbaia yes is *na-na* or *kaiinnia*, no is *quialla;* in the Binbinga yes is *yor*, no is *au*. This will serve to show that the tribal names are not compounded in part of the words for "yes" or "no."

The names used are those by which the members of the tribes respectively call themselves, and which outsiders also apply to them.[2] Thus, for example, the Arunta call them-

[1] As, for example, in the case of the Woewurong. Mr. Howitt states that *woe* = no, *wurong* = speech or lips.

[2] The Luritja tribe possibly forms an exception to this, but we are not able to

selves by this name, and it is used by the Kaitish in speaking of them. So again the latter call themselves Kaitish, and are called this by their neighbours the Arunta, Warramunga, etc. Warramunga is the name by which the members of this tribe speak of themselves, and is also that by which they are most often called by other tribes, but in this instance they are sometimes referred to under the name of "Bata aurinnia," which means "the people who dwell on hard ground." This term is applied to them by strangers, and is not in any way the equivalent of a tribal name. It is remarkable how difficult it often is to ascertain the latter with certainty.

Each tribe speaks a distinct dialect, with the result that an Arunta man, for example, unless he learns the dialect, cannot understand the talk of a Kaitish man, nor in the same way can the latter understand a Warramunga. Not only is this so, but in the case of a tribe like the Arunta, which occupies a very large extent of country, the words used may vary considerably in different districts. As a general rule the natives living on the borderland of two tribes can understand one another; that is, each of them is usually acquainted with two dialects. Usually these are, in the main, quite distinct from one another, though the dialects of contiguous tribes will often have a certain number of words in common. This, however, depends not only on contiguity but also upon the amount of affinity between the tribes in question. For example, the Kaitish tribe is in touch on its northern border with the Warramunga and on its southern with the Unmatjera and Arunta. Though it has a distinct dialect and to a certain extent (such as the burial of the dead in trees) differences in customs and beliefs from those met with amongst the Arunta, yet it is undoubtedly more closely allied to the latter than to the Warramunga. Accordingly we find a considerable number of words and terms in common in the Arunta and Kaitish, but practically none in the latter and Warramunga. In just the same way the Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala

speak positively. It is possible that the names of the tribes were originally applied to them by outsiders and were subsequently adopted by the members of the tribes themselves, but the evidence is scanty and inconclusive.

have many similar or closely similar words, and the same is true of the Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Gnanji tribes. Thus the Arunta term for the far past, during which their ancestors lived, is *alcheringa*, so also is that of the Kaitish and Unmatjera. In the Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala it is *wingara;* in the Tjingilli it is *mungai;* and in the Umbaia and Gnanji it is *poaradju*. The Arunta term for a sacred ceremony is *quabara undattha*, so is that of the Kaitish and Unmatjera. In the Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala it is *thuthu;* in the Tjingilli it is *turtu;* and in the Umbaia and Gnanji it is *yarumbatja*.

Most words and terms in ordinary everyday use are, however, entirely distinct in the greater number of tribes. The word for boomerang in the Arunta is *uramanja;* in the Kaitish it is *kaila;* in the Warramunga *kaiin;* in the Tjingilli *kurnpatu;* and in the Umbaia and Gnanji it is *tjukuli*. So again a shield in Arunta is *ulqurta*, in Kaitish *katata*, in Warramunga it is *mirri*, and in the Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Gnanji it is *tharuma*. These two important weapons are, so far as their form is concerned, precisely similar in all of the tribes mentioned. It would be absolutely impossible from the appearance of a boomerang or shield to tell in which special tribe it had been collected, and moreover they are constantly being traded from one part of the country to another and from one tribe to the other. Why the word should be the same in the Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Gnanji, and different in all of the other tribes it is impossible to say. In the case of an almost equally common implement, the stone knife, there is a distinct name in each of the three,—in the Tjingilli it is *kira*, in the Umbaia *kola*, and in the Gnanji *loago*. As we have already pointed out, the words for yes and no are quite distinct in all of the tribes.

It is a matter of great difficulty to explain the fact that two tribes like the Kaitish and Arunta, with customs, organisation, and beliefs almost identical,—living, at all events at the present day, on perfectly friendly terms with one another and occasionally meeting at the performance of ceremonies on a big scale,—should have two markedly distinct dialects. We use the term dialect in preference to

that of language, as employed by some authors, for the simple reason that, so far as the construction is concerned, these central tribes may all be regarded as having a common language of which each speaks a distinct variety. In the various tribes the sounds which are associated with the same ideas are, as a general rule, quite distinct; so much so that an individual speaking one dialect will be totally unable to understand any one speaking another. An important feature in this respect is that the tribes are not, generally speaking, separated from one another by any natural physical barriers. The only really striking feature in the central area from this point of view may be said to be the Macdonnell Ranges, and, instead of intervening between two tribes, they lie in the centre of the northern area occupied by the Arunta tribe. The Luritja tribe inhabits partly the sterile desert country extending southwards around Lake Amadeus, but it also extends over the relatively well-watered country, including the western end of the James and Macdonnell Ranges. The Foster Range, which marks the southern limit of the Kaitish, is only low and insignificant, and the same again is true of the Davenport which marks their northern boundary. From time immemorial—that is, as far back as ever native traditions go—the boundaries of the tribes have been where they are now fixed. Within them their ancestors roamed about, hunting and performing their ceremonies just as their living descendants do at the present day. There has never apparently been the least attempt made by one tribe to encroach upon the territory of another. Now and again they may have intertribal quarrels and fights, but there is no such thing as the acquisition of fresh territory. No idea of this or of its advisability or otherwise ever enters the head of the Central Australian native. Very probably this is to be associated with the fundamental belief that his *alcheringa* ancestors occupied precisely the same country which he does now. The spirit parts of these ancestors are still there, and he has a vague kind of idea not only that the country is indubitably his by right of inheritance, but that it would be of no use to any one else, nor would any other people's country be good for him. The spirit indi-

viduals would not permanently leave their old home, and where they are there must he stay.

There are certain facts of fundamental importance which must be taken into account in any attempt to form a theory to explain the present distribution of the tribes. The more important of them are the following :—

(1) In regard to customs of primary importance, such as those connected with initiation, there is a fundamental agreement amongst all of the tribes in the centre—that is, those who occupy the country from Lake Eyre to the Gulf of Carpentaria.

(2) In all of the tribes there is the belief in the existence of *alcheringa* (or its equivalent) ancestors, who made the country, and left behind numberless spirit individuals who are constantly undergoing reincarnation.

(3) In all of the tribes there are elaborate totemic ceremonies performed which are unmistakably similar to one another, and all of which have reference to totemic ancestors.

(4) In all of the tribes, except those of the Mara nation, there are, more or less clearly developed, ceremonies of the nature of *intichiuma.*

(5) In all, save those on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, the social organisation and marriage customs are in fundamental agreement.

(6) In spite of fundamental agreement in the points detailed above, the tribes dealt with can be divided into four large "nations," distinguished from one another by certain special features:[1] (*a*) The Arunta nation, with its *engwura* and *intichiuma* ceremonies, and its beliefs with regard to the *churinga;* in this nation also marriage with the father's sister's daughter is strictly prohibited. (*b*) The Warramunga nation, with its special class names for women ; its characteristic form of *intichiuma*, and the equally characteristic way in which one moiety of the tribe takes charge of the totemic ceremonies of the other moiety ; in this group also marriage with the *unkulla* woman is permitted. (*c*) The Binbinga nation, with organisation similar to that

[1] The geographical situation of these nations is indicated on the map.

of the Warramunga, and important customs akin to those of the Mara nation. (*d*) The Mara nation, with direct male descent and the almost complete loss, or at all events absence, of *intichiuma*.[1]

(7) The fact that each nation is comprised of a number of tribes, each of them occupying a very definite tract of country, and each speaking a dialect so distinct that a member of one tribe cannot possibly, without learning its dialect, understand a member of the next tribe.

We have, speaking generally, a most remarkable agreement, often indeed extending to details, in regard to some of the most important customs and beliefs, side by side with the equally marked divergence in regard to speech. The only way in which it seems possible to account for these facts is along the line of some such hypothesis as the following. Broadly speaking what we must postulate is, in the first instance, a very considerable amount of intercourse amongst the early inhabitants of the central area, during the period when the customs, as we now meet with them, were gradually being developed and were crystallising into their present form. It is impossible to believe that the far-away ancestors entered the continent provided with a highly complex set of customs and beliefs such as are now common to all of the tribes. These have undoubtedly been elaborated in course of the long ages during which the Australian savage has lived in his island continent, isolated from all external influence. In the second place, we must postulate a segregation of these ancestral groups in various parts, at a later time, associated with conditions which rendered intercommunication more difficult than at an earlier period.

In all probability the old ancestors of the present Australian natives entered by the far north. There have probably been two immigrations—an original one, represented till recent years by the Tasmanian aborigines, and subsequently a second one of a people at a higher level of culture than the first comers. The former presumably spread

[1] To the south and south-east of the tribes dealt with by us lies the Dieri nation, clearly marked off from the central tribes by the fact that descent is counted in the maternal line.

over the whole continent, and in the south-eastern corner occupied what was then undoubtedly a promontory of the mainland. With the formation of Bass Strait this promontory was separated off and now forms the island of Tasmania. When, therefore, the vanguard of the second immigration reached the south-east corner of the mainland, their further progress was checked. They could not, or at least they did not, cross the strait—presumably because they had no adequate means of water conveyance, and were practically limited to land travel, just as the dingo[1] and the Diprotodon were.

We are probably correct in assuming that the second migration consisted of a race of people in a higher stage of culture than the earlier one, but what that earlier race was we shall, most unfortunately, never know, except in the most meagre fashion. As represented by the Tasmanian, he had only the simplest of weapons—a spear and a waddy; spear-thrower and shield were unknown to him. His stone implements were of so-called palæolithic type. Of his beliefs and customs it may be said that we know nothing whatever of any real value.[2]

Whether the original inhabitants of the continent were exterminated by the new-comers, or whether the two races amalgamated and how far the lower culture of the earlier people affected that of the resultant race, can only be a matter of conjecture. If we knew anything about the initiation ceremonies or the beliefs of the lost Tasmanians, we might be able to determine the point. Probably what finally happened would be the extermination of the male part of the original population, the women being appropriated by the new-comers, as they migrated gradually further and further southwards. When two savage peoples at anything like a decided different level of culture come into contact, there is hardly likely to be any true amalgamation. The men of the lower grade have no chance of

[1] *Canis dingo*, the wild dog indigenous to Australia, or, if not indigenous, probably brought in by the members of the second immigration.

[2] Such knowledge as we have can be found in the work by E. Ling Roth, *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, 2nd ed. 1899.

marrying into the higher grade, but on the other hand their women are lawful prey to the men of the stronger group.

Subsequently to this second migration the continent must have become separated off on the north by straits of water sufficiently broad to prevent further passage across on anything like an extensive scale. If there be one thing which, more than any other, is strikingly true in regard to the present inhabitants of the continent, it is that, except to a very slight extent on the north-east, they have been uninfluenced by outside peoples. Even along the western side of the Gulf coast, where they are regularly visited by Malays, intercourse with the latter seems to have had no effect whatever upon them, in the matter of their customs, beliefs, and personal appearance. Except, apparently, so far as securing, in return for tortoise-shell, etc., certain things which they want from the Malays, they hold aloof from the latter. One reads of Malay influence in these parts, but our experience was that practically no such thing exists.

However, the important matter is that gradually Australia came to be peopled by the more immediate ancestors of the present inhabitants. As we have previously suggested,[1] it looks much as if there had been three lines of migration from the north—one along the eastern coast, one following down the rivers running in the main south-westwards from the eastern watershed, and a third down the centre of the continent.[2]

We are here concerned with this third line of migration. The old ancestors, when they came into the country, brought with them a series of customs and beliefs which were destined to undergo modification in various ways as the migratory hordes wandered further and further away from the original part at which they entered the continent. We are of opinion, from the evidence to which we have already drawn attention, and which appears to us to be conclusive on this point, that, in regard to the matter of initiation, the

[1] *N.T.* p. 113.

[2] It is very probable that this third group spread far out westwards, where we meet with the initiation ceremonies of subincision and circumcision.

rite common to all the ancestors was that of knocking out a tooth.[1] Along the eastern line of migration (in the main) this rite has been maintained. Along the two central lines only vestigial traces of it now remain, but of the true significance of these we think there can be no doubt. In connection with these two lines there were either originated or, more probably still, introduced at a later time, and again from the north, the rites of circumcision and subincision.

It is a point of very considerable importance to note that the customs concerned with the knocking out of teeth in the Arunta are more closely allied to those of the eastern tribes than are those of the more northern central tribes. This again would seem to point to the fact that the most southern of the central tribes were the last to adopt the rites of circumcision and subincision and to part with the old one. Further still, it appears to indicate that the former rites originated somewhere in the north and gradually spread southwards, as indeed the natives believe that most of their customs have done.

During the time when the central area was gradually receiving its population, and whilst customs and beliefs were undergoing development, there could not possibly have been any isolation of groups of people corresponding to the tribes and tribal divisions as we know them now. On the contrary, the striking fundamental agreement in regard to all important points seems to indicate very clearly that for a very long time there must have been easy and constant communication existing between the various groups scattered over the whole central area. At the present day these are frequently shut off from all communication with one another by long stretches of absolutely impassable country. Now we know that in what were probably Pleistocene, even Late Pleistocene times, at all events Post-Tertiary, the climatic conditions of Central Australia were very different from those of the present day. At that time the coastal and central ranges were much loftier than they are now. The remains of a relatively rich fauna, including extinct birds and apparently great numbers of Diprotodon, the largest

[1] *N.T.* p. 453.

marsupial known, together with other animals, such as the crocodile, show that at that time there must have been plenty of water and vegetation. The great river-courses running down into the inland basin of Lake Eyre are clear indications of a time when the rainfall was very different from what it is now. It was during this time when, under more favourable conditions of food supply, the natives were probably more numerous than they are now, that they were able to be in constant and easy communication with one another from north to south. There thus arose a remarkable homogeneity in regard to the essential features of customs and beliefs. Doubtless any one suddenly transported from the very northern to the very southern extremity of the central area would have noticed minor variations in regard to these matters, and might have found it difficult to make himself understood, but to any one proceeding slowly from group to group the change would have been so gradual as to be almost imperceptible.

At a later period, with the setting in of the gradual dessication of the central area, which has continued until the present day, there took place a segregation of the groups, first into larger communities, outlining the nations. As the climate became still more unfavourable further segregation took place, within the limits of the larger communities, leading to the formation of the present tribes. With this gradual segregation, which really consisted of a drawing in towards certain centres where in time of drought physical conditions were more favourable than elsewhere, intercommunication between the various groups became less and less frequent on anything like an extensive scale, and thus in course of time the various dialects arose. While words can become modified and changed with more or less of ease in savage tribes, it is quite otherwise in the case of customs and beliefs, more especially those associated with sacred matters. When once these have become settled, then they are, of all things amongst savage people, the least liable to change.

The remarkable fundamental agreement in regard to the essential features of the beliefs of all of the tribes connected

with their totemic ancestors can only have been brought about as the result, in far-past times, of easy and frequent intercommunication such as could not take place at the present day.

It is a curious feature in regard to such things as corrobborees, which are handed on from tribe to tribe, that they always pass from north to south and never *vice versa.* In all likelihood they still follow the original line of migration of the ancestors of the tribes. It is without doubt much more easy to derive the totemic beliefs of the Warramunga from those of the Arunta, by way of the Kaitish, rather than *vice versa*, and it looks very much as if a series of changes had slowly crept down from the north. Despite the remarkable stability and persistence of customs and beliefs, changes are gradually introduced,[1] and it appears to be almost certain that such changes in regard to totemic matters have been slowly passing down from north to south. The tide of change, rolling southwards from the Warramunga nation, has at length reached the northern limit of the Arunta nation. It has perceptibly affected the Kaitish tribe, the Unmatjera, to a slight extent; but as yet the Arunta itself is untouched.

Furthest removed from the seat of change, the Arunta is the last of the central tribes to be affected. Apart from relatively slight modifications, it probably retains a series of customs and beliefs which were once held in common by the early inhabitants of the central and north central area of the continent, before they became segregated to form the tribes as we know them now. In regard to another question, viz. the introduction of eight, instead of four class names, we know, as a matter of fact, that this change has actually entered the Arunta from the north and at the present moment is spreading southwards.

In the case of the central tribes the question of government is very much as we described it in connection with the Arunta tribe.[2] There is no one to whom the term "chief," or even head of the tribe, can be properly applied; but, on the other hand, there are certain of the elder men, the heads

[1] Cf. *N. T.* p. 12. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 11-15.

of local groups, who, at any great ceremonial gathering such as the *engwura*, or during the performance of the long series of ceremonies which in the Warramunga tribe do duty for *intichiuma*, take the lead and superintend matters. They form, as it were, an inner council or cabinet and completely control everything. The younger men have absolutely no say whatever in the matter. We frequently had occasion to notice this. One or other of the younger men would tell us that some special ceremony was going to be performed, but we usually found that their information was incorrect. The old men take absolutely no notice of the younger men, preserving their own counsels in the most quiet and dignified way possible.

At the *engwura* ceremony of the Arunta tribe there was one old man who took the lead because that special ceremony was performed in the part of the country where he was the *alatunja* or headman of the local totem group. As we described before, "without apparently any trouble or the slighest hitch he governed the whole camp, comprising more than a hundred full-grown natives who were taking part in the ceremony. Whilst the final decision on all points lay in his hands, there was what we used to call the cabinet, consisting of the old man and three of the elders, who often met together to discuss matters. Frequently the leader would get up from the men amongst whom he was sitting, and apparently without a word being spoken or any sign made, the other men would rise and follow him one after the other, walking away to a secluded spot in the bed of the creek. Here they would gravely discuss matters concerned with the ceremonies to be performed, and then the leader would give his orders, and everything would work with perfect regularity and smoothness." [1]

So again we noticed the same thing in connection with the long series of totemic ceremonies, extending over three months, which we witnessed amongst the Warramunga tribe. In association with them there were also performed the final burial rites of two individuals, the initiation of three young men, and the fire ceremony. There was no single headman,

[1] *N. T.* p. 280.

because the ceremonies were not associated in any way with one particular locality, but there were five men amongst the elders who were in charge of the proceedings. One a Tjupilla man of the wind totem, the second a Tjupilla man of the Menadji (yam) totem, the third a Kabbidji man of the Wollunqua totem, the fourth a Thungalla man of the Thaballa (laughing boy) totem, and the fifth a very old Thakomara man of the white cockatoo totem. The last-named was actually a member of the party of natives whose hostility caused Stuart to turn back at Attack Creek in 1860. These men formed a kind of informal council which used to meet and determine upon what should be done, and who should perform the various ceremonies; in fact they had entire control of the proceedings. One of them, curiously enough, did not belong to the Warramunga tribe but was a Worgaia man. He frequently visits the tribe, however, and, being a very distinguished medicine man who has actually made a large number of medicine men in the Warramunga tribe, he is looked upon as one of the *purntuku*, a term which is the equivalent of that of *oknirabata* (great teacher) in the Arunta. This man actually took the lead in connection with the Wollunqua ceremonies.[1] Every morning he would come down to the ceremonial ground, draw the design in outline, give his instructions as to what had to be done and how to do it, and then retire.

Not infrequently these leading men, all of whom are the headmen of their respective totem groups, are addressed as *purntuku* by the younger men, who treat them with the greatest deference. On one occasion, during a general quarrel, we saw one of the younger men, though he was, it must be remembered, quite mature and probably between thirty-five and forty years of age, attempt to strike one of the older men. The culprit was a medicine man, but, immediately he had committed this grave offence, his medical powers departed from him.

Before going any further we may make a few general

[1] Wollunqua is the name of a huge, mythic snake, supposed to have been the ancestor of a totemic group. The ceremonies connected with it are described later.

remarks with regard to these headmen of the various totemic groups in the different tribes. What we have already said of them in dealing with the Arunta tribe is strictly true of the equivalent individuals in all of the other tribes.[1] The normal descent of the headship of the totemic group is from father to son. From certain points of view the importance of the office gradually diminishes as we pass from south to north. In the Arunta, Unmatjera, Kaitish, Ilpirra, and Iliaura tribes, not only is the headman responsible for the performance of *intichiuma*, taking the leading part in the ceremonies connected with this, but he also has charge of the sacred storehouse or *ertnatulunga*, where the *churinga* are hidden away. In the Warramunga group of tribes there is nothing corresponding to the *ertnatulunga*, but he and other men of the totem must perform a series of sacred ceremonies which serve as *intichiuma*, though the part played by the headman is not so prominent a one as in the case of the southern tribes.

In the coastal tribes, such as the Binbinga, amongst whom the headman is called *mingaringi*, the importance of the position has diminished still more; that is, looked at from the point of view of its holder being responsible for the performance of ceremonies destined to secure the increase of the totemic animal or plant. Of such *intichiuma* ceremonies we do find traces, but the headman is not of necessity associated with them as he is in both the Arunta and Warramunga nations. In the coastal tribes the social aspect of the totemic groups has become more strongly emphasised, and the economical and magical aspect almost obliterated.

It may perhaps happen that the headman of a totemic group has no son, or that the latter is not old enough to take charge of the ceremonies when his father dies. In this case the succession passes on to the son of a brother (blood or tribal) of the former holder of the office—provided of course that the individual belongs to the totem in question. Later on, when the new headman is dead, the office will

[1] *N. T.* p. 10.

revert to the son of the former headman, if there be such an one who has, in the meantime, grown to years of maturity.

The young men in the normal condition of the tribe are very strongly inbued with the idea of the great importance of everything concerned with these totemic matters. Naturally a young man, of whom it is known that some day he must succeed his father in the headship of the totemic group, is most carefully instructed, so that when his time comes he may be worthy of the position by reason of his knowledge and general bearing. It is from amongst these men that those who form the inner councils of the tribes are mainly, though not exclusively, chosen. It may, for example, happen that there are two brothers, the elder of whom is head of the totem, but both of whom are old and learned in tribal customs. Under these circumstances both of them may be allowed to take part in the discussions of the elders.

We have never been able to discover the existence of anything like set council meetings at which the men sit round and regular speeches are made. Whenever a large number of natives are met together to perform ceremonies, there are always the heads of different local groups present. The elder and more important amongst these seem naturally to associate together as an informal but, at the same time, all-powerful council, whose orders are implicitly obeyed by the other men. The fact that any individual is the headman of his local group gives him, in itself, no claim whatever to attendance upon these councils. If, however, he be at all a distinguished man, whose conduct has shown that he is to be trusted, and that he is deeply interested in tribal matters, then some day he will be honoured by one of the older men inviting him to come and consult over matters, after the advisibility of doing so has been agreed upon by the members of the council. He will probably be invited several times, and will then gradually take his place as a recognised member of the inner council of the tribe, his influence increasing as he gradually grows older and older.[1]

[1] The only exception of which we know to the rule that the council consists of only a very few members occurs in connection with the appointment of

Not only does this council of elder men determine matters concerned with various ceremonies, but in addition it deals with the punishment of the more serious crimes, such as that of "bone giving,"—that is, causing the death of another man by evil magic. Or again, if any native should break through the strict marriage laws, these older men will consult together, and will in either case arrange for an *atninga* or avenging party to go out and punish the culprit. It was stated by Mr. Curr that "outside of the family, the power which enforces custom in our tribes is for the most part an impersonal one."[1] In regard to the Arunta we have pointed out that, in the first place, the native is firmly convinced of the reality of the penalties which are supposed to inevitably follow any breach of tribal law; that in the second place, public opinion and the fear of ridicule and opprobrium are also strong deterrents; but that, in addition, the offending native is perfectly well aware that he will be dealt with by something much more real than an "impersonal power."[2]

In regard to these headmen there is a point of some importance to be noted, in which, in this respect, the Warramunga and northern tribes differ from the Arunta. In the latter there may be, and in fact usually are, several *alatunjas* connected with one totem. Thus, for example, there are at least three important ones, each of whom is associated with one local group of the witchetty grub (Udnïringita) people. In the more northern tribes each of the various totemic groups is supposed, with rare exceptions, to have had only one great ancestor, who gave rise to numerous other spirit individuals. In association with this idea we find that each totem group has only a single individual headman corresponding to the *alatunja* of the Arunta, and we find also a sharp line of distinction between the two moieties of the tribe. The headmen of one series of totemic groups always belong to one moiety, and those of the other series

officials during the initiation ceremonies of the Arunta tribe. At this about ten or twelve men were present, all of them of mature age; the younger men sat to one side chanting loudly the initiation song.

[1] *The Australian Race*, vol. i. p. 52. [2] *N.T.* p. 15.

to the other. In this way authority is more concentrated in the Warramunga than in the Arunta. Further still, in a vague way, the natives recognise one man as the most important in the Kingilli moiety and another in the Uluuru.[1] They say that, at the present time, the old Thakomara man, the head of the white cockatoo totem, is the chief man in the Kingilli, and the Kabbidji man, the head of the Wollunqua, is the same in the other moiety. This depends to a very large extent on age, and is an expression of the respect accorded to a man who is at once old and learned in tribal matters. On the other hand, in anything having reference to fighting, neither of these men would take the lead. The counsel of the old Tjupilla, the head of the wind totem, would carry the greatest weight, simply because of his personal character in this respect.

It is undoubtedly by means of the meetings and consultations of leading men such as these that changes in regard to customs can be introduced. The savage is essentially a conservative. What was considered by his father and, more important still, by his grandfather and great-grandfather, to be the right and proper thing to do, is the only right and proper thing for him. But yet at the same time, despite this very strong feeling, changes are introduced. It is these old men, the heads of the totemic groups, who are most interested in all matters concerned with tribal government and custom. If we are safe in regarding the traditions of the different tribes as affording evidence of any value, it is interesting to find that not a few of them refer to changes introduced by special individuals of note. Almost every tribe has a tradition of special men or women who first introduced the stone knife for use at initiation, in place of the fire-stick, which previously had caused the deaths of many of the young men. So again every tribe ascribes the introduction of the present marriage system to special eminent *alcheringa* ancestors. In some cases, further, we find that some special ancestor proposed a change, and was supported in this by some other individual.

[1] In the Warramunga tribe, unlike the Arunta, the original names of the two moieties still persist.

Probably this really explains what has taken place in the past and is still going on in the present. Every now and again there arises a man of superior ability to his fellows; indeed in every tribe there are always one or two individuals who are regarded as more learned than the others, and to whom special respect is paid.[1]

During the performance of important ceremonies, when large numbers of the tribe and even members of other tribes are gathered together, the informal council of the leading men is constantly meeting. Matters of tribal interest are discussed day after day. In fact, unless one has been present at these tribal gatherings, which often extend over two or three months, it is difficult to realise the extent to which the thoughts of the natives are occupied with matters of this kind. A change may perhaps have been locally introduced by some strong man acting in conjunction with the older men of his own group. This is discussed amongst the various leading men when they meet together, and then, if the innovation gains the support of other leaders, it will be adopted and will gradually come to be recognised as the right thing.

At the same time it must be clearly understood that, in the tribes with which we are dealing, there is nothing in the form of a definite "meeting," in our sense of the term, such as has been described in the case of various Australian tribes, at which different members of the tribe, one after another, address the assembled natives.

The councils of the elder men only comprise a few individuals, and they are marked by a total absence of loud haranguing or any form of excitement. On the contrary, the men usually speak in a subdued voice, and the demeanour of every one is as grave as possible.

In all of the tribes there is a division into local groups, which occupy certain well-defined areas within the tribal territory. There is no such thing as one man being regarded as the owner of any tract of country. In every case the unit of division is the local totemic group. In the Arunta tribe groups of the same designation are to be found

[1] *N.T.* p. 12.

scattered over the large area occupied by the tribe. We may have one Udnirringita group far out in the Western Macdonnells and another at the eastern extremity of the range. So again in the Achilpa (wild cat) totem we have the groups isolated and scattered north, south, east, and west. Each local group has its own *alatunja*, or headman, who takes charge of the *ertnatulunga*, the sacred storehouse. The same is true of the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes. These local groups, in a large tribe such as the Arunta, are again aggregated, very roughly, into geographical groups. Names are applied to these by individuals living in other localities. In the Arunta, if you ask a native whose camp is, say, at Henbury, on the Finke River, what he calls himself, he may say that he is an Arunta, using the name of the tribe ; or he may say that he is a Larapinta man, the latter being the name of the river by the side of which he lives ; or he may say that he is a Waingakama man, using the native name for his camp at Henbury. On the other hand, if you ask an Alice Springs native what he calls the same individual, he will probably reply Antikerinia, which simply means "belonging to the south-west." These terms are very confusing, and the latter is sometimes actually described as a tribal name, whereas in reality it is nothing of the kind.

In the Warramunga and northern tribes, the groups forming the two moieties of the tribe are very much more clearly marked off from one another, geographically, than they are in the Arunta and the southern tribes. Thus in the Warramunga, the totemic ancestors of the groups, which now form the Uluuru moiety, confined their wanderings almost entirely to the southern division of the tribal territory. Those forming the Kingilli moiety in like manner confined theirs to the north, and thus we got a more or less sharply marked-off division into two groups—a northern and a southern. Though this geographical separation is so sharply marked, yet there are no terms applied to these groups, meaning northern and southern men, such as one might have expected to find. Every one speaks of himself and of every other member of the tribe as a Warramunga man.

One result of this division of the moieties is that, in any

southern camp for example, apart from visitors, all of the males will be Uluuru men who have been born in this part of the country. Of the females, the wives of these men will be Kingilli, whose original home and birthplace lie in the northern area; their daughters will of course be Uluuru, just like the men, and, sooner or later, they will take up their permanent abode in the northern area. So again in the latter all the men are Kingilli. Of the females, the wives of these men are Uluuru who were born in the south, and the daughters are Kingilli girls who will, later on, be taken to the camps of their allotted husbands in the south. In this way, while the Kingilli men always live in the north and the Uluuru in the south, every Kingilli woman spends her childhood in the north where she is born, and her later years in the south. The Uluuru women, in exactly the reverse way, spend their early years in the south and their later ones in the north. This idea of the separation of the ancestors geographically into two groups is intimately associated with the fact that, at the present time, the totemic groups are, in the same way, sharply divided up between the Kingilli and the Uluuru. It is also associated with the fact that in the Warramunga the descent of the totem is not absolutely but for the most part strictly paternal.

The division into northern and southern groups comes out very clearly in connection with such ceremonies as the formal reception of a visiting party. One day, while we were amongst the Warramunga tribe, the arrival of a party of Walpari men was announced. The country of the Walpari lies to the east and north-east of that of the Warramunga, and the most striking feature of the reception lay in the fact that, first of all, it was the Kingilli, the northern men amongst the Warramunga, who took the leading part in the reception; and that, secondly, the women were divided into two groups, one containing the southern women, who stood to the left of the men, and the other the northern, who stood to the right. The former, except as onlookers, took no part in the reception. On the other hand, the northern women were decorated with spots and bands of white pipe-clay. As the visitors approached, these northern women extended

their arms and moved their hands as if inviting the men to come up. Finally they took part in the last dance and then threw food to the visitors. Nothing could have more clearly indicated that, amongst these tribes, the feeling of locality relationship is very strong.

The question of distinct names for local divisions of the tribes is one which evidently depends very much upon the extent of country occupied by them. The territory of the Arunta is far larger than that of any other tribe with which we came into contact, and here we meet with local names. In all of the northern tribes, belonging to the Warramunga nation, we met with the same sharp division of the totems into two groups as described above, but we did not meet with any names applied regularly to local subdivisions of the tribes. A native would say that he belonged to a certain definite locality, but he would, if asked who he was, describe himself as a Walpari, Tjingilli, Umbaia, Gnanji, or Binbinga man, as the case might be

We have previously described the character of the Central Australian native, and what we wrote with regard to the Arunta[1] may be taken as generally true for all of the central tribes. The level of intelligence and culture is strikingly uniform. Every tribe has a complicated series of relationship terms according to which every individual stands in some definite relationship to every other individual, not only in his own tribe but in any tribe into which he may pass, either as a resident or as a visitor. The system is an intricate and comprehensive one, and shows wonderful ability of a certain kind. If it should happen that in two contiguous tribes descent is counted in different ways, then they will so arrange matters that the groups into which the parents and children fall are correct in whichever tribe they may happen to be. On the other hand, in some respects they are decidedly backwards—as, for example, in counting. There are no separate terms for any number higher than three. As we said before, their mental powers are simply developed along the lines which are of service to them in their daily life.

[1] Cf. *N. T.* p. 46, etc.

The different local groups within the one tribe and the members of contiguous tribes, where they are in contact, live for the most part in a state of mutual friendship. Every now and again, usually from one of two causes, either the abduction of a woman or the "giving of a bone," the members of two groups will be at enmity, but, sooner or later, after a fight, which may result in the killing of a man, but more usually does not, harmony will be restored. In the case of a savage it must be remembered that when once compensation in any form has been made by an offending party, the matter is supposed to be ended, and no ill feelings are cherished. Of course there are exceptions to this, but, on the whole, it is strikingly true of the Australian savage. To judge from ordinary accounts in popular works, one would imagine that the various tribes were in a state of constant hostility. Nothing could be further from the truth.[1] In almost every camp of any size you will find members of strange tribes paying visits and often taking part in ceremonies. Among the Arunta we found Kaitish and, in the south, Urabunna people; among the Kaitish were Unmatjera and Arunta; with the Warramunga were Kaitish, Walpari, Wulmala, and Worgaia men; with the Tjingilli were Warramunga and Umbaia; with the Umbaia were Tjingilli and Gnanji; and in the camps at Borroloola, on the Gulf coast, were Binbinga, Mara, Anula, Karawa and Willingura men, all being upon quite friendly terms. The members of one tribe will tell you that a distant tribe, with which they rarely or perhaps never come into contact, is very fierce and bloodthirsty and given to making raids. The same tribe will be living upon most friendly terms with its immediate neighbours, and some of the latter will be doing precisely the same thing with the tribe of which your informants are afraid and suspicious. At the same time it is quite true that, if a member of an unknown tribe made his appearance, except of course he came accredited as a sacred messenger, he would most probably be promptly speared. Anything strange is uncanny to the native, who has a

[1] Of course we are only referring to the tribes in the central and northern area of the continent with whom we came into contact.

peculiar dread of evil magic from a distance. Our two "boys," who went with us right through the continent, were particularly careful to keep close to camp, unless well armed, when they got amongst absolutely strange tribes in the country out to the east of the telegraph line.

In the same class of works statements are frequently made to the effect that the women are brutally treated by their men. A wife—so it is repeated time after time—is commonly obtained by a man lying in wait near to a water-hole and clubbing some unfortunate lubra, who is then dragged away by the hair of her head. There are, of course, ceremonies performed in the case of both men and women which are to us of the most revolting nature. Apart from these, which are matters of ancient tribal custom, the natives on the whole are decidedly kind to one another. As we have pointed out previously, and again in this work, there is no such thing as allowing an old and infirm person to starve. It is the duty of every one to supply certain other older people with food, and this they do cheerfully and ungrudgingly. In this way and in accordance with the needs and conditions of the community, these savages have long ago settled the question of an old-age pension, or rather they have rendered any such thing quite unnecessary.

As to the capture of women—We have never in any of these central tribes met with any such thing, and the clubbing part of the story may be dismissed, so far as the central area of the continent is concerned. To the casual observer what looks like a capture (we are, of course, only speaking of these tribes) is in reality an elopement, in which the woman is an aiding and abetting party. There are several well-recognised methods of charming a woman living in a distant part, and, sooner or later, after the whole thing has been arranged by the parties concerned, the woman will join the man at some spot previously agreed upon. If the two should be caught before they reach the man's camp, so much the worse for both of them. If they get safely away, then, sooner or later, the members of the local group to which the aggrieved man belongs will come up, and there will be a fight; or the aggressor will

have to submit to being cut about by the former husband, while the chances are that the woman will receive rough treatment. It is really a rough and ready method of securing a divorce. When once this punishment has been inflicted openly, then the aggrieved husband loses or rather gives up his right to the woman. As a general rule women are obtained quite peacefully by the system of betrothal.

The great majority of the scars which mark the bodies of the women are self-inflicted, and, as a matter of fact, they are proud of them. Now and again, if a husband thinks that his wife has been unfaithful to him, she will certainly meet with exceedingly cruel treatment. Taking everything into account, however, the life of one of these savage women, judged from the point of view of her requirements in order to make life more or less comfortable, is far from being the miserable one that it is so often pictured. It must also be remembered that what would cause very serious pain to a civilised woman only results in trifling discomfort to a savage.

In concluding these general remarks attention may be drawn to one striking feature of savage life, so far as the men are concerned. During his early years, up till perhaps the age of fourteen, the boy is perfectly free, wandering about in the bush, searching for food, playing with his companions during the daytime, and perhaps spending the evening watching the ordinary corrobborees. From the moment of his initiation, however, his life is sharply marked out into two parts. He has first of all what we may speak of as the ordinary life, common to all the men and women, and associated with the procuring of food and the performance of corrobborees, the peaceful monotony of this part of his life being broken every now and again by the excitement of a fight. On the other hand, he has what gradually becomes of greater and greater importance to him, and that is the portion of his life devoted to matters of a sacred or secret nature. As he grows older he takes an increasing share in these, until finally this side of his life occupies by far the greater part of his thoughts. The sacred ceremonies, which appear very trivial matters to the white man, are most

serious matters to him. They are all connected with the great ancestors of the tribe, and he is firmly convinced that when it comes to his turn to die his spirit part will finally return to his old *alcheringa* home, where he will be in communion with them until such time as it seems good to him to undergo reincarnation.

CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Children—Change in personal appearance of the women at various ages—Nature of the hair—Cicatrices on women—Changes in personal appearance of the men at various ages—Withdrawal of the boys from the control of the women—Old men in the Warramunga pulling out their moustache—Curly nature of the hair—Plaiting the hair—Comparison of the nature of the hair in different tribes—Cicatrices on the men—Development of breasts in the men—Height of the natives—Chest measurements—Shape and measurements of the nose—Head measurements—No artificial deformation of the head—Measurements of the foot.

THE illustrations will serve to give a good idea of the physical features of the natives at different periods of their lives. There is, so far as general type of features and physical structure are concerned, a great uniformity amongst all Australian aborigines side by side with considerable variation in regard to such points as height and, in the case of the men, the growth of hair on the face.

At birth the child is red and copper-coloured,[1] but in the course of a few days it darkens, and by the end of the first week it has assumed the chocolate colour characteristic of the adult.[2] In the more southern tribes, especially the Arunta, the colour of the women is slightly lighter than that of the men, but this is not noticeable in the northern tribes.

We have previously dealt in detail with the Arunta, and much of what we then said applies equally well to the tribes with whom we are now dealing,[3] but at the same time there

[1] Corresponding very closely to tint No. 5 on Plate III., *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*. London, 3rd ed. 1899.

[2] Corresponding to tint No. 3, *loc. cit.*

[3] For an excellent account of the physical features of the Arunta tribe see also Stirling, *Report on the Work of the Horn Scientific Expedition to Central Australia*, Part IV., 1896.

are features of some importance characteristic of the various tribes and groups of tribes.

To begin first of all with the children. For some time after birth it is customary to carry the child about in a *pitchi* or in a slab of bark cut from a gum-tree. After a few months it is usually carried sitting straddle-legged across the left hip of its mother, who thus has her right hand free for the use of her digging-stick. At the same time she will, when on the march, carry a *pitchi* on her head containing water or

FIG. 1.—YOUNG CHILD. ARUNTA TRIBE.

food which she has been gathering. In anything like good seasons the children are healthy and plump enough, and in camp they can be seen toddling about and enjoying life thoroughly. A very characteristic feature of all the young children is the very protuberant stomach, which is well seen in Fig. 2, representing two Warramunga children, aged respectively two and four years, playing about in the bush. A still younger child walking on all fours, and too young to stand by itself for more than a few moments at a time, is seen in Fig. 1. As soon as ever they can run about, the girls are busy with small digging-sticks imitating their

mother, whom they accompany in the bush in search of vegetable food and small animals. All of the children begin to learn the art of tracking at a very early age. They soon recognise the footprints of their playmates. Out in the bush with their mothers they learn the tracks of every animal, and at an age when civilised children would just be commencing

FIG. 2.—TWO CHILDREN. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

to learn to read books, the savage child is busy, though he scarcely knows it himself, in learning to read Nature, and in acquiring the knowledge which will enable him not only to obtain his own supply of food, but to guard himself against the attacks of enemies.

In personal appearance there is a very marked change in the appearance of the women as they grow older. A

typical series of stages is shown in Figs. 5-18. Childhood stops at a comparatively early age. The girl represented in Fig. 7 has just begun to wear the head-bands, the sign of the fact that she has just been handed over to her allotted husband. It is difficult to ascertain anything like exact

FIG. 3.—CHILD RUNNING, SHOWING THE TOES TURNED OUTWARDS. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

ages, but this particular girl cannot be more than fourteen years old. The only clothing which the women wear is a larger or smaller apron, made of strands of string, which hang down from a string passing round the waist (Fig. 11). This apron may only be worn by a married woman, and, together with the pubic tassel worn by the men, is of considerably greater size and efficiency as an article of clothing amongst

FIG. 4.—TWO YOUNG GIRLS. KAITISH TRIBE.

FIG. 5.—YOUNG GIRL. KAITISH TRIBE.

FIG. 6.—YOUNG WOMAN. TJINGILLI TRIBE. SHOWING THE METHOD OF PLAITING THE HAIR.

FIG. 7.—YOUNG WOMAN WEARING HEAD-BANDS. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 8.—YOUNG WOMAN. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 9.—YOUNG WOMAN WEARING HEAD- AND NECK-BANDS. KAITISH TRIBE.

FIG. 10.—YOUNG WOMAN WITH HAIR PLAITED AND WEARING HEAD-BANDS. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

the more northern tribes than in the Arunta and Kaitish. We have already pointed out that it is somewhat remarkable,

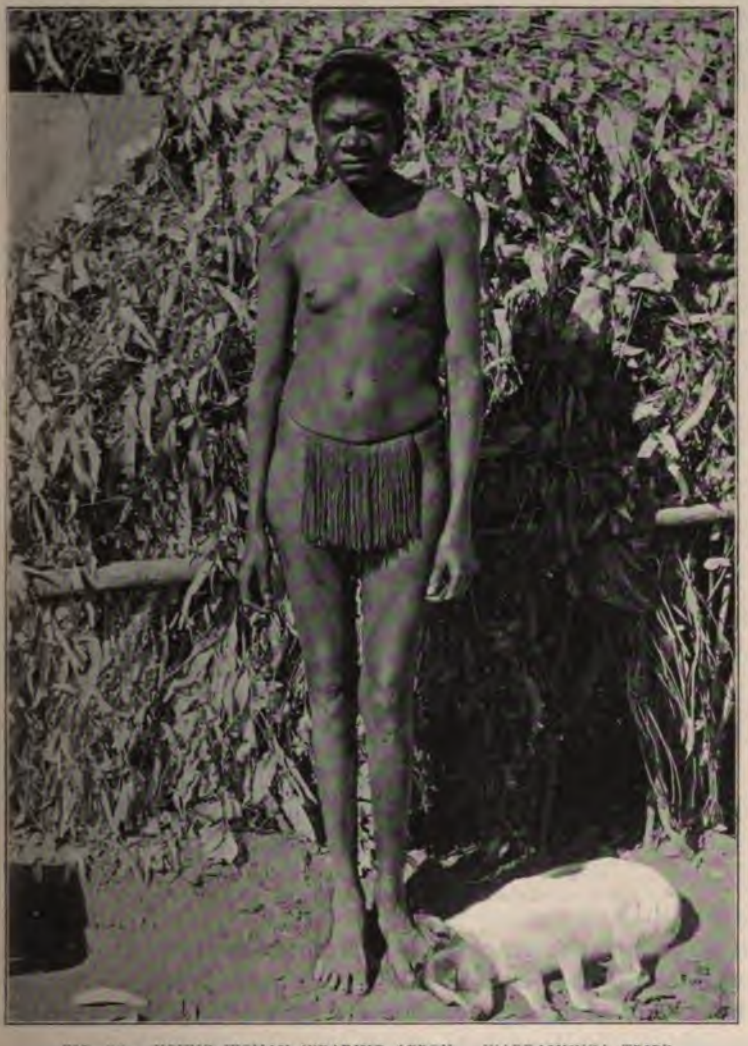


FIG. 11.—YOUNG WOMAN WEARING APRON WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

in view of the fact that during the nights of winter the temperature falls considerably below freezing-point, that the

natives have never learned to take any advantage of the fur of animals such as the kangaroo, which are by no means rare during good seasons. They rely exclusively upon small fires for warmth, and in winter mornings simply lie quiet until such time as the sun's heat thaws them.

FIG. 12.—WOMAN OF WATER TOTEM WEARING EURO BONE ORNAMENTS AND CARRYING *PITCHI*. FULL FACE. KAITISH TRIBE.

As soon as ever a woman has been given to the man to whom she has been allotted, she has periodically to cut her hair; in fact it is very seldom that a woman is seen with anything like long hair, which, owing to their fondness for grease and red ochre, is perhaps just as well. Without any covering of hair on head or face, the outline is more clearly seen than in the case of a man with well-developed beard

and moustache, and the older women are hideous beyond description. Up till perhaps about twenty-five the upper lip projects beyond the lower. In later years the lower one comes to project more and more. Figs. 17 and 18 give a good idea of the personal appearance of two women aged respectively about forty and fifty. In the Warramunga and

FIG. 13.—WOMAN CARRYING *PITCHI*. SIDE FACE. KAITISH TRIBE.

allied tribes, but not in the Arunta or coastal tribes, there is one special custom connected with the mourning rites which adds considerably to the hideousness of the old women. When a husband dies the widow has to gash her scalp right down the middle line of the head, and then sear the wound thus made with a fire-stick. The husband includes, of course, any man with whom it is lawful for her to have marital relations. A number of such women who have been cutting

themselves in this way is seen in Fig. 139; of these women only two are the actual widows of the dead man. The result is that every woman from middle age upwards (the younger ones are not supposed to perform this rite) in the Warra-

FIG. 14.—YOUNG WOMAN WEARING ARM-BANDS. SIDE FACE. ANULA TRIBE.

munga group of tribes has a more or less bare streak in the middle of the scalp marked by a hard scar.

There is very considerable difference in regard to the wavy or curly nature of the hair. The former is characteristic of the tribes forming the Arunta nation[1] and also of the southern and western members of the Warramunga nation—that is the Warramunga itself together with the Walpari

[1] This comprises the Arunta, Ilpirra, Iliaura, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes.

and Wulmala tribes. In the Tjingilli the hair has a strong tendency to curl, and this feature becomes still more marked in the coastal tribes.[1] Though it is very distinctly curled, yet it is never woolly.

As a general rule the hair, until it is cut, is allowed to hang in dishevelled locks, held down to a certain extent by

FIG. 15.—YOUNG WOMAN WEARING ARM-BANDS AND SHOWING CICATRICES. FULL FACE. ANULA TRIBE.

the head-bands; but in the Warramunga tribe especially, and also the Tjingilli, the girls plait their hair and wind the plaits round the head, fur-string being usually added to the end of each, very much as a Chinaman adds silk-string to the end of his pigtail.

In every case the body of the woman is marked with more or less regularly arranged scars, which in many cases

[1] Occasionally, however, as seen in one figure of a Kaitish woman, the hair is distinctly curly in the southern tribes, and the same is true of a few men.

stand out prominently. In part these are due to the desire to ornament the body, and in part to compliance with customs according to which a woman must cut herself when certain relations die. They have no connection whatever with any idea of indicating the tribe or group to which the individual belongs. Almost every woman has at least one or two scars, joining, as it were, the two breasts together. Also there are frequently transverse scars running across the chest, and longitudinal ones may run down below these on

FIG. 16.—ELDERLY WOMAN. FULL FACE. KAITISH TRIBE.

to the breasts. The abdomen may be more or less scarred transversely, and most frequently the upper part of the arm, close to the shoulder, has longitudinal scars, below which may be a second series of the same or transverse ones. In some tribes, such as the Warramunga, their thighs also bear marks of wounds inflicted during the mourning ceremonies, more especially (Fig. 148) at the time when the arm-bone is brought into camp.

Owing partly to the nature of the hair and its relative abundance, and partly to the method of treatment of the

same, the men of the various tribes differ more in personal appearance than the women do. On the other hand, when once they have arrived at maturity, the personal appearance of the men changes far less than does that of the women.

The boys are much alike everywhere, and the two Warramungas in Fig. 19 will serve as types of the young ones. They are approximately about eight and six years

FIG. 17.—ELDERLY WOMAN. SIDE FACE. KAITISH TRIBE.

FIG. 18.—OLD WOMAN, SHOWING SCAR ON THE CENTRE OF THE SCALP. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

old. Up till the age of perhaps ten or twelve, they are under the charge of the women and are not allowed to go anywhere near to the men's camp. They spend hour after hour aiming at one another with minute spears and spear-throwers, shouting and laughing the whole time. Every day they accompany their mothers out into the bush, learning to know the track of everything that lives and moves. After they have reached the age of ten or twelve the men begin to take them out with them, but until they arrive at puberty they are

FIG. 19.—TWO YOUNG BOYS. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 20.—GROUP OF BOYS. ARUNTA TRIBE.

for the most part under the control of the women. Usually when they are about fourteen or fifteen the first initiation ceremony is performed, and after that they are completely withdrawn from the control of the women; indeed there is always some special part of the ceremonies connected with initiation which is especially designed to emphasise this fact. They are not allowed after this to go anywhere near

FIG. 21.—YOUTH PASSING THROUGH THE INITIATION CEREMONIES. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 22—YOUTH PASSING THROUGH THE INITIATION CEREMONIES, SHOWING THE METHOD OF TYING THE HAIR UP. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

to the women's camp or to play about as they have hitherto done with the boys and girls. A youth at this age is represented in Fig. 22. As soon as he has undergone the initiation rite his hair is tied up into a bunch, often so tightly as to cause serious discomfort. This, however, he willingly bears, as it is a sign that he is entering into the ranks of the men.

It will be noticed that, in comparison with Arunta men of approximately the same age, the whiskers, beard, and moustache are comparatively poorly developed[1] in the more

[1] *N.T.* Fig. 10, p. 35.

northern and north-eastern tribes. Further still, in the Warramunga and allied tribes the old men (Figs. 32 and 33) are allowed to pull the hairs of the moustache out, and also any that may be growing on the under lip immediately below the mouth. The effect naturally is to give them a very different appearance from that of the men in the Arunta and Kaitish tribes. Not infrequently we used to see one or other of the older men lying down on the ground while some younger man was busy pulling out all odd hairs

FIG. 23.—MAN OF THE UNMATJERA TRIBE. SIDE FACE.

FIG. 24.—MAN OF THE UNMATJERA TRIBE. FULL FACE.

growing on the cheek or upper lip. The operation must be decidedly painful, but they do not seem to object to it (Fig. 35).

Owing to the way in which the hair is kept tied up with bands of string passing round over the forehead and under the occiput, the scalp is thrown into folds, and, when the hair is cut short, has a regular corrugated appearance. It is far thicker than in the ordinary white man. It may be added, in passing, that we have never seen a bald native. In extreme old age the hair becomes thin, but, even on the

crown, it never completely disappears as in Europeans. As a general rule in the Warramunga and southern tribes the hair is arranged in wavy locks, though every now and again there may be a decided tendency to curliness. In the Tjingilli we meet sometimes with men whose hair is most decidedly curly (Fig. 30), but here and in their eastern neighbours it is more usually wavy (Fig. 28). In the Gnanji tribe the hair, under normal conditions, is also wavy, but when it has grown

FIG. 25.—MAN OF THE KAITISH TRIBE, SHOWING THE CURLY NATURE OF THE HAIR.

FIG. 26.—MAN OF THE UNMATJERA TRIBE.

to a considerable length it is made up into a number of plaits the ends of which are lengthened by the addition of string, and are then tied roughly together behind the head, producing the appearance represented in Fig. 37. When the plaits are undone the hair forms a mop, calling to mind the much more elaborate coiffure of the Papuan. Unfortunately we did not have the opportunity of securing a photograph of this, as we only came across men with this mop head when our cameras were not available. In the Gnanji and all the more eastern tribes the hair on the face

is very scanty, and in the case of the older men is very largely pulled out.

In the Binbinga and Karawa tribes the hair is also plaited, but amongst them this is not apparently done with the idea of producing a great fuzzy mass. On the contrary, the plaits are very neatly wound round and round so as to produce the appearance of a closely fitting cap on the top of the head. This is particularly well seen in the case

FIG. 27.—MAN OF THE WARRAMUNGA TRIBE, SHOWING THE HOLE IN THE NASAL SEPTUM BROKEN THROUGH.

of a Karawa boy (Fig. 38) and also in that of a Binbinga man, this particular individual being a celebrated medicine man (Fig. 40). The hair on the face is again very scanty.

The true coastal tribes are characterised by having very curly hair, which in some cases approximates closely to the woolly type, but is never really so, though the casual observer would be very likely to describe it as such. If allowed to grow to any length it will become neither exactly wavy nor curly, but half-way between the two (Fig. 41). A curious

feature is that in the boys it is nothing like so curly as in the older males.[1]

It will be seen that in the matter of hair there is a very interesting series of variations. In the Arunta it is always wavy and never truly curly, though occasionally the beard, which is always well developed, may be frizzled. In the

FIG. 28.—MAN OF THE TJINGILLI TRIBE, WITH WELL-MARKED CICATRICES. FULL FACE.

Kaitish it may occasionally be very curly. In the Warramunga it is normally wavy. In the Tjingilli it may be very curly. In the Gnanji it is normally wavy, sometimes inclined to be curly, and is artificially made into a frizzled mop. In the Binbinga it is sometimes wavy, at others curly, and is plaited to form a kind of close-fitting skull cap. In the Anula and Mara it is, in both men and women, decidedly curly, approaching in appearance more nearly to the woolly

[1] Compare the two boys in the right-hand corner of Fig. 44.

type than in the case of any other tribe met with by us.[1] It may perhaps be suggested that this indicates at some time a mixture with Papuan blood, but if so the influence is apparently confined to this one feature. From the point of view of customs and beliefs all of the tribes are distinctly Australian and are closely allied. In all, with rare exceptions, the hair is jet black and the skin of the characteristic chocolate colour, there being no difference

FIG. 29.—MAN OF THE TJINGILLI TRIBE. SIDE FACE.

whatever in this respect between the Arunta of the centre and the Anula natives who inhabit the Pellew Islands.

In regard to scars or cicatrices there is a considerable amount of variation. In the Arunta they are sometimes very prominent and at others scarcely distinguishable, and are cut on the chest, upper arms, and shoulders. In the Kaitish, Unmatjera, and Warramunga they are closely similar to those of the Arunta.

[1] It is a rather remarkable fact, in view of the supposed Malay influence, that it is just the tribes in the coastal districts where the Malays do visit them that we find the most curly hair.

In addition to these cicatrices, which are more or less regularly arranged, every man bears scars, usually on his thigh or on his shoulder. The latter will be the result of self-inflicted wounds, the former may be either of the same nature or may be the mark of cuts inflicted upon him by some other man during a fight. On one man in the Warramunga tribe we counted no less than twenty-three scars, where he had cut his leg on different occasions in token of

FIG. 30.—MAN OF THE TJINGILLI TRIBE, SHOWING THE CURLED NATURE OF THE HAIR. FULL FACE.

mourning. The extreme case of scarring of the back which we saw is represented in the figure of a man belonging to the Walpari tribe, and we were assured that the scars represented wounds made by a stone knife during various fights. The scars in this case were large and smooth, without any raised ridge of keloid tissue characteristic of the ordinary cicatrices. Perhaps they indicate some specialty in the man's flesh in regard to the healing of wounds.

The Tjingilli, Gnanji, and Umbaia tribes are normally

considerably cicatrised, one of the best examples being represented in Fig. 28. In these tribes it is very frequent to have a series of cicatrices on the upper arm just where it joins the shoulder, forming a kind of epaulette. In Fig. 30 the Tjingilli man has them running right across the breast, and mainly transverse ones on the arm, where his fellow tribesman, shown in Fig. 28, has them longitudinal. The natives say that they have nothing whatever to do with

FIG. 31.—MAN OF THE TJINGILLI TRIBE. SIDE FACE.

tribal or class or distinctive marks of any kind, and are simply ornaments.

In the Gnanji the markings are closely similar, and in the Binbinga, Mara, and Anula they are usually, but not always, confined to the chest. The Tjingilli, Gnanji, and Umbaia tribes all show the characteristic scars on the thigh, though these were nowhere so prominent as in the Warramunga tribe.

We may here draw attention to one feature in regard to the men with which we were first struck in the Kaitish tribe, and were continually noticing amongst the tribes more to the north, and that is the remarkable development of the

breasts. This is perhaps best shown in the instance of the Gnanji man, seen in profile in Fig. 37, in whom it was very prominent. It was also well seen in the Kaitish men; indeed we were continually struck with it when once we had passed to the north of the Macdonnell Ranges.

In regard to height there is very considerable variation. The natives of whom we have taken measurements belong

FIG. 32.—MAN OF THE WORGAIA TRIBE, SHOWING THE HAIRS PULLED OUT ON THE LIPS. SIDE FACE.

to the Arunta,[1] Kaitish, Unmatjera, Warramunga, and Walpari tribes. They refer to 41 adult males, 26 adult females, 5 male children between the ages of 5 and 13, 2 youths about 16 years old, and 7 female children between the ages of 5 and 14.

The average height of the men is 169.4 cm. The greatest height, 182 cm., occurred in the case of a Warramunga man, and the next in that of a Worgaia man, 180

[1] The measurements of the natives of this tribe, twenty males and ten females, are given in Appendix C, *N.T.* Full details in regard to the remainder are given in an Appendix to this work.

cm. The least height, 158.2 cm., was that of an Arunta man, and, in addition, 3 Aruntas and 1 Unmatjera man measured as little as 160 cm.

There is, in respect of height, a decided difference between the Warramunga and Arunta nations in favour of the former. The average of 15 men of the Warramunga

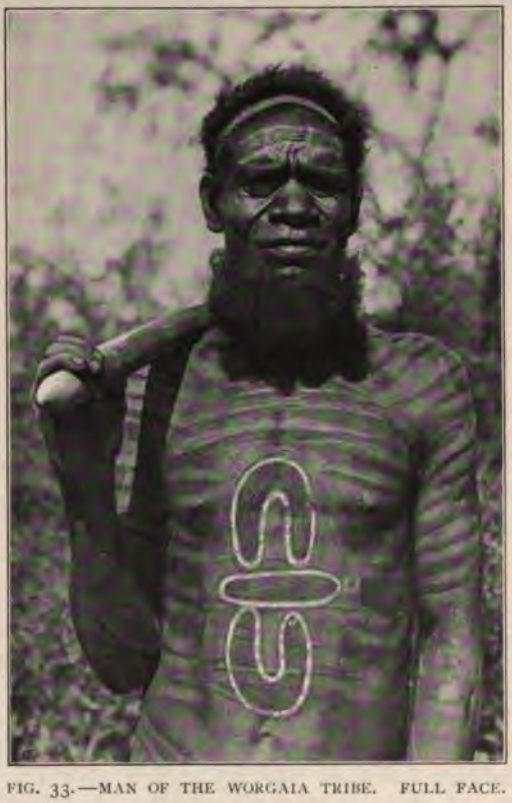


FIG. 33.—MAN OF THE WORGAIA TRIBE. FULL FACE.

nation, belonging to the Warramunga, Walpari, and Worgaia tribes, is 173.8 cm. There are only 3 men under 170 cm. On the other hand the average of 26 men of the Arunta nation, belonging to the Arunta, Kaitish, and Unmatjera tribes, is 166.8 cm., and amongst these 15 are less than 170 cm. The men of the Warramunga tribe especially strike one as having a good physique. This is rather difficult to

account for, as their country does not appear to be so good, from the point of view of food supply, as that of the Arunta, more especially of those living in the large area occupied by the Macdonnell Ranges, where there is very rarely any lack of food and water.

In regard to the women the general average of 26 individuals is 158.7 cm. The greatest height is 173 cm. in the case of a Warramunga woman, and the least, 148·2 cm., in that of a Walpari woman, who was, however, very old

FIG. 34.—OLD MAN OF THE KAITISH TRIBE.

and shrunken. One middle-aged Kaitish woman and one Warramunga measured each of them 150 cm. Of the 26 women, 13 belonged to the Arunta and 13 also to the Warramunga nation. The average height of the former was 155.5 cm. and of the latter 162 cm. In the Arunta women only 2 measured over 160 cm., but in those of the Warramunga only 4 measured less than this.

It is of course very difficult to estimate the age of a child, and therefore the following are approximate only, but in all cases are probably correct within the margin of a year.

Of the boys the following are their ages and heights:—(1) 4 years, 93.5 cm.; (2) 5 years, 108.5 cm.; (3) 8 years, 125 cm.; (4) 9 years, 121 cm.; (5) 10 years, 128.5 cm.; (6) 15 years, 161.5 cm.; (7) 16 years, 161 cm.[1]

In the case of the girls the same remark with regard to age holds true. The ages and heights were as follows:—

FIG. 35.—AN OLD MAN LYING DOWN AND A YOUNGER MAN PULLING OUT THE HAIRS ON HIS CHEEK. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

(1) 5 years, 110 cm.; (2) 6 years, 118 cm.; (3) 6 years, 111 cm.; (4) 7 years, 118 cm.; (5) 7 years, 118 cm.; (6) 11 years, 136.5 cm.; (7) 11 years, 137 cm.; (8) 14 (?), 144 cm.[2]

[1] The two last-mentioned youths passed through the rite of subincision while we were amongst the Warramunga.

[2] This girl had recently passed through the rite of *atna ariltha kuma.*

The average chest measurement of the 41 men was 90.2 cm., varying between a minimum of 83 and a maximum of 97. In the Warramunga nation, out of the 15 measured, there was only 1 individual under 90 cm.; in the Arunta, out of the 26 men, 14 were under this. The average of the former was 92.5 and of the latter 88.9, pointing once

FIG. 36.—THE BACK OF A MAN OF THE WALPARI TRIBE, SHOWING SCARS RESULTING FROM CUTS INFLICTED BY STONE KNIVES.

more in the direction of the better physique of the northern tribes.

A very characteristic feature of the Australian aborigine is the shape of the nose. The root is very much depressed, the supraorbital ridges being always strongly marked, but still more prominent is the great proportionate width of the nose, which, especially in the men, may sometimes be

broader than long, with the end flattened to form a depressed hook. The wearing of a nose-bone through the septum—a practice commenced at a very early age—must tend to emphasise the spreading out of the lobes.

FIG. 37.—SIDE VIEW OF A MAN OF THE GNANJI TRIBE, SHOWING THE METHOD OF PLAITING THE HAIR.

In the 41 males the average length was 5 cm. and the width 4.9 cm. The greatest length was 6.2 cm. and the width of the same was 4.9, in the case of an Arunta man. The greatest width was 6 cm. and the length of the same 4.6 cm., in the case of a Warramunga man. Out of 26 men of the Arunta nation there were 8 in whom the width exceeded the length, while this was true of no fewer than

10 out of the 15 belonging to the Warramunga nation. The average length in the 26 women was 4.5 cm. and the width 4.4 cm. Out of the 13 belonging to the Arunta nation the width exceeded the length in 4 cases, and out of the 13 belonging to the Warramunga the same was true in 5 cases and in 3 others it was equal. The greatest length in a woman was 5.2 cm. in an Arunta, and the least was 4 cm. in both groups; in one Warramunga woman the width was 5.1 cm. and the length 4 cm. In 7 female

FIG. 38.—KARAWA BOY, SHOWING METHOD OF PLAITING HAIR.

children the average length was 3.7 cm. and the width 3.4 cm.; the width exceeded the length in two instances. In 5 male children the average length was 3.8 cm. and the width 3.6 cm., and in no case did the width exceed the length.

The measurement of the head, as we pointed out previously in the case of the Arunta tribe, varies to a considerable extent.[1] The average cephalic index of 41 males is 73.2 and of 26 women is 73.3. If we allow the two units which, according to Broca, must be subtracted from the index of

[1] In twenty men of the Arunta tribe the index was 74.5, and in ten women it was 75.7.

the living subject in order to obtain that of the cranium, then we have an index of 71.2 for the men and one of 71.3 for the women, which is just slightly below the average Australian cephalic index of 71.5. The indices in the males vary between 80.5 and 66.6, the former being that of an Arunta man, and the latter—a remarkably low one—that of a Warramunga man, the present head of a leading totemic

FIG. 39.—MEDICINE MAN, BINBINGA TRIBE. FULL FACE.

group, a very quiet reserved man, but an individual of considerable influence in the tribe.

In the case of the females the indices vary from 80.7 in an Arunta woman to 68.1 in a Warramunga woman. Out of 14 Warramunga women no fewer than 6 had indices below 70, and only 1 greater than 75.

Arranging the series of 67 measurements, including those of both men and women according to Broca's divisions,[1] we find that 58 are dolichocephalic, 5 are sub-dolichocephalic, and 4 are mesaticephalic. With the exception of 1 woman all of the Warramunga—that is the northern

[1] That is, after subtracting the two units.

group—are dolichocephalic, the deviations from this being thus practically confined to the southern group.

Taking the immature children, ranging in age from 5 to 16, we find that the average of 7 females is 75.5. The highest is 80.3 and the lowest 70.5 Out of the 7, 4

FIG. 40.—MEDICINE MAN, BINBINGA TRIBE, CARRYING A WALLET ON HIS BACK. SHOWING METHOD OF PLAITING HAIR. SIDE FACE.

are dolichocephalic, 2 are sub-dolichocephalic, and 1 is mesaticephalic. In this case the greatest divergence from dolichocephaly is to be found amongst the 4 Warramunga children. Of 6 immature males the average is 71.9. The highest is 74.2 and the lowest 70.3, and they are all of them dolichocephalic. All of them belong to the Warramunga.

In connection with the form of the head we may note

finally that in no instance have we ever met with any attempt to produce any artificial deformation.

The foot varies in size to a considerable extent, and is notably longer in the Warramunga than the Arunta. The

FIG. 41.—YOUNG MAN OF ANULA TRIBE.

average of the 41 men was 25.8 cm. The lowest measurement was 23.4 cm. in the Arunta, and the highest 27.5 cm. in the case of 2 Warramungas. In accordance with the greater size of the latter the average is higher amongst them than the Aruntas. That of 26 of the latter natives

was 25.3 cm., and of 15 Warramungas 26.8 cm. There is no Warramunga measured with a foot as small as the average one in the Aruntas. The average length in the 26 women was 23.8 cm., in 13 Aruntas it was 23.3 cm., and in 13 Warramungas 24.3 cm., showing the same

FIG. 42.—ELDERLY MAN OF WILINGURA TRIBE.

relationship of the two nations as in the case of the males.

The native is very nimble with his toes, and picks up articles quite naturally with them, if it be more convenient to use his toes rather than his fingers for this purpose—as, for example, when he has both hands full of other things. The soles of his feet are wonderfully hard and cornified, and he will walk with ease over stony ground which makes

travelling decidedly uncomfortable for the well-shod white man. He always walks with his toes well turned out—a feature noticeable in the young children as well as in the

FIG. 43.—ELDERLY MAN OF WILINGURA TRIBE.

adults, as can be seen in the illustration of a young child running (Fig. 3). When also in his designs he has to draw the tracks of a man, he represents the alternate feet-marks turned in different directions.

FIG. 44.—GROUP OF ANULA AND MARA NATIVES.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE TRIBES

Three types of social organisation amongst the tribes occupying the country extending from Lake Eyre in the south northwards through the centre to the Gulf of Carpentaria—Dieri and Urabunna system with maternal descent —No man has the exclusive right to one woman—Nupa women and Piraungaru—Group marriage actually in existence—Remaining tribes divided into two groups, in one of which there are eight subclasses, and descent is counted indirectly in the male line ; in the other there are four classes, and descent is counted in the direct male line—Grouping of tribes to form five nations—Relationship terms—These apply not to individuals but to groups —Separation of the two moieties of the tribes—The organisation of the Arunta nation—The organisation of the Warramunga nation — Marriage permitted in the Warramunga and northern tribes with the father's sister's daughter—The organisation of the Binbinga nation—The organisation of the Mara nation—Comparison of the Mara with the Binbinga subclasses, and the equivalence of the same in the two—Deliberate fitting-in of the subclasses so as to reconcile the two methods of counting descent—The more direct paternal descent in the Mara tribe.

IN the great majority of Australian tribes, but not in all, there is a very definite social organisation, which term we use in connection only with the division of the tribe into two (or more) exogamous, intermarrying groups without reference to the presence or absence of a totemic system. The two systems have become associated together in various ways in different tribes, but are perfectly distinct from one another in origin and significance.

We can recognise three important types of social organisation in the tribes which occupy the country extending from Lake Eyre in the south to the Gulf of Carpentaria in the north. In the first, which exists amongst the Dieri and Urabunna tribes, there are only two main exogamous groups called respectively, in the case of the latter, Mat-

thurie and Kirarawa. We have, on a previous occasion, dealt more or less in detail with this, but, for the purpose of comparison, and of giving a general account of the central tribes, we will once more briefly refer to the Urabunna tribe as a typical example of a tribe in which descent is counted in the female line, and in which division has not proceeded beyond the formation of the two original exogamous moieties.[1]

In the Urabunna tribe a Matthurie man must marry a Kirarawa woman, and their children pass into the Kirarawa moiety. *Vice versa* a Kirarawa man must marry a Matthurie woman. A Matthurie man may not, however, marry any and every Kirarawa woman. In the first place, men of one totem can only marry women of another special totem.[2] For example, a Matthurie who belongs to the dingo totem must marry a Kirarawa of the water-hen totem, so that we may represent the marriage and descent in the Urabunna by the following diagram, in which the letter m represents the man and f the woman.

m. Dingo Matthurie
marries
f. Water-hen Kirarawa

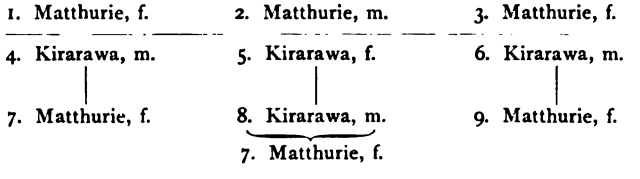
m. Water-hen Kirarawa marries f. Dingo Matthurie	f. Water-hen Kirarawa marries m. Dingo Matthurie
m. or f. Dingo Matthurie.	m. or f. Water-hen Kirarawa.

Further still, a dingo man can only have assigned to him as wife a woman who belongs to one out of certain groups amongst the water-hens. The members of the latter group stand to him in one or other of the following relationships: (1) *Nauilli*, father's sister; (2) *Biaka*, children or brother's children; (3) *Apillia*, mother's younger brother's daughters;

[1] In this account we use the following terms: (*a*) *moiety*, indicating the two original exogamous divisions; (*b*) *class*, the two divisions into which each moiety is usually divided; (*c*) *subclass*, the two divisions into which in certain tribes each class is divided. We purposely avoid the terms phratry, gens, clan, etc., as liable to be misleading.

[2] This appears to be the case in the northern part of the tribe.

(4) *Nupa*, mother's elder brother's daughter. It must be remembered of course that whilst, for the sake of convenience, we use the English terms there is no equivalence whatever between the terms *nia*, *nuthi*, and *luka* and those respectively of father, brother, mother, by which we translate them. The native terms all refer to groups of individuals and not to the individual. Amongst these individuals there are women of three different levels of generation—the *nauilli* belong to that of the father, the *biaka* to younger, and the *apillia* and *nupa* to the same generation as the individual concerned, and it is from amongst these that the woman must come with whom it is lawful for him to have marital relations. He can only marry women who stand to him in the relationship of *nupa*—that is, are the children of his mother's elder brothers, blood or tribal. A simple genealogical tree will make the matter clear. The Kirarawa man numbered 8 can only marry a woman who stands to him in the relationship of the one numbered 7. She is his *nupa;* the woman numbered 9 is his *apillia*, and he may not have marital relations with her.



The mother of a man's wife is *nauilli*, and she is *mura* to him and he to her, and they must not speak to one another. Every man has one or more of these *nupa* women who are especially attached to him and live with him in his own camp, but there is no such thing as one man having the exclusive right to one woman; the elder brothers or *nuthi* of the woman, who decide the matter, will give one man a preferential right, but at the same time they will give other men of the same group to which he belongs—that is, men who stand in the same relationship to the woman as he does—a secondary right, and such *nupa* women to whom a man has the legal right of access are spoken of as

his *piraungaru*. A woman may be *piraungaru* to a number of men and, as a general rule, men and women who are *piraungaru* to one another are to be found living together in groups. As we have said before, "individual marriage does not exist either in name or in practice amongst the Urabunna tribe."[1] In this tribe we have:—

(1) A group of men all of whom belong to one moiety of the tribe and are regarded as the *nupas*, or possible husbands, of a group of women who belong to the other moiety of the tribe.

(2) One or more women specially allotted to one particular man, each standing in the relationship of *nupa* to the other, but no man having exclusive right to any one woman—only a preferential right.

(3) A group of men who stand in the relationship of *piraungaru* to a group of women, selected from amongst those to whom they are *nupa*. In other words, a group of women of one designation have, normally and actually, marital relations with a group of men of another designation.

There is no evidence of any kind to show that the practice in the Dieri and Urabunna tribes is an abnormal development. The organisation of these tribes, amongst whom the two exogamous intermarrying groups still persist—groups which in other tribes of the central area have been split into four or eight—indicate their retention of ancient customs which have become modified in tribes such as the Arunta and Warramunga, though amongst them we find traces of customs pointing back to conditions such as still persist amongst the Urabunna. If they were abnormal developments then there could not possibly be found the remarkable but very instructive gradation from the system of individual marriage as developed amongst many Australian tribes and the undoubted exercise of group marital relations which is found in the Dieri and the Urabunna.

In regard to marital relations it may be said that the Central Australian native has certain women, members of a particular group, with whom it is lawful for him

[1] *N. T.* p. 63.

and for other men also to have such relations. In the tribes with the simplest and undoubtedly the most primitive organisation these women are many in number. They all belong to a certain group, and, in the Urabunna tribe for example, a group of men actually does have, continually and as a normal condition, marital relations with a group of women. This state of affairs has nothing whatever to do with polygamy any more than it has with polyandry. It is simply a question of a group of men and a group of women who may lawfully have what we call marital relations. There is nothing whatever abnormal about it, and in all probability this system of what has been called group marriage, serving as it does to bind more or less closely together groups of individuals who are mutually interested in one another's welfare, has been one of the most powerful agents in the early stages of the upward development of the human race.

Passing northwards from the Urabunna tribe we come to the Arunta, amongst whom we meet with the most southern of a series of tribes extending up to the Gulf of Carpentaria and occupying the whole of the great internal area of the continent, all of whom agree in the fact that the tribe is divided into four or eight intermarrying groups. In all of them also descent is counted in the paternal line. In the very southern part and in the most northern, along the coast of the gulf, there are four groups, but in all of the intermediate tribes there are eight.

We can divide the tribes, so far as their systems of social organisation are concerned, into two main groups, though it must be remembered that this is only a rough grouping, taking this one feature as its basis. On the whole, however, it agrees well with a grouping based upon identity or close similarity in custom, with the exception of the Gnanji and Binbinga tribes, of which the latter especially is very closely identified, except in this one particular matter of social organisation, with the second group. The Binbinga, however, is the only one of these tribes which is in contact on one border with a true coastal tribe and on the other with an interior tribe, and thus it naturally forms, as does

the Gnanji to a smaller extent, a transition from one group to another.

In one of the two main groups there are eight subclasses, except in the southern Arunta, and in the other there are four. In all descent is counted in the male line, but in the first group the descent is indirect and in the second direct (with the limitation described later). The first group includes the Arunta, Iliaura, Ilpirra, Unmatjera, Kaitish, Warramunga, Wulmala, Walpari, Tjingilli, Umbaia, Gnanji, Binbinga, and Allaua; the second the Mara and Anula. The first may be divided again into three subgroups, one including the Arunta, Iliaura, Ilpirra, Unmatjera, and Kaitish; the second the Warramunga, Wulmala, Walpari, Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Gnanji; and the third the Binbinga and Allaua. Mr. Howitt was the first to point out the fact that it was possible to associate various tribes together in groups, for each of which he suggested the name of "nation."

It is not always possible to do this satisfactorily, as there must inevitably be a certain amount of cross division according to the standard which is adopted. Thus, for example, if we take the organisation and method of counting descent as a standard, the Binbinga fall into the Warramunga group, and yet, apart from this one feature and in respect of their customs and beliefs, they are without doubt most closely associated with the Mara group. Following the example of Mr. Howitt, we would suggest that, if some such grouping is to be adopted, the Central Australian tribes should be divided as follows, the name applied to the "nation" being that of the tribe of which, in each group, we have the fullest information with regard to both organisation and custom.

(1) The DIERI nation. This will include the Dieri, Urabunna, Yarrawonga and other tribes in the Lake Eyre basin, our knowledge of which is largely due to Mr. Howitt, who suggested the name.

(2) The ARUNTA nation, including the Arunta, Ilpirra, Iliaura, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes. The name of this nation is taken from that of the tribe with which we dealt

most in our previous work, and of the organisation and customs in regard to which we have very full information.

(3) The WARRAMUNGA nation, including the Warramunga, Worgaia, Tjingilli, Umbaia, Bingongina, Walpari, Wulmala, and Gnanji tribes. Up to the present time only scattered and, in certain respects, incorrect information has been published about these tribes, but in the present work comparatively full details are given with regard to the Warramunga tribe which apply also, except as regards minor points, to the other tribes, and we therefore suggest for this group the name of Warramunga nation.

(4) The BINBINGA nation, including the Binbinga, Allaua, and probably other tribes on the west side of the Gulf of Carpentaria. So far as the organisation is concerned, with the exception that the names of the moieties are lost, these tribes are very closely allied to the Warramunga group. In regard to certain important customs, such as that of eating the dead and the disposal of the bones, they are more closely allied to the next group.

(5) The MARA nation, including the Anula, Mara, and probably other tribes on the western coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria. A fairly detailed account of these two tribes is given in this work, and in regard to their customs it will be seen that they are closely associated together.

Of these groups or nations we will take the Arunta as a type of the second, the Warramunga as a type of the third, the Binbinga as typical of the fourth, and the Mara as typical of the fifth.

The various tables are arranged so that the equivalent classes and subclasses in the different tribes can be seen at a glance. It is only by working gradually from one tribe to another that the equivalent groups can be ascertained with certainty, and in every case the information included in these tables was derived from natives who were intimately acquainted with the classificatory system of two adjacent tribes. In this way we were able to trace the equivalent groups existing in eighteen tribes which occupy the country from the Lake Eyre district, north across the centre to

Powell's Creek, and thence eastwards out to the Gulf of Carpentaria.

1	2	3	4
Panunga	Purula	Appungerta	Kumara
Uknaria	Ungalla	Bulthara	Umbitjana
Bulthara	Kumara	Uknaria	Purula
Appungerta	Umbitjana	Panunga	Ungalla

In each instance the subclasses are arranged in four tabular groups. Starting from the left side and proceeding towards the right, column No. 1 contains the names of the subclasses constituting one moiety of the tribe; column No. 2 contains those constituting the other moiety. The intermarrying subclasses are arranged on the same horizontal level. Columns No. 3 and 4 represent the subclasses of the children. Thus to take an example which, *mutatis mutandis*, applies right through: In the Arunta tribe a Panunga man (column 1) marries a Purula woman (column 2), the children are Appungerta (column 3). A Purula man (column 2) marries a Panunga woman (column 1), and the children are Kumara (column 4). In the same way an Uknaria man marries an Ungalla woman and the children are Bulthara; an Ungalla man marries an Uknaria woman and the children are Umbitjana, and so on right through the whole series of tables.[1]

In the Mara and Anula tribes, where there are only four subclasses, we have repeated the names; thus, for example in the Mara, Murungun and Mumbali each appear

[1] In our previous work (cf. *N.T.* pp. 554-560) we have dealt with the various methods in which any special woman is secured by, or allotted to, any special man. We have little to add to the account therein given. The method of allotting women in the Warramunga tribe is described at p. 603 of this work, as it is associated with a curious ceremony of cutting hair from a man's whiskers. In the Mara tribe the father of the woman tells a man who stands in the relationship of father's sister's son to the individual to whom the former proposes to give his daughter. This telling another man who acts as intermediary is associated with the strongly marked avoidance of son-in-law and father-in-law in the Mara tribe. In the Binbinga tribe a woman is given away by her father. The latter calls up the man to whom he has determined to give her, and tells him that when the girl is grown up he can take her as a wife. At the same time, as an emblem of this betrothal, he places the child's arm in the man's hand. The man then presents his father-in-law with boomerangs, spears, tomahawks, and food, and after this they do not look at one another. At intervals the son-in-law gives things such as boomerangs to his future wife, telling her to take them to her father.

twice so as to indicate the fact that, comparing this tribe with the Arunta for example, one-half of the Murungun people are the equivalent of the Panunga and the other half of the Appungerta, and similarly one-half of the Mumbali are the equivalent of the Bulthara and the other of the Uknaria, and so on right through the various tribes.

The genealogical tables refer to the Warramunga and Mara tribes, taken as representative examples. They are drawn up in the ordinary way, and indicate the descent of the subclasses, and, taking a man and his allotted *unawa* (to use the Arunta term), we have indicated in tabular form the various terms which he applies to the different individuals whose subclass, as well as their relationship to him, are indicated in the tree.[1] In addition to this we have drawn up tables which serve to show at a glance the arrangement of the various relationships under the heading of the four or eight subclasses, as well as the level of generation to which each belongs.

The following lists indicate the terms of relationship used in the eighteen tribes dealt with, and, as before, we have given three columns of names: (1) the native terms, (2) the equivalents of the native terms in English terms, (3) the English term included wholly or partly in the native term.

TABLE OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE

Native Terms.	*Actual Relationship in English Terms.*	*English Terms, included wholly or partly in the Native Terms.*
Gambatja	Father	Father.
	Father's brother	Uncle.
Pinari	Father's sister	Aunt.
Tapa-tapu	Father's mother	Grandmother.
	Father's mother's sister	Great-aunt.
	Mother's father	Grandfather.
	Mother's father's brother	
	Wife's father's father	
	Daughter's children	Grandchild.
	Daughter's husband's father	
	Son's wife's father	
	Husband's father's father	

[1] The tables and numbers of the individuals indicated are similar to those used in our previous work referring to the Urabunna and Arunta tribes.

NT. WAR

5. Thapanunga, f. — 6. Th

12. Tjupila, m. — 13.

19. Thakomara, m. | 20. Thakomara, f. — 21. Thapungarti, Thapungarti,

Tjambin, m

41. Thapanunga, m. | 42. m. | 48. Than

omara, f.

ltjeri, m.

Tjunguri

Native Term.	*Actual Relationship in English Terms.*	*English Terms, included wholly or partly in the Native Terms.*
Katununga	Wife	Wife.
	Wife's sister	Sister-in-law.
		Brother's wife.
Kanquia	Father's father	Grandfather.
	Son's son	Grandchild.
Kurnandi	Mother	Mother.
	Mother's sister	Aunt.
Naminni	Mother's brother	Uncle.
	Daughter's husband	Son-in-law.
Turtundi	Mother's mother	Grandmother.
	Wife's mother's father	
	Daughter's husband's mother	
	Son's wife's mother.	
	Husband's mother's father	
Kulla-kulla	Wife's brother	Brother-in-law.
	Sister's husband	
Auiniari	Wife's father	Father-in-law.
	Sister's son	Nephew.
	Sister's husband's father	
	Son's wife	Daughter-in-law.
	Husband's father	
	Husband's mother	Mother-in-law.
Tjurtalia	Wife's mother	Mother-in-law.
	Sister's husband's mother	
Katakitji	Son	Son.
	Daughter	Daughter.
	Brother's son and daughter	Nephew, niece.
	Son's son's son	Great-grand-children.
Kulu-kulu	Sister's children	Nephew, niece.
Linia	Mother's brother's son	Cousin.
	Mother's brother's daughter	
Wankilli	Father's sister's son	Cousin.
	Father's sister's daughter	
Papati	Elder brother	Brother.
	Father's elder brother's son	Cousin.
Kukaitja	Younger brother	Brother.
	Younger sister	Sister.
	Father's younger brother's children	Cousin.
Kabalu	Elder sister	Sister.
	Father's elder brother's daughter	Cousin.
Kulla-kulla (woman speaking)	Husband	Husband.
	Husband's brother	Brother-in-law.
	Husband's sister	Sister-in-law.
	Brother's wife	

Native Terms.	*Actual Relationship in English Terms.*	*English Terms, included wholly or partly in the Native Terms.*
Kulu-kulu (woman speaking)	Son	Son.
	Daughter	Daughter.
	Sister's son	Nephew.
	Sister's daughter	Niece.
Tapa-tapu (woman speaking)	Son's son	Grandson.
	Son's wife's mother	
Nuralli (woman speaking)	Daughter's children	Grandchildren.
Billi-billi (woman speaking)	Son's son's son	Great-grandson.
	Daughter's daughter's son	
Naminni (woman speaking)	Brother's wife's mother	
Tjurtalia (woman speaking)	Mother's brother's son	Cousin.
	Mother's brother's daughter	
	Daughter's husband	Son-in-law.

TABLE OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS. WORGAIA TRIBE

Wakathua	Father	Father.
	Father's brother	Uncle.
Pinauara	Father's sister	Aunt.
Mimimo	Father's mother	Grandmother.
	Father's mother's sister	
	Mother's father	Grandfather.
	Wife's father's father	
	Daughter's son's son	Great-grandson.
	Son's wife's father	
	Daughter's husband's father	
Munkara	Wife	Wife.
	Wife's sister	Sister-in-law.
Kathu-kuthu	Father's father	Grandfather.
	Son's children	Grandson.
Wurtikia	Mother	Mother.
Lilikia	Elder sister	Sister.
	Father's elder brother's daughter	Cousin.
Uranii	Younger sister	Sister.
	Father's younger brother's daughter	Cousin.
Lalu	Elder brother	Brother.
	Father's elder brother's son	Cousin.
Uranathu	Younger brother	Brother.
	Father's younger brother's son	Cousin.

Native Terms.	*Actual Relationship in English Terms.*	*English Terms, included wholly or partly in the Native Terms.*
Ipari	Mother's mother Mother's mother's sister Wife's mother's father Daughter's husband's mother Son's wife's mother	Grandmother. Great-aunt.
Illinathu	Wife's brother Sister's husband	Brother-in-law.
Murtha-munteri	Wife's father Sister's husband's father	Father-in-law.
Uquartinia	Wife's mother Sister's husband's mother	Mother-in-law.
Nmenta	Son Brother's son Son's son's son	Son. Nephew. Great-grandson.
Ninianu	Daughter Brother's daughter	Daughter. Niece.
Nitharu	Sister's children	Nephew, niece.
Bilaku	Mother's brother's son Father's sister's children	Cousin.
Watakia	Mother's brother's daughter Father's sister's daughter	Cousin.
Nithakuperu	Daughter's husband	Son-in-law.
Illinathu (woman speaking)	Husband Husband's brother	Husband. Brother-in-law.
Kiranino (woman speaking)	Husband's father Husband's father's brother	Father-in-law.
Winara (woman speaking)	Husband's mother Husband's mother's sister	Mother-in-law.
Limparintha (woman speaking)	Daughter's husband Daughter's husband's brother	Son-in-law.
Mirntera (woman speaking)	Daughter's children	Grandchildren.
Mimimo (woman speaking)	Son's children	Grandchildren.
Winiaringinthi (woman speaking)	Son's wife	Daughter-in-law.

TABLE OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS. UMBAIA TRIBE

Ita	Father Father's brother	Father. Uncle.
Pappa	Elder brother Father's elder brother's son	Brother. Cousin.

Native Terms.	*Actual Relationship in English Terms.*	*English Terms, included wholly or partly in the Native Terms.*
Kakula	Younger brother Father's younger brother's son	Brother. Cousin.
Itinnia	Father's sister	Aunt.
Naiitjinna	Father's mother	Grandmother.
Kanka	Father's father Son's son	Grandfather. Grandson.
Kutjina	Mother Mother's sister	Mother. Aunt.
Tjoko	Mother's brother Daughter's husband	Uncle. Son-in-law.
Kukunia	Mother's mother Mother's mother's sister Daughter's husband's mother Son's wife's mother	Grandmother. Great-aunt.
Tjamintjilla	Mother's father Mother's father's brother Daughter's husband's father	Grandfather. Great-uncle.
Karinnia	Wife Wife's sister	Wife. Sister-in-law.
Kari	Husband Husband's brother Wife's brother	Husband. Brother-in-law.
Kullina	Wife's father Wife's father's brother	Father-in-law.
Mimai-inna	Wife's mother Wife's mother's sister Wife's mother's brother Wife's father's father Sister's husband's mother Son's wife's father Sister's husband's father	Mother-in-law.
Koko	Wife's mother's father	
Tjatjilla (man speaking)	Children Brother's children Son's son's children	Children. Nephew, niece. Great-grandchild.
Koalinna (woman speaking)	Children Sister's children	Children. Nephew, niece.
Thaminjillimma	Daughter's children	Grandchild.
Kari	Sister's husband	Brother-in-law.
Kula	Sister's children	Nephew, niece.
Purnka	Mother's brother's son	Cousin.
Purnkunna	Mother's brother's daughter	Cousin.
Karina	Son's wife	Daughter-in-law.

Native Terms.	*Actual Relationship in English Terms.*	*English Terms, included wholly or partly in the Native Terms.*
Ita (woman speaking)	Husband's father	Father-in-law.
Koatjina (woman speaking)	Husband's mother	Mother-in-law.
Kaminjirilla (woman speaking)	Daughter's husband	Son-in-law.
Mininia (woman speaking)	Son's wife	Daughter-in-law.

TABLE OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS. TJINGILLI TRIBE

Kita	Father Father's brother	Father. Uncle.
Pauerla or pappa	Elder brother Father's elder brother's son	Brother. Cousin.
Puttata	Younger brother Father's younger brother's son	Brother. Cousin.
Linerni	Father's sister	Aunt.
Napitjuni	Father's mother Father's mother's sister	Grandmother. Great-aunt.
Kanquia	Father's father Son's children Brother's son's children	Grandfather. Grandchildren.
Thinkatini	Mother Mother's sister	Mother. Aunt.
Kana	Mother's brother Daughter's husband	Uncle. Son-in-law.
Kukunai	Mother's mother Mother's mother's sister Daughter's husband's mother Son's wife's mother	Grandmother. Great-aunt.
Thamintha	Mother's father Mother's father's brother Daughter's husband's father	Grandfather. Great-uncle.
Kalini	Wife Wife's sister	Wife. Sister-in-law.
Nambia	Husband Husband's brother Wife's brother Sister's husband	Husband. Brother-in-law.
Kulla	Wife's father Wife's father's brother Sister's children	Father-in-law. Nephew, niece.

Native Terms.	*Actual Relationship in English Terms.*	*English Terms, included wholly or partly in the Native Terms.*
Thani	Wife's mother Wife's mother's sister	Mother-in-law.
Winarra	Wife's father's father Sister's husband's father	
Kanungura	Wife's mother's brother	
Pappa	Children Brother's children Son's son's children	Children. Nephew, niece. Great-grand-children.
Thaminji	Daughter Brother's daughter	Daughter. Niece.
Winarina	Daughter's daughter's children Son's wife	Great-grand-children. Daughter-in-law.
Wankilli	Mother's brother's son	Cousin.
Wankillini	Mother's brother's daughter	Cousin.
Kana (woman speaking)	Husband's father	Father-in-law.
Thani (woman speaking)	Husband's mother	Mother-in-law.
Thai-ula (woman speaking)	Daughter's husband	Son-in-law.
Kaminthua (woman speaking)	Daughter's children	Grandchild.
Aputka (woman speaking)	Son's children	Grandchild.
Thianlini (woman speaking)	Son's wife	Daughter-in-law.
Nambini (woman speaking)	Husband's sister	Sister-in-law.

TABLE OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS. GNANJI TRIBE

Itipati	Father Father's brother	Father. Uncle.
Kutjina	Mother Mother's sister	Mother. Aunt.
Pappaii	Elder brother Father's elder brother's son	Brother. Cousin.
Kakula	Younger brother Father's younger brother's son	Brother. Cousin.
Pappana	Elder sister Father's elder brother's daughter	Sister. Cousin.

Native Terms.	*Actual Relationship in English Terms.*	*English Terms, included wholly or partly in the Native Terms.*
Kakallina	Younger sister Father's younger brother's daughter	Sister. Cousin.
Itina	Father's sister	Aunt.
Ukua	Mother's brother	Uncle.
Kanku	Father's father Son's son	Grandfather. Grandson.
Nappatjina	Father's mother	Grandmother.
Yaminjilla	Mother's father Daughter's children	Grandfather. Grandchild.
Kulua	Daughter's husband Husband's father	Father-in-law. Son-in-law.
Kutjinnia	Son's wife Wife's mother	Daughter-in-law. Mother-in-law.
Kukinnia	Husband's mother	Mother-in-law.
Karina	Wife Wife's sister	Wife. Sister-in-law.
Kari	Husband Husband's brother	Husband. Brother-in-law.
Unkai	Mother's brother's son Father's sister's son	Cousin.
Unkunna	Mother's brother's daughter Father's sister's daughter	Cousin.
Kokurnai	Mother's father	Grandfather.

TABLE OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS. BINBINGA TRIBE

Kuni	Father	Father.
Kuni puninjilla	Father's elder brother	Uncle.
Kuni mopai	Father's younger brother	Uncle.
Itinia	Father's sister	Aunt.
Napitjina	Father's mother Father's mother's sister	Grandmother. Great-aunt.
Kanku	Father's father Father's father's brother Son's son	Grandfather. Great-uncle. Grandson.
Kutjina	Mother Mother's sister Son's wife	Mother. Aunt. Daughter-in-law.
Tjungaraii	Mother's brother Daughter's husband	Uncle. Son-in-law.
Thaminjilla	Mother's father Daughter's children	Grandfather. Grandchild.

Native Terms.	*Actual Relationship in English Terms.*	*English Terms, included wholly or partly in the Native Terms.*
Kukunia	Mother's mother Daughter's husband's mother Son's wife's mother	Grandmother.
Karina	Wife Wife's sister	Wife. Sister-in-law.
Kaii-kaii	Husband Husband's brother Wife's father's father Wife's brother	Husband. Brother-in-law.
Napitji	Wife's father Sister's husband's father Husband's father	Father-in-law.
Mimai-inna	Wife's mother Sister's husband's mother Husband's mother	Mother-in-law.
Pappa	Elder brother Father's elder brother's son	Brother. Cousin.
Pappaia	Younger brother Father's younger brother's son	Brother. Cousin.
Kakarinnia	Elder sister Father's elder brother's daughter	Sister. Cousin.
Tjuluna	Younger sister Father's younger brother's daughter	Sister. Cousin.
Mimaii	Mother's brother	Uncle.
Katja-katja	Son Daughter	Son. Daughter.
Gnaritjau-andatja	Son's son's children	Great-grand-children.
Kukuku	Daughter's daughter's children	Great-grand-children.
Narikari	Sister's husband	Brother-in-law.
Tjalalai	Sister's son	Nephew.
Tjallallina	Sister's daughter	
Purnka	Mother's brother's children Father's sister's children Son's wife's father	Cousin. Niece.
Yai-ulu (woman speaking)	Daughter's husband	Son-in-law.
Kukuku (woman speaking)	Daughter's child	Grandchild.
Thaialu (woman speaking)	Son's wife	Daughter-in-law.
Napitji (woman speaking)	Son's children	Grandchild.

2. Murungun β, f. — c. Mumbali β, m.

4. Kuial β, m. — d. Purdal β, f.

10. Kuial α, m. — 11. Kuial α, f.

17. Mumbali α, f. — 18. Mumbali α, m.

32. Kuial β, m. — 33. Kuial β, f. — 34. Mumbali β, m. — 35. Mumbali β, f.

[*To face* p. 87.

TABLE OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS. MARA TRIBE

Native Terms.	*Actual Relationship in English Terms.*	*English Terms, included wholly or partly in the Native Terms.*
Naluru	Father Father's brother	Father. Uncle.
Umburnana	Father's sister	Aunt.
Namimi	Father's mother Father's mother's sister	Grandmother. Great-aunt.
Muri-muri	Father's father Father's father's brother	Grandfather. Great-uncle.
Katjirri	Mother Mother's sister	Mother. Aunt.
Gnagun	Mother's brother Daughter's husband	Uncle. Son-in-law.
Unkuku or Kuku	Mother's mother Son's wife's mother	Grandmother.
Napitjatja	Mother's father Daughter's husband's father Daughter's children	Grandfather. Grandchild.
Irrimakula	Wife Wife's sister Husband Husband's brother	Wife. Sister-in-law. Husband. Brother-in-law.
Mimerti	Wife's brother Sister's husband	Brother-in-law.
Nipari	Wife's father Sister's husband's father Sister's son	Father-in-law. Nephew.
Gnungatjulunga	Wife's mother Sister's husband's mother	Mother-in-law.
Guauaii	Elder brother Father's elder brother's son	Brother. Cousin.
Niritja	Younger brother Father's elder brother's son	Brother. Cousin.
Umburnati	Wife's father's father	
Tjumalunga	Wife's mother's brother Wife's mother's father	
Nitjari	Son Brother's son	Son. Nephew.
Gnaiiati	Daughter Brother's daughter	Daughter. Niece.
Gambiriti	Son's son's children	Great-grand-children.

Native Terms.	*Actual Relationship in English Terms.*	*English Terms, included wholly or partly in the Native Terms.*
Kankulti	Daughter's daughter's children	Great-grand-children.
Gnaiawati	Sister's daughter	Niece.
Nirri-marara	Mother's brother's children	Nephew, niece.
Gnakaka	Daughter's husband's mother	
Niri-lumpa-karunga	Son's wife	Daughter-in-law.
Kati-kati	Son's wife's father	
Yallnali	Husband's father	Father-in-law.
Niringwinia-arunga	Husband's mother	Mother-in-law.
Gnarali	Elder sister Father's elder brother's daughter	Sister. Cousin.
Gnanirritja	Younger sister Father's younger brother's daughter	Sister. Cousin.
Tjamerlunga (woman speaking)	Daughter's husband	Son-in-law.
Yillinga (woman speaking)	Son's children	Grandchildren.
Naningurara (woman speaking)	Son's wife	Daughter-in-law.
Nirri-miunka-karunga (woman speaking)	Husband's sister	Sister-in-law.
Nakaka (woman speaking)	Mother's mother's brother	
Yallnali (woman speaking)	Son's son's son	Great-grandchild.

TABLE OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS. ANULA TRIBE

Winiati	Father	Father.
Winiati tjanama	Father's elder brother	Uncle.
Winiati tjanama-ama	Father's younger brother	Uncle.
Nana	Father's sister	Aunt.
Napurti	Father's mother	Grandmother.
Meimi	Daughter's children Mother's brother's children Son's wife's father Mother's father Daughter's husband's father	Grandchildren. Cousins. Grandfather.

Native Terms.	*Actual Relationship in English Terms.*	*English Terms, included wholly or partly in the Native Terms.*
Muri-muri	Father's father Son's children	Grandfather. Grandchildren.
Parata	Mother Mother's sister	Mother. Aunt.
Tjakaka	Mother's elder brother	Uncle.
Tjatiati	Mother's younger brother	Uncle.
Ukuku	Mother's mother Mother's mother's brother Daughter's husband's mother Son's wife's mother	Grandmother.
Arunguta	Wife Husband Wife's sister Husband's brother	Wife. Husband. Sister-in-law. Brother-in-law.
Mungathu-atun-guntha	Wife's father Wife's father's brother Sister's husband's father	Father-in-law.
Limiata	Wife's mother Wife's mother's sister Wife's mother's brother Sister's husband's mother	Mother-in-law.
Tjapapa	Elder brother Father's elder brother's son	Brother. Cousin.
Winaka	Younger brother Father's younger brother's son Younger sister Father's younger brother's daughter	Brother. Cousin. Sister. Cousin.
Natjapapa	Elder sister Father's elder brother's daughter	Sister. Cousin.
Muru-muru	Wife's father's father Sister's husband Wife's brother	 Brother-in-law.
Tjanokoko	Wife's mother's father	
Katja-katja	Children Brother's children	Children. Nephew, niece.
Nanama	Son's children's children	Great-grand-children.
Akara-marini	Daughter's daughter's children	Great-grand-children.
Kurna-atinia	Sister's children	Nephew, niece.
Kaipandu-nur-tungalu	Daughter's husband Daughter's husband's brother	Son-in-law.
At-thai-uru	Son's wife Son's wife's sister	Daughter-in-law.

ARUNTA TRIBE

	Moiety A.				Moiety B.			
Subclass.	Panunga.	Uknaria.	Bulthara.	Appungerta.	Purula.	Ungalla.	Kumara.	Umbitjana.
Grandparents' generation.	..	..	*Ipmunna* (mother's mother, wife's mother's father).	*Arunga* (father's father).	..	..	*Tjimmia* (mother's father).	*Aperla* (father's mother).
Parents' generation.	*Oknia* (father). *Uwinna* (father's sisters).	*Mura* (wife's mother, wife's mother's brothers).	..	..	*Mia* (mother, mother's sisters). *Gammona* (mother's brother).	*Ikuntera* (wife's father).	..	..
Contemporary generation.	..	..	*Ipmunna* (father's sister's daughter's husband, son's wife's mother).	EGO (man). *Okilia* (elder brothers). *Itia* (younger brothers). *Ungaraitja* (elder sisters). *Itia* (younger sisters).	..	..	*Unkulla* (father's sister's sons).	*Unawa* (wife, wife's sisters). *Umbirna* (wife's brother, sister's husband).
Children's generation.	*Allira* (children, brother's children).	..	..	..	*Gammona* (son's wife).	*Umba* (sister's children).	..	..
Grandchildren's generation.	..	..	..	*Arunga* (son's son).	..	..	*Tjimmia* (daughter's child).	..

WARRAMUNGA TRIBE

	Uluuru Moiety.				Kingilli Moiety.			
Subclass.	Thapanunga.	Tjunguri.	Tjapeltjeri.	Thapungarti.	Tjupilla.	Thungalla.	Thakomara.	Tjambin.
Grandparents' generation.	..	..	*Turtundi* (wife's mother's father, mother's mother).	*Kanquia* (father's father, father's father's brothers).	..	..	*Tapa-tapu* (mother's father).	*Tapa-tapu* (father's mother, wife's father's father).
Parents' generation.	*Gambatja* (father, father's brothers). *Pinari* (father's sisters).	*Tjurtalia* (wife's mother).	..	..	*Namini* (mother's brothers). *Kurnandi* (mother, mother's sisters).	*Auiniari* (wife's father).	..	..
Contemporary generation.	..	..	*Turtundi* (father's sister's daughter's husband, daughter's husband's mother, son's wife's mother).	EGO (man). *Kabalu* (elder sisters). *Kukaitja* (younger sisters). *Papati* (elder brothers). *Kukaitja* (younger brothers).	..	..	*Tapa-tapu* (daughter's husband's father). *W'ankilli* (father's sister's children).	*Katununga* (wife, wife's sisters). *Kulla-kulla* (wife's brothers, sister's husbands).
Children's generation.	*Katakitji* (children, brother's children).	..	..	..	*Namini* (daughter's husband). *Auiniari* (son's wife).	*Auiniari* (sister's sons). *Kulu-kulu* (sister's daughters).	..	..
Grandchildren's generation.	..	..	..	*Kanquia* (son's sons, brother's son's sons).	..	..	*Tapa-tapu* (daughter's children).	..
Great-grandchildren's generation.	*Katakitji* (son's son's children).	*Auiniari* (daughter's daughter's children).	..	..	..	..	..	..

WARRAMUNGA TRIBE

	Uluuru Moiety.				Kingilli Moiety.			
Subclass.	Thapanunga.	Tjunguri	Tjapeltjeri.	Thapungarti.	Tjupilla.	Thungalla.	Thakomara.	Tjambin.
Grandparents' generation.	..	..	*Turtundi* (mother's mother, husband's mother's father).	*Kanquia* (father's father).	..	..	*Tapa-tapu* (mother's father).	*Tapa-tapu* (father's mother, husband's father's father).
Parents' generation.	*Gambatja* (father, father's brother). *Pinari* (father's sister).	*Auiniari* (husband's mother, brother's wife's mother).	..	..	*Kurnandi* (mother, mother's sisters). *Namini* (mother's brother).	*Auiniari* (husband's father). *Namini* (brother's wife's father).	..	..
Contemporary generation.	..	..	*Turtundi* (daughter's husband's father).	EGO (woman). *Kabalu* (elder sisters). *Kukaitja* (younger sisters). *Papati* (elder brothers). *Kukaitja* (younger brothers).	..	..	*Tjurtalia* (mother's brother's sons). *Tapa-tapu* (daughter's husband's mother). *Wankili* (father's sister's children).	*Kulla-kulla* (husband, husband's sisters, brother's wife).
Children's generation.	*Katakitji* (brother's children).	*Auiniari* (son's wife). *Tjurtalia* (daughter's husband).	..	..	..	*Kulu-kulu* (sons. Sister's sons).	..	..
Grandchildren's generation.	..	..	*Nuralli* (daughter's children).	..	..	..	..	*Tapa-tapu* (son's children).
Great-grandchildren's generation.	..	..	..	..	*Bili-bili* (daughter's daughter's sons).	*Bili-bili* (son's son's son).	..	..

BINBINGA TRIBE

	Moiety A.				Moiety B.			
Subclass.	Tjuanaku.	Tjulantjuka.	Paliarinji.	Pungarinji.	Tjurulum.	Thungallum.	Tjamerum.	Yakomari.
Grandparents' generation.	..	..	*Kukunia* (mother's mother).	*Kanku* (father's father).	..	..	*Thaminjilla* (mother's father).	*Napitjina* (father's mother). *Kaii-kaii* (wife's father's father).
Parents' generation.	*Kuni* (father, father's brothers). *Itinia* (father's, sisters).	*Mimai inna* (wife's mother).	..	..	*Kutjina* (mother). *Mimaii* (mother's brother).	*Napitji* (wife's father).	..	..
Contemporary generation.	..	..	*Kukunia* (daughter's husband's mother, son's wife s mother).	EGO (man). *Pappa* (elder brother). *P'appaia* (younger brother). *Kakarinnia* (elder sister). *Tjuluna* (younger sister).	..	..	*Thaminjilla* (daughter's husband's father). *Purnka* (mother's brother's sons, son's wife's father).	*Karina* (wife). *Nari-kari* or *kaii-kaii* (wife's brother, sister's husband).
Children's generation.	*Katja-katja* (sons and daughters).	..	..	..	*Kutjina* (son's wife). *Tjungaraii* (daughter's husband).	*Tjallallai* (sister's sons). *Tjallallina* (sister's daughters).	..	..
Grandchildren's generation.	..	..	..	*Kanku* (son's son).	..	..	*Thaminjilla* (daughter's children).	..
Great-grandchildren's generation.	*Gnaritjau-andatja* (son's son's children).	*Kukuku* (daughter's daughter's children).	..	..	..	..	..	..

MARA TRIBE

	Urku Moiety.				Ua Moiety.			
Subclass.	Murungun α.	Mumbali α.	Mumbali β.	Murungun β.	Purdal α.	Kuial α.	Purdal β.	Kuial β.
Grandparents' generation.	..	..	*Unkuku* (mother's mother). *Tjumalunga* (wife's mother's father).	*Muri-muri* (father's father).	..	..	*Napitjatja* (mother's father).	*Namimi* (father's mother). *Umburnati* (wife's father's father).
Parents' generation.	*Naluru* (father, father's brothers). *Umburnana* (father's sisters).	*Gnungatjulunga* (wife's mother). *Tjumalunga* (wife's mother's brother).	..	..	*Katjirri* (mother, mother's sister). *Gnagun* (mother's brother).	*Nipari* (wife's father, sister's husband's father).	..	..
Contemporary generation.	..	..	*Unkuku* (son's wife's mother). *Gnakaka* (daughter's husband's mother).	EGO. *Gnauaii* (elder brother). *Niritja* (younger brother). *Gnarali* (elder sister). *Guaniritja* (younger sister).	..	..	*Napitjatja* (daughter's husband's father). *Nirri-marara* (mother's brother's children). *Kati-kati* (son's wife's father).	*Irrimakula* (wife, wife's sisters). *Mimerti* (wife's brothers).
Children's generation.	*Nitjari* (sons, brother's sons). *Gnai iati* (daughters, brother's daughters.)	..	..	..	*Nirri-lumpa-karunga* (son's wife).	*Nipari* (sister's sons). *Gnaiawati* (sister's daughters).	..	..
Grand-children's generation.	..	..	..	*Muri-muri* (son's children).	..	..	*Napitjatja* (daughter's children).	..
Great-grand-children's generation.	..	*Kankulti* (daughter's daughter's children).	..	*Gambiriti* (son's son's children).	..	..	..	..

It will at once be seen that the one striking feature, common to the whole series, is that the terms used by the natives apply not to the individual but to the group of which the individual is a member. Whilst we are of course obliged to use our ordinary terms of relationship, such as father, mother, brother, wife, etc., it must always be remembered that this is merely a matter of convenience, and that, for example, the words *oknia*, which we translate by father, or *mia* by mother, *okilia* by brother, and *unawa* by wife, by no means whatever connote the meaning of our English terms. *Oknia*—and the same applies precisely to all the terms—is not applied or regarded by an individual as in the least degree applicable to one man only: it is simply the name of a group of individuals of which he is a member. Strictly speaking, in our sense of the word they have no individual terms of relationship, but every person has certain groups of men and women who stand in a definite relationship to him and he to them. If he should pass out of his own tribe into another, the very fact that he is a member of a particular subclass causes him to stand in a definite relationship to the various groups of individuals in that tribe.

We are, after a further study of these tribes, more than ever convinced that amongst them group marriage preceded the modified form of individual marriage which is now the rule amongst the majority, though in all of the latter we find customs which can only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that they are surviving relics of a time when group marriage was universally in vogue amongst all of the tribes.

As we have already said, it is absolutely essential in dealing with these people to lay aside all ideas of relationship as counted amongst ourselves. The savage Australian, it may indeed be said with truth, has no idea of relationships as we understand them. He does not, for example, discriminate between his actual father and mother and the men and women who belong to the group, each member of which might have lawfully been either his father or his mother, as the case may be. Any wrong done to his actual

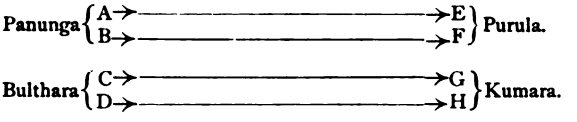
father or mother, or to his actual father-in-law or mother-in-law, counts for nothing whatever more than any wrong which he may have done to any man or woman who is a member of a group of individuals, any one of whom might have been his father or mother, his father-in-law or mother-in-law.

We have elsewhere[1] described in detail the organisation of the Arunta, which will serve as a type of the second nation, so that we will only refer to it very briefly here for purposes of comparison. In the southern part of the tribe there are only four subclasses—Panunga, Bulthara, Purula, and Kumara, the first two forming one moiety of the tribe, the second two the other. This division is seen very clearly when a number of natives are camped together, the members of one moiety always camping close to one another, and usually in such a way that they are separated from the camp of the other moiety by some natural feature, such as a creek. Not seldom also the Kumara and Purula will camp on high ground amongst the rocks, if there happen to be any close at hand, while the Panunga and Bulthara will be down on the flats. It is, however, during the performance of sacred ceremonies that the division is seen most clearly. On these occasions only those who belong to the moiety of the tribe with which the ceremony is associated are allowed to come anywhere near to the ceremonial ground during the time of preparation. The Panunga and Bulthara speak of themselves as Nakrakia and of the Purula and Kumara as Mulyanuka, but *vice versa* the Purula and Kumara speak of themselves as Nakrakia and of the Panunga and Bulthara as Mulyanuka, the terms being strictly reciprocal. In none of this group of tribes can we find any trace of the original name given to each moiety.

The descent so far as the moiety is concerned is strictly paternal, and, in regard to the southern Arunta, where there are only the four subclasses above mentioned, a Panunga man marries a Purula woman, and the children pass into the Bulthara subclass. In the same way a Purula man marries a Panunga woman, and the children are Kumara.

[1] *N.T.* pp. 69-88.

Further inquiry, however, reveals the fact that a Panunga man is not allowed to marry any and every Purula woman. The latter are divided into two groups, the members of one of whom he may marry, whereas the others are strictly forbidden to him. We can again represent this in the following diagram, where A and B represent the two groups into which the Panunga men and women are divided, C and D those into which the Bulthara are divided, E and F those into which the Purula are divided, and G and H those into which the Kumara are divided.



Panunga A stands in the relationship of *unawa* to Purula E, *ipmunna* to Panunga B, and *unkulla* to Purula F. The *unawa* women are eligible as wives to Panunga A, but the *unkulla* are not; they are the *unawa* of Panunga B men, and to the latter Purula E are *unkulla*. If I belong to group A then again my *unawa*, who belongs to group E, calls all of the women in that group (and her own level in generation) by the name of *ungaraitcha*, if they be older than herself, and *itia* if they be younger; all of them are *unawa* to me. The women of group F, who are *unkulla* to me, are *ipmunna* to my *unawa*.

Whilst the descent is counted in the male line,—that is, the children come into the same moiety of the tribe as that to which the father belongs,—yet at the same time they pass into the half of that moiety to which he does not belong. This secures the result that the children of a brother and sister may not marry one another.[1] For example, if there be a Panunga A man and woman, brother and sister, their children will be respectively Bulthara D and Kumara G, and in the group of tribes with which we are at present dealing they are not intermarriageable. We shall see shortly that

[1] This is exactly the reverse of the Urabunna custom. In that tribe the rules ensure the marriage of the children of brothers and sisters, though of course it must be remembered that the relationship may be tribal and not blood.

in certain northern tribes the latter are allowed to marry one another. It may, however, be pointed out that whilst these rules prevent individuals who are actually closely related in blood from intermarrying, they also equally prevent others between whom there is no such blood relationship at all, and it is at least extremely doubtful if the origin of the restriction has anything whatever to do with the deliberate intention of preventing the intermarriage of individuals whom we call cousins. So far as this restriction is concerned, the Arunta native draws no distinction between the children of actual blood brothers and sisters and those of men and women who belong to the same group but are in no way related to one another, in our sense of the term, and who may live hundreds of miles away from one another, and have never been in contact in any way whatever.

In the northern part of the Arunta tribe things are made more simple by the adoption of separate names for the eight divisions—four in each moiety. The four old names are retained and four new ones added, and from here right away to the far north, and then out eastwards until the coastal tribes are met with near to the Gulf of Carpentaria, there are eight equivalent divisions in each tribe. The northern Arunta, Ilpirra, and Iliaura agree in their names for the eight divisions, but in the Kaitish and Unmatjera, Bulthara is replaced by Kabbidji and Purula by Opila.

We have been quite unable to discover the meaning of these names in any of the central tribes, or to obtain the slighest clue as to their origin, which must date very far back. They do not appear to be associated in any way with the totemic system.

When we have eight names then, as the natives say, the marriage rules become quite "straight," and if a native from the southern part of the tribe comes up to the north, he knows at once to which of the eight divisions he belongs.

In this group of tribes it will be noticed that there is no collective name for each moiety, and that there are no special names given to the subclasses into which the women fall.

We may now pass on to deal with the third nation,

which includes the Warramunga, Walpari, Wulmala, Worgaia, Tjingilli, Umbaia, Bingongina, and Gnanji.

The organisation of the tribes may be seen from the following tables, in which the subclasses are arranged in exactly the same way as in the table dealing with the Arunta tribe. The equivalent subclasses in all of the tribes can thus be seen at a glance. For example, Thapanunga in the Warramunga tribe is the equivalent of Thamininja in the Tjingilli, Tjinum in the Umbaia, Uanaku in the Gnanji, Thama in the Bingongina, and Pungarinju in the Worgaia. So also men in column 1 marry women on the same horizontal level in column 2, and the children are shown in column 3 on the same level. Men in column 2 marry women on the same horizontal level in column 1, and the children are shown in column 4.

[TABLE

WARRAMUNGA, WALPARI, AND WULMALA

1	2	3	4
Uluuru	*Kingilli*	*Uluuru*	*Kingilli*
Thapanunga (Napanunga)	Tjupila (Naralu)	Thapungarti (Napungerta)	Thakomara (Nakomara)
Tjunguri (Namigilli)	Thungalla (Nungalla)	Tjapeltjeri (Naltjeri)	Tjambin (Nambin)
Tjapeltjeri (Naltjeri)	Thakomara (Nakomara)	Tjunguri (Namigilli)	Tjupila (Naralu)
Thapungarti (Napungerta)	Tjambin (Nambin)	Thapanunga (Napanunga)	Thungalla (Nungalla)

TJINGILLI

1	2	3	4
Willitji	*Liaritji*	*Willitji*	*Liaritji*
Thamininja (Namininja)	Tjurulinginja (Nalinginja)	Thungarininta (Namaringinta)	Thamaringinja (Namaringinja)
Tjimiminja (Truminginja)	Thungallininja (Nalangininja)	Thalaringinja (Nalaringinja)	Tjapatjinginja (Nambitjinginja)
Thalaringinja (Nalaringinja)	Thamaringinja (Namaringinja)	Tjimininja (Truminginja)	Tjurulinginja (Nalinginja)
Thungarininta (Namaringinta)	Tjapatjinginja (Nambitjinginja)	Thamininja (Namininja)	Thungallininja (Nalangininja)

UMBAIA

1	2	3	4
Illitji	*Liaritji*	*Illitji*	*Liaritji*
Tjinum (Ninum)	Tjurulum (Nurulum)	Pungarinji (Pungarinia)	Tjamerum (Niamaragun)
Tjulum (Nulum)	Thungallum (Nungallum)	Paliarinji (Paliarina)	Yakomari (Yakomarin)
Paliarinji (Paliarina)	Tjamerum (Niamaragun)	Tjulum (Nulum)	Tjurulum (Nurulum)
Pungarinji (Pungarinia)	Yakomari (Yakomarin)	Tjinum (Ninum)	Thungallum (Nungallum)

GNANJI

1	2	3	4
Illutji	*Liaritji*	*Illitji*	*Liaritji*
Uanaku (Nuanakurna)	Uralaku (Nuralakurna)	Pungarinji (Pungarinia)	Tjamuraku (Niamaku)
Tjulantjuka (Nurlanjukurna)	Thungallaku (Nungallakurna)	Paliarinja (Paliarina)	Yakomari (Yakomarina)
Paliarinja (Paliarina)	Tjamuraku (Niamaku)	Tjulantjuka (Nurlanjukurna)	Uralaku (Nuralakurna)
Pungarinji (Pungarinia)	Yakomari (Yakomarina)	Uanaku (Nuanakurna)	Thungallaku (Nungallakurna)

BINGONGINA

1	2	3	4
Illitji	*Liaritji*	*Illitji*	*Liaritji*
Thama (Nana)	Tjurla (Nala)	Thungari (Nungari)	Tjimara (Nunalla)
Tjimita (Namita)	Thungalla (Nungalla)	Thalirri (Nalirri)	Tjambitjina (Nambitjina)
Thalirri (Nalirri)	Tjimara (Nunalla)	Tjimita (Namita)	Tjurla (Nala)
Thungari (Nungari)	Tjambitjina (Nambitjina)	Thama (Nana)	Thungalla (Nungalla)

WORGAIA

1	2	3	4
Uluuru	*Biingaru*	*Uluuru*	*Biingaru*
Pungarinju	Ikamaru	Wairgu	Kingelu
Biliarinthu	Tjamerameru	Blaingu	Warrithu
Blaingu	Kingelu	Biliarinthu	Ikamaru
Wairgu	Warrithu	Pungarinju	Tjamerameru

An important feature of these tribes, as compared with those of the first group, is that there are names for the two moieties. In the Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala they are identical, viz. Uluuru and Kingilli; in the Worgaia they are Uluuru and Biingaru; in the Tjingilli they are Willitji and Liaritji, showing a very close approximation to those of their eastern neighbours, the Umbaia, in which they are Illitji and Liaritji, exactly as they are in the Gnanji, the most eastern of this group of tribes. Out to the west of the Walpari and Tjingilli lies the Bingongina tribe, whose raids are dreaded by the Walpari, and amongst them the names are Wiliuku and Liaraku.

Another feature of these tribes is that they have distinct names for the female groups equivalent to those of the males. This is not in reality a matter of any very great importance, but it serves to add to the complexity of names. Instead of, as in the Arunta, all men and woman of a particular group being called, for example, Panunga, the men are called Thapanunga and the women Napanunga. In many cases, as in this one, the female name is very clearly a derivative from the male name, but in some others there is no such relationship, as, for example, in the case of the group of men called Tjupila (the equivalent of the Purula amongst the Arunta), the name of the corresponding female group being Naralu. That is, a Tjupila man is the brother—blood or tribal of course—of a Naralu woman.

A glance at the tables wherein the various subclasses of these tribes are set forth will reveal the fact that there is very great variation in the names applied to them—a variation which by no means always corresponds to the degree of affinity between the tribes, as revealed by their customs, nor does it follow any more closely their geographical distribution. There is not one single name which can be followed right through the tribes, the nearest approach being in the case of Thungalla, which we could identify throughout were it not for the Worgaia, amongst whom the equivalent group is called Tjamerameru.

The Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes are identical in the names applied to their groups. On the

other hand, though their customs and organisation are very closely similar to those of the Warramunga, and the members of the two tribes mix together, yet we find that the Worgaia, who inhabit the country immediately out to the east of the Warramunga, have a quite different series of names from those in use in the latter tribe. However, one of the names for the two moieties—Uluuru—is identical in the two tribes, and there is no doubt whatever as to the equivalence, so far as organisation is concerned, of the various groups, however different their names may be. Thus Pungarinju is equal to Thapanunga, Biliarinthu to Tjunguri, and so on right through.[1]

To the north, again, of the Warramunga lies the Tjingilli tribe, which, so far as its moiety names are concerned, is closely similar to the Umbaia and Gnanji, but differs in the names of its subclasses both from them and from the Warramunga, while on the other hand there is substantial agreement between it and its south-western neighbour, the Bingongina. Thama, Tjimita, Thalirri, etc., in the latter, are very clearly the equivalents of Thamininja, Tjimiminja, Thalaringinja, etc., in the Tjingilli. Lastly we have the Umbaia and Gnanji. So far as the subclass names are concerned, these two are closely allied, while the moiety names are identical.

The large Warramunga nation might, if attention were only paid to similarity or difference in the names of the subclasses, be divided into four subsidiary groups, the first of these including the Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala, the second including the Worgaia, the third the Tjingilli and Bingongina, and the fourth the Umbaia and Gnanji. Fundamentally, however, all of these tribes are closely associated, and from the point of view of organisation may advantageously be grouped together. There is certainly a remarkable variation in the names of subclasses which are, without any doubt whatever, equivalent ones, so far as the tribal organisation is concerned. A southern Arunta man

[1] The equivalence of the groups was ascertained in the joint company of Worgaia and Warramunga men who were well acquainted with the organisation of both tribes.

of the Bulthara subclass, for example, who accompanied us right through the continent, was regarded as a Kabbidji in the Kaitish, a Tjapeltjeri in the Warramunga, a Thalaringinja in the Tjingilli, a Paliarinji in the Binbinga, a Roumburia in the Anula, and a Mumbali in the Mara tribe.

We will now deal more in detail with the classificatory system of the Warramunga, following closely the method previously adopted in the case of the Arunta tribe.[1]

1	2	3	4
Thapanunga (Napanunga)	Tjupila (Naralu)	Thapungarti (Napungerta)	Thakomara (Nakomara)
Tjunguri (Namigilli)	Thungalla (Nungalla)	Tjapeltjeri (Naltjeri)	Tjambin (Nambin)
Tjapeltjeri (Naltjeri)	Thakomara (Nakomara)	Tjunguri (Namigilli)	Tjupila (Naralu)
Thapungarti (Napungerta)	Tjambin (Nambin)	Thapanunga (Napanunga)	Thungalla (Nungalla)

The brackets signify groups, the members of which are mutually *turtundi* (mother's mother or son's wife's mother) to one another.

Column 3 contains the children of men of column 1 and women of column 2. Thus a Thapanunga man has a Naralu woman, and their children are Thapungarti and Napungerta. In the same way column 4 contains the children of men of column 2 and women of column 1.

A man of column 1 is *kulla-kulla* (husband) to a woman on the same horizontal level in column 2, and she is *katununga* (wife) to him. Thus a Thapanunga man is *kulla-kulla* to a Naralu woman, and she is *katununga* to him. (In the Arunta tribe the name *unawa* is applied to both of these groups.)

A man of column 1 is *kulla-kulla* (wife's brother) to a man of column 2, and *vice versa.* That is, a woman applies the same term to her husband that he does to her brother or her brother to him.

A woman of column 1 is *kulla-kulla* (husband's sister) to a woman of column 2, and *vice versa.*

Column 1 contains men who are *naminni* (daughters' husbands) of men of column 4. Thus a Thakomara's children are Tjupila and Naralu, and a Thapanunga man marries a Naralu woman, therefore the Thapanunga is *naminni* to Thakomara. Column 1 also contains men who are *naminni* (mothers' brothers) of women of column 4.

[1] *N. T.* pp. 69-88.

Thus a Nungalla is the daughter of a Napungerta woman and her brother is a Thapungarti man.

Column 4 contains men who are *auiniari* (wife's father or sisters' sons) and women who are *kulu-kulu* (sisters' daughters) of men of column 1.

Column 2 contains men who are *naminni* (daughters' husbands) of men of column 3 ; column 2 also contains men who are *naminni* (mothers' brothers) of women of column 3.

Column 3 contains men who are *auiniari* (father-in-law) and women who are *kulu-kulu* (father-in-law's sisters or sisters' daughters) of men of column 2.

Men and women of columns 3 and 4 stand mutually in the relationship of *wankilli* (the equivalent of *unkulla* in the Arunta tribe) or *tapa-tapu* (mother's father).

1	2	3	4
apanunga (Napanunga)	Tjupila (Naralu)	Thapungarti (Napungerta)	Thakomara (Nakomara)
unguri (Namigilli)	Thungalla (Nungalla)	Tjapeltjeri (Naltjeri)	Tjambin (Nambin)
apeltjeri (Naltjeri)	Thakomara (Nakomara)	Tjunguri (Namigilli)	Tjupila (Naralu)
apungarti (Napungerta)	Tjambin (Nambin)	Thapanunga (Napanunga)	Thungalla (Nungalla)

In column 1 the larger and smaller brackets on the right indicate the relationship of *pinari* (father's sisters), the overlapping brackets on the left that of *tjurtalia* (wife's mother, the equivalent of *mura* amongst the Arunta). In column 4 the reverse holds true ; the overlapping brackets on the left indicate the relationship of *pinari*, the larger and smaller ones on the right that of *tjurtalia*.

Taking the case of an individual member of a particular subclass, we may describe as follows the various relationships in which he stands with regard to the other members of the tribe. We will suppose that this particular individual is a Thapungarti man, and will represent him as if he were speaking.

If I am a Thapungarti man, then my father is Thapanunga, and I call him *gambatja*.

All Tjunguri are *turtundi* to him and *tjurtalia* to me—that is, the women amongst them are the mothers of my lawful wives and I may not speak to them.[1] The daughters

[1] In the Warramunga there is no special name corresponding to that of *tualcha-mura* in the Arunta for the actual mother of a woman who is allotted to any man.

of these Namigilli women and Thungalla men are Nambin and *katununga* to me—that is, they are women whom I may lawfully marry, and one or more of whom have probably been allotted to me as wives.

The sons of Namigilli women—that is, the brothers of my *katununga* women—are *kulla-kulla* to me and I to them, so that Tjambin men are *kulla-kulla* to Thapungarti men, and *vice versa.*

I call my father *gambatja.*

All men whom my father calls *papati*, elder brothers, and *kukaitja*, younger brothers, are Thapanunga, and they are *gambatja* to me. I call his *papati*, *gambatja papati*, and his *kukaitja*, *gambatja kukaitja.*

My *gambatja's* sisters are Napanunga, and they are *pinari* to me.[1]

All women whom my wife calls *kabalu*, elder sisters, or *kukaitja*, younger sisters, are Nambin and are *katununga* to me.[2]

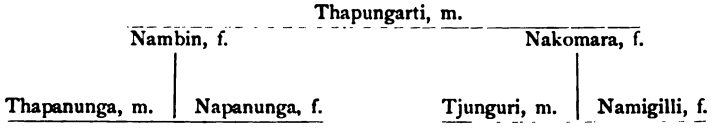
All women whom my wife calls *turtundi* are Nakomara, and they are *wankilli* to me (the equivalent of *unkulla* in the Arunta). These Nakomara women are the daughters of the sisters of my father. They marry Tjapeltjeri men, who are *turtundi* to me, and their children are Tjunguri and Namigilli and *tjurtalia* to me. That is, the important relationship of *tjurtalia* (wife's mother, the equivalent of *mura* in the Arunta) arises from the marriage of female *wankilli* and male *turtundi.*

If I were an Arunta man, these Nakomara women, whom I call *wankilli*, would be strictly tabooed to me, but in the Warramunga tribe it is lawful for me to have as wife, in

[1] Sometimes they are also called *gambatja*: the natives appear to use these two terms indifferently as applied to women.

[2] There is one exception to this: it may happen, but only very rarely in the Warramunga tribe, that a woman is born into a totem which belongs almost exclusively to the moiety of the tribe to which she does not belong. A Nambin woman might be born into a totem to which a Thapungarti man belonged. Under these circumstances she would not be eligible to him as *katununga*, though she would be thus eligible to another Thapungarti of another totem. By being born into his totem group she passes, *ipso facto*, out of the group of Nambin women who stand to the man in the relationship of *katununga*; he calls her *kulla-kulal* (the same term which he applies to his *katununga's* brothers), and she is *thama* or tabooed to him.

addition to one or more women whom I call *katununga*, and who are Nambin, one or more whom I call *wankilli* and who are Nakomara.



I do not, however, as shown in the accompanying diagram, call my Nakomara wife's children by the same name which I apply to my normal Nambin wife's children. The latter are Thapanunga and Napanunga, but the former are Tjunguri and Namigilli—that is, they pass into the subclass into which they would have gone had their mother married a Tjapeltjeri man in the normal way.

This marriage with the equivalent of an *unkulla* woman in the Arunta tribe—that is, a father's sister's daughter (one of the relationship which we call cousin)—is met with in the tribes north of the Kaitish, and though not of very frequent occurrence, is yet regarded as perfectly lawful. This custom is not met with in the tribes forming the Arunta nation. It results in the man having two sets of descendants belonging to distinct groups in the tribe. At first it is rather perplexing to find that one and the same man will have—if, for example, he be Thapungarti—some children who belong to the Thapanunga subclass and others who belong to the Tjunguri.[1]

My *kulla-kulla* are Tjambin men who are the sons of Tjunguri women—that is, of my female *tjurtalia*.

My *kabalu*, elder sisters, and *kukaitja*, younger sisters, are Napungerta and are the *katununga* (wives) of my *kulla-kulla*, who are Tjambin men.

[1] The following are four actual examples of marriages of this nature in the case of men who were in the Warramunga camp at Tennant's Creek :—

(1) A Thapanunga man with one Naralu wife whose children are Thapungarti, and another Nungalla wife whose children are Tjapeltjeri.

(2) A Thapungarti man with a Nambin wife whose children are Thapanunga, and another wife, a Nakomara woman, whose children are Tjunguri.

(3) A Thapungarti man with one Nakomara wife whose children are Tjunguri. This wife had been inherited from a dead brother.

(4) A Tjupila man with one Thapanunga wife whose children are Thakomara, and two Namagilli wives whose children are Tjambin.

The children of my *kabalu* and *kukaitja* are Thungalla. I call them *kulu-kulu* or *auiniari*, and they call me *naminni*. This is an important relationship, because the *naminni* has the disposal of his sister's daughters. Thapungarti men are thus the *naminni* of Thungalla men and Nungalla women. The *naminni* of my wife, who is a Nambin woman, is a Tjunguri man. When he dies, his whiskers, which are cut off by a brother, are given to me and I am responsible for finally avenging his death.[1] Also when my wife's *naminni* dies it is my duty to cut my thighs in token of mourning.

My own and my brother's children are Thapanunga; I call them *katakitji* and they call me *gambatja*. My mother is a Naralu woman; she calls her elder sisters *kabalu* and her younger ones *kukaitja*. I call all of these Naralu women *kurnandi*; that is, Naralu women are *kurnandi* to Thapungarti men and Napungerta women. My mother's elder sisters I call *kurnandi bili-bili* and her younger ones *kurnandi bitjara*.[2]

The children of the *papati* of my *gambatja*—that is, my father's elder brothers' children—will be Thapungarti,[3] just as I myself am, and they will be, according to sex, my *papati*, elder brother, or *kabalu*, elder sister.

The children of my *gambatja's* sisters are Thakomara and I call them *wankilli*, and they are *turtundi* to my normal wife, who is a Nambin woman. Though it is not the usual condition, yet it is still lawful for me to have one or more of these *wankilli* women as my wife or wives. The children of these *wankilli* women are Tjunguri.

The children of my *gambatja's papati* call me *kukaitja*, or younger brother, and the children of my *gambatja's kukaitja* call me *papati* and I call them *kukaitja*.

The children of my *papati* and *kukaitja*—that is, elder and younger Thapungarti men of my own level in the

[1] In the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes it is the *gammona* or son-in-law who is responsible for avenging the death of the father-in-law.

[2] In actual practice these women are usually addressed simply by the term *kurnandi*, just as in the Arunta and Kaitish tribe they are called *mia*.

[3] If any of these men should happen to have Nungalla wives, then the children of the latter will be Tjapeltjeri, instead of Thapungarti, and I call them *turtundi*.

generation—call me *gambatja* just as my own children do, and I call them *katakitji*.

The sons of my *kabalu* and *kukaitja*—that is, of my sisters—I call *auiniari* and the daughters *kulu-kulu*. The former are Thungalla and the latter Nungalla. That is, relations whom we class together as nephews and nieces are either *katakitji*—that is, brothers' children, or *auiniari*, sisters' sons, or *kulu-kulu*, sisters' daughters. The term *auiniari* is applied by Thapungarti men to Thungalla men of two different levels of generation; one of them is the father of his wife and the other the son of his sister.

My male *katakitji's* children are Thapungarti, just as I am, and I call them, and they call me, *kanquia*, the term being a reciprocal one.

My *katakitji* (children) are Thapanunga and my *auiniari* and *kulu-kulu* (sisters' children) are Thungalla, and they are *wankilli* to each other.

My *katakitji* call my *kabalu* and *kukaitja* (elder and younger sisters) *pinari* or *gambatja*. That is, Napungerta women are *pinari* or *gambatja* to Thapanunga men and women.

The children of my female *katjirri*—that is, of my daughters—are Thakomara; they are *tapa-tapu* to me and I am the same to them. That is, I apply the same name to my daughters' children as I do to my mother's father. The term *tapa-tapu* expresses the relationship of grandfather or grandchild on the female side, just as the term *kanquia* does on the male side.

My male *kanquia's* (grandsons') children—that is, my great-grandchildren—are Thapanunga and I call them *katakitji*.

The children of my *tapa-tapu* women (daughters' daughters) are Tjunguri and I call them *auiniari*.

My mother's mother is Naltjeri and *turtundi* to me.

My father's mother is Tjambin and *tapa-tapu* to me.

There are certain differences in the terms used if a woman be speaking. Thus, if I am a Napungerta woman, I call my own and my sister's children *kulu-kulu*, but I call my brother's children *katakitji*.

I call my husband *kulla-kulla* and apply the same name also to his sisters, whom my brothers call *katununga.*

My husband's father's father is Tjambin, and I call him *tapa-tapu ;* my husband's mother's father is Tjapeltjeri, and I call him *turtundi.*

My sons' sons are Tjambin, and I call them *tapa-tapu.*

My daughters' children are Tjapeltjeri, and I call them *nuralli.*

My sons' sons' sons are Thungalla, and I call them *billi-billi.*

My mother's brothers' sons are Thakomara and I call them *tjurtalia.*

The man numbered 25 on the genealogical tree applies the following terms to the individuals indicated in the genealogical tree :—

1. Kanquia.
2. Kanquia.
3. Tapa-tapu.
4. Tapa-tapu.
5. Pinari (or Gambatja).
6. Gambatja (paperti).
7. Gambatja.
8. Gambatja (kukaitja).
9. Pinari (or Gambatja).
10. Auiniari.
11. Kulu-kulu.
12. Naminni.
13. Kurnandi (bili-bili).
14. Kurnandi.
15. Kurnandi (bitjara).
16. Naminni.
17. Tjurtalia.
18. Tjurtalia.
19. Wankilli.
20. Wankilli.
21. Paperti.
22. Kabalu.
23. Paperti.
24. Kabalu.
25. **Ego.**
26. Kukaitja.
27. Kukaitja.
28. Kukaitja.
29. Kukaitja.
30. Wankilli.
31. Wankilli.
32. Kulla-kulla.
33. Katununga.
34. Turtundi.
35. Turtundi.
36. Katununga.
37. Kulla-kulla.
38. Katununga.
39. Katununga.
40. Kulla-kulla.
41. Katakitji.
42. Katakitji.
43. Auiniari.
44. Kulu-kulu.
45. Katakitji.
46. Katakitji.
47. Katakitji.
48. Katakitji.
49. Auiniari.
50. Kulu-kulu.
51. Auiniari.
52. Naminni.
53. Kanquia.
54. Kanquia.
55. Tapa-tapu.
56. Tapa-tapu.
57. Katakitji.
58. Auiniari.

a. Tapa-tapu.
b. Turtundi.
c. Turtundi.
d. Tapa-tapu.
e. Auiniari.
f. Tjurtalia.
g. Tapa-tapu.
h. Kanquia.

The woman numbered 38 on the genealogical tree

applies the following terms to the individuals indicated in the genealogical tree :—

1. Tapa-tapu.
2. Tapa-tapu.
3. Kanquia.
4. Kanquia.
5. Kulu-kulu.
6. Auiniari.
7. Auiniari.
8. Auiniari.
9. Kulu-kulu.
10. Gambatja.
11. Pinari.
12. Auiniari.
13. Auiniari.
14. Auiniari.
15. Auiniari.
16. Auiniari.
17. Kurnandi.
18. Naminni.
19. Turtundi.
20. Turtundi.
21. Kulla-kulla.
22. Kulla-kulla.
23. Kulla-kulla.
24. Kulla-kulla.
25. Kulla-kulla.
26. Kulla-kulla.
27. Kulla-kulla.
28. Kulla-kulla.
29. Kulla-kulla.
30. Turtundi.
31. Turtundi.
32. Kukaitja.
33. Kukaitja.
34. Tjurtalia.
35. Tjurtalia.
36. Kabalu.
37. Paperti.
38. Ego.
39. Kukaitja.
40. Kukaitja.
41. Kulu-kulu.
42. Kulu-kulu.
43. Katakitji.
44. Katakitji.
45. Kulu-kulu.
46. Kulu-kulu.
47. Kulu-kulu.
48. Kulu-kulu.
49. Katakitji.
50. Katakitji.
51. Auiniari.
52. Tjurtalia.
53. Tapa-tapu.
54. Tapa-tapu.
55. Nuralli.
56. Nuralli.
57. Billi-billi.
58. Billi-billi.
a. Turtundi.
b. Tapa-tapu.
c. Tapa-tapu.
d. Turtundi.
e. Gambatja.
f. Kurnandi.
g. Kanquia.
h. Tapa-tapu.

We will now take the Binbinga as a type of the fourth nation. The following table shows the subclass names and intermarrying groups in this tribe. The names of the moieties have been lost :—

BINBINGA

1	2	3	4
Tjuanaku (Niriuma)	Tjurulum (Nurulum)	Pungarinji (Pungarina)	Tjamerum (Niamerum)
Tjulantjuka (Nurlum)	Thungallum (Nungallum)	Paliarinji (Paliarina)	Yakomari (Yakomarina)
Paliarinji (Paliarina)	Tjamerum (Niamerum)	Tjulantjuka (Nurlum)	Tjurulum (Nurulum)
Pungarinji (Pungarina)	Yakomari (Yakomarina)	Tjuanaku (Niriuma)	Thungallum (Nungallum)

The brackets signify groups, the members of which are mutually *kukunia* (mother's mother) to each other.[1]

[1] The names of the groups applied to women are placed in the smaller brackets. It will be noticed that two of these are remarkably similar to one another ; but there appears to be no mistake in regard to them.

Column 3 contains the children of men of column 1 and women of column 2. Thus a Tjuanaku man has a Nurulum woman and their children are Pungarinji and Pungarina. In the same way column 4 contains the children of men of column 2 and women of column 1.

A man of column 1 is *kaii-kaii* (husband) to a woman on the same horizontal level in column 2, and she is *karina* (wife) to him. Thus a Tjuanaku man is *kaii-kaii* to a Nurulum woman and she is *karina* to him.

Column 1 contains men who are *tjungaraii* (daughters' husbands) of men of column 4. Thus a Tjamerum's children are Tjurulum and Nurulum, and a Tjuanaku man marries a Nurulum woman and is therefore *tjungaraii* to the Tjamerum man. Column 1 also contains men who are *tjungaraii* (mothers' brothers) of women of column 4. Thus a Niamerum is the daughter of a Niriuma and the brothers of the latter are Tjuanaku men.

Column 4 contains men who are *napitji* (wife's father or sisters' sons) and women who are *tjalalai* (sisters' daughters) of men of column 1.

Column 2 contains men who are *tjungaraii* (daughters' husbands or mothers' brothers, as the case may be) of men and women of column 3.

Column 3 contains men who are *napitji* (father-in-law) of men and women who are *tjalalai* (sisters' daughters) of men of column 2.

Men and women of columns 3 and 4 stand mutually in the relationships of *purnka* (fathers' sisters' children) or *thaminjilla* (mothers' fathers).

1	2	3	4
Tjuanaku (Niriuma)	Tjurulum (Nurulum)	Pungarinji (Pungarina)	Tjamerum (Niamerum)
Tjulantjuka (Nurlum)	Thungallum (Nungallum)	Paliarinji (Paliarina)	Yakomari (Yakomarina)
Paliarinji (Paliarina)	Tjamerum (Niamerum)	Tjulantjuka (Nurlum)	Tjurulum (Nurulum)
Pungarinji (Pungarina)	Yakomari (Yakomarina)	Tjuanaku (Niriuma)	Thungallum (Nungallum)

In column 1 the larger and smaller brackets on the right indicate the relationship of *itinia* (fathers' sisters); the overlapping brackets on the left indicate that of *mimai-inna* (wife's mother, the equivalent of *mura* in the Arunta). In column 4 the reverse holds true. The brackets on the left indicate the relationship of *itinia*, and those on the right that of *mimai-inna*.

Taking now the case of an individual member of a particular subclass, we can describe as follows the various relationships in which he stands in regard to the other members of the tribe. We will suppose that this particular individual is a Pungarinji man and will again represent him as if he were speaking.

If I am a Pungarinji man then—

My father is a Tjuanaku man and I call him *kuni.*

All Tjulantjuka are *kukunia* to him and *mimai-inna* to me—that is, I may not speak to them if they be women, as they are the mothers of my lawful wives.[1] The daughters of Thungallum men and Nurlum women are Yakomarina and *karina* to me—that is, they are women whom I may lawfully marry and one or more of whom have probably been allotted to me as wives.

The sons of Nurlum women—that is, the brothers of my *karina*—are *kaii-kaii* to me and I to them ; that is, Yakomari men are *kaii-kaii* to Pungarinji men and *vice versa.*

I call my father *kuni.*

All men whom my father calls *pappa* (elder brothers) or *pappaia* (younger brothers) are Tjuanaku men and are *kuni* to me. I call his elder brothers *kuni purninjilla* and his younger brothers *kuni mopai.*

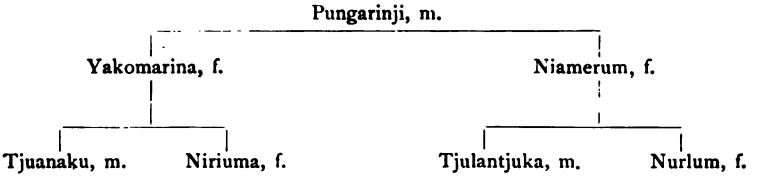
My *kuni's* sisters are Niriuma, and they are *itinia* to me.

All women whom my wife calls *kakarinnia* (elder sisters) or *tjuluna* (younger sisters) are Yakomarina, and they are also *karina* to me.

All women whom my wife calls *kukunia* are Niamerum, and they are *purnka* to me (the equivalent of *unkulla* in the Arunta). These Niamerum women are the daughters of the sisters of my father. They marry Paliarinji men who are *kukunia* to me. Their children are Tjulantjuka and Nurlum. The latter are *mimai-inna* (wife's mother) to me. That is, the important relationship of *mimai-inna* (the equivalent of *mura* in the Arunta) arises from the marriage of female *purnka* and male *kukunia.*

[1] In the Binbinga tribe there is no special name corresponding to that of *tualcha-mura* in the Arunta for the actual mother of a woman who has been allotted to any man.

If I were an Arunta man these Niamerum women, whom I call *purnka*, would be strictly tabooed to me as wives. In the Binbinga tribe, however, as in the Warramunga, it is lawful for me, in addition to one or more women whom I call *karina*, and who are Yakomarina, to have as wife one or more whom I call *purnka*, and who are Niamerum.



I do not, however, as indicated in the above diagram, call my Niamerum wife's children by the same name which I apply to my normal Yakomarina wife's children. The latter are Tjuanaku and Niriuma, but the former are Tjulantjuka and Nurlum—that is, they pass into the subclass into which they would have gone had their mother married a Tjamerum man in the normal way.

My *kaii-kaii* (wife's brothers) are Yakomari men, who are the sons of Nurlum women—that is, of my female *mimai-inna*.

My *kakarinnia* (elder sisters) and *tjuluna* (younger sisters) are Pungarina, and are *karina* to my *kaii-kaii*, who are Yakomari men.

The children of my *kakarinnia* (elder sisters) and *tjuluna* (younger sisters) are Thungallum. I call them *tjalalai* and *tjalalina*, and they call me *tjungaraii*. That is, Pungarinji men are *tjungaraii* (mother's brothers) to Thungallum men and women. This is an important relationship because, though the *tjungaraii* man has not the disposal in marriage of women who call him by this name, yet, as in the Kaitish tribe, the man to whom he is *tjungaraii* is finally responsible for avenging his death. When my wife's *tjungaraii* dies it is my duty to cut myself in token of mourning.

My own and my brothers' children are Tjuanaku and Niriuma. I call them *katja-katja* and they call me *kuni*. My mother is a Nurulum woman. She calls her elder

sisters *kakarinnia* and her younger ones *tjuluna*. I call them all *kutjina*. That is, Nurulum women are *kutjina* to Pungarinji and Pungarina.

The children of the *pappa*[1] of my *kuni*—that is, my father's elder brothers' children—are Pungarinji, just as I am, or Pungarina like my sisters, and they will be, according to sex, *pappa* (elder brother) or *kakarinnia* (elder sisters).

The children of my *kuni's kakarinnia* (elder sisters) and of his *tjuluna* (younger sisters) are Tjamerum and Niamerum, and they are *purnka* to me and *kukunia* to my wife. Though it is not the normal thing, still it is lawful for me to have one or more of these Niamerum women as wife or wives. Their children are Tjulantjuka and Nurlum.

The children of my *kuni's pappa* call me *pappaia* (younger brother) and the children of my *kuni's pappaia* call me *pappa* (elder brother).

The children of my *pappa* and *pappaia* call me *kuni*, just as my own children do, and I call them *katja-katja*. They are Tjuanaku and Niriuma.

The children of my *kakarinnia* and *tjuluna* (sisters) I call *tjalalai*, and they call me *tjungaraii*. That is, once more, relations whom we class together as nephews and nieces are either *katja-katja* (brothers' children) or *tjalalai* (sisters' children).

My male *katja-katja's* children are Pungarinji and Pungarina, and are *kanku* to me and I to them. The term *kanku* (grandfather or grandchild) is reciprocal. My *katja-katja* are Tjuanaku (and Niriuma), and my *tjalalai* are Thungallum (and Nungallum), and these two are *purnka* to each other.

My *katja-katja* call my *kakarinnia* and *tjuluna*—that is, my elder and younger sisters, *itinia*. That is, Pungarina women are *itinia* to Tjuanaku men and Niriuma women.

The children of my female *katja-katja*—that is, of my daughters—are Tjamerum and Niamerum, and they are *thaminjilla* to me and I to them. That is, the term *thaminjilla* expresses the relationship of grandfather or grandchild

[1] If any of these men should happen to have Nungallum wives, then the children of the latter will be Paliarinji and Paliarina, and I call them *kukunia*.

on the mother's side, just as the term *kanku* does on the father's side.

My male *thaminjilla's* male children will be Tjurulum, and they are *tjungaraii* to me—that is, they are the blood and tribal brothers of my *kutjina* (mother).

My male *thaminjilla's* female children will be Nurulum—that is, they will be *kutjina* to me.

The children of my female *thaminjilla* will be Tjulantjuka. They are *mimai-inna* to me, and the women amongst them are the *kutjina* (mothers) of my *karina*.

My male *kanku's* (grandson's) children—that is, my great grandchildren—are Tjuanaku and Niriuma, and I call them *katja-katja*, just as I call my own children.

The children of my female *thaminjilla* (daughters' daughters) are Tjulantjuka and Nurulum, and I call them *kukuku*.

My mother's mother is Paliarina, and she is *kukunia* to me.

My father's mother is Yakomarina, and she is *napitjina* to me.

There are certain differences in the terms used if a woman be speaking. Thus, if I am a Pungarina woman, I call my own and my sisters' children *tjalalai*, but I call my brothers' children *katja-katja*.

I call my husband, who is a Yakomari man, *kaii-kaii*. His sisters I call *karina*, just as my brothers do.

My husband's father is Thungallum, and I call him *napitji*.

My sons' sons are Yakomari, and I call them *napitji*.

My daughters' children are Paliarinji and Paliarina, and I call them *kukuku*.

We may now pass to the last of the three main groups which comprises tribes inhabiting the coast district of the Gulf of Carpentaria on its western side. Those with which we came into contact were the Mara and Anula, and in the case of each of these, as in that of their southern neighbours, extending over into North-west and Central Queensland, they are divided into four subclasses. In the Mara

tribe, as in those described by Roth, the names for the two moieties still exist, but in the Anula they do not.

When comparing, with the assistance of men belonging to each tribe, the four names in both the Mara and Anula tribes with the eight in the Binbinga, we found out that, though there were only the four names for the subclasses, yet these really comprised groups of individuals who were regarded as the equivalent of the eight subclasses in the Binbinga, and in order to indicate this we have repeated each name twice in the tables, because each of the divisions is the equivalent of two in the Binbinga and southern tribes.

In all of the latter tribes descent is counted in the paternal line, the child passing into that half of the moiety to which the father does not belong. This is a very characteristic feature of, so far as we are aware, every one of the eight and four class tribes in which descent is counted in the male line, and its result, whatever its object may have been, is to prevent the marriage of the children of brothers and sisters, blood or tribal.

For the sake of comparison we may take the Binbinga table again, indicating marriage and descent of the children, remembering that men of column 1 marry women on the same horizontal level in column 2, and their children are as shown in column 3. Men of column 2, on the other hand, marry women of column 1, and their children are as shown in column 4.[1]

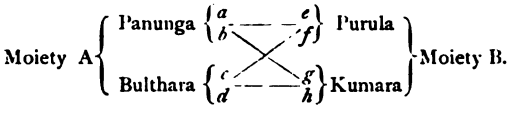
1	2	3	4
Tjuanaku	Tjurulum	Pungarinji	Tjamerum
Tjulantjuka	Thungallum	Paliarinji	Yakomari
Paliarinji	Tjamerum	Tjulantjuka	Tjurulum
Pungarinji	Yakomari	Tjuanaku	Thungallum

If we take either moiety of the tribe we find that it is composed of two pairs of subclasses. Tjuanaku and Tjulantjuka are subdivisions of one original group, so are Paliarinji and Pungarinji; these again make up one moiety, just as

[1] In the Binbinga, as in the Warramunga, Umbaia, and other southern tribes, it is, however, lawful for a man to marry a woman who stands to him in relationship of *nirri-marara* (the equivalent of *unkulla* in the Arunta). The woman must, however, belong to a distant locality: if not there is much ill-feeling and "growling." The children follow the class into which they would have gone had the mother married the right man.

Tjurulum and Thungallum, Tjamerum and Yakomari, make up the other moiety.

That Tjuanaku and Tjulantjuka form one pair, and not Tjuanaku and Paliarinji, for example, can be seen by reference to the terms of relationship and by working back from tribe to tribe, following out the equivalent groups until at length, in the southern Arunta, we find that our pairs fuse together, and that those which, right through, are the equivalents of Tjuanaku and Tjulantjuka, here form one group, the Panunga; Paliarinji and Pungarinji form the Bulthara; Tjurulum and Thungallum form the Purula; Tjamerum and Yakomari form the Kumara. In the southern Arunta we can again express the descent in the following table—



The horizontal lines indicate the marriages, the oblique lines the descent of the children.[1] Thus Panunga *a* (man) marries Purula *e*, and the children are Bulthara *d*. Panunga *b* marries Purula *f*, and the children are Bulthara *c*. Purula *e* (man) marries Panunga *a*, and the children are Kumara *g*. Purula *f* marries Panunga *b*, and the children are Kumura *h*. That is, we have the children of a Panunga man passing into that half of the moiety to which the father does not belong, or, in other words, we have indirect paternal descent.

In contrast to this we find that, in both the Mara and Anula tribes, the child not only passes into the moiety to which the father belongs, but actually into the same half of it. Thus in the Mara the names of the moieties and subclasses are as follows :—

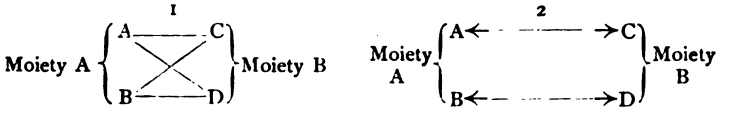
[1] To represent the marriages and lines of descent completely more than one diagram is necessary. *a* marries *e*, *b* marries *f*, *c* marries *g*, and *d* marries *h*. Taking a man of each different group, the children of *a* are *d*; of *b* they are *c*; of *c* they are *b*; of *d* they are *a*; of *e* they are *g*; of *f* they are *h*; of *g* they are *e*; of *h* they are *f*. This division of each subclass into two groups and the manner in which descent is counted prevents the marriage of children of brothers and sisters. Thus the children of Panunga *a* (man) are Bulthara *d*, those of Panunga *a* (woman) are Kumara *g*. Bulthara *d* marries Kumara *h*, *not* Kumara *g*.

Urku { Murungun. Mumbali. } Ua { Purdal. Kuial. }

In the Anula they are as follows :—

Moiety A { Awukaria. Roumburia. } Moiety B { Urtalia. Wialia. }

The contrast between what occurs in these two tribes and what we meet with in the southern Arunta, where there are only four subclasses, and where descent is also counted in the male line, is most striking. In the Mara the children of Murungun are Murungun ; of Purdal, Purdal ; of Mumbali, Mumbali ; of Kuial, Kuial. In the Anula precisely the same occurs,—the children of Awukaria are Awukaria ; of Urtalia, Urtalia, and so on. Descent is not only counted in the main line, but it is direct (with the limitation described below), and not indirect as in the Binbinga and other tribes.



By means of a diagram such as No. 1 we can illustrate what takes place in the great majority of tribes in which we have paternal descent. The horizontal lines indicate the marriages, the oblique lines the subclasses into which the children fall. A man of subclass A marries a woman of C, and the children fall into B. C marries A, and the children fall into D, etc. In the Mara and Anula, A marries C and the children are A ; C marries A and the children are C. B marries D and the children are B ; D marries B and the children are D.

Further investigation, however, shows that in the Mara and Anula, just as in the southern Arunta, each of the four subclasses in reality consists of two groups. The division into groups and their intermarriage arrangements is, however, quite different from anything met with in the case of the other tribes. The following tables will show what takes place. While each moiety consists of two subclasses, each of these is again divided into two groups which, for the sake

of clearness, we have designated respectively α and β. A remarkable feature of both tribes is that, taking the Murungun men as an example of one special subclass, the men of one group of them marry women of one-half of the other moiety (Purdal), and the men of the other group marry women of the other half (Kuial).

MARA TRIBE

Murungun α	Purdal α	Murungun β	Purdal β
Mumbali α	Kuial α	Mumbali β	Kuial β
Mumbali β	Purdal β	Mumbali α	Purdal α
Murungun β	Kuial β	Murungun α	Kuial α

ANULA TRIBE

Awukaria α	Urtalia α	Awukaria β	Urtalia β
Roumburia α	Wialia α	Roumburia β	Wialia β
Roumburia β	Urtalia β	Roumburia α	Urtalia α
Awukaria β	Wialia β	Awukaria α	Wialia α

The above tables were drawn up from information derived independently from members of both of these tribes, and then corroborated by further investigations of the matter in the presence of members of the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes, when we were able to find out the equivalence of the groups in the three tribes.

In the Murungun we have two groups, α and β. The men of Murungun α marry Purdal α women; those of Murungun β marry not Purdal but Kuial β women. So again in the Anula the men of Awukaria α marry Urtalia α women, but those of Awukaria β marry Wialia β women. Conversely in the Mara, Purdal α men marry Murungun α women, but Purdal β men marry Mumbali β women. In the Anula, Urtalia α men marry Awukaria α women, but Urtalia β men marry Roumburia β women. In every case the children of any man fall into the father's subclass, but into the group of it to which he does not belong. Thus the children of Murungun α are Murungun β, those of Awukaria α are Awukaria β. In the other moiety the children of Purdal α are Purdal β, those of Urtalia α are Urtalia β, and so on right through the various groups.

We have previously described how, in the southern

district, where the Arunta with its paternal descent comes into contact with the Urabunna tribe, which counts descent in the maternal line, the classes and subclasses are deliberately grouped so as to make them fit in with the paternal, or the maternal line, as the case may be. In the far north, where the tribes with indirect paternal descent come into contact with those in which there is the more direct paternal descent, we find a correspondingly deliberate arrangement of the subclasses so as to make them fit in with one another.[1]

[1] In his article entitled "Sur le Totémisme," printed in *L'Année Sociologique*, Cinquième Année (1900-1901), M. Émile Durkheim has attempted, very ingeniously, to show that the curious arrangement of the Arunta subclasses, devised to make them fit in with maternal descent when the Arunta and Urabunna tribes come into contact with one another, is proof that the present arrangement is a modification of an older one, and that the latter is represented by the grouping of the Kumara and the Panunga to form one moiety and of the Bulthara and Purula to form the other. M. Durkheim (p. 106) says, "Primitivement, l'arrangement intertribal était le seul en vigueur; il s'appliquait aux relations internes comme aux relations externes de la tribu, la filiation étant alors utérine chez les Aruntas comme chez les Urabunnas. Plus tard, quand elle devint masculine chez les premiers, la répartition des classes entre les deux phratries fut modifiée." We presume that this "répartition" must have been a deliberate one on the part of the natives. Curiously enough, when we suggest that such a deliberate arrangement has taken place in order to allow of counting descent in either the male or the female line, M. Durkheim protests against it, "Les phratries sont choses trop étroitement liées à toute l'organisation morale de ces tribus pour pouvoir être arrangées ou dérangées de cette manière" (p. 105, footnote).

There are one or two points of considerable importance in regard to which, judging by M. Durkheim's remarks, we did not state the facts with sufficient clearness. M. Durkheim (p. 104) says, "Comme les deux tribus sont en relations constantes, des mariages se contractent souvent de l'une à l'autre." The constant relations only exist, of course, on the immediate borderland of the tribes; for the most part they have nothing whatever to do with one another. More important, M. Durkheim says (p. 105, the italics are his own), "*Nous trouvons donc chez les Aruntas deux sortes d'organisation qui fonctionnent parallèlement et dont l'une correspond à un état social où la filiation était utérine.*" We regret that what must have been a want of clearness on our part should have led M. Durkheim into drawing this conclusion, for which the real facts afford no warrant whatever. There is, in reality, no such thing as "deux sortes d'organisation qui fonctionnent parallèlement." To say that the Arunta regard the Kirarawa as the equivalent of two of the Arunta subclasses, Kumara and Panunga, and the Matthurie as the equivalent of Bulthara and Purula, is a very different thing from saying, as M. Durkheim (p. 104) does, that "Un Urabunna de la phratrie Kirarawa qui vient s'établir chez les Aruntas *est considéré comme appartenant à la phratrie Kumara-Panunga* (the italics are ours); comme tel il ne peut prendre pour femme une Arunta que si elle appartient à la phratrie Bulthara-Purula." The Arunta have no idea whatever of any such phratry as Kumara-Panunga. When a Kirarawa man comes into their tribe, the old men tell him that he is either a Kumara or a Panunga. If he be a Kumara, then, *ipso facto*, he belongs

In the Mara we have the two subclasses, Murungun and Mumbali, forming one moiety of the tribe, Purdal and Kuial forming the other.

In the Binbinga tribe the one moiety consists of two pairs of subclasses—(1) Tjuanaku and Tjulantjuka, (2) Paliarinji and Pungarinji; the other moiety consists of (1) Tjurulum and Thungallum, (2) Tjamerum and Yakomari. Now Murungun in the Mara is regarded not as the equivalent of Tjuanaku and Tjulantjuka, but as that of Tjuanaku and Pungarinji; Mumbali as the equivalent of Tjulantjuka and Paliarinji; Purdal as the equivalent of Tjurulum and Tjamerum; Kuial as that of Thungallum and Yakomari.

The simple explanation of this is that the two sets of terms have to be made to fit in to one another so as to fall into line with the two different methods in which descent is counted in the Mara and Binbinga tribes.

Now in the Mara, instead of the two subclasses, Tjuanaku and Tjulantjuka, forming one-half of the moiety, we have only one—Murungun. Further still, the child of

to the phratry Kumara-Purula, and his wife must come from, or, if he has one, goes into the phratry Panunga-Bulthara. If, on the other hand, he be a Panunga, then, *ipso facto*, he belongs to the phratry Panunga-Bulthara, and his wife to the phratry Kumara-Purula. The difference between the actual state of affairs and the erroneous supposition of M. Durkheim is fundamental, and we regret that we did not apparently make the matter clear in our first work.

Further still, if we are to apply M. Durkheim's reasoning to the state of affairs existing at the other extremity of the long line of tribes stretching northwards across the centre from the Urabunna in the south to the Mara and Anula on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, we must arrive at the conclusion that the Arunta organisation is derived from one in which descent was counted in the direct male line. At the northern end we have the Mara tribe deliberately arranging the subclasses of the Binbinga (which are equivalent precisely to those of the Arunta) so as to fit in with direct paternal descent, just as in the south the Urabunna arrange them so as to fit in with maternal descent. M. Durkheim's reasoning, applied in the case of the northern tribes, would derive the Binbinga organisation from one in which descent was counted in the direct male line. Now the Binbinga and Arunta social organisations, save for mere differences in the names, are identical. It therefore follows that we have one and the same organisation derived in the south of the continent from an earlier one in which descent was counted in the female line, and in the north from one in which it was counted in the male line. On the whole, it seems simpler to regard both cases as instances of deliberate rearrangement of the subclasses, so as to allow of descent being counted in the female, indirect male, or more direct male line. The rearrangement only takes place on the border-land of tribes which count descent in different ways.

a Murungun man is a Murungun, whereas the child of a Tjuanaku man is neither Tjuanaku nor Tjulantjuka, but, by deliberately grouping Tjuanaku and Pungarinji together, as the equivalent in the Binbinga of Murungun in the Mara, the difficulty is got over.

This deliberate change in the grouping of the classes and subclasses so as to make them fit in with the maternal line of descent or with the paternal, as the case may be, will be more easily understood from the accompanying table.

Binbinga.		*Mara Arrangement.*		*Anula Arrangement.*		
Moiety A	Tjuanaku	Tjuanaku	Murungun	Moiety A	Awukaria	Tjuanaku
	Tjulantjuka	Pungarinji				Pungarinji
	Paliarinji	Paliarinji	Mumbali		Roumburia	Paliarinji
	Pungarinji	Tjulantjuka				Tjulantjuka
Moiety B	Tjurulum	Tjurulum	Purdal	Moiety B	Urtalia	Tjurulum
	Thungallum	Tjamerum				Tjamerum
	Tjamerum	Thungallum	Kuial		Wialia	Thungallum
	Yakomari	Yakomari				Yakomari

Suppose a Murungun man goes into the Binbinga tribe, then he is told by the old men of the local group into which he has gone that he is, say, a Tjuanaku (points such as this are continually decided upon by the elder men). Accordingly he marries a Tjurulum woman, or, if he has brought a woman with him, then she is regarded as such, and his children will be Pungarinji, or, in other words, will pass into that half of the moiety to which, in the Binbinga, the father does not belong. On the other hand, they pass into a group which is regarded by the Mara as included in the Murungun.

Or again, suppose a Tjuanaku from the Binbinga goes into the Mara tribe. He becomes a Murungun and must marry a Purdal. If he has a wife, she is regarded as the latter, and his children are Murungun, which includes (according to the Mara arrangement) the subclass Pungarinji, into which they would have passed in the Binbinga tribe, and to which they will belong if ever they return to the latter.

As we have previously said, this deliberate changing of the method of grouping the subclasses so as to allow of descent being counted in the female, the indirect male, or, we can now add, the more direct male line, according to the necessity of the case, is of considerable interest as indicating

the fact that the natives are quite capable of thinking such matters out for themselves.

We will now deal more in detail with the Mara tribe. Apart from the difference in the names applied to various relationships, the Anula is in perfect accord with it.

MARA TRIBE

Urku.	*Ua.*	*Urku.*	*Ua.*
1	2	3	4
Murungun α Mumbali α	Purdal α Kuial α	Murungun β	Purdal β
		Mumbali β	Kuial β
Mumbali β Murungun β	Purdal β Kuial β	Mumbali α	Purdal α
		Murungun α	Kuial α

The brackets indicate groups the members of which are mutually *unkuku* (mother's mother) to one another.

Column 3 contains the children of men of column 1 and women of column 2. Thus a Murungun α man has a Purdal α wife, and their children are Murungun β. In the same way column 4 contains the children of men of column 2 and women of column 1.

A man of column 1 is *irrimakula* (husband) to a woman on the same horizontal level in column 2, and *vice versa.* Thus a Murungun α man is *irrimakula* to a Purdal α woman, and she is the same to him, but a Murungun β man is *irrimakula* to a Kuial β woman, and *vice versa.* That is, the Murungun men are divided into two groups, the members of one of which are *irrimakula* to Purdal and those of the other to Kuial women.

A man of column 1 is *mimerti* (wife's brother) to a man on the same horizontal level in column 2, and *vice versa.* That is, again, Murungun men are divided into two groups, the members of one of which are *mimerti* to Purdal and those of the other to Kuial men.

A woman of column 1 is *nirri-miunka-karunga* (husband's sister) to a woman on the same horizontal level in column 2, and *vice versa.* Thus the Murungun women are divided into two groups, the members of one of which are *nirri-miunka-karunga* to Purdal, and those of the other to Kuial, women.

Column 1 contains men who are *gnagun* (daughters' husband) of men of column 4. Thus the daughter of a Purdal β man is Purdal α. A Murungun α man marries a Purdal α woman, and therefore he is *gnagun* to Purdal β men. Column 1 in the same way contains men who are *gnagun* (mothers' brothers) of women of column 4. Thus a Purdal β woman is the daughter of a Murungun α woman whose brother is of course Murungun α.

Column 4 contains men who are *nipari* (sisters' sons) of men of column 1, and women who are *gnaiawati* (sisters' daughters) of men of column 1. Purdal β men are *nipari* to Murungun α men, and Purdal α men are *nipari* to Mumbali β men.

Column 2 contains men who are *gnagun* (mothers' brothers or daughters' husbands) of men of column 3.

Column 3 contains men who are *nipari* (wife's father) of men of column 2, and women who are *gnaiawati* (sisters' daughters) of men of column 2.

Men and women of columns 3 and 4 stand mutually in the relationship of *nirrimarara* (mothers' brothers' sons) or *napitjatja* (mother's father).

1	2	3	4
Murungun α	Purdal α	Murungun β	Purdal β
Mumbali α	Kuial α	Mumbali β	Kuial β
Mumbali β	Purdal β	Mumbali α	Purdal α
Murungun β	Kuial β	Murungun α	Kuial α

In column 1 the larger and smaller brackets on the right indicate the relationship between men and women of *umburnana* (father's sister), the overlapping brackets on the left that of *gnunatjulunga* (wife's mother). In column 4 the reverse holds true, the overlapping brackets on the left indicate the relationship of *umburnana*, the larger and smaller ones on the right that of *gnunatjulunga*.

Taking the case of an individual member of a particular group, we may describe as follows the various relationships in which he stands with regard to the other members of the tribe. We will suppose that this particular individual is a Murungun man belonging to the β division, and will represent him as if he were speaking.

If I am a Murungun β man then—

My father is Murungun α, and I call him *naluru.*

All Mumbali α women are *unkuku* to him and *gnunatjulunga* to me—that is, they are the mothers of my lawful wives, and I may not speak to them. The daughters of these Mumbali α women and Kuial α men are Kuial β, and are *irrimakula* to me—that is, they are women whom I may lawfully marry, and one or more of whom have probably been allotted to me.

The sons of Mumbali α women—that is, the brothers of my *irrimakula*—are *mimerti* to me and I to them—that is, Kuial β men are *mimerti* to Murungun β men, and *vice versa.*

I call my father *naluru.*

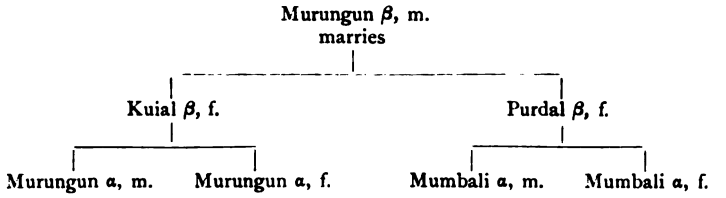
All men whom my father calls *gnauaii* (elder brothers) and *niritja* (younger brothers) are Murungun α, and they are *naluru* to me.

My *nalurus'* sisters are Murungun α, and they are *umburnana* to me.

All women whom my wife calls *gnarali* (elder sisters) or *gnanirritja* (younger sisters), are Kuial β, and are *irrimakula* to me and I to them.

All women whom my *irrimakula* calls *unkuku* are Purdal β, and they are *nirrimarara* to me (mothers' brothers' daughters, the equivalent of *unkulla* in the Arunta). These *nirrimarara* women are the daughters of the sisters of my father or of the brothers of my mother. They marry Mumbali β men who are *unkuku* to me, and their children are Mumbali α and *gnunatjulunga* to me (the equivalent of *mura* in the Arunta). That is, the important relationship of *gnunatjulunga* (wife's mother) arises from the marriage of female *nirrimarara* and male *unkuku.*

Whilst my wife as a general rule is one of the Kuial women whom I call *irrimakula,* it is also lawful for me—but only if she come from a distant locality—to have as wife, in addition, one or more of the Purdal β women whom I call *nirrimarara.* I do not, however, as indicated in the accompanying table, call the children of the *nirrimarara* women by the same name which I apply to those of the *irrimakula* women.



The children belong to different groups. Those of my normal wife or *irrimakula*, who is a Kuial β woman, are Murungun α, those of the *nirrimarara* women are Mumbali α.

My *mimerti* are Kuial β men, who are the sons of Mumbali α women—that is, of my *gnunatjulunga* women.

My *gnarali* (elder sisters) and *gnanirritja* (younger sisters) are Murungun β, and are the *irrimakula* of my *mimerti* men who are Kuial β.

The children of my *gnarali* and *gnanirritja* are Kuial α. I call them *nipari* if they are men and *gnaiawati* if they be women, and they call me *gnagun* (mother's brother).

My own and my brother's children are *nitjari* (sons) and *gnaiiati* (daughters) to me, and they call me *naluru*.

My mother is a Purdal α woman. She calls her elder sisters *gnarali* and her younger ones *gnanirritja*. I call all of them *katjirri* (mother).

The children of the *gnauaii*[1] of my *naluru*—that is, my father's elder brothers' children—are Murungun β, just as I am, and they will be according to sex my *gnauaii* (elder brother) or *gnarali* (elder sister).

The children of my *nalurus'* sisters are Purdal β, and I call them *nirrimarara*, and they are *unkuku* to my wife, who is a Kuial β woman. Though it is not the normal condition, yet it is lawful for me to have one or more of these *nirrimarara* women as my wife or wives. Their children are Mumbali α.

The children of my *nalurus' gnauaii*, or elder brothers, call me *nirritja* (younger brother), and the childen of my *nalurus'* younger brothers call me *gnauaii* (elder brother).

[1] If any of these men happen to have Kuial α wives, then the children of the latter will be Mumbali β, and I call them *unkurku*.

The children of my own *gnauaii* and *nirritja*—that is, of elder and younger Murungun β men of my own level in the generation—call me *naluru*, just as my own children do. They are Murungun α, and I call them *nitjari* (sons) and *gnaiiati* (daughters).

The sons of my *gnarali* (elder sisters) and *gnanirritja* (younger sisters) I call *nipari;* their daughters I call *gnaiawati*. That is, relations whom we class together as nephews and nieces are either *nitjari* and *gnaiiati* (sons and daughters), or *nipari* and *gnaiawati* (sisters' sons and daughters). The term *nipari*[1] is applied by Murungun β men to Kuial α men of two different levels of generation; the men of the one generation are the fathers of the women who are lawful to him as wives (that is, normal wives), the men of the other generation are the sons of his sisters.

My *nitjaris'* (sons) children are Murungun β, just as I am, and I call them and they call me *muri-muri*, the term being a reciprocal one.

My *nitjari* and *gnaiiati* (sons and daughters) are Murungun α, and my *nipari* and *gnaiawati* (sisters' sons and daughters) are Kuial α, and are *nirrimarara* to each other.

My *nitjari* and *gnaiiati* call my *gnarali* and *gnanirritja* (elder and younger sisters) *umburnana*. That is, Murungun α women are *umburnana* to Murungun β women and men.

The children of my *gnaiiati*—that is, of my daughters' and of my brothers' daughters—are Purdal β; I call them *napitjatja*, and they call me by the same name. That is, I have a common name for my own and my brothers' daughters' children and for my mothers' fathers. The term *napitjatja* expresses the relationship of grandfather or grandchild on the female side, just as the term *muri-muri* does on the male side.

My male *muri-muri's* (grandsons') children—that is, my great-grandchildren—are Murungun α, just as my children are, and I call them *gambirti*.

My *napitjatjas'* (daughter's daughter) children are Mumbali α, and I call them *kankulti*.

[1] The term *auiniari* is applied in precisely the same way in the Warramunga tribe.

My mother's mother is Mumbali β, and I call her *unkuku.*

My father's mother is Kuial β, and I call her *namimi.*

There are, again, certain differences in the terms used if a woman be speaking. Thus if I am a Murungun β woman then—

I call my husband *irrimakula*, just as he calls me. His sisters, who are Murungun β women, I call *niri-munka-karunga.* They are *irrimakula* to my brother.

I call my children, not *nitjari* and *gnaiiata* (the names which my husband applies to them), but *nipari* and *gnaiawati* (the names which my husband applies to his sister's children).[1]

My husband's father is a Kuial α man, and I call him *yallnali*, and he calls me *nirri-lumpa-karunga.*

My husband's mother is a Mumbali α woman, and I call her *niringwinia-arunga*, and she calls me *naningurara ;* and *vice versa* my son's wife is a Mumbali α woman ; I call her *naningurara*, and she calls me *niringwinia-arunga.*

My son's children are Kuial β, and I call them *yillinga*, and they call me *namimi.*

My son's wife is a Mumbali α woman, and I call her *Naningurara.*

My daughter's husband is a Mumbali α man. I call him *tjamerlunga*, and he calls me *gnunatjulunga.*

My daughter's children are Mumbali β, and I call them *kankulti*, and they call me *unkuku.*

My mother's mother's brother is a Mumbali β man, and I call him *nakaka.*

Arranging these in tabular form so as to show at a glance the subclasses into which they fall and the level of generation, we see that, first of all, whilst there is a general agreement with the Warramunga, there are certain important differences to be noticed. In the first place, the terms are more numerous ; the Warramunga man calls all of his children *katakitji*, the Mara man calls his sons and brothers'

[1] Thus *nitjari* and *gnaiiati* do not stand for "son" and "daughter" as we understand these words. Whether used by a man or a woman they are merely classificatory terms designating all the members of certain special subclasses who are in the next generation below him or her. The same remark applies to the terms *nipari* and *gnaiawati.*

sons *nitjari*, and his daughters *gnaiiati*. So again the Warramunga applies the term *tapa-tapu* to daughters' children, mother's father, and son's wife's father; the Mara man has two separate terms for these relationships, *napitjatja* and *kati-kati*. Associated with this we find an important point of difference between the two tribes. In the Mara one and the same term is never applied by the same person to individuals belonging to different subclasses. The name *nipari*, for example, is applied by Murungun β men only to Kuial α men, and further still only to men who belong to the half of it which is equivalent to the subclass Thungalla in the Warramunga. If a Mara man refers to any individual as being his *nipari*, then you know at once that the latter, if the speaker be a Murungun β man, is a Kuial α man. The corresponding term *auiniari* in the Warramunga has a much wider signification, and not only does it include individuals belonging to the Tjupila and Thungalla subclasses, but in one particular instance it includes individuals belonging to the other moiety of the tribe. Thus if a man be speaking, he calls his sisters' sons and wife's father by the name *auiniari*, these men belonging to the Thungalla subclass in the Kingilli moiety of the tribe; but he also applies the same term to certain Tjunguri men who stand to him in the relationship of daughters' daughters' children. In the same way a Warramunga woman applies the same term to certain Tjunguri women who stand to her in the relationship of husband's mother and son's wife, and also to certain Thungalla men who stand to her in the relationship of husband's father.

The man numbered 25 on the genealogical tree applies the following names to the individuals indicated in the genealogical tree:—

1. Muri-muri.
2. Muri-muri.
3. Namimi.
4. Umburnati.
5. Umburnana.
6. Naluru.
7. Naluru.
8. Naluru.
9. Umburnana.
10. Nipari.
11. Nipari.
12. Gnagun.
13. Katjirri.
14. Katjirri.
15. Katjirri.
16. Gnagun.
17. Gnungatjulunga.
18. Tjunalunga.

19. Nirrimarara.
20. Nirrimarara.
21. Gnauaii.
22. Gnarali.
23. Gnauaii.
24. Gnarali.
25. **Ego.**
26. Nirritja.
27. Gnanirritja.
28. Nirritja.
29. Gnanirritja.
30. Nirrimarara.
31. Nirrimarara.
32. Mimeti.
33. Irrimakula.
34. Kuku.
35. Unkuku.
36. Irrimakula.
37. Mimerti.
38. Irrimakula.
39. Irrimakula.
40. Mimerti.
41. Nitjari.
42. Gnaiiati.
43. Nipari.
44. Gnaiawati.
45. Nitjari.
46. Gnaiiati.
47. Nitjari.
48. Gnaiiati.
49. Nipari.
50. Gnaiawati.
51. Nirri-lumpa-karunga.
52. Gnagun.
53. Muri-muri.
54. Muri-muri.
55. Napitjatja.
56. Napitjatja.
57. Gambiriti.
58. Kankulti.
a. Napitjatja.
b. Unkuku.
c. Kuku.
d. Napitjatja.
e. Nipari.
f. Gnungatjulunga.
g. Umburnati.
h. Muri-muri.

The woman numbered 38 on the genealogical tree applies the following names to the individuals indicated in the genealogical tree :—

1. Namimi.
2. Namimi.
3. Muri-muri.
4. Muri-muri.
5. Gnarali.
6. Yallnali.
7. Yallnali.
8. Yallnali.
9. Gnarali.
10. Naluru.
11. Umburnana.
12. Naningurara.
13. Niringwinia-arunga.
14. Niringwinia-arunga.
15. Niringwinia-arunga.
16. Naningurara.
17. Katjirri.
18. Gnagun.
19. Unkurku.
20. Unkurku.
21. Irrimakula.
22. Nirri-munka-karunga.
23. Irrimakula.
24. Nirri-munka-karunga.
25. Irrimakula.
26. Irrimakula.
27. Nirri-munka-karunga.
28. Irrimakula.
29. Nirri-munka-karunga.
30. Unkuku.
31. Unkuku.
32. Nirritja.
33. Gnanirritja.
34. Nirrimarara.
35. Nirrimarara.
36. Gnarali.
37. Gnauaii.
38. **Ego.**
39. Gnanirritja.
40. Nirritja.
41. Nipari.
42. Gnaiawati.
43. Nitjari.
44. Gnaiiati.
45. Nipari.
46. Gnaiawati.
47. Nipari.
48. Gnaiawati.
49. Nitjari.
50. Gnaiiati.

51. Naningurara.	*a.* Nakaka.
52. Tjamerlunga.	*b.* Napitjatja.
53. Yillinga.	*c.* Napitjatja.
54. Yillinga.	*d.* Unkuku.
55. Kankulti.	*e.* Naluru.
56. Kankulti.	*f.* Katjirri.
57. Yalnalli.	*g.* Muri-muri.
58. Katjirri.	*h.* Namimi

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES AND OTHER CUSTOMS

Customs in the Arunta and Ilpirra tribes—In the Warramunga tribe the operation of *atna-ariltha-kuma* is performed in the presence of all of the men and women in camp—Relationship of the men who have access—Lending of widows prior to handing them over to special men—License during ceremonies—Intercourse with a *mura* woman—Ceremonies in connection with the Wollunqua—Lending of lubras to messengers and to members of avenging parties—Irregular intercourse only in connection with ceremonies—Three groups of marital relationships.

IN every tribe examined by us, from the Urabunna in the south right through the centre of the continent to the western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, subincision is practised upon the young men, and, apparently in close connection with this, the rite of cutting open the vagina is practised upon the young women. The latter, which is called *atna-ariltha-kuma*, is probably to be regarded, strictly speaking, as an initiation ceremony, the equivalent of *pura-ariltha-kuma* amongst the men (*atna*, vulva ; *pura*, penis ; *kuma*, to cut) ; *ariltha* is the name given to the ceremony. In all tribes also after the operation the woman is sooner or later handed over to certain definite men who have access to her before she becomes the property of one man, and even after this there are certain occasions upon which, according to tribal custom, he is bound to lend her to other men. In this matter everything is regulated by custom, and any infringement of this meets with punishment.

There is a substantial agreement amongst the various tribes in regard to the main features of the ceremony, and the following is an account of the more important details

connected with the operation, which is usually conducted when the girl has reached the age of fourteen or fifteen. In the northern Arunta and Ilpirra the man to whom the girl has been allotted speaks to his *unkulla* men (father's sister's sons), and they, attended by other men who are *unawa*,—that is, lawful husbands of the girl, and an old *ipmunna* (mother's mother's brother),—take the girl out into the bush. The last-named then performs the operation with a stone knife, after having previously touched the lips of the vulva with a Churinga, so as to prevent excessive bleeding. Afterwards the *ipmunna*, *unkulla*, and *unawa*, in the order here named, have intercourse with her. The *ipmunna* man then decorates her with fur-string, rat-tails, etc., and takes her to the camp of her allotted husband, to whom she then belongs, though he may most likely send her back again to the same men. In the Illiaura the operation is performed by the *ipmunna*, and the following have access to her:—*ipmunna*, *unkulla*, *okilia* (elder brothers), *itia* (younger brothers), *unawa*. In the case of the brothers it is tribal *okilia* and *itia* and not blood brothers who have access. In the Kaitish tribe the operation is performed by an *arari* (elder sister) of the girl, and the following men have access to her:—*atninni* (mother's mother's brothers), *alkiria* and *atjiri* (elder and younger brothers, but not in blood), *auillia* (mother's brothers), and *umbirnia* (lawful husbands).

In the Warramunga tribe the girl is taken to the selected spot near to the camp by an elder sister, who says to her, "Come with me, you and I walk along corrobboree." Three tribal brothers who are *kulla-kulla* (lawful husbands) to her, the actual husband being in the middle, lie down full length, side by side on the ground. The elder sister places the girl across them and the operation is performed by an old man who is *wankilli* (father's sister's son) to the girl, in the presence of all of the men and women who are in camp,[1]

[1] In connection with this it may be pointed out that the corresponding ceremony of *pura-ariltha-kuma* in connection with young men is carried out in the presence of all the men and women in camp. Though the latter are not standing close by they are still near enough to see what is being done. In regard to this the Warramunga differs from all the other tribes.

except those who stand to her in the relation of *auiniari* (husband's mother and husband's mother's brother). After the operation she is decorated with string, head-bands, armlets, and necklets, which, later on, she gives to her father and mother. The man to whom she has been allotted at once takes her to his camp, where she remains quietly until the next morning, the two sleeping on opposite sides of the fire. For two or three mornings after this the man takes her out with him when he goes into the bush,—still having no intercourse with her,—and on each occasion he rubs her body with grease and red ochre. During all this time she is busy collecting vegetable food,—grass seed and yams,—and takes these to her mother and elder sister, who then tie round her waist the small string apron called *matjulari*, the emblem of a married woman in this tribe. For two nights she is then lent to *turtundi* (mother's mother's brother), *wankilli* (father's sister's sons), *kankwia* (paternal grandfather), *paperti* and *kukaitja* (elder and younger brothers, but not in blood), and *kulla-kulla* (lawful husbands). After this she becomes the property of the man to whom she was assigned. In the Worgaia, Bingongina, Wulmalla, Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Walpari tribes there is substantial agreement with the Warramunga customs, save that as a general rule the husband's father is the operator.

In the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes the custom is closely similar. The girl is operated upon by a *napitji* man (husband's father) while she lies down on the top of her future husband. This operation is usually conducted some time before she is fully developed, and until that time arrives there is no intercourse. When she is mature, the man to whom she has been allotted lends her to men who are her *purnka* (father's sister's sons), *kaikai* (lawful husbands), and *kukuku* (mother's brother's sons). In the Gnanji tribe the rite is similar to the above, except that the operation is performed by the mother's father.

In the case of the sixteen tribes above named it will be seen that the man, or in one instance (Kaitish tribe) the woman, who operates belongs, in the majority (ten), to the same moiety of the tribe as that to which the young woman

herself does; while in the minority he belongs to the other moiety. In the case of the Arunta—perhaps the largest of the tribes—he belongs, in the northern part, to the woman's own moiety, and in the southern part of the tribe to the other. If we take the special case of a Panunga woman (or her equivalent) in each tribe we find that in nine instances an Uknaria operates, in two a Pununga, and in six a Kumara. In every tribe, without exception, men have intercourse with her who belong to the same group as her husband—that is, are lawfully her husbands, and in various tribes others who stand to her in one or other of the following relationships also have access:—father's sister's sons, mother's brother's sons, mother's brother, mother's mother's brother, elder and younger brothers, but not in blood, father's father, husband's father. To all of these, except on rare occasions, and to some of them always afterwards, she is strictly tabooed. In fact intercourse with any of them, except on such rare occasions, would be immediately followed by punishment, and in the case of certain, such as her tribal brothers, by death. In the case again of a Panunga woman, these men are representative of the following subclasses:—Panunga, Uknaria, Purula, Ungalla, Kumara, Umbitjana; the first two belong to her own moiety and the last four to the other one. It will be noticed that no Bulthara and Appungerta men are included; they form that half of her own moiety to which she does not belong.

Not only are the above practices carried out on the first occasion on which a woman is handed over to her allotted husband, but if the latter dies, and, after the period of mourning is passed, she be handed on to one of her former husband's younger brothers, he lends her for a day or two to other men. In the Kaitish, for example, she is lent in this way to *atjualli* (mother's mother's brothers), *auillia* (father's sister's sons), *alkiria* (elder brothers), *atjiri* (younger brothers), *umbirnia* (husbands).

There are further, in addition to this particular time, other occasions on which intercourse with women, other than those allotted to them, is allowed to the men. It is very usual amongst all of the tribes to allow considerable

license during the performance of certain of their ceremonies when a large number of natives, some of them coming often from distant parts, are gathered together—in fact on such occasions all of the ordinary marital rules seem to be more or less set aside for the time being. Each day, in some tribes, one or more women are told off whose duty it is to attend at the corrobboree ground,—sometimes only during the day, sometimes only at night,—and all of the men, except those who are fathers, elder and younger brothers, and sons, have access to them. When an ordinary corrobboree is performed, which often occupies two or three weeks, the women are close to the ground, as there is usually nothing sacred which they may not see, but in the case of sacred ceremonies they are generally brought up during the evening. In the Arunta, when an ordinary corrobboree is in course of progress, an elder man will say to his son-in-law, "You go into the bush with my *unawa* and bring in some *undattha altherta*" (ordinary corrobboree decorating material). The younger man then goes out with the woman who is his *mura*, and to whom under ordinary circumstances he may neither go near nor speak, much less have marital relations with, as he does upon this occasion. The man and woman return to camp, the former carrying the down and the latter green twigs, which will be worn by the men who perform the dance in the evening. When all is ready the women who have spent the day with the men are painted with red ochre, and go to the lubras' camp to summon the other women and the children. The idea is that the sexual intercourse assists in some way in the proper performance of the ceremony, causing everything to work smoothly and preventing the decorations from falling off. In some tribes this sexual intercourse is much more noticeable than in others. Amongst the Warramunga, for example, it is very frequently met with and is of common occurrence night after night during the performance of sacred ceremonies. On most occasions the lending of women is of a very general nature, but on certain special occasions it is confined to one or other moiety of the tribe. When this is so, it sometimes occurs that the men of one moiety lend their women to

men of the other, or, on other occasions, they lend them to men of their own side. What happens in a case of this kind may be typified by the occurrences of one special evening during the performance of a long series of sacred ceremonies concerned with the Wollunqua (a big snake) totem in the Warramunga tribe. Two Thapungarti men brought their lubras up after it was dark, and whilst all of the men were engaged in singing on the ceremonial ground. The women were placed out of sight in the scrub, but quite close up. The two Thapungarti then exchanged lubras, each man having intercourse with the other man's. Then one of them led a Tjapeltjeri up to his lubra and he had intercourse with her. After this the Thapungarti men came on to the ground and invited the Tjambin men who were present to go out to the lubras, taking hold of their arms as if to lift them up, but the Tjambin men would not accept the invitation and the two women were sent back to their own camps. In the Warramunga this offering of lubras to men who will not accept is not infrequent on occasions such as the one now described. In this instance the men to whom the offer was made were the brothers, blood and tribal, of the women. A little later on an old Tjapeltjeri man, the head of the totem, brought one of his lubras up, and, leaving her in the bush close by, went to a Tjupila man who belonged to the Worgaia tribe and was the woman's tribal father. After whispering in his ear he led him up to where the woman was secreted, and then the Tjupila had intercourse with her. The Tjapeltjeri man returned meanwhile to the ceremonial ground and sat down singing amongst the other men. The Tjupila came back and embraced him from behind, and in return the Tjapeltjeri man rubbed the arms and legs of the former. Then the Tjapeltjeri came to a Thungalla man and took him to the lubra, and after this invited Tjupila men (the woman's tribal fathers) and Thakomara men (the woman's tribal brothers), but they all declined, remaining seated on the ground, though the old Tjapeltjeri man went to them, and in turn attempted to lift each man up. In this special instance, unlike what takes place in the case of an ordinary corrobboree, or in connection also with many sacred

ceremonies when an interchange of lubras takes place, there was, to a certain extent, a special reason for the bringing up of particular women and the invitation to particular men. A ceremonial mound had been made by Tjupila, Thakomara, Thungalla, and Tjambin men. The ceremony with which it was connected belonged to a group of Tjapeltjeri men, and was also associated with the Thapungarti men, and therefore they offered the use of their women to the men who had made the mound. All but one of the tribal fathers, the Tjupila men, and all of the Thakomaras declined the invitation, in the one instance, and all of the Tjambin men in the other. There is not, however, except on very special occasions such as this, any such reason for the offering of particular women, and on a subsequent occasion, when a very elaborate ceremonial object had been made by members of one half of the tribe,—on this occasion by the Thapanunga, Tjunguri, Tjapeltjeri, and Thapungarti,—the members of the other moiety were not present, and an interchange and lending of lubras amongst the above-named men took place. On other nights the lending was indiscriminate.

In the Warramunga tribe it is customary also to lend lubras to the men who are sent out to bring in the bones of a dead person prior to the final ceremony concerned with the burial rites. On this occasion it is the father of the dead person, or, in his absence, some tribal father, who lends the women. Thus on one occasion a Tjapeltjeri man lent his, a Thakomara woman, to two Thapungarti men and one Tjambin. Very often also a dead man's bone is sent out with sacred messengers to summon other groups in to the performance of ceremonies of various kinds, and on this occasion not only are lubras lent to the messengers, but a general interchange takes place. In some tribes, again, such messengers will take women with them, and after having delivered the message will leave the women out in the bush, where they will be visited by the men of the local group, who will, irrespective of class, have intercourse with them, provided always that they accept the invitation or agree to the request of the messengers. It is also a frequent thing for a party of men who have gone out to kill some indi-

vidual to have the offer of lubras made to them by the men of the strange group, one of whom they have come with the idea of killing. If they accept the offer, then it is a sign of the fact that the quarrel is over, and that they will not proceed further; but on the other hand, if they do not, it is a sure sign that they intend to exact vengeance.

It is only, of course, in connection with the performance of ceremonies or the sending out of messengers that this kind of irregular intercourse is allowed; under ordinary circumstances, for a man to have intercourse with a woman who does not belong to his group of lawful wives, would be a very grave offence and liable to punishment by death. When strangers visit a distant group they are usually offered the use of lubras, but these must belong to the group equivalent to the one from which, in each case, the man's own lubra comes in his own tribe.[1] In all tribes a very clear mark of distinction is drawn between the holding of intercourse between men and women who belong to intermarriageable groups and those who do not.

Except in the Urabunna tribe, where there is actually group marriage in existence, the system of individual wives prevails—modified, however, by the practice of customs according to which, at certain times, much wider marital relations are allowed. As we have pointed out before,[2] the fundamental feature of the marital relations in all of these tribes is the existence of intermarrying groups of men and women. In the Urabunna tribe group marriage actually exists at the present day, a group of men of a certain designation having, not merely nominally but in actual reality, and under normal conditions, marital relations with a group of women of another special designation. In all other tribes we find that every man of a particular group is lawfully the

[1] This not only takes place in the instance of tribes who live close to one another, but also in that of distant tribes. Our two "boys," for example, were offered the use of lubras belonging to groups equivalent to those from which their lawful wives came in the southern Arunta, at places and amongst tribes hundreds of miles away from their own home and people.

[2] *N. T.* p. 98 *et seq.*

husband of every woman of another particular group, having no name whereby he distinguishes any one or more of the women of that group, who may have been specially allotted to him, from any of the others; or, in the same way, any name by which he distinguishes the children of these women from those of all the other women of the group.

Whilst there is individual marriage from the Arunta tribe northwards across the continent to the Gulf of Carpentaria, there are, in actual practice, frequent occasions when the marital relations are of a much wider nature. There are indeed what may be regarded as three distinct grades of marital relationships. In the first instance there is the normal state of affairs when a woman is the property of one man, who however can, and does, lend her privately to other men,—provided, however, that they belong to her group of lawful husbands, to any one of whom, but to no one else, he may lend her under ordinary circumstances. In the second place we have the wider relations existing at the time of marriage, when men to whom, under ordinary circumstances, she is strictly tabooed have access to her. The particular men vary from tribe to tribe, but in every case, in addition to representatives of one or more forbidden groups, the men who belong to the group of her husbands always have intercourse with her. At this particular time, when the woman is being handed over to one man, there takes place very clearly the recognition of the group right, and probably the recognition of a wider right still. In the third place we have the very wide relations in connection with the performance of ceremonies and the sending out of messengers as described above. In a few special cases the lending of lubras on these occasions is very clearly in the nature of a return for some service rendered, but no such explanation is possible in the majority of cases. At some time or another every man has to send his wife for the use of other men of various classes who are performing ceremonies, and whose wives, in their turn, are offered to him. During the performance of some of these ceremonies there is the very greatest license, a man even having relations with his *mura*

woman, who, under ordinary circumstances, is most strictly tabooed to him, and this without her husband being in any way indebted to him. Every one, at different times, is obliged to relinquish, for the time being, his sole right to the woman or women who have been allotted to him.

CHAPTER V

TOTEMS

Difference between the central and southern-central tribes—Gradual change in the method of counting descent of the totem in passing from the south to the north amongst the central tribes—Universal belief in reincarnation—Origin of totemic groups in the Urabunna tribe—Change of moiety, totem, and sex at each successive reincarnation—Origin of totemic groups in the Arunta—Spirit individuals may change class, but not totem, when they undergo reincarnation—Change of totem in the Alcheringa—Incomplete division of the totem groups between the two moieties in the Arunta nation—Transformation of incomplete human beings in the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes—Origin of other totemic ancestors in the form of human beings—Ancestor of the Unkurta totem and origin of men from his body—Origin of the Idnimita totem group in the Unmatjera tribe—Origin of the rain totem group in the Kaitish tribe—Relationship between a man and his totemic animal or plant in the Kaitish and Unmatjera—Members of totemic groups are responsible for ensuring the supply of the totemic animal or plant—The origin of the totemic ancestors in the Warramunga nation—Members of each totemic group are the direct offspring of one ancestral being—Ancestor changing totem in the Warramunga tribe—Loss of association between the individual and the Churinga in the northern tribes—Clear division of totemic groups between the two moieties of the tribe in the Warramunga—Members of one moiety taking charge of ceremonies connected with the totemic groups of the other—Paternal descent of the totem in the Warramunga—Eating of the totemic animal or plant—Relation between the individual and his totem as indicated by the final burial ceremony in the Warramunga tribe—Descent of the totem in the Umbaia and Gnanji tribes—In the Gnanji tribe a woman has no spirit part which can undergo reincarnation—Descent of the totem in the Binbinga—Distribution of the totemic groups in the Mara and Anula tribes—Descent of the totem in the same—Eating of the totemic animal and plant—Relationship between a man and his totemic animal or plant as indicated during the final burial ceremonies in the Mara and Anula—Review of the main features concerned with the totems in the various tribes.

WE have already pointed out "that there is a very great difference, so far as matters connected with the totems are concerned, between the true central and the southern-central

tribes who come into contact with one another a little to the north-west of Lake Eyre," and that it looks very much as if in the latter locality "we had a meeting-place of two sets of tribes, which migrated southwards, following roughly parallel courses—one across the centre of the continent, while the other followed down the course of the main streams on the east and then turned slightly northward on the west side of Lake Eyre; or possibly in their southern wanderings part of this eastern group spread round the north and part round the south end of the lake."[1] These two very distinct series of tribes, which may be typified respectively by the Arunta and Urabunna, differ very markedly from one another in the fact that in one we have descent counted in the paternal and in the other in the maternal line. In the northern Urabunna, for example, there are a number of totems belonging exclusively to the Matthurie moiety and others to the Kirarawa, and it therefore follows that a Matthurie man of one totem may only marry a woman of another. Thus a dingo Matthurie man marries a water-hen Kirarawa woman, and the children, following the mother, are all water-hens. Descent in this tribe is strictly maternal both as regards class and totem. In the Arunta, on the other hand,—and this is equally true of all the other tribes northwards to the gulf,—the line of descent, so far as class is concerned, is paternal.[2] That of the totem changes gradually as we pass northwards, from the curious system met with in the Arunta, where there is no necessary relationship of any kind between that of children and parents, to that of the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes, where the descent of the totem is as strictly paternal as it is in the case of the class.

This change in the descent of the totem is one of very considerable interest, as it shows that there is by no means the radical difference which, on the surface, there would appear to be, between two tribes in one of which, for example, a man and a woman might both of them be witchetty grubs and their children wild cats, witchetty grubs, evening stars, yams, kangaroos, or indeed members of any

[1] *N.T.* p. 113.

[2] In most cases indirectly paternal, but in some more directly paternal.

totemic group, and another tribe in which the parents must belong to distinct totemic groups, and their children always follow that of the father. Taking actual examples from tribes situated, one in the south and one in the far north, we find that in the former (Arunta) the man is a little hawk; wife No. 1 is rat; daughter, witchetty grub; wife No. 2 is kangaroo; no children; wife No. 3 is lizard; two daughters, one emu, the other water. In the second tribe (Binbinga), the father is a snake; his father was a snake; wife No. 1 is a big lizard; one son, snake; one daughter, snake; wife No. 2, emu; one son, snake; two daughters, snakes.

In every tribe without exception there exists a firm belief in the reincarnation of ancestors.[1] Emphasis must be laid on the fact that this belief is not confined to tribes such as the Arunta, Warramunga, Binbinga, Anula, and others, amongst whom descent is counted in the male line, but is found just as strongly developed in the Urabunna tribe, in which descent, both of class and totem, is strictly maternal.

In certain respects the beliefs of the Urabunna tribe, which inhabits the country to the south of the Arunta, bear the same relationship to those of the Arunta nation as do the beliefs of the Warramunga tribe in the far north. Briefly stated, the Urabunna belief is as follows:—In the Alcheringa (the Urabunna term for this is Ularaka) there existed at first a comparatively small number of individuals who were half-human, half-animal or plant. How they arose no one knows. They lived in the Alcheringa, and behind this it is useless to attempt to pry. They are the exact equivalents of the Alcheringa ancestors of the Arunta. These semi-human creatures were endowed with far greater powers than any living men or women possess. They could walk about either on the earth or beneath it, or could fly through the air. They were the ancestors of the different totemic groups. A great carpet snake individual gave rise to the carpet snake group, two jew lizards gave rise to the jew

[1] Roth has shown that the idea of conception not being necessarily due to sexual intercourse exists amongst certain tribes in Queensland. See *North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin No. 5, p. 22.

lizard group, one or two rain creatures gave rise to the rain group, and so on. The belief differs from that of the Arunta, and is in agreement with that of the Warramunga in the fact that the ancestors of each group are few in number, and that we hear nothing of the carrying of Churinga with which their spirit parts were associated.

These old semi-human ancestors wandered about all over the country now occupied by the Urabunna tribe, performing sacred ceremonies, and, when they did this, they deposited in the ground, or in some natural feature such as a rock or a water-pool, which arose to mark the spot, a number of spirit individuals called *mai-aurli*. After a time some of these became changed into men and women, who formed the first series of totem groups. Thus some of the *mai-aurli* left behind by the carpet snake ancestor changed into carpet snake men and women, some of those left behind by the lizards changed into lizard men and women, and so on through the various totemic groups. Since that early time, when the various totem groups were thus instituted, the *mai-aurli* have been continually undergoing reincarnation.

The tradition concerned with two snakes called Kurnmara, who belonged to the Kirarawa moiety, will serve to illustrate the Urabunna belief. In the Alcheringa a green and a brown snake arose. At first they "sat down," as the natives say, inside a water-hole called Yanidi, making fur-string. Coming out they started away on their wanderings and came to Mura-murara, where they made string, eat grass seed, and left *mai-aurli* or spirit children behind them. These *mai-aurli* came out from their bodies. Looking back they saw smoke in the direction of the Macumba River, where the country was all on fire. As they travelled along the brown snake took the lead, the green following behind. It was these two snakes who, during their wanderings, made all of the mound springs which are now so characteristic of this part of the country. Amongst others they made those of Kaltikaltinga, the so-called Thirty Mile Spring, the Fountain Spring, where they again made fur-string and eat grass seed, bushes arising to mark the spot

where they threw the stalks away. Wandering on they made Akundunda Spring, and at what is now called Mount Margaret Hill they built two stone shelters, one snake sitting down in each. As they walked along they hollowed out the course of the Umbinga Creek, and made the springs called by white men Brinkley, Loddon, and Strangways. After making some more they retraced their steps, and the green snake said to the brown one, "I am Kirarawa, you are Matthurie." They left spirits or *mai-aurli* at all of their camping places. Finally, at a place called Kirri-katjirina, the green snake caught sight of a yellow one and gave chase to it. It dived down into the ground, the green snake went down close by, and the brown one in another spot. Three springs arose to mark the place where they finally disappeared.

It is the *mai-aurli* or spirit children left behind by animal or semi-human ancestors such as these snakes, who are now continually undergoing reincarnation. In certain cases one particular spot is supposed to be inhabited by spirits of one special totem, but in other cases those of two or more totems may inhabit the same place.[1] Thus, close by our camp, there was a large group of granite boulders which arose in the Alcheringa to mark the place where the ancestors of the pigeon group danced and played about. Of these boulders one represents an old male and another a female ancestor. The rocks are supposed to be inhabited solely by pigeon spirits which emanated from the bodies of the two ancestors. On the other hand there was a water-pool, a quarter of a mile away, inhabited by spirits left there by emu, rain, and a grub ancestor. Sometimes there appears to be a special relationship between totem groups thus associated with one spot—as, for example, in the case of one water-pool where there are spirits belonging to the following totemic groups:—Iarwinnia (mosquito), Momo (blow fly), Murilla (march fly), and Kudnapintjinara (sand fly).

[1] These local totem centres are called *paltinta* by the Urabunna. This term is the equivalent of *oknanikilla* in the Arunta. The spot at which the great ancestor finally went down into the earth is called *bara-kopuqua*.

It will thus be evident that in the Urabunna tribe, which is a typical example of those Australian tribes in which there are names for only the two moieties (Kirarawa and Matthurie, or Kararu and Matteri) and no subclasses, and in which descent is counted in the female line, we have a very definite belief in the existence of spirit individuals who are derived from ancestral totemic ancestors and are constantly undergoing reincarnation. Every living individual is the reincarnation of a *mai-aurli* or spirit who emanated from the body of an Alcheringa ancestor.

In the Urabunna, just as in the tribes north of the Arunta nation, the totems are strictly divided between the two moieties of the tribe. In these northern tribes descent both of class and totem is strictly paternal, and, as we shall describe shortly, a spirit child is not supposed to go into any woman unless she be the wife of a man of the same moiety and totem as the spirit. In the Urabunna the ideas of the natives in regard to this point are very different. The child must belong to the same moiety and totem as its mother, but they have the curious belief that in each successive reincarnation the child changes its sex, moiety, and totem.

Suppose, for example, a Kirarawa man of the emu totem dies. His spirit, which in the case of a dead man they call *kumpira*, goes back to the place at which it was left by the ancestor in the Alcheringa. Here it remains for some time, but sooner or later it is reincarnated. This spirit of the former emu Kirarawa man will not go, so they say, into a Kirarawa woman; if it were to do so it would either be born prematurely and die, or would cause the death of the mother.[1] When undergoing reincarnation it can only enter the body of a Matthurie woman who, of necessity, belongs to another totem, and thus at each reincarnation the individual changes both his or her moiety and totem. Not only is this so, but it also changes its sex—a belief which is also met with in the Warramunga tribe. Every individual goes back after death in spirit form to the spot at which it

[1] Premature births or accidents during child-birth are always attributed to the fact that the spirit has entered the body of the wrong woman.

was left in the Alcheringa by the ancestor of the totem. If, for example, it were originally a pigeon spirit, then it will go back into the rocks at the spot where the pigeon ancestors performed ceremonies in the Alcheringa and left spirits behind. In the course of ages any single individual can run the whole gamut of the totems, alternating from side to side of the tribe, but always returning at death to its original home.[1]

The change of sex may possibly be associated with that of the moiety. At all events the result is that the children of the successive reincarnations of any one spirit always belong to the one moiety of the tribe. If we start with a Kirarawa man, then his children are Matthurie; he is reincarnated as a Matthurie woman and her children are Matthurie; after death she is reincarnated in the form of a Kirarawa man and his children are Matthurie, and so on without ceasing.

In a closely allied tribe, called Wonkgongaru[2] by the Urabunna, inhabiting country away out to the north-west of Lake Eyre, and having the same two moieties, Kiraru and Matthurie,[3] the beliefs are identical with those of the Urabunna. In this tribe, but not in the Urabunna, there is a belief in the former existence of imperfectly formed human beings similar to the *inapertwa* or incomplete men of the Arunta tribe.

Just as in the Arunta and southern tribes so in the Urabunna, the members of the totem groups are supposed to be responsible for the production of the animal or plant after which the group is named, and to this end they perform Intichiuma ceremonies. No member of any totemic group eats the totem animal or plant, but there is no objection to his killing it and handing it over to be eaten by men who do not belong to the totemic group.

[1] The Urabunna calls this *gnuru ularaka*, the exact equivalent of *mira alcheringa*, or Alcheringa camp, of the Arunta.

[2] The real name of this tribe is Gongaru. The prefix Wonk means speech. The Dieri call the Urabunna Wonkurabunna, and *vice versa* the Urabunna call the Dieri Wonkadieri, but they call themselves Urabunna.

[3] In some parts of the Urabunna the names are Kirarawa and Matthurie, in others Kiraru and Matteri.

We have previously dealt at length with the ideas of the Arunta natives in regard to their totemic ancestors, and for purposes of comparison need only briefly recapitulate the main facts. The origin of the first-formed human beings is ascribed to two individuals named *ungambikula* who lived in the western sky, and, seeing far away to the east a mob of *inapertwa* creatures, who were the incomplete transformations of animals and plants, came down to earth, and with their knives released their half-formed arms and legs, cut open their mouths, bored holes for nostrils, slit the eyelids apart, and thus out of the *inapertwa* made men and women. After having circumcised the men the two *ungambikula* changed themselves into little lizards called *amunga-quinia-quinia*.[1] The totemic ancestors who originated in this way marched in groups across the country, every one of them carrying with him, or her, not only a personal Churinga, but often many others also. Every one of these Churinga was associated with the spirit part of an individual, and at various spots these Alcheringa ancestors went into the ground, the Churinga with the associated spirit remaining behind, above ground. There are thus at the present day, dotted about all over the Arunta country, a very large number of places associated with these Alcheringa spirits, one group of whom will be kangaroo, another emu, another Hakea plant, and so on. When a woman conceives it simply means that one of these spirits has gone inside her, and, knowing where she first became aware that she was pregnant, the child, when born, is regarded as the reincarnation of one of the spirit ancestors associated with that spot, and therefore it belongs to that particular totemic group. Every one of their ancestors is also believed to have been a member of one of the four classes or eight subclasses into which the tribe is now divided. As a general rule the spirit is supposed to enter a woman whose children are born into the class to which it, the spirit, itself belongs, but every now and again they go into the wrong mother, with the result that they are born into the wrong class. The individual can thus in successive reincarnations change his or her class,

[1] For complete tradition see *N. T.* p. 387.

though this is a matter of rare occurrence, but the totem is unchangeable in the Arunta tribe. Every man belongs to one special totemic group, but he may be more or less closely associated with one or more other groups, owing to special reasons. In some cases the members of two Alcheringa totemic groups may have camped near to one another and have performed sacred ceremonies at two spots very close together. In this event the spirit individuals of those ancestors have, to a certain extent, a mutual interest in the two totems, and their descendants will regard each other as closely associated, so far as totemic matters are concerned. Thus, for example, at Imanda on the Hugh River, the ancestors of the frog, little bat, big white bat, and wild-cat totemic groups foregathered in the Alcheringa, and therefore their descendants are mutually interested in one another's performances. At Alice Springs, after the performance of a ceremony of the lizard totem, one of the leading men in this totemic group told us that he was in reality a lizard, but was, as he said, "close up" an Auadaua (grass-seed) man. On further questioning him we found out that in the Alcheringa a number of Auadaua men had come to the place where he lived, and had there performed a series of ceremonies, trying to change him into an Auadaua man. In consequence of this, though he declined to be changed, he was very closely associated with that totem, and was, as he told us, really a lizard but "close up" an Auadaua man. Though Auadaua is not forbidden to him as food in the same way in which it is to the men of the totemic group, yet he indicates the fact of his association with the latter by abstaining from eating the plant while it is fresh and green. Occasionally an individual was thus in the Alcheringa actually transformed from one totem to another, as in the case of an Unjiamba (Hakea flower) woman who, by means of the performance of sacred ceremonies belonging to the bandicoot, was changed into a woman of that totem.

In the Arunta, as a general rule, the great majority of the members of any one totemic group belong to one moiety of the tribe, but this is by no means universal, and in different totemic groups certain of the ancestors are supposed to have

belonged to one moiety and others to the other, with the result that of course their living descendants also follow their example. In this respect the Unmatjera, Ilpirra, and Iliaura are in accord with the Arunta, but amongst the Kaitish the totems are more strictly divided between the two moieties, though the division is not so absolute as it is amongst the Urabunna in the south and the tribes further north, such as the Warramunga. As the totems are thus distributed it follows that in the Kaitish tribe a man does not usually marry a woman of the same totem as himself, but, provided she be of the right class, she is not actually forbidden to him as a wife because of this identity of totem as she would be in the Warramunga tribe. Two families will serve as an example of what takes place in regard to this matter in the Kaitish. In the first the father was a kangaroo man and his wife emu; their children were a grass-seed son and daughter, and a wild-cat son. In the second the father was rain, the mother emu; there were two rain sons and one yam daughter. It will be seen from this that, as in the Arunta, the descent of the totem follows neither in the paternal nor in the maternal line.

The Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes have traditions dealing with incomplete human beings whom the former call *inmintera*, and who are similar to the *inapertwa* of the Arunta. They say that in the Alcheringa an old crow lived at Ungurla, a place on what is now called the Woodford River. One day he saw afar off a large number of *inmintera* whom he determined to go and make into men and women. Accordingly he did so, separating their limbs, etc., with his bill. Having completed this part of his work he returned to his camp to get his stone knife with which to initiate them. However, while he was away, two Parenthie (large lizard) men, who came from the south, appeared upon the scene and with their teeth circumcised and subincised the men, and performed the operation of *atna-ariltha-kuma* upon the women, after which they returned to their home again. When the old crow had got his knife ready and was preparing to start off, he looked out and saw that the two Parenthies had been before him, so he stayed at his home

at Ungurla, and a big black stone arose to mark the spot at which he died.

According to one Kaitish tradition there were, in the Alcheringa, no human beings, only indefinitely shaped creatures, sometimes called *inter-intera* and at others *atna-thera-thera*—the latter name in allusion to the fact that they are commonly supposed to have had two anal openings, one on each wrist in the hollow between the ends of the ulna and the radius. Two Ullakuppera (little hawk) boys, who were respectively Thungalla and Umbitjana, came up from the other side of the Ilpirra country. They were the same boys to whom Atnatu sent down the sacred stone knives[1] when he saw them vainly trying to circumcise themselves. The Kaitish people say that the boys started far away to the south, and as they travelled along they transformed numbers of incomplete creatures into men and women, carving out the various parts of their bodies, just as the *ungambikula* did amongst the Arunta. After having done this they circumcised and subincised the men and performed *atna-ariltha-kuma* upon the women. They went as far north as the Bonny River—the southern boundary of the Warramunga tribe—and then turned south-west and came to a place called Atnungara, where they lay down on the top of their Churinga and so died, a big hill and water-hole arising to mark the spot. By thus lying down on the top of the Churinga, instead of placing them by their side, the Kaitish people say that they cannot possibly undergo reincarnation.

In addition, however, to these traditions relating to the origin of human beings as the transformations of animals and plants, both the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes have traditions relating to other totemic ancestors who originated directly in the form of human beings. A creek, which runs on the north side of the Harts Range, and flows across the Unmatjera country from north-east to south-west, marks the boundary between the groups of totemic ancestors who were formed first as *inter-intera* on the southern, and those formed as men or *ertwa* on the northern side. Amongst

[1] For tradition see later.

the former are the ancestors of the following totems:—Idnimita (a grub), Erlia (emu), Okira (kangaroo), Wongara (crow), Quatcha (water), Achilpa (wild cat), Illunja (galah cockatoo). Amongst those formed first as *ertwa*, and who did not pass through the intermediate incomplete stage, are the following:—Unkurta (jew lizard), Qualpa (long-tailed rat), Iwuta (nail-tailed wallaby), Atnungara (pig-footed bandicoot), Thakwia (a species of jumping mouse), Arawa (a wallaby), and the big Parenthie lizard (*Varanus giganteus*).

In regard to the ancestors who originated in human form there is, just as in the case of the others, a very close relationship between them and the animals whose names they bear, and they are regarded by the natives in the light of, at first, semi-human beings. At the same time the natives are very clear upon the point that they were really *ertwa*—that is, men, and not incomplete human beings who underwent a transformation with the assistance of other creatures.

In the Kaitish tribe we almost lose sight of what is so prominent a feature of the Alcheringa traditions of the Arunta, and that is the walking across the country of companies of individuals belonging to the same totem. In fact so far as men are concerned, we have only, as it were, relics of traditions which relate to any company of individuals; as a general rule two persons, often an elder and a younger brother, and not seldom a single individual, being concerned. In the Arunta it was, to a large extent, the members of the totemic companies who went into the earth at various spots, forming thus *oknanikillas*, though at the same time they also carried Churinga with them, each of which was associated with a spirit. In the Kaitish and Unmatjera, while we have still persisting the old tradition about the transformation of incomplete human beings into men and women, we find that the peopling of various spots is due to one or two old totemic ancestors, who in some cases carried Churinga with them, just as the Arunta ancestors did, though in other cases the spirits are reported to have emanated from their bodies. We have elsewhere dealt

in detail with these traditions.[1] Here it will su briefly to a few which will serve as typical ill the Kaitish and Unmatjera beliefs.

The first relates to a celebrated Alcheringa the Unkurta totem. He is reported to have a all in the form of an *amunga-quinia-quinia* man (the lizard into which the *ungambikula* are supposed to have been changed in the Arunta tribe). After a time he looked at himself and said, " Oh, I have got prickles just like a porcupine " ; then he grew a little larger and became Unkurta, a jew lizard man. When he arose first of all he was very stiff and could not walk, but had to lie down all day long in the sunshine and stretch his legs. Later on he looked, and to his surprise saw another Unkurta, a small one, on the ground beside him, and said, " Hullo, that is me " ; and then he looked again and again, and saw others, and said each time, " Hullo, that is me." These Unkurta sprang from his body. Then he continued to look at himself, and gradually he increased and became great in the flesh, and grew into an Oknirabata.[2] After he had thus grown and given origin to a large number of Unkurta beings, he left his camp and travelled away to a place called Unqurtunga, where he saw a Kumara man of the Iwuta (nail-tailed wallaby) totem, whose name was Ariokára. He told the latter that if he looked he also would see another Iwuta beside him on the ground, all the same as himself, and then another and another, and so on until there was a big mob of Iwuta. Then if he continued to look at himself he would increase in the flesh and become great and an Oknirabata. In succession Unkurta visited a Qualpa (long-tailed rat), an Arawa (wallaby), and an Atnunga (rabbit bandicoot), telling each of them the same thing. Finally he returned to his own camp, and sent out his offspring in various directions that they might give rise to Unkurta people in different parts of the country. All of them finally went into the ground, leaving their spirit parts

[1] See later.

[2] The name applied by the Arunta to a man old and learned in tribal customs. It means a great teacher.

behind them, and they are now constantly undergoing reincarnation as Unkurta men and women, the spirit children entering the women just as they do in the Arunta tribe. The old Unkurta himself had a lot of Churinga which remained behind at his camp when he himself died. It will be noticed that this origin of a large number of individuals from one great ancestor is very different from anything with which we have come into contact amongst the Arunta, but at the same time the Churinga are still in evidence, though the old man's offspring are not especially associated with them. Both Unkurta and his children arose also in the form of men, or rather of beings who were neither exactly human nor yet animal, but who possessed far greater powers than any living members of the tribe.

The tradition in the Unmatjera tribe with regard to the origin of the ancestors of the Idnimita (a grub) totem will serve to illustrate the beliefs with regard to the *inmintera* creatures, the equivalents of the *inter-intera* of the Kaitish and the *inapertwa* of the Arunta.

In the Alcheringa the Idnimita were first of all what is called *ignitha*, small hairy caterpillars, who walked about on the Idnimita bushes, eating the leaves. By and by, after they had gone down into the ground, there came a big rain which soaked them all and washed their hairs off, and in this way they were changed into Idnimita grubs and bored their way into the roots of the shrubs. Then there came a second rain, and with this a great wind which carried a little Idnimita grub from the sea country, far away. When first it came down with the rain it had little spots, then it grew bigger and red in colour, then still bigger and white, and then it went down into the ground. When it was carried across by the wind it was only very little and was called *atthithika*. It came down to earth at India, which is now the central spot of the Idnimita totem. Like all of the other grubs, it bored its way into the roots of the tree and there lay quiet in its *irtnia*—that is, its chrysalis case. After a time it came out of this, changed into an *inmintera* creature. Gradually he grew bigger and bigger. He could

not see but felt his chin and said, "Hullo, my whiskers are growing." He slept all day and was stiff, and tried to get up, but could not undouble himself. An old crow came along and perched on a tree watching him. Then it flew away to another tree close by, still keeping its eye on the Idnimita. Then coming still closer it said, "I think I will make him into a man," and, setting to work with its bill, first of all made a slash across the creature's middle, so that he could sit up; then cut across the elbow joint, so that the arms could be straightened out; then freed the fingers, making first two cuts on the palm, which are now represented by the two long lines running one across the palm and the other around the base of the thumb. This done it cut the eyelids open, slashed across the face with its bill, making the mouth, and finally pushed its bill up either side of the nose, thereby opening the two nostrils. Thus the crow transformed the imperfect creature into the first fully formed Idnimita man. The latter lay down all day with his chrysalis case (*irtnia*), out of which he had come, by his side. This was his Churinga and was coloured red. From it there also issued many *kurna*, or spirit individuals, which later on gave rise to Idnimita men and women. He said, "I am Kumara." He used to paint himself and make Intichiuma, and when he performed ceremonies spirits emanated from his body.[1] Two of these were lubras, called Araltjilina, and were Purula; a third was called Unduda and was also Purula. Two others were named respectively Kulpaitja and Ungakakakurta. They were both Kumara, and the younger sisters of the old Idnimita who gave rise to them. These two women have since undergone reincarnation, and are alive in human form at the present day.

Every Alcheringa ancestor had his class as well as totem, and, just as in the Arunta, the totem, in successive reincarnations, is supposed never to change, but, in rare instances, the class may. Thus at the present day the son of Ilpailurkna, the head of the Idnimita totem, is the

[1] In some cases these ancestors are reported to have performed Intichiuma for the purpose of producing animals or plants, and in others for the purpose of producing spirit individuals.

reincarnation of an emu Panunga man, but he went into a Panunga woman and so was born a Kumara.

In a third tradition relating to the ancestors of the rain or water totem, we meet first of all with an old man, a Purula, who arose in the form of a man at a water-hole called Anira, which is now the great centre of the rain people. At sunset he slept, and when the sun arose he split into two, one of whom was a Purula and the other a Kumara (*i.e.* father and son). At sunset the two joined together to form a Purula, who went down into the water-hole out of which at sunrise he emerged and divided into two again. After this they remained separate. In the morning they were red coloured, but they sat out in the sunlight all day and turned black. They grew into Oknirabata and went up a hill and stroked their beards, out of which, finally, streams of water flowed. Before this, however, they had left spirit children behind at various spots where they performed sacred ceremonies, the spirits on these occasions emanating from their bodies. At a place called Arumba two euro men came out of their whiskers, and for this reason there is at the present day a close relationship between the men of the euro and those of the rain totem.

In addition to numerous traditions, all more or less like the above, which deal with one or two individuals from whom the ancestors of the totemic group arose, we meet with a few isolated cases in which groups of individuals originated in much the same way as that in which they are supposed to have done in the Arunta tribe. To the south-west of Barrow Creek, for example, a number of Purula and Kumara men arose who all belonged to the Wutta, a little rat totem. Then again we have a tradition relating to groups of women who were called *ertwaininga* and walked across the Unmatjera country, leaving individuals behind at various spots and thus forming *oknanikillas*, exactly as the Alcheringa ancestors of the totems did in the Arunta country. One of these groups consisted of Purula women of the Namungiyera (a little bird) totem; another of Panunga women of the Impi-impi (a little bird) totem; and a third of Bulthara and Appungerta women of the Iralla (a beetle) totem.

One further feature in which the Kaitish and Unmatjera people differ from the Arunta is, that in the former we have two clearly marked series of totemic ancestors, one of whom is supposed to have originated in the form of fully developed men, and the other in that of incomplete human beings who were called *inter-intera* and had to be transformed into men and women by means of some Alcheringa being, such as a crow, just as, amongst the Arunta, the *inapertwa* were transformed by the *ungambikula*.

In the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes we find that there is a very definite relationship supposed to exist between a man and his totem in regard not only to his own eating of it, but in regard also to other people eating it, such as is not so clearly seen in the Arunta customs. When the headman of the totemic group in the latter tribe has performed the ceremony of Intichiuma, and has thereby secured the increase of the totemic animal or plant, his special interest in it, so to speak, ceases for the time being; he does not eat it himself, or only very sparingly, and, if it be an animal, he will not kill it, but any one else who does not belong to the totemic group may do so without further reference to him. In the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes, however, things are very different. An emu man, for example, coming into the locality of a grass-seed totem group, will gather some of this seed and take it to the headman of the group, saying, "I have been getting grass seed in your country." The grass-seed man will say, "That is right; you eat it." If the emu man were to eat it without first of all asking permission, he would be very ill and probably die. Further still, while no one may eat any animal or plant without the permission of the headman of the group which is called by its name, and to whom the special animal or plant is regarded as belonging, the customs of the Kaitish and Unmatjera make it perfectly evident that they believe that the members of each totemic group are responsible for providing other individuals with a supply of their totemic animal or plant. When any animal is killed by an individual who does not belong to that totem, it is first brought into camp and cooked, and then, if any man of that totem should

happen to be in camp, it is taken to him; he eats a little bit, and then, but not until then, the other men may eat it. Again, if a man, say of the emu totem, be out hunting in the scrub by himself and sees an emu, he will not touch it; but, on the contrary, if he be out in the company of men of other totems, then it is quite permissible for him to kill the emu himself, but he must hand it over to the other men. In the case of men of the water totem the restrictions are very definite and serve to indicate in an unmistakable fashion what are the ideas of these tribes at the present day in regard to the totems. If a water totem man be quite alone, then there is no objection to his drinking water with which he provides himself, but, so long as he is in the company of other men belonging to other totems, he must not obtain it for himself, but receives it from some individual who belongs to the moiety of the tribe of which he, the water man, is not a member. As a general rule a man of the water totem receives this, when in camp, from his *umbirna*—that is, a man who belongs to the same class as his wife does; but if such an one be not present, then any member of the moiety of the tribe to which he does not belong may give it to him.

From what has been said above it will be seen that the members of the totem are regarded as responsible for the ensuring of a supply of the totemic animal or plant, and that, further, the individuals of the tribe who do not belong to the totem expect those who do to maintain this supply for their benefit. At the same time they fully recognise the fact that they may not eat any animal or plant without obtaining the permission of the men to whose totemic group it belongs to do so. In the Arunta tribe this feature of totemism is only seen at the close of the Intichiuma ceremonies, but in the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes it is more fully developed and enters, in fact, into the daily life of the natives.

In all of the tribes there are certain totemic groups in connection with which it is difficult to understand the performance of Intichiuma ceremonies. Such totems are the sun, evening star, and stone in the Arunta, or Quinnia (darkness) in the Unmatjera. Flies and mosquitos also are

such pests that, at first sight, it is not easy to understand why ceremonies to increase their number should be performed. In the latter two instances, however, it must be remembered that flies and mosquitos, though themselves intensely objectionable, are very intimately associated with what the native above all things desires to see at certain times of the year, and that is a heavy rainfall. The only answer to any inquiry as to why Intichiuma ceremonies are performed in connection with such totems as that of the evening star is that their fathers did it, and so they must. It is possible that this and certain other totemic groups are of relatively late origin. At all events they always consist of very few individuals and are numerically unimportant. Possibly also the idea of Intichiuma may have been, as it were, carried over to them from other totemic groups named after animals and plants, in connection with which the holding of Intichiuma is understandable.

Passing northwards from the Kaitish we come to a group of tribes, including the Warramunga, Walpari, Wulmala, Worgaia, and Tjingilli, in which the ideas with regard to totems agree in essential features with those of the Kaitish and Unmatjera people, but at the same time differ in certain important details. In the first place every individual is, once more, the reincarnation of an Alcheringa spirit who belonged to some particular totem, or, as the Warramunga call it, *mungai*. In the Kaitish and Unmatjera we have seen that some of the totemic ancestors arose as men, others as incomplete human beings, as all of them did in the Arunta. Here, in the Warramunga and allied tribes, we completely lose sight of the latter feature, and in the instance of every totem with which we are acquainted, save one or two exceptional cases, there is merely one great ancestor, half human, half beast, or plant, who wandered about the country performing ceremonies at spots where he left behind him spirit children who emanated from his body.[1] In essential features this belief is very closely similar to that of the Urabunna tribe, in which descent is counted in the female line. All of the members of a totemic group

[1] For details in regard to this see later.

are the direct offspring of one ancestor—a feature which we meet with from the Warramunga tribe right through to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The ancestor of the black-snake totem, for example, arose in a water-hole on the Tennant Creek ; he wandered over the country performing ceremonies, making creeks and hills, and leaving all along his tracks plenty of spirit black-snake children who are now resident in the rocks around the water-holes and in the gum-trees which border the creek. No woman at the present day will venture to strike one of these trees with a tomahawk, as she is firmly convinced that this would have the effect of releasing one of these spirit children, who would immediately enter her body.

In the case of another snake-totem ancestor, we meet with other points of interest which will serve to show at once the agreement in the main essential point, and the very considerable differences which exist in regard to details between the Arunta tribe on the one hand and the Warramunga on the other—differences, however, which are bridged over by the intervening Kaitish tribe. Tradition relates that in the Wingara—the Alcheringa of the Warramunga—a Tjunguri man of the Nappa-undattha, a green-coloured, harmless snake totem, arose at Nai-irini in Binbinga country, sitting down—so the natives say—at first below the ground. In many of the Warramunga traditions we meet with this feature, that at first the old ancestor walks about under the ground, only coming out at a later stage. This coming out is spoken of as *meltjinta*, the final going down is *palpala*. The snake came out from a native well,—as yet he was a snake and not a human being,—and there found a Tjapeltjeri boy whom he took on with him. He stopped at various spots, leaving spirit children behind him where he performed sacred ceremonies. He changed into a Panunkulla, another kind of snake, travelled on, making ceremonies ; changed into a Nathakura snake, travelled on and made more ceremonies, leaving children behind at various *mungai* spots.[1] Every time that he changed his totem that of the Tjapeltjeri

[1] These *mungai* spots are exactly equivalent to the *oknanikillas* of the Arunta tribe or the *paltinta* of the Urabunna.

boy changed also. He himself was a Tjunguri, and therefore all of his offspring were Tjapeltjeri, and they came out from his muscles when he shook himself. After a time he took a lot of his children with him as he travelled along, and, coming into Warramunga country, changed into a Kundatjeri snake, and still later on into a Kutnakitji snake. In this way the one individual was the ancestor of a number of different snake totemic groups. He himself had no Churinga, but he stole a small one which belonged to the ancestor of the Wollunqua snake totem.

We have now passed almost completely beyond the tribes in which there is the association between the individual and the Churinga, which is such a striking feature in the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes, though it is not so strongly developed in the last as in the first two. The Warramunga have indeed a certain number of Churinga, but very few as compared with the Arunta, and, practically, they do not figure in their totemic ceremonies, though in certain of their traditions their ancestors are described as possessing and swinging them as bull-roarers.

We have stated above that there are rare exceptions to the usual traditional origin of the totem from a single individual. The most noticeable of them relate to some women called *munga-munga*, who belonged to the yam totem. They seem to have sprung into existence close to the home of the great black snake at Tjinqurokora, and, in obedience to him, went away out towards the east into the country of the Worgaia tribe, carrying their yams with them and depositing them in Worgaia country, each one, just like the Churinga of the Arunta, being associated with a spirit child. These yams are now represented by stone Churinga, and in this respect serve to link these tribes on to the more southern ones. They form indeed the last instance with which we came in contact, whilst travelling northwards from the Arunta tribe, of the association of a spirit child with a Churinga.

In the Warramunga group the descent of the totem, almost without exception, follows in the paternal line, and the totems are markedly divided into two groups, one belonging to the Kingilli half of the tribe and the other to

the Uluuru. In consequence of the ideas relating to the origin of each totemic group from one individual ancestor, we have no original—that is, no Alcheringa mixture, in the case of any totem, of individuals belonging to both moieties of the tribe, and therefore at the present day we have a corresponding separation of the totems into two groups, one associated with the Kingilli and one with the Uluuru. At the same time, in very rare instances we do meet with a man whose totem is not the same as that of his father; but it would be quite possible, amongst a camp containing a hundred or more individuals, not to find a single one whose totem was not the same as that of his or her father. It follows also that, in the Warramunga group, a man must marry a woman of a different totem to his own; in fact, if by chance a woman should be born into his own totemic group, although she belonged to a class into which he might lawfully marry, then that woman, despite the latter fact, would be strictly tabooed to him as a wife.

Just as in the southern tribes, so here the men of the totem are regarded as responsible for the securing of the increase of the animal or plant from which they take their totemic name. Amongst the Warramunga we find a further development of the idea—the first indication of which is met with amongst the Kaitish—that the members of one moiety of the tribe take charge, as it were, of the ceremonies of the other moiety, which are destined to secure the increase of their own food supply. The idea is carried to such an extent that neither moiety actually performs any of its totemic ceremonies without being requested to do so by the members of the other side. In the Arunta, on the contrary, no member of one moiety may come anywhere near to the spot at which men of the other are preparing a ceremony save by special invitation, which is only very rarely given. In the Warramunga, on the contrary, with the exception of the men who are actually performing, no member of the moiety with which the totem is connected may come anywhere near to the place of preparation. In the Arunta and the Warramunga conditions are exactly reversed, but, as in other matters, so here we find an intermediate state in the Kaitish,

amongst whom the members of one totemic group act, so to speak, on their own initiative, as they do in the Arunta ; but, as in the Warramunga, they are actually decorated by men of the other moiety, who also provide everything that is necessary for the purpose—ochre, blood, bird's down, etc.

Amongst the Warramunga we did not meet with a single instance of an individual who was a member of a totemic group belonging to the moiety of the tribe to which he himself did not belong, and, further, we only met with rare cases in which a child was not of the totem of his or her father. In one of these the father was a Wollunqua snake, and the son belonged to the water totem, and in the other the father was a lizard and the son hailstone.

The following will serve as typical instances of the arrangement in the Warramunga and allied tribes :—

(1) Warramunga tribe. A Tjupila man of the Winithonguru or wild-cat totem. Father, wild cat ; father's father, wild cat. Mother, emu. Brother and sister, wild cat.

(2) Warramunga tribe. A Thakomara man of the hailstone totem. Father, Lirripitji or lizard ; father's father, Lirripitji. Mother, Woruquarri, a little rat. Children, two sons and one daughter, Lirripitji. Wife, Wollunqua.

(3) Warramunga tribe. A Thungalla man of the white-hawk totem. Father, white hawk ; father's father, Nappa, water. Mother, Lunkulungu, white ant's eggs. Son, white hawk. Wife, Wollunqua.

(4) Warramunga tribe. A Tjambin man of the Unkurthurta totem, a little snake. Father and father's father, Unkurthurta. Mother, Nappa, water.

(5) Walpari tribe. A Tjupila man of the Gnungapuna (honey bag) totem. Father and father's father, honey bag. Children, son and daughter, honey bag.

(6) Worgaia tribe. An Ikamaru man of the Menadji (yam) totem. Father and father's father, Menadji. Brother, Menadji. Mother, Napukuntatjera, a little snake. Children, Menadji.

(7) Wulmala tribe. Two Tjunguri men (brothers) of

the Tjudia (deaf adder) totem. Father, Tjudia; father's father, Tjudia.[1]

(8) Walpari tribe. A Tjunguri man of the Wintaku (curlew) totem. Father and father's father, Wintaku. Brother, Wintaku. Mother, Gnungapuna, honey bag. Wife, snake. Children, Wintaku.

These examples could be multiplied indefinitely. The striking features are (1) that the descent of the totem is almost without exception in the paternal line, and (2) that a man never marries a woman of his own totem.

The relationship between a man and his totem, so far as eating restrictions are concerned, is very simple but at the same time strict. He may neither kill nor eat it, and the same applies to the totem of his father and father's father, whether these be, one or both of them, identical with, or different from, his own. Of course as a general rule they are identical, but if not the same restriction still applies. There is some difference in regard to the relationship between a man and his mother's totem. In the Walpari this may be eaten if given to a man by a member of the moiety with which the totem is associated. Thus the Tjunguri (curlew) man will eat honey bag—his mother's totem—if it be given to him by a Kingilli man. In the case of a Walpari man whose mother belonged to the fire totem, he obtains a fire-stick, when he wants one, from a man who belongs to the half of the tribe with which the fire totem is associated. In the Worgaia—at all events in the western section of the tribe—the mother's totem is strictly tabooed and must not be eaten; in the Warramunga a man will not kill it himself, and will only partake of it if it be given to him by a member of the other moiety of the tribe—that is, by a man who belongs to the half of the tribe to which that particular totem is regarded as belonging. For example, a Tjupila man of the wild-cat totem, whose mother was an emu, will

[1] These two men both entered their mother at a water-hole called Thali-ippi, where in the Wingara the ancestor of the Tjudia totem left them behind in spirit form. They may not drink water from the pool at Thali-ippi. Close by there are spots inhabited by opossum and witchetty grub spirits, and therefore these two men regard themselves as having a special association with these two totemic groups. This locality association is characteristic of all the tribes.

not kill the bird, and will only eat it if it be given to him by a member of the Uluuru moiety to which the totem belongs. In the case of a Tjambin, whose mother's totem was water, water is given to him by any man of the Uluuru half, though, in this particular instance, if he happens to be out alone and thirsty, there is no objection to his obtaining it for himself, but by preference he will receive it at the hands of another individual.

The general relationship existing in the Warramunga tribe between the various members of the tribal groups and any particular totem may be clearly seen by reference to the black-snake totem. This belongs to Thapanunga and Thapungarti men, and has its centre at a water-hole called Tjinqurokora on the Tennant Creek. The men and women of the totem, and those whose fathers or father's fathers belonged to it, are forbidden to eat the animal at all. Those whose mother's totem it was only eat if it be given to them by Uluuru men. The Tjunguri and Tjapeltjeri men amongst the Uluuru, and the Thapanunga and Thapungarti men who do not belong to the totem, only eat it if it be given to them by Kingilli men, who may eat it freely at all times. No woman may go anywhere near to Tjinqurokora to draw water; all initiated men may go there, but the men of the totem may not drink at the spot; the Kingilli drink freely there, but the Tjunguri, Tjapeltjeri, Thapanunga, and Thapungarti men who do not belong to the totem, only drink the water if it be given to them by the Kingilli. Here we find restrictions which not only apply to the totemic animal itself, but, in addition, are concerned with the water-hole where the animal arose.[1] In the case of all totems the restrictions seem to be done away with in the instance of very old men; they may eat everything, but this only

[1] It will be seen from this account that there is a fundamental difference between the relationship supposed to exist in the case of a man's own totem and that of the totems associated with his own moiety and, on the other hand, the totem of his mother. The latter he will eat *if it be given to him by a member of the moiety with which it is associated.* If it be his own, or his father's or father's father, then he will not eat it at all; but if this restriction does not apply, then a man will only eat a particular animal or plant which is associated with a totemic group belonging to his own moiety of the tribe *if it be given to him by a man belonging to the other moiety of the tribe.*

when they are really very old and their hair is turning white.

Certain totemic groups in the southern section of the Warramunga have a very interesting ceremony which serves as the conclusion of the burial rites, and is very suggestive in regard to the totems. This is described elsewhere in detail; here it will be sufficient to say that some twelve months, or even more, after the body has been laid on the platform of boughs, which serve as the first burial-place, the bones are taken down and buried in the ground, with the exception of one arm-bone. This is very carefully wrapped up in bark, wound round and round with fur-string. If it be that of a woman a tuft of emu feathers, and if it be that of a man, one of owl feathers, is added. This final rite always takes place towards the close of a long series of totemic ceremonies in connection with which certain designs, emblematic of some totem, are drawn upon the ground. In two which we witnessed these drawings had reference to snake totems belonging to the moiety of the tribe to which, in each instance, the dead person had belonged—in one instance to the individual's own totem, though there is no necessity for this to be the case. The totem must, however, always be one of those associated with the moiety of the tribe to which the dead person belonged. A small pit was dug beside the totemic design drawn on the ground; the men who had performed the ceremony—their bodies still decorated with the totemic designs—stood straddle-legged, one behind the other, across a small trench fifteen feet long. The women, one of whom carried the bone, were summoned to attend, and, forming in single file, they all passed along the trench, creeping on hands and knees beneath the bodies of the men. The last one carried the bone, and as she emerged from the trench it was snatched from her and at once carried across to where a man stood ready beside the little pit with a stone axe uplifted. With one blow the bone was broken, and immediately thrust into the ground beside the totemic design, and the mouth of the pit closed with a small flat stone. After this ceremony has been performed the

spirit is supposed to return to its *mungai* spot, and finally it undergoes reincarnation.

Passing away towards the east we meet with two tribes, the Umbaia and Gnanji, which in general features agree very closely with the Warramunga. The totems are strictly divided up between the two moieties of the tribe. It therefore follows that a woman of the same totem as himself is forbidden as wife to a man of that totem. With only the very rarest exceptions the children follow the father. The Umbaia are in contact on their western border with the Tjingilli, and on their eastern with the Gnanji. The following will serve as examples of what takes place in these tribes: —(1) A Paliarinji man of a snake totem; father, father's father, sisters, children, all of the same snake totem. (2) A Tjamerum man of another snake totem; father, father's father, sisters, brothers, and children all snake. (3) A Tjameraku man of the wallaby totem; wife, snake; father, father's father, and children all wallaby. (4) A Tjameraku man of the kangaroo totem; wife, snake; father, father's father, and children all kangaroo. The restrictions with regard to eating are the same as those in the Warramunga and Tjingilli.

In these tribes there is a belief, which is of some interest as indicating a transition from the curiously irregular descent of the totem, as we find it arranged amongst the Arunta tribe, to the strictly paternal descent of the totem which is met with amongst the coastal tribes. The Gnanji belief is that certain of the spirit individuals belonging to a man's totem follow him about if he travels into a part of the country not associated with his own totem. For example, we were speaking amongst others to a snake man, close by the side of two water-holes in Gnanji country, one of which was associated with, and had been made in, the Alcheringa by a goshawk and the other by a bee. Certain trees and stones on their banks are supposed to be full of bee and goshawk spirits. The snake totem belongs to one moiety of the tribe and the bee and goshawk to the other, and the natives told us that the snake-man's wife could not possibly conceive a bee or goshawk child there, because no such

spirit would think of going inside the wife of a snake man. If she were to conceive a child at that spot it would simply mean that a snake spirit had followed the father up from his own place and had gone inside the woman. It is, they say, possible—but the cases in which it occurs are very rare—for a child not to belong to its father's totem, but in such instances it always belongs to one which is associated with his own moiety of the tribe.

The ideas of the Umbaia and Gnanji in regard to their totemic ancestors are practically identical with those of the Warramunga. Each totemic group of individuals originated as the offspring of one ancestral, eponymous creature who walked about the country making ranges, creeks, water-holes, and other natural features. Wherever he performed sacred ceremonies, there he left behind him spirit individuals, who emanated from his body. A curious feature, however, in connection with the Gnanji tribe, and one in which it stands by itself, is the idea that a woman has no *moidna* or spirit part. They were quite definite on this point. There are large numbers of spirit female-children, but they never undergo reincarnation. The Gnanji to whom we spoke were quite aware of the fact that this is not the belief of either the Umbaia or the Binbinga tribe, with both of whom they come into contact, and it is rather strange to find so curious and isolated a belief in this one tribe, which, in all other respects, is so closely similar to those by which it is surrounded.[1]

To the east of the Gnanji we come to the Binbinga tribe, which inhabits the country from the head waters of the Macarthur River down to within about fifty miles of the coast. In this tribe the descent of the totem is strictly paternal. Exactly as was the case in the Warramunga, Tjingilli, etc., so in the Binbinga, the totems are divided between the two moieties, with the result that a man must marry a woman of some other totem than his own. The two following will serve as examples :—

[1] It may be noted that the Gnanji do not appear to associate much with other tribes. They are a wild, savage-looking people, and form a kind of buffer between the coastal and the inland tribes.

(1) A Paliarinji man of the Ulanji (a snake) totem. Father, father's father, Ulanji. Mother, dingo. Wife No. 1, kangaroo; wife No. 2, kangaroo. Brothers, sisters, and children all Ulanji.

(2) A Tjurulum man of the dingo totem. Father, father's father, dingo. Mother, snake. Wife, snake. Sisters, brothers, and children all dingo.

In this tribe, again, the individual does not eat his own totemic animal or plant, and only very sparingly of that of his mother. Thus, for example, the Paliarinji man does not touch the snake Ulanji, and only eats sparingly of the dingo, his mother's totem.

The Binbinga have also the characteristic belief in the descent of the members of the totemic group from a single Alcheringa ancestor. Thus the snake Ulanji arose, according to tradition, at a place called Markumundana, where he came out of the ground.[1] He walked along to a big sand-hill, Windilumba, where he made a spring, and also a mountain close by. He crossed what is now known as the Limmen Creek, and made a range of hills and a valley, with a large number of water-holes and plenty of lilies in them. He left behind numbers of Ulanji spirits wherever he performed ceremonies. These spirits emanated from his body. After travelling over a great extent of country, and making many *mungai* spots, he finally went into the ground at a big water-hole called Uminiwura. The Binbinga believe that both men and women can see the spirit children at the *mungai* spots.

Each totem has its headman called *Mungaringi*, and the headship descends from father to son, though, if there be no son, or if he be too young to act, then it passes to the father's eldest surviving brother.

To the east of the Binbinga, again, are the Mara and Anula tribes, the latter occupying the country round about the mouth of the Macarthur River and extending across into the Pellew Islands. The organisation of these tribes differs from that of those previously dealt with, as there are only two classes in each moiety, and the totems are

[1] For a full account of this tradition see later.

divided up amongst them. In the Mara the classes are named Murungun and Mumbali, forming one moiety of the tribe, and Purdal and Kuial forming the other, and the totems are distributed as follows :—

Murungun has eagle-hawk, yellow snake, hill kangaroo, large crocodile, parrot, galah, stone, salt water.

Mumbali has whirlwind, a poisonous snake, white hawk, crow, opossum, salt-water mullet, stingaree.

Purdal has blue-headed snake, big kangaroo, crane, wallaby, little fish-hawk, dingo, barramunda, rain, sand-hill snake, little crocodile.

Kuial has emu, turkey, goanna, white cockatoo, grasshopper, water snake, kite, jabiru, groper, turtle.

In the Anula the classes are named Awukaria and Roumburia, forming one moiety, and Urtalia and Wialia forming the other; and the totems are distributed as follows :—

Awukaria has dugong, two salt-water turtles, called respectively Murulanka and Thuriutu, a snake called Gnurwa, native companion, euro, ground sugar-bag, large eagle-hawk, pearl oyster, small crocodile, and small shark.

Roumburia has large shark, snake called Napintipinti, large crane, small crane, dollar bird, curlew, stingaree, mullet, whirlwind, opossum.

Wialia has fish called Runutji, sugar-bag, cold weather, wild fowl called Talulthalpuna, emu, and a hawk called Mularakaka.

Urtalia has a fish-hawk called Tjutjutju, a snake called Rapupuna, lightning, water snake called Arrikarika, barramunda, a fresh-water fish called Wurr-wurr, and three salt-water fishes called respectively Amukarra, Warranunga, Oaria, and two turtles called Undiniuka and Gnoalia.

It follows from the distribution of the totems indicated above that in the Anula and Mara tribes a man cannot marry a woman of his own totem; he can only marry one belonging to the right subclass, and the descent of the totem is strictly paternal. The following cases will serve as examples :—

(1) An Urtalia man of the Tjutjutju (fish-hawk) totem.

Father and father's father, Tjutjutju. Wife, small shark. Children, Tjutjutju. Mother, small shark.

(2) A Roumburia man of the whirlwind totem. Father and father's father, whirlwind. Wife, lizard. Children, whirlwind.

(3) An Awukaria man of the pearl-oyster totem. Father and father's father, pearl oyster. Mother, fish-hawk. Wife, lightning. Brother, sister, and children all pearl oyster.

(4) A Mumbali man of the whirlwind totem. Father and father's father, whirlwind. Wife, kangaroo. Brothers, sisters, and children all whirlwind.

(5) A Purdal man of the kangaroo totem. Father and father's father, kangaroo. Wife, eagle-hawk. Children, kangaroo.

In these tribes a man does not eat his own totem, and, as in the Gnanji, he only eats very sparingly that of his mother. Thus, for example, the Urtalia man above mentioned told us that he did not eat the fish-hawk called Tjutjutju at all, and only very small shark, which was his mother's totem. The latter is a very common feature—that is, a man will not usually eat the fully grown specimens of the animals after which his mother's totemic group takes its name; but there is no objection to his eating half-grown ones, or sometimes, perhaps, he will eat just a little of a fully grown one.

As we have said elsewhere, though unmistakable traces of them are to be found, the Intichiuma ceremonies are very slightly developed amongst these coastal tribes, a feature which is doubtless to be associated with the fact that they inhabit country where the food supply and general conditions of life are more favourable than in the central area of the continent, which is the home of these ceremonies.

That there is, however, a very close association between the man and his totem is shown most unmistakably at the time of the performance of the final burial rites, which are fully described elsewhere.[1] On this occasion the natives from various localities assemble together, and ceremonies relating to the ancestor of the totemic group to which the

[1] Cf. chapter on burial and mourning ceremonies.

dead man or woman belonged are performed under the superintendence of the dead person's father. Finally, a hollow log is brought on to the ceremonial ground, decorated with some design characteristic of the totem, and in this the bones are then deposited, the totemic coffin being afterwards placed by the side of a water-hole, where it is left untouched. In this way every individual of the tribe is thus, as it were, gathered finally unto his totem. The spirit part, which the Binbinga people call *kutulu*, goes back to its *mungai* spot, and sooner or later undergoes reincarnation. In the case of the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes it may be noted, in conclusion, that the natives are very clear upon the point that the spirit children know which are the right lubras for them respectively to enter, and each one deliberately chooses his or her own mother.

To review briefly the main features concerned with the totems from the Urabunna tribe northwards to the Gulf of Carpentaria. In every tribe without exception the belief in reincarnation is universal. In the Urabunna and allied tribes the descent of the totem follows in the mother's line; in the Arunta nation it follows of necessity neither in that of the mother nor in that of the father; almost always in the Warramunga nation, and without exception in the Binbinga and Mara nations, it follows in that of the father.

Every individual is the reincarnation of a spirit left behind by totemic ancestors in a far past time. The method of determining the totem of the individual varies in different tribes, the idea of the Arunta and Kaitish tribes, who inhabit the central area, being probably the simplest and most primitive in this respect. Various spots are inhabited by spirit individuals of a particular totem, and a child conceived at any spot is naturally regarded as the reincarnation of one of those spirit ancestors, and thus, of course, belongs to that special totemic group. Nothing could be simpler than this. On the other hand, the most complicated ideas are those of the Urabunna tribe, in which we have maternal descent and division of the tribe into two moieties without names for classes and subclasses. Here we have just the same fundamental idea of spirits left

behind by totemic ancestors who were few in number, but the spirit is supposed to choose deliberately its own mother, and to decline to enter a women belonging to the same moiety as that to which its last mother belonged. The result is that at each successive reincarnation the moiety and totem of the individual change, and, further still, the sex is supposed to be changed. When born, the child follows the totem of its mother, and when the individual dies the spirit returns to its ancestral home, there to await reincarnation. In the Urabunna tribe the members of each totemic group arose as the direct offspring of one or two eponymous ancestors.

In the Arunta, Iliaura, Ilpirra, and Unmatjera tribes we meet with companies of Alcheringa ancestors who arose at first in the form of incomplete human beings and were the direct transformations of eponymous, totemic animals. In the Kaitish tribe we have, in some instances, traditions of similar companies of Alcheringa ancestors, but in other cases there were, to begin with, only one or two individuals who gave rise to numbers of others. In some instances the Alcheringa ancestors arose, first of all, in the form of incomplete men and women, exactly as they all did in the Arunta; but in others they arose from the beginning as complete men and women, and in some cases even they arose as the offspring of one great, eponymous ancestor. In the Kaitish also we find the totems divided to a large extent between the two moieties of the tribe, so that it is a very rare thing for a man to marry a woman of the same totem as himself; but there is very little indication of paternal descent so far as the totem is concerned. It may follow either that of the father or that of the mother, but there is no necessity, any more than there is in the Arunta, for it to follow either.

In the Warramunga, Wulmala, Walpari, Tjingilli, and Umbaia tribes the division of the totems between the two moieties is complete, and, with very few exceptions indeed, the children follow the father. They always pass into a totemic group belonging to the father's moiety, and a man may not marry a woman of his own totem. He never eats

his own totemic animal or plant nor that of his father, even if this be different from his own, and only eats a little of that of his mother. In most cases, but not in all, the totemic groups arose as the direct offspring of one great, eponymous ancestor.

In the Gnanji tribe we have fundamentally the same beliefs, with the addition that the natives think that some of the spirits of his totemic ancestors, or at least of the ancestors of the local group of which he is a member, follow a man up as he travels about from one place to another, and that only spirits of certain totems will actually go into women of certain other totems. In regard, again, to eating, the individual will not eat either his own or his father's totem, and only sparingly of that of his mother.

In the Binbinga, Mara, and Anula tribes the totems are strictly divided up between the moieties or classes, so that a man is forbidden to marry a woman of his own totem The totems of the children very strictly follow that of the father, and the eating of a man's own totem, and usually also that of his mother, is forbidden. These tribes are further characterised by the fact that a dead person's bones are finally buried in a log coffin decorated with a design of his or her totem—an earlier indication of a somewhat similar custom being met with amongst the Warramunga, where, in certain cases, an arm-bone is buried in the ground by the side of a totemic design.

CHAPTER VI

SACRED CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE TOTEMS

Ceremonies in the Arunta tribe—Use of Churinga in connection with them—Performance of ceremonies of the witchetty grub and sun totems—Ceremonies of the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes—Ceremony of the Erlipinna, Erlia, and water totems in the Kaitish—Ceremonies of the Warramunga tribe—Performance of a continuous series, and not of isolated ones, as in the Arunta—List of ceremonies witnessed in the Warramunga tribe—Men of one moiety asked to perform their ceremonies by men of the other—Wearing of *Tjintilli*—Ceremonies of an ant totem—Method of conclusion of ceremony distinctive of different tribes—Thaballa totem ceremonies—Ceremony of the Pau-wa, a mythic mischievous beast, and of the Ingwuna, a mischievous spirit—*Tappin* or *Wonna* (cold) ceremony—Making of the *Miniurka* and showing it to the Kingilli men—Driving two recently initiated youths out of the lubras' camp—Tjingilli ceremonies—Method of performance—Strangers witnessing ceremonies and the subsequent presentation of food—Umbaia ceremonies and the method of their performance—Use of the stone *Anjulukuli*—Breaking a decorated slab at the close of a snake ceremony—Gnanji ceremony—Anula ceremony of the Ulanji totem—Wide distribution of totemic ceremonies—Collins' account.

THE various ceremonies performed by Australian aborigines may be divided into two groups, which are sharply marked off from one another. The one series comprises those which may be witnessed, and perhaps taken part in by women or even children, the other includes those which only initiated men may see and take part in.

The great majority of the latter are connected with the totems, and refer to episodes in the lives of totemic ancestors. Ceremonies such as these are met with in all of the tribes studied by us.

It is astonishing how large a part of a native's life is occupied with the performance of these ceremonies, the enacting of which extends sometimes over the whole of two

or three months, during which time one or more will be performed daily. They are often, though by no means always, associated with the performance of the ceremonies attendant upon initiation of young men, or are connected with Intichiuma, and, so far as general features are concerned, there is a wonderful agreement amongst them in all of the central and northern tribes.

In the Arunta tribe, when a boy is circumcised or subincised, he is always shown a few of these ceremonies, which he then sees and learns the meaning of for the first time. At a later period he passes through the Engwura, when a considerable number of natives from different localities are gathered together and a very large number of ceremonies are performed. The Engwura which we witnessed, and have elsewhere described,[1] began in the middle of September and continued until the middle of the succeeding January. During the months of October, November, and nearly the whole of December there was a constant succession of ceremonies, not a day passing without one, and occasionally there were as many as five or six performed within the twenty-four hours. In the Arunta very favourite times for the performance of these ceremonies are just at sunrise and sunset.

As a general rule the number of performers is very small, —very rarely exceeding two or three,—and in the northern part of the tribe there is frequently a sacred pole or *nurtunja*[2] used, and in the southern part a *waninga*.[3] These sacred objects usually represent the totemic animal or plant, and to the first named a number of Churinga are very often attached which belong to individual members of the totem. In the Arunta tribe Churinga are very largely used in connection with sacred ceremonies. When a series of these is going to be performed, the first thing that is done is for one or two of the old men to go to the sacred storehouse and bring thence a large number of Churinga. They place these on a special platform built on the ceremonial ground, the spot being regarded as sacred so long as the Churinga remain there.

[1] *N. T.* p. 271. [2] *Ibid.* p. 253. [3] *Ibid.* p. 307.

Sometimes also other objects, such as a shield, or *pitchi*, will be used in connection with the ceremonies. A most characteristic feature of the latter is that the bodies of the performers, as well as any object used during the ceremony, are always decorated with designs done in bird's down, which is called *undattha*—the ceremonies themselves being spoken of as *quabara undattha*.[1] There is not, in the Arunta tribe, any definite order in which the ceremonies are performed, their nature and the time and order of their performance being settled by a few of the leading old men who are present. Men who have had much experience and are looked upon as authorities in these matters are called *oknirabata*, or great teachers.

We have previously described a large number of the Arunta ceremonies, and will here only briefly refer to three which we witnessed during our last visit to the Macdonnell Ranges, which will serve as types of those met with amongst this tribe. Two were concerned with the witchetty grub totem and one with the sun totem. The two first were performed without a break, one after the other, at spots separated by a distance of about two hundred yards. In each case there was only one performer, the headman of the local witchetty grub group. Throughout the whole performance the greatest solemnity was observed; indeed, the solemn behaviour of the members of the Arunta and Kaitish tribes during the performance of ceremonies such as these is most marked—much more so than in the case of the more northern tribes.

The first performance was connected with the Unchalka grub of a place called Adnuringa, and as usual, during the preparation for the ceremony, no one was allowed to be present except the members of the totem. The upper part of the performer's body was decorated with lines of white and red down, and a shield was ornamented with a number of larger and smaller series of concentric circles of down. The former, according to the natives, represented the Unchalka bush on which the grub lives first of all, and the

[1] Similar ceremonies are enacted by the Urabunna tribe, who call them *wadni wandattha*, the ordinary dancing corrobboree being called *warundi*.

latter the Udniringa bush, on which the adult insect lays its eggs. This shield is spoken of as *churinga alkurta.*

When the decoration of the shield and performers was complete, the men in camp were called up and seated themselves on the ground in silence, forming a semicircle in front of the performer, who alternately bent his body double upon the ground and lifted himself up on his knees; as he did so he quivered his extended arms, which were supposed to represent the wings of the insect. Every now and again he bent forward, swaying up and down and from side to side over the shield, in imitation of the insect hovering over the bushes on which it lays its eggs (Fig. 45). As soon as this ceremony was over the audience arose and silently walked across to the spot at which the performer of the second sat on the ground with two decorated shields beside him. He represented a celebrated ancestor of the Udniringita (witchetty grub) totem called Urangara. Of the two shields, a smaller one was ornamented with zigzag lines of white pipe-clay which were supposed to indicate the tracks of the Udniringita grub, while a bigger one was covered with larger and smaller series of concentric circles of down, the former representing the seeds of an Eremophila bush on which the grub feeds, and the latter the eggs of the adult insect (Fig. 46). As in the first ceremony the men sat down silently while the performer wriggled, imitating the fluttering of the insect when first it leaves its chrysalis case in the ground and attempts to fly. There was no singing or dancing about, and when all was over the men sat for some time in silence, and then, as they gathered more closely together, the larger shield was taken and pressed in turn against the stomach of each of them, whilst one of the oldest members of the totem group brought a recently initiated youth on to the ground and explained to him the meaning of the ceremony; while this was being done the shield was held against his stomach for some little time (Fig. 47). This touching of the body with some sacred object used during the performance of a ceremony is a very characteristic feature of all sacred ceremonies in the Arunta tribe. It is called *atnitta ulpailima*, which means, literally, softening the stomach. The natives

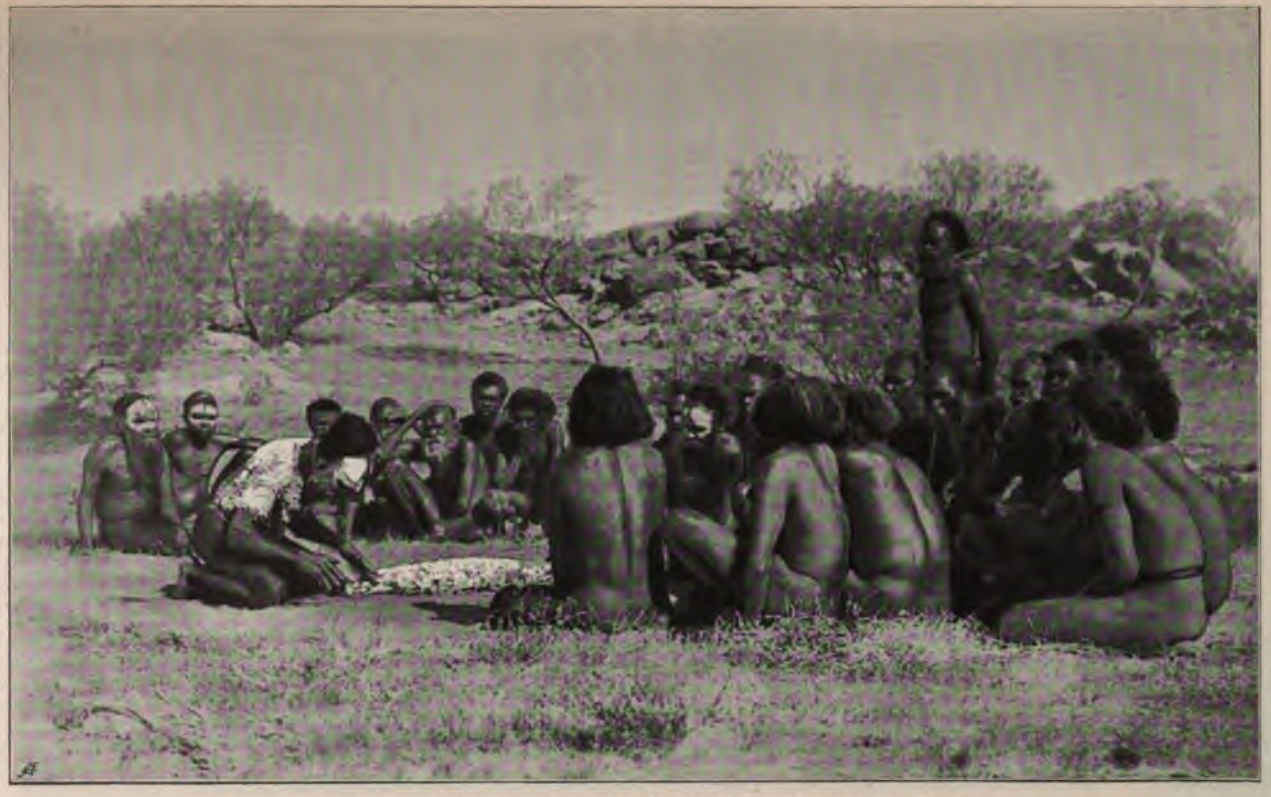


FIG. 45—CEREMONY OF UDNIRINGITA (A GRUB) TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

say that their inward parts get tied up in knots, owing to the emotions which they experience when witnessing the ceremonies concerned with their dead ancestors, and that the only way to soften and untie them is to touch them with some sacred object out of which, in a vague kind of way, they imagine some virtue to pass. Very often also the performer will go up to the old men, when the ceremony is over, and embrace them one after the other.

The ceremony concerned with the sun totem was performed in a slightly different manner from those described above, but in a way very characteristic of many Arunta ceremonies. There were two performers—one representing an Unjiamba and the other a sun ancestor. The reason for this was that, in the Alcheringa the sun, who was a woman named Okerka, arose first of all at a spot called Urapaila, in the country of the Unjiamba (Hakea flower) people. The Unjiamba man carried a small *nurtunja* (sacred pole) representing the plant and having the form of a bar about four feet long and four inches in diameter, made of grass stalks tied round with human hair-string and decorated with longitudinal lines of white down. This was carried horizontally, attached to a head-dress made in the usual way and ornamented with a design of down continued below on to the man's face. The second man carried a small disc about one foot in diameter, made of grass stalks and hair-string and entirely covered with down. A central patch represented the navel of the original sun ancestor, and radiating out from this were alternating lines of red and white down representing the sun's rays (Fig. 48). The performer, like the first man, belonged to the Hakea plant totem, his sacred name being Alej-me-akka, the name given to the head of the flowers of the Hakea, from which a very favourite drink of the natives is made by steeping them in water. Both performers knelt close together on the ground, as shown in the illustration, and then the other men who had been summoned came running up and circled round and round them, shouting *Wah! wah!* as they did so. Gradually they drew in closer and closer towards the performers, who swayed their bodies about from side to side, until at length the ceremony came

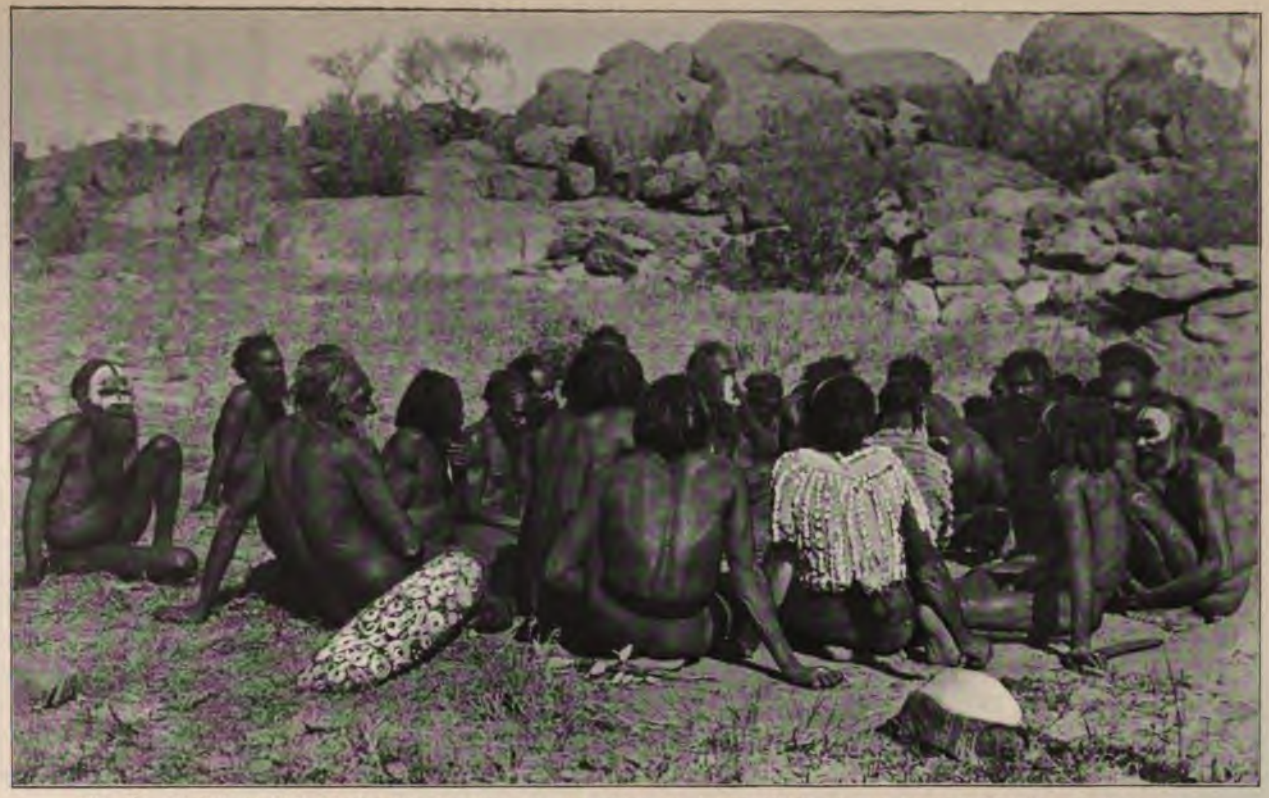


FIG. 46.—GROUP OF MEN DISCUSSING MATTERS AT THE CLOSE OF A CEREMONY OF THE UDNIRINGITA (A GRUB) TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

to an end in a way very characteristic of the Arunta tribe, two men laying their hands upon the shoulders of the performers, whose movements then ceased.

This method of closing the sacred ceremony, together with the subsequent touching the bodies of the older men with something which has been used in the performance, and is therefore, for the time being, Churinga, or sacred, are two

FIG. 47.—OLD MEN EXPLAINING TOTEMIC MATTERS TO A YOUNG MAN AT THE CLOSE OF A TOTEMIC CEREMONY.

At the same time a decorated shield used during the ceremony is pressed against his stomach.

features which distinguish the ceremonies of the Arunta from those of all other tribes (Figs. 49 and 50).

In the Kaitish and Unmatjera the sacred ceremonies are, in all essential features, similar to those of the Arunta, but the *waninga*[1] is never, and the *nurtunja* (sacred pole) only seldom, met with. We may take the three following ceremonies as illustrative of these tribes. They were per-

[1] The *waninga* is a sacred ceremonial object varying much in size and form, but often resembling a banner.

formed one after the other in a secluded spot in the scrub, a mile away from the usual camping ground near to Barrow Creek.

The first was concerned with the Erlipinna or grass-seed totem, and in this there was only one performer, who was the head of the totem. He was an old Thungalla man. Years ago, when only a young man, he had taken part in an attack upon the isolated Barrow Creek telegraph station on the

FIG. 48.—PERFORMANCE OF A SACRED CEREMONY OF THE SUN TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

overland line, when two white men were murdered by the natives. He told us one day how that, after this had taken place, and when the few white men who could be mustered came in from north and south along the lonely line to avenge the death of their comrades, he had been caught sight of and pursued and had only saved himself by hiding in the crevice of some rocks under the friendly shelter of a bush, behind which he crouched in fear and trembling until his pursuers, little thinking that they were so close to him, had passed

by. It was fortunate for us that he was not seen, as he turned out to be a perfect repository of native lore.

During the performance of the first ceremony his body was ornamented with a broad band of red down edged with white, extending up the middle line of his chest, over his head, and down his back. On either side of this he had two discs of red down edged with white on his chest, one on each shoulder, and three on his back. The median band

FIG. 49.—CEREMONY OF ATNITTA ULPAILIMA.
Touching the stomachs of the men with some object used during the performance.

represented the unground and uncooked grass seed, and the discs the same after it had been ground and cooked (Fig. 51).

A space of a few yards square was cleared, and on this he knelt down, swaying his body from side to side as he moved along holding bunches of green mulga twigs[1] in his hands. The men who formed the audience stood grouped to one side of him, and after a short time one or two of them came up and pressed his head down, thus bringing the ceremony to a close.

[1] Mulga is a species of acacia (*A. aneura*) very common in Central Australia.

The second ceremony was connected with the Erlia or emu totem. In this there were four performers, who knelt down in a line one in front of the other on a cleared space, and swayed their bodies in the usual way from side to side, while they wriggled backwards and forwards on their knees. These men represented certain Alcheringa ancestors who lived at a spot called Alalkera, and half of whose Churinga

FIG. 50.—EMBRACING AFTER THE PERFORMANCE OF A SACRED CEREMONY. ARUNTA TRIBE.

were stolen by another Erlia man who had none (Figs. 52 and 53).

The third ceremony was of a somewhat different character. It was associated with the water totem group of a place called Anira, and was performed by five men, two of whom were Purula and three Kumara. The audience stood in line, shouting and beating boomerangs together, while the performers, who had secreted themselves behind bushes a hundred yards away, ran in towards them in a zigzag line, pausing every now and then to shake their bodies (Fig. 54.) The five performers were supposed to represent individuals associated with the tradition of the euro who was brought

up by the lubra of an ertua (wild turkey) man.[1] Owing to their origin from the whiskers of the two Alcheringa ancestors of the water totem group, the euros are closely associated with the latter. One of the men represented this euro and the other four iguanas. In the tradition the euro is reported

FIG. 51.—DECORATION OF PERFORMER IN CEREMONY OF A GRASS-SEED TOTEM. KAITISH TRIBE.

to have run away from the woman who had brought him up, and during the course of his travels he met with a number of iguana people, who tried to kill him with their lightning but were unsuccessful; in fact the euro completely turned the tables upon them and killed them with his

[1] For details of this see later chapter dealing with Traditions.

lightning. During the performance of this ceremony the euro man first of all ran in from the spot where he had been concealed in the scrub, and took up a position a little way in front of the audience. Here he stood still waiting and watching for the other four men, who ran in towards him one after the other. Each man in turn was supposed to attempt to kill and finally to be killed by the euro, tumbling down on to the ground and then retiring to one side.

FIG. 52.—PERFORMANCE OF A CEREMONY OF THE EMU TOTEM. KAITISH TRIBE.

When all four men had thus performed and were seated together on the ground, the audience, which had been particularly excited and demonstrative, came up and danced and shouted around them, their heads being finally pressed down in the usual way.

In the case of the Kaitish tribe ceremonies concerned with various totems are performed following closely upon one another, and each one is carried out on a separate spot. On one afternoon we saw six ceremonies enacted one after

FIG. 53.—METHOD OF BRINGING A SACRED CEREMONY TO A CLOSE. KAITISH TRIBE.

the other in as rapid succession as it was possible for the audience to move from one ceremonial ground to the next, which was perhaps only twenty or thirty yards away. The performers in each case were squatted down on the ground, always in single file, waiting for the audience to come up. There was none of the running round and round and yelling of *Wha! wha!* which forms so striking a feature of many Arunta ceremonies and is called *wahkutnimma.* In the one instance of the euro ceremony above described, there took place the preliminary hiding of the performers out in the bush, and their subsequent running in to the ceremonial ground. This is a very characteristic feature of the ceremonies of the Warramunga and other northern tribes, but is rarely met with in the Arunta and southern tribes.

The ceremonies of the Warramunga tribe differ to a certain extent from those of the Arunta, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. For one thing there is no such thing as a *nurtunja* or *waninga* used—in fact the Warramunga do not make them or indeed anything which can be regarded as their equivalents, nor do they use Churinga in their ceremonies. As we have pointed out elsewhere, the very centre of the continent occupied by the Arunta and Kaitish tribes is, *par excellence*, the home of the Churinga.

On the other hand the ceremonies are identical with those of the southern tribes so far as their significance is concerned—that is, they deal with and describe episodes in the lives of Alcheringa, or, as the Warramunga call them, Wingara ancestors. The decorations on the body are decidedly better executed than those of the Arunta, consisting usually of more definite and symmetrically drawn designs than in the case of the latter tribe. Further still the Warramunga do not, like the Arunta, perform odd ceremonies connected with various totems. At the Engwura, for example, among the Arunta, there was no set order of any kind regulating the performance of ceremonies connected with any given totem. On one day an Achilpa or wild-cat ceremony would be performed, and on a subsequent occasion another referring to the same would be enacted, but without the slightest reference to those either preceding or about to

FIG. 54.—AUDIENCE WATCHING A CEREMONY OF THE EURO (A KANGAROO) TOTEM. KAITISH TRIBE.
The men are singing and beating time.

follow. On the other hand, in the Warramunga all of the ceremonies connected with a given totem are performed in a regular sequence. The history of every ancestor is well known, and if, say, he arose at a spot A and walked on in succession to spots B, C, D, E, F, etc., halting and performing ceremonies as these ancestors always did, then, when his descendants perform these ceremonies at the present day, it is incumbent upon them to begin at the beginning and go steadily through the series. Thus, for example, in the case of the black snake and the Wollunqua, the series which we saw enacted began right at the beginning of the recorded history of the ancestral snake and went steadily through to the end of his wanderings. To a Warramunga the performance of ceremony F without the previous performance in regular order of those connected with A, B, C, D, and E would appear to be a very strange proceeding, whilst in the Arunta tribe one or all of them would be performed in any order.

This difference is perhaps largely to be accounted for by the fact that in the Arunta each separate ceremony is the property of some special individual who alone has the right of performing it, or of requesting some one else to do so, whilst in the Warramunga they are each and all of them the property, not of an individual, but of the whole totem group, and are under the charge of the headman of the group. They are not strictly his property, but he acts, as it were, in a vague kind of way, as the representative of the totemic group. As we have previously stated, however, even he cannot enact them of his own initiative, but only does so when requested by members of the half of the tribe to which he himself does not belong. In the Warramunga also the series of totemic ceremonies are intimately associated with, and performed at certain times as, Intichiuma ceremonies.

The following list will serve to give some idea of the extensive nature of the various performances as we saw them enacted by the Warramunga. We have also included in the list ceremonies connected with initiation, bone-breaking, burial, etc., indicating the order in which they occurred, as certain of them had reference to the totems.

The totemic ceremonies proper are divided into two groups—one associated with the Uluuru moiety of the tribe, and the other with the Kingilli. In the following table they are separated into two columns. In each case only the name of the totem with which the ceremony was connected is given, but it must be remembered that, just as in the southern tribes, each ceremony was associated with a special spot at which the Alcheringa ancestor of the totemic group halted and performed.

In the Warramunga these ceremonies, which the Arunta people call *quabara undattha*, are known by the name of *thuthu*, and may only be witnessed by fully initiated men.

Date.	Uluuru Ceremonies.	Kingilli Ceremonies.
1901.		
July 27.	Wollunqua. Thalaualla (black snake).	
,, 28.	Tjudia (deaf adder). Kulpu (honey bag).	Utu (wind).
,, 29.	Thalaualla.	
,, 30.	Thalaualla.	
,, 31.	...	Karinji (jabiru).[1] Thaballa (laughing boy). Utu (wind).
August 1.	Muntikera (carpet snake). Thalaualla.	Tjalikippa (white cockatoo). Thaballa.
,, 2.	Tjudia. Wollunqua.	Fire.
,, 3.	Wollunqua.	
,, 4.	Wollunqua.	
,, 5.	...	Utu.
,, 6.	Bringing in the bone of a dead Tjunguri woman and handing it over to her father.	Thaballa. Utu.
,, 7.	...	Itjilpi (ant).
,, 8.	Wollunqua. Ceremony of Mini-imburu. Building and destruction of the mound.	
,, 9.	Ceremony of subincision performed upon three youths at sunrise.	
,, 10.	...	Lirripitji (lizard). Itjilpi.
,, 11.	...	Itjilpi.

[1] Common name of *Mycteria australis*, a large, handsome bird of the stork tribe.

Date.	Uluuru Ceremonies.	Kingilli Ceremonies.
1901.		
August 12.	...	Utu. Itjilpi. Pau-wa (a mythical animal). Winithonguru (wild cat). Two ceremonies, one belonging to the Worgaia and the other to the Walpari tribe.
,, 13.	Wollunqua. Kai-in (boomerang).	
,, 14.	Wollunqua. Katakitji (lizard).	
,, 15.	Wollunqua. Tjudia.	
,, 16.	Mourning ceremonies attendant upon the death, on the previous day, of a Tjunguri man.	
,, 17.	Wollunqua.	
,, 18.	Wollunqua.	
,, 19.	Wollunqua.	
,, 20.	Wollunqua.	
,, 21.	Wollunqua. Ungwuna (*Kurdaitcha*).	
,, 22.	Wollunqua. Emu. Tjudia.	
,, 23.	Wollunqua (2). Watjinga (Echidna). Tjudia. Lunku-lungu (white ant eggs).	
	Ceremony of bone-breaking and the final burial rite in the case of the Tjunguri woman (see Aug. 6). During the evening the men who had to take part in the fire ceremony camped apart from the others, and early next morning the women and children gathered together not far from them, and the men approached in single file, alternately walking upright and kneeling down. After reaching the spot at which the women stood they wheeled round, ran away, and immediately started off to spend several days in the scrub.	
September 4.	Thalaualla.	
,, 5.	Erection of the pole called Tjirilpi in connection with the fire ceremony. The lubras danced round the pole, and the men, decorated with designs in ochre, approached the pole in single file, marched round it, and returned to their camp. The bone-arm of a dead Thungalla man was brought into camp prior to the performance of the final burial rites.	

Date.	Uluuru Ceremonies.	Kingilli Ceremonies.
1901. September 6.	The Tjapeltjeri and Tjunguri men were shut up in a bough wurley in which they had to remain all day. Five men were decorated for the performance of a Tjudia ceremony. All day spent in dancing and singing. In the afternoon the women were "rounded up" and fled into a wurley, at which the men hurled bark and sticks. The fire ceremony was enacted late at night and continued until daybreak.	
,, 8.	Thalaualla.	
,, 9.	Thalaualla.	
,, 10.	Thalaualla (2).	
,, 11.	Thalaualla.	
	Final burial ceremony in connection with the bone of the Thungalla man.	
,, 12.	Muntikera (carpet snake). Thankathatwa (snake).	Tappin or Wonna (cold).
,, 13.	...	Tappin or Wonna. Itjilpi (2). Tjalikippa (white cockatoo). Lirripitji. Thaballa. Naminpatunga (little bird). Utu. Kati (full-grown men).
,, 14.	...	Tappin or Wonna. Utu. Itjilpi.
,, 15.	...	Tappin or Wonna (2). Itjilpi (2). Utu. Thaballa. Naminpatunga. Kati.
,, 16.	...	Utu. Lirripitji. Itjilpi.
,, 17.	Miniurka made and brought on to the ground by the Uluuru men who "sang" it all night.	Kati (2). Utu. Itjilpi. Lirripitji.
,, 18.	Miniurka ceremony was performed at daybreak, when the Uluuru summoned the Kingilli to come and see the Miniurka.	

During the course of our stay amongst the Warramunga tribe we saw no fewer than eighty-eight of these sacred totemic ceremonies performed. They began on July 27, and when, owing to the necessity of having to reach the far north before the season of the monsoonal rains set in, we

were obliged to leave them on September 18, the series was by no means complete—in fact those connected with most of the totems had only just begun. They were distributed as follows:—Wollunqua, 16; Thalaualla (black snake), 10; Tjudia (deaf adder), 5; Kulpu (honey bag), 1; Muntikera (large Varanus lizard), 2; Emu, 1; Watjinga (Echidna), 1; Lunkulungu (white ant eggs), 1; Thankathatwa (carpet snake), 1; Utu (wind), 10; Itjilpi (lizard), 11; Thaballa (laughing boy), 5; Naminpatunga (little bird), 2; Lirripitji (lizard), 5; Kati (men), 4; Karinji (jabiru), 1; Tjalikippa (white cockatoo), 2; Katnakitji (lizard), 1; Fire, 1; Kaiin (boomerang), 1; Pau-wa (a mythical animal), 1; Tappin (cold), 5; Ungwuna, 1.

Ceremonies such as these occupy, as may easily be supposed, a very considerable length of time; it must also be remembered that their proper performance is a matter of very great importance in the eyes of the natives, because, not only do they serve to keep alive and hand down from generation to generation the traditions of the tribe, but they are, at least amongst the Warramunga, intimately associated with the most important object of maintaining the food supply, as every totemic group is held responsible for the maintenance of the material object the name of which it bears.

We have elsewhere described the ceremonies connected with the Thalaualla and Wollunqua totems, each of which is associated with the Uluuru moiety of the tribe. We have also described those attendant upon initiation, the ceremonies concerned with the bringing into camp and final breaking and burial of the arm-bone of a dead person, and the fire ceremony or Nathagura. As illustrative of the ceremonies connected with the Kingilli, we will now describe a selection of those belonging to the Utu, Kati, Thaballa, and Itjilpi totems, and will then deal with the ceremonies called *Wonna* and *Miniurka*, which, though not of the same nature as the former, are yet intimately associated with the totems and are performed in conjunction with the ordinary totemic ceremonies.

In every case the men of the Kingilli moiety were requested to perform their ceremonies by Uluuru men. The normal thing is for the man who is the head of the totem group

to be asked to do so by men who are *wankilli* to him (the equivalent of the *unkulla* in the Arunta). Thus, in the case of the Itjilpi (ant) totem, the headman, who was a Thakomara, was asked by Thapungarti men to perform, and, when consenting to do so, he asked the latter to decorate him, in return for which he subsequently made them a present of "honey bag." This special offering of food to the men who decorate others is called *litjingara*. In the same way a Tjunguri man is the head of the Muntikera (a carpet snake) totem, and he is asked to perform his ceremonies by Tjupila men, who provide all of the materials necessary for the decorations and actually paint him. This feature, which stands in marked contrast to what occurs in the Arunta tribe, is very characteristic of the totemic ceremonies of the northern central tribes.

A feature which is common to all of the Kingilli ceremonies and distinguishes any one of them at once from all those of the Uluuru, is the fact that, so far as we are aware, without any exception, every performer in a Kingilli ceremony carries on either thigh what is called a *tjintilli*. Each of these consists of a central stick about a yard long, to which are attached a number of leafy, green gum-twigs. The free end of the stick is passed on either side through the waist girdle, and the *tjintilli* is held in the middle by the hand and pressed down on the thigh when the performer dances and runs about with the usual exaggerated high-knee action (Figs. 55, 56, 58, 64).

The tradition in regard to these is only a very vague one, and their significance is unknown. The natives say that in the Alcheringa there lived a lizard man in the country of the Kaitish people. He was a Tjintilli lizard—a Tjupila with a Napanunga lubra. He remained for a long time at a hill lying between what are now called the Bonny and Dixon Creeks, but after a time he travelled north into Warramunga country and reached Kulpara, where he remained performing ceremonies. It was here that he made the first *tjintilli*, employing for the purpose the Barkala bushes which were used by the two Itjilpi women for the purpose of making the shades under which they sheltered themselves from the heat of the sun.

As a general rule, in all sacred ceremonies the same object is never used twice; the *tjintilli* form, however, an exception to this. Some ten or twelve of them were made by the Uluuru men at the beginning of the ceremonies and were continuously used until they were quite spoilt by handling, for in this excessively dry climate the leaves very soon wither up and become brittle and broken off. When first they were made, and when new ones were made, the

FIG. 55.—BEGINNING TO DECORATE THE BODIES OF PERFORMERS. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The outline of a band is being indicated in grease.

Uluuru men who had charge of the work brought them up to the older men amongst the Kingilli when they were seated on the ground, preparatory to being decorated for a ceremony. They placed them on the knees of the men, saying as they did so, "We have made these for you, the *tjintilli* belong to you."

The ceremonies of the Itjilpi (an ant) totem of which, at the present day, a Thakomara man has charge, are concerned with the doings of two Alcheringa women who were the ancestors of the totemic group. In all, eleven were performed,

though the series was not complete when we left for the north. Of the two women, who arose at a water-hole called

FIG. 56.—CEREMONY OF WIND TOTEM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
The head-dress worn by the left-hand man is supposed to represent a whirlwind.

Tjuldu, one was called Lantjingalli and belonged to the Nungalla, the other was named Tjuangalli and belonged to

the Naralu subclass. Tradition relates that they caught and fed upon Itjilpi (ants) all day long when they were not performing ceremonies, and that they also made bough shades out of trees called Barkala, which are now represented by heaps of stones at the various spots where they performed.

As a general rule only one man was decorated, and he usually wore a helmet made out of a flattened cylinder of

FIG. 57.—MEN DECORATED FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE WILD CAT AND ITJILPI (AN ANT) TOTEMS. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The central figure represents the Pau-wa, a mythic, mischievous beast. The sticks through the helmet are its *lumuru* or pointing-sticks.

paper bark (*Melaleuca leucodendron*). The designs were of a very simple nature; often the whole of the upper part of the body, including his face and the helmet, would be covered with a dense mass of little specks of red down with perhaps a few bands of white. The red down represented sometimes the ants alive, sometimes the insects mixed up in a *pitchi*, preparatory to being eaten by the women, and at other times stones and trees, marking spots where the women camped and performed. The illustration will serve to give an idea

of the somewhat monotonous decorations connected with this totem (Fig. 65).

In one ceremony, performed one morning just at sunrise, two men represented the women, who were each supposed to be, unknown to the other, out in the scrub collecting the insects. The performers first of all went out from the ceremonial ground on which they had been decorated by

FIG. 58.—MAN PERFORMING A CEREMONY OF THE THABALLA OR LAUGHING-BOY TOTEM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

the light of small fires, and, just at sunrise, came out from behind two bushes separated from one another by a distance of about thirty yards. Each of them gradually approached the group of men who were standing to one side of the ground watching them as they stooped down every now and then to turn over the ground and fill the *pitchis* which they carried with small stones, which were supposed to represent little masses of ants that they were in search of.

FIG. 59.—CLOSE OF A CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH A LIZARD TOTEM: KNOCKING OFF THE HELMET. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE

To their mutual surprise they discovered each other, and, after having embraced, much to the amusement of the audience, they advanced towards and then ran round and round the spectators. The idea of this was that, after their meeting, they performed sacred ceremonies, dancing round trees which were supposed to be represented by the men in the audience.

Tradition relates that finally the Naralu woman said to

FIG. 60.—CLOSE OF A CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH A LIZARD TOTEM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The performer is tumbling down on to the ground. The knocked-off helmet lies on the ground to the left of the two figures.

the other, "You and myself are both of us Naralu," but the Nungalla woman said, "No, you are Naralu; I am Nungalla." As they could not settle the point amicably, they fought, with the result that both of them died and went down into the ground, leaving behind them many spirit children at spots such as Umberia, Lunku-lunkalki, Munkattheria, and Utjurutju, with which the various ceremonies performed are connected.

A very characteristic feature in connection with all of

the Kingilli ceremonies is the nature of their concluding act. In the Arunta, as we have seen, one or two men from amongst the audience walk up to and lay their hands on the performers' shoulders; in the Kaitish and Unmatjera the heads of the performers are pressed down; and in the Warramunga the head-dress, which is invariably worn in connection with Kingilli ceremonies, is roughly knocked off by an Uluuru man. In each instance the performers run in

FIG. 61.—CLOSE OF A PERFORMANCE ASSOCIATED WITH THE ULUURU MOIETY. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

on to the ground where the audience is standing. One or two of the men beat time, always holding for this purpose a fighting club in the left hand, at the level of the face, and striking it with a smaller bar of wood held in the right. One man, always a member of the Uluuru moiety, stands by himself in the very centre of the ground, and the performer finally circles round and round, quite close to him, with his body bent and the usual high-knee action, while all of the time he stares up into his face. The man takes not the slightest notice of the performer until, all of a sudden, the

former lifts his right arm and, with what is often a smart, rough blow, knocks the helmet flying. At the same time the performer tumbles down on to the ground, and the ceremony is at an end (Figs. 58, 59, and 60). There is nothing comparable to the invariable custom amongst the Arunta of embracing the old men and touching them with some sacred

FIG. 62.—CEREMONY OF THE WIND TOTEM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
Men shaking themselves in imitation of ancestors.

object used during the ceremony. In the Uluuru performances there is no running round and round a Kingilli man, but the performers simply come on to the ground, and perhaps once or twice run round a few green boughs which have been placed in the centre, and immediately sit down on them. The audience, singing and beating clubs and boomerangs, crowd round them as they sway their bodies about from side to side; suddenly their head-dresses,

if they wear any, are caught hold of and pulled off, or their heads may be pressed down, somewhat as in the Kaitish fashion, though this feature is nothing like so strongly marked as in the latter tribe (Fig. 61). There would indeed be no difficulty of any kind, if only just the terminal scene in any sacred ceremony were witnessed, in stating whether it belonged to the Arunta, Kaitish, Warramunga, or, as we shall see later, to the Tjingilli and Umbaia tribes.

The Thaballa, or laughing boy, is one of two or

FIG. 63.—CEREMONY OF WILD-CAT (DASYURUS SP.) TOTEM. WALPARI TRIBE. The long, trailing pendant is supposed to represent the animal's tail.

three curious totems which are met with amongst the Warramunga,—another is that of Kati, or full-grown men,—which, in the nature of the material object from which they take their name, differ somewhat from what we may call the more normal totems. In the Arunta and Kaitish there are no totems equivalent to those of laughing boy and full-grown man, but in the Warramunga these are regarded as being strictly the equivalent, in all essential characters, of any other totemic group, such as a snake or emu or Hakea

plant. They have their *mungai* spots where their ancestors left spirit children behind in the early days, and the ceremonies performed in connection with them are in no way to be distinguished from those of the other totems in conjunction with which they are carried out.

The Thaballa totem group at the present day is represented by one solitary old man. The ancestor of the group

FIG. 64.—CEREMONY OF A LIZARD TOTEM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
The man in front is making a track on the sand with a boomerang. The performer is following the track.

originally came out of a rock at Yappakulinia, where he apparently spent all of his time laughing and playing with little pieces of bark. At a later period he saw some more laughing boys coming up from the country where the sun sets, and when they came close to his camp they began playing with bark.[1] He sang out to them, "Are you Thaballa?" and

[1] It will be noticed that in this tradition we have an account of a number of ancestors walking across the country, thus calling to mind the characteristic Arunta traditions.

they said, "Yes, we are." Then he said, "I am Thaballa also; come on, my mates, we will all play together; where have you come from and where are you going to? come and stay with me altogether." The boys laughed loudly, and

FIG. 65.—CEREMONY OF AN ANT TOTEM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
The performer is supposed to represent one of two women ancestors of the totem searching for and gathering ants on which she fed.

said that they would stay with him, and he took them into the rock, where they all spent that night. Next morning they came out, laughed and played with bark, and went back again at night, and so on day after day. The Thaballa men left plenty of spirit children at this and other spots where

they halted and played, but the old Thaballa himself never died, and can now be heard laughing by any one who happens to go near to the place at which he lives.

There were five ceremonies performed in connection with this totem, all of them by its solitary representative, the old Thungalla man, who was decorated in the usual way and carried *tjintilli* on his thighs. The ceremonies were all of them closely similar to one another; the performer emerged from behind a bush and came slowly on towards the ceremonial ground, gazing aimlessly about him; every now and then he stopped, looked about first to one side and then to the other, and gave vent to a kind of whining giggle. As he came close up to the audience one of the latter threw bits of bark at him, which he paused to look at, giggling as he did so, much to the amusement of the onlookers. Finally, in the usual way, he walked round and round one of the Uluuru men, his head-dress was knocked off, and he sank down on to the ground (Fig. 58).

In the Warramunga tribe, just as in the Arunta, it is customary, when totemic ceremonies are being performed on any great scale, to perform at the same time a few which are not totemic in their nature, but are concerned with more or less mythic creatures. Thus, for example, during the course of the Engwura amongst the Arunta, ceremonies connected with the *Oruntja*, a mischievous spirit, and others representing *Kurdaitchas*[1] were performed; and in the same way, while the long series of totemic ceremonies was being enacted by the Warramunga, we saw two of a very similar nature.

The first of these, which was associated with the Kingilli ceremonies, represented a mythic, semi-human creature called a *Pau-wa*, which in shape was said to resemble somewhat a dog. This animal had pointing-sticks, called *lumuru*, by means of which it used to kill other animals. They were represented by curved sticks projecting from the head-dress of the performer, the upper half of whose body was covered with a very elaborate design of curved bands of red and

[1] *Kurdaitcha* is the name given to a man who goes out secretly wearing special feather shoes, his object being to kill some enemy.—See *N. T.* p. 476.

white down (Fig. 57). There was one noticeable feature about the performance—it was not held on the ground where the true totemic ceremonies were performed, but to one side of this, though, so far as the decorations were concerned, and the fact that only initiated men were allowed to witness it, it was not distinguishable from the totemic ceremonies. The performer first of all danced about, running in the usual way, and then went out to an open space round which he circled, gradually approaching a small pit, about three feet in diameter and depth, in which a native crouched, his body being invisible. After a time the performer came to the edge of the pit, when his legs were seized by the hidden man, who dragged him down and roughly tore off his head-dress and pointing-sticks.

The second of these ceremonies was connected with a man called an *Ingwuna*, the equivalent of the *Kurdaitcha* amongst the Arunta, and was associated with the Uluuru ceremonies. Like the *Pau-wa* it was performed to one side of the usual ceremonial ground. The performer had the upper part of his body daubed over with red ochre. On his forehead and each shoulder was a circle of white down enclosing a patch of red down, and each cheek was ornamented with a white star. On his head he wore an undecorated helmet of paper bark. The white circles with red centres indicated heads of natives whom he had killed. In each hand he had a boomerang, which he carried as shown in the illustration. This was the same *Kurdaitcha* whom the two Alcheringa Winithonguru (wild cat) men met and carefully avoided in the course of their wanderings. He is reported to have spent most of his time in whistling (Fig. 66).

The performance was quite simple and quite unlike any others. One afternoon, after a Wollunqua ceremony had been enacted, the men, instead of as usual retiring directly to their camps, went away to a spot about a hundred yards from the ceremonial ground. The *Kurdaitcha* emerged from behind a bush, and, bending his body forward, darted about from side to side all over the open space, at the head of the other men who had just been acting as performers and audience in the Wollunqua ceremony. There was continuous

laughter and jeering at the antics of the *Kurdaitcha*, and every one appeared thoroughly to enjoy the simple performance.

In connection with the Kingilli ceremonies there were performed four which were called *Tappin* or *Wonna*. Though not in reality totemic ceremonies, yet they were performed

FIG. 66.—CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH A MISCHIEVOUS SPIRIT CALLED INGWUNA. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

in conjunction with the latter, and were supposed to be symbolic of the giving of fire by the Uluuru to the Kingilli, who, previous to that, had no means of warming themselves. Amongst the Warramunga the word *Wonninga* signifies cold; *Wonna* is applied to the cool of the early morning or of the evening after the sun has set. The performers were exclusively Kingilli men—Tjupila, Thungalla, Thakomara,

and Tjambin. The association of the ceremony with this moiety of the tribe was indicated very clearly by the fact that the men carried *tjintilli*. Their bodies were never decorated with any of the designs characteristic of totemic ceremonies ; the upper half of each man was daubed all over with red ochre, and their lower half with charcoal. In each case the ceremony consisted in the men, usually about

FIG. 67.—CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH WONNA OR COLD. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

six in number, running round and round an Uluuru man and finally falling down on the ground, when they were supposed to represent creatures who were cold and were huddling themselves together in order to obtain some warmth (Fig. 67). After this the Uluuru men spent the whole of one day in making what was called the *Miniurka*, the exact significance of which we could not ascertain, but it was in some way associated with the giving of fire and warmth to the Kingilli men, and the ceremony connected with it came

as a sequel to the *Wonna* series. It had the form of a torpedo-shaped object about twelve feet in length and three in greatest diameter, tapering off towards each end.[1]

The whole structure consisted of some forty *tjintilli* wrapped up in great sheets of paper bark, the whole being tied round with yards upon yards of human hair-string. It was made out in the scrub, and after nightfall was carried to a cleared space close to the ceremonial ground. As the Uluuru men lifted it up on their shoulders they shouted loudly "*Wu! wu!*" repeating the same cry when they deposited it on the spot where it was to remain all night. Here the Uluuru spent the time clanging boomerangs and singing loudly, and, as usual, when any important ceremony was performed, an interchange of lubras took place. On this occasion it was only within the limits of the Uluuru moiety—the men who were in charge of the performance.

The Kingilli men all left their own camps and spent the night in the bed of the creek close at hand. Just at dawn they were summoned to the ceremonial ground, and came up in a body, led on by an old Tjupila man. Behind the *Miniurka* stood the Uluuru men, some striking clubs, others singing, and all of them very excitedly waving their arms, alternately pointing to the *Miniurka* and then beckoning to the men to come on. The latter on their part affected the keenest surprise, opening their eyes wide and extending their arms, while they bent their bodies backwards as if in a state of the greatest astonishment. First of all the old Tjupila man approached, prancing about; he tried, but unsuccessfully, to lift up one end of the *Miniurka*, his efforts being very evidently only pretence. Then one of the Uluuru handed him a bunch of eagle-hawk feathers with which he stroked the object from end to end, and having done this, threw the feathers back again to their owner, who placed them in his waist girdle. Then an old Thungalla man came up; he tried to lift the object without being able

[1] It is also called *Burumburu*, the latter being the name given to a column of stone in the Phillips Creek which represents the spot where, in the Alcheringa, the *lalkira*, a grub, changed its skin and so turned into a white cockatoo. What this had to do with the giving of fire we could not understand, and the ideas of the natives in regard to the matter were very hazy.

to do so; the feathers were thrown to him and he stroked it all over. One after the other all of the Kingilli men came up and repeated this performance, the Uluuru meanwhile prancing about backwards and forwards, singing and shouting, one man in his excitement tumbling backwards over the *Miniurka*, much to the amusement of the others.

When the performance was over the ceremony of driving two newly initiated boys away from the lubras' camp was enacted, and after the youths had run on to the ceremonial ground they were shown the *Miniurka* by the old men, who explained to them that it signified the giving of fire and warmth to the Kingilli.

In the Tjingilli tribe, which inhabits the country immediately to the north of the Warramunga, the sacred totemic ceremonies are fundamentally similar to those of the Warramunga, and are sharply marked off into series connected with the two moieties of the tribe, the Willitji (equivalent of the Uluuru) and the Liaritji (equivalent of Kingilli). The Willitji men undertake the preparation of everything concerned with the Liaritji ceremonies, and *vice versa*.

Just as in the Warramunga, a whole series of ceremonies is performed in proper sequence, but there are certain minor features by means of which a Tjingilli ceremony can always be distinguished from that of any other tribe. Those which we witnessed were concerned with the Thaballa (laughing boy), which occurs in this as well as in the Warramunga tribe, Purpa (fire), Papitin (the equivalent of the Warramunga *menadji* or yam), eagle-hawk, Pitja-wina-wina (a little bird), and white cockatoo totems (Figs. 68, 69).

The decorations in essential features were similar to those of the Warramunga; but in some cases there was an attempt to indicate the totem object itself more clearly than is usual in the latter tribe. Thus, for example, in the first of the ceremonies connected with the yam totem there was no mistaking the meaning of the white band which passed over the shoulder region, and from which four vertical lines ran down,—two on to the front of the body and one on to each arm, ending in swollen masses of white down. The latter indicated the yams and the former the roots on which they grow.

As soon as all of the performers had been decorated a few armfuls of grass stalks were cut and placed on the ground. The audience gathered together behind this spot, and then the performers, representing different totems, all came and stood in single file with their backs to the audience, amongst whom one or two men held clubs, which they struck

FIG. 68.—DECORATION OF PERFORMERS IN A CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH THE FIRE TOTEM. TJINGILLI TRIBE.

with short staves; and then, to the accompaniment of this clanging noise, the performers marched out one by one, each of them usually holding a boomerang upright behind his back, and crouched down behind a bush.

After a short time the clanging was resumed, and one by one each man emerged from his hiding-place, and, with exaggerated high-knee action, walked back to the audience and stood upon the grass with his back turned to the other

men. As he did so he moved his body from side to side with a jerk, keeping time to the clanging of the clubs, and then some one in the audience suddenly pulled his head backwards and the ceremony came to an end (Fig. 69). This was repeated time after time until each man had walked in.

In the case of the white-cockatoo and eagle-hawk totems the performers marched out imitating the cry of the bird,

FIG. 69.—CLOSE OF A CEREMONY OF THE YAM TOTEM. TJINGILLI TRIBE.

and continued doing so all the time that they were hidden behind the bush and while they walked in again.

During one of the Menadji ceremonies we were surprised to hear a loud wailing suddenly commence, and found that one of the audience had retired to one side and, sitting down on the ground, was howling aloud. No one appeared to take the slightest notice of him, and it was evident that his grief was not proportionate to the noise which he was making. On inquiry we found that years ago his brother used to perform one of these ceremonies, and that, according to

custom, he was supposed to be so overcome at the recollection of this that he had to retire and give vent to his feelings.

There were at the time three Warramunga men visiting the Tjingilli, and, when all was ready, they were invited to come and witness the ceremonies. On the second day they again came, bringing with them a *pitchi* on which was placed a large damper made of grass seed. After having been allowed to see the sacred ceremonies, these strangers were under a ban of silence until they had made a present of food to the men in charge of the performance. Accordingly they handed over the damper to the headman of the Thaballa ceremony which they had witnessed, and then all of the Tjingilli men in turn struck their heads lightly with a green gum twig and thus released them from the ban of silence.

Travelling eastwards from the Tjingilli country across towards the Gulf of Carpentaria we met with members of the Umbaia tribe, the eastern neighbours of the Tjingilli, though apparently they have more intercourse with the Gnanji than with the former.

Amongst the Umbaia the sacred totemic ceremonies, which they call *arrambatja*, are somewhat different in regard to the detail of the method of their performance from those of either the Warramunga or the Tjingilli, though in essential features they are in accord. The ceremonies which we witnessed were associated with the following totems :—Tjilkupati (Varanus lizard), Ungunji (fly), Kalammi (wallaby), Tjitjitarra (a small lizard), Thinmi (a little bird), and a snake. There was nothing special in regard to the decorations, which could not have been distinguished from those of the Tjingilli and Warramunga, with which again they agree in regard to the entire absence of Churinga. The Umbaia have some of the latter, which, in common with the Tjingilli, they call *putuli*, but they have not the same association with totemic ancestors that they have in the Arunta, and therefore are not used in connection with the totemic ceremonies.

In each case ceremonies of three or four totems were

enacted together. A space, measuring about thirty feet in length by five in width, was cleared of grass and debris to form a definite ceremonial ground, such as we had not met with in other tribes. It was of course some distance away from the main camp, just over the brow of a slight rise, so that the performers, although the scrub was thin, could not be seen by women and children who might be in the camp. At one end of this space the performers squatted in single

FIG. 70.—PERFORMERS ON THE CEREMONIAL GROUND. CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE FLY, LIZARD, AND WALLABY TOTEMS. UMBAIA TRIBE.

file on their haunches, while the men forming the audience arranged themselves in two lines, one on either side of the space, with perhaps a few men squatting in the rear, immediately behind the performers, as represented in the illustration (Fig. 70). On this occasion there were two strangers present from the Gnanji tribe, and they were thus placed in the background. The first man carried a curious oval, red-ochred stone which he held in both hands. It is called *anjulukuli*, and is regarded as sacred, women and children never being allowed to see it. What exactly was its

significance the natives did not appear to know, but their ancestors had always used it, and so did they. Possibly it may be—though, apart from its shape and evidently sacred nature there is no evidence to prove this—a relic of a time when sacred stone Churinga were used in the ceremonies. However, whatever its meaning may be, it forms now an essential part of the paraphernalia of the sacred ceremonies

FIG. 71.—PERFORMER PROJECTING THE STONE CALLED UNJULUKULI IN THE UMBAIA TRIBE.

which we saw. When all was ready the audience began to beat their boomerangs together, and the first man, rising to his feet, ran along to the end of the cleared space with the usual high-knee action, turning his body from side to side as he pushed the stone outwards at arm's length (Fig. 71). At the end of the cleared space this action was continued for some little time, the performer turning his body first in one direction and then in another. After this he ran back, still pushing the stone out at intervals, until he reached

the line of men, when he squatted down close in front of the leading man, placed the stone in his hands, and then retired to the rear, where he sat down. This performance was repeated in the case of every man, no matter what totemic ceremony he was performing. No one went beyond the limits of the cleared space, nor, apart from the handing over of the stone, was there any very definite ending to the ceremonies such as occurs in all of the tribes previously dealt with. During the performance of one of the lizard-totem ceremonies two men retired to one side, sat down on the ground, and began wailing loudly, just as the individual in the Tjingilli ceremony had done, and for precisely the same reason.

On the second occasion on which the Gnanji were present they stood up when all was over, and the older men amongst the Umbaia held out their hands for the Gnanji to bite their fingers. The two strangers were thus released from the ban of silence which had been imposed upon them when they saw the ceremonies performed.

There was also one curious little ceremony unlike anything else which we had seen before. In a performance connected with a snake totem a stick, made for the occasion and decorated with spots of down enclosing a central sinuous line, had been used as a head decoration, as shown in the illustration. When all of the men had performed, this was taken from the man's head and broken by bending it across the back of one of the men—not the actual man who had worn it. The natives said that this was done so as to prevent it from ever being used again. Just as in all of the other tribes, so here the same object may never be used twice. That is, for example, if two ceremonies be performed immediately one after the other, representing some incident in connection with, say, the Achilpa totem, and in each of them a *nurtunja* (sacred pole) is used, the same *nurtunja* is never by any chance used for both ceremonies. The one first used is taken completely to pieces and a new one made for the second ceremony.

The ceremonies of the Gnanji tribe are performed on a specially cleared space of ground similar to that of the

Umbaia tribe. The former is a tribe of which very little is known, and it has a bad reputation for being treacherous and bloodthirsty. Whether this be a true or a false account of them, certainly the Gnanji natives whom we met included about the most villainous-looking specimens of Australian aborigines whom we encountered. We were fortunate enough, when camped by the side of a water-hole called Karabobba, to fall in with a small mob of Gnanji natives. The scrub in this part was so thick that, had they not made their presence known to us, we should not have suspected that any natives were so close at hand.

The ceremonial ground was a small cleared space in the scrub, with an ant-hill at one end of it. They were then engaged in the performance of a series of ceremonies called *yapuluru*. Like the Warramunga, Tjingilli, and Umbaia tribes, the Gnanji perform their ceremonies in sequence. The one which we witnessed was connected with a snake totem called Putjatta, and was associated with a place known as Liaritji, where the snake ancestor performed in the *Poaradju*, the equivalent of the Alcheringa of the Arunta. First of all four men, each of whom had his face daubed over with red ochre, and his chest and each arm decorated with a patch of the same, edged with a circle of white, marched up and down the ceremonial ground with the usual high-knee action, holding *tjintilli* on their thighs, just as in the case of the Kingilli ceremonies in the Warramunga tribe. The audience stood at one end clanging boomerangs. Suddenly the four men knelt down in front of them, and as soon as they had risen to their feet and joined the audience, the last performer, decorated with a design in down, came out from behind the ant-hill. He also had *tjintilli*, and after prancing up and down the cleared space, the ceremony came to an end by one of the audience striking a long wand on the ground.

It is a curious fact that, as we have already mentioned, in all of the tribes there is some characteristic way of terminating the ceremonies which otherwise are fundamentally similar to one another. It is only, however, in the Arunta that we meet with anything like the little

ceremony called *atnitta ulpailima*, and with this may also be associated the fact that in these more northern tribes there is never the great solemnity observed which is such a striking feature of the Arunta ceremonies.

The time which we spent amongst the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes was not suitable for the performance of ceremonies, nor for the expenditure of more energy than was necessary. Their ceremonies are, however, essentially similar to those of the other tribes. In fact while watching them it was difficult to see any clear mark of distinction between them and those of the Warramunga tribe. The performers, who were decorated in just the same way as in the southern tribe, go out from the ceremonial ground when all is complete, and, after hiding behind bushes, each one of them runs in to the spot where the spectators stand beating boomerangs together, and finally sits down on the ground in front of them. The ceremonies refer also to their totemic ancestors who lived in the Alcheringa, to which the Mara tribe give the name of *Intjitja*, the Binbinga that of *Mungaii*, and the Anula that of *Raraku*. The Binbinga term, it will be noticed, is very closely similar to the word *mungai*, which, in the Warramunga, is applied to the totem. The Mara call the sacred ceremonies *yabuturawa*, and the Anula *kunapipi*, the name for the ordinary corrobboree in the latter tribe being *walappa*.

As an example of them and of their significance we can take a ceremony of the Ulanji, a snake totem of the Anula tribe, associated with a place called Karrimurra. There were three performers, each of whom was decorated in the usual way with designs in red and white down, though these were much simpler than in the case of the Warramunga tribe. Each man came dancing in from behind a bush with the customary high-knee action, and then simply sat down, and the ceremony was at an end. Before it began a man went out and swung a bull-roarer to warn off the women and children, of whom there were a considerable number in the camps, about half a mile away from the ceremonial ground.

This particular snake is reported to have come first of

all to a place called Marawa, where he stayed for a time and performed ceremonies. Here he met a kangaroo man who was an Urtalia, and had come up because he had heard the snake performing. The kangaroo asked the snake what he was, and the latter replied, "I am Roumburia." He next inquired which way the snake was going, and asked him if he had a lubra. The snake replied, "No," and the kangaroo said, "I think I will give you my daughter." Finally the kangaroo went on to the country of the salt water.

It will be seen from the above general account that sacred ceremonies, all of which are essentially similar in nature and associated with totemic ancestors, are performed by the initiated members of the various tribes extending right through the centre of the continent and out on to the west coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria. There can be no doubt but that they exist, or did exist, in many other tribes; in fact it is perhaps safe to say that they are characteristic of all Australian tribes which possess a well-developed totemic system. The earliest account which we have of them, though naturally their significance was not understood by the writer, is that of Collins, first published in 1798, who describes and figures, under the title of "Yoolong-erah-ba-diang," a series of ceremonies shown to the youths who were being initiated. Amongst the ceremonies he describes one in which the performers were seen "running upon their hands and feet, and imitating the dogs of the country"; in another he describes "a stout, robust native, carrying on his shoulders a *pat-ta-go-rang*, or kangaroo, made of grass; the second is carrying a load of brushwood . . . by this offering of the dead kangaroo was meant the power that was now given of killing that animal; the brushwood might present its haunt." Of the latter two statements the second may be a correct, but the first is probably an incorrect, conjecture. In the third scene he shows a number of men who, equipped with long tails made of grass, "put themselves in motion as a herd of kangaroos, now jumping along, then lying down and scratching themselves, as those animals do when basking in the sun. One man beat time to them with a club on a shield, while two others, armed,

attended them all the way, pretending to steal upon them unobserved and spear them."

There can be little doubt but that these ceremonies, so closely similar in their nature to those now performed by the central natives, were totemic in their origin. In essential features, so far as the actual performance is concerned, they recall many of the undoubted totemic ceremonies which are shown to the youth during initiation in the central tribes. The wonder is that Collins himself was allowed to see any of them, though, as he himself says, there were certain parts which he was not allowed to witness, and he makes no reference to the sacred bull-roarer, which would certainly be shown to the youth, most probably at night-time, when he was absent, and when it is also customary to perform some of the more important ceremonies. The one point of importance, however, lies in the fact that, thanks to Collins' account,[1] we have what may be regarded as clear evidence of the existence of these totemic ceremonies, which the women of course were not allowed to see, in a tribe living right on the eastern coast. At the present day all of the coastal tribes are either extinct or their descendants much too civilised to know anything reliable about such matters, but it is almost certain that such ceremonies must at one time have existed over a very large part of the continent. It is only in the far inland parts, away from the vicinity of townships, and in the wilder districts such as the far north-west and north-east portions of the continent, that the old customs are preserved. Even here they can be and are carried on without the few scattered white men, who live dotted about over the great area of the centre, knowing, as a general rule, anything about them.

[1] Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, 2nd ed., 1804, p. 367.

CHAPTER VII

CEREMONIES CONCERNED WITH THE WOLLUNQUA TOTEM OF THE WARRAMUNGA TRIBE

The Wollunqua, a mythic beast—Unlike most other totemic ancestors it has persisted to the present day—Resemblance of the ceremonies concerned with the Wollunqua to those connected with other totemic groups—Name Wollunqua very seldom actually used—Wanderings of the animal—Decorations for the performances—Building of the mound called *Mini-imburu* and ceremonies in connection with it—Drawing of ground designs and performance of ceremonies concerned with them—Idea of sometimes propitiating and at others coercing the animal—Description of Thapauerlu and surrounding spots—The old men asking the Wollunqua to do us no harm.

AMONGST the very many series of totemic ceremonies which we witnessed in the Warramunga tribe, the most remarkable was one associated with a mythic snake called the Wollunqua, and, as there were certain peculiar and interesting features connected with it, we have thought it advisable to describe it fully and deal with it by itself. In some respects there was no essential difference between this Wollunqua and any other totem—as, for example, in regard to the way in which the old totemic ancestor wandered about the country in the Wingara, leaving supplies of spirit individuals at various spots—individuals who are continually undergoing reincarnation. On the other hand, it is peculiar in the fact that the natives have no idea that any Wollunqua animal really exists, except the old ancestor of the totem, who, unlike what happens in the case of almost all other totems,[1] has

[1] The only other example of this with which we are acquainted is that of the Thaballa or laughing boy, who is supposed never to have died, but to be still alive in the rocks at Yappakulimna, where he can be still heard laughing by men of the totem. The Wollunqua, however, is a very different kind of individual from the Thaballa

actually persisted from the Wingara to the present day. In the case of every other totem in the Warramunga tribe, the natives perform a long series of ceremonies which, so far as their object is concerned, are strictly the equivalent of the Intichiuma ceremonies of the Arunta and Kaitish tribes. They are supposed to ensure the increase of the material object, animal, or plant, or whatever it may be, after which the totemic group is named. The Wollunqua men at the same time, and side by side with these ceremonies for multiplying the totems, perform what, so far as their form is concerned, is a strictly similar series of ceremonies, but there is no idea associated with them of securing the increase of the Wollunqua, nor apparently have they any desire to do so.

The Wollunqua is regarded as a huge beast, so large that, if it were to stand up on its tail, its head would reach far away into the heavens. It lives now in a large water-hole called Thapauerlu, hidden away in a lonely valley amongst the Murchison Range, and there is always the fear that it may take it into its head to come out of its hiding-place and do some damage. It has already been known, apparently for no particular reason, to destroy a number of natives, though on one occasion, when attacked, the men were able to drive it off. Some idea of what the natives feel in regard to the mythic animal—though it must be remembered that it is anything but mythic in the eyes of the native—may be gathered from the fact that, instead of using the name Wollunqua, when speaking of it amongst themselves, they call it *urkulu nappaurinnia*, because, so they told us, if they were to call it too often by its real name they would lose their control over it and it would come out and eat them all up.[1]

The idea of performing the series of ceremonies, which in their scope and nature are precisely similar to those connected with other totems, is most probably that of propitiating the mythic beast, though at the same time it must be remembered that the natives have no very definite idea in

[1] *Urkulu* is the generic name applied to snakes; *nappaurinnia* means "living in water," evidently in allusion to the fact that its home is the water-hole at Thapauerlu.

regard to this, merely saying that it pleases the Wollunqua when they are performed and displeases him when they are not. However, there are one or two features connected with them which appear to show clearly that we are dealing with what are, in reality, a primitive form of propitiatory ceremonies. These are the only ones of this nature with which we have come into contact, and a comparison of them with those connected with other totems, side by side with which they are, as a matter of fact, performed, will serve to show clearly that they are simply a special modification of the latter.

Like every other totemic ancestor the Wollunqua arose at a certain spot in the Wingara time, and wandered about over the country. He started from a place where there is now an enormous kind of pot-hole in the upper part of a rocky gorge in the Murchison Range, and travelled thence away out to the west. At different spots tradition says that he stood up and tried to go down into the earth so as to return to Thapauerlu, but could not do so until he reached a place called Ununtumurra, where at last he succeeded, and, diving down, travelled back underground to Thapauerlu, where he has lived ever since.

The series of ceremonies enacted dealt with this wandering of the Wollunqua, and it must be remembered that they were carried out in conjunction with those of other totems, the sole object of which was to increase the supply of the animal, plant, or other object after which the totemic group takes its name. On several occasions, for example, they were enacted side by side with those of the emu, black snake, echidna, and deaf-adder totems.

The Wollunqua totem belongs to the Uluuru moiety of the tribe, and at the present time the men who have charge of the ceremonies are two old Tjapeltjeris, though, as in the case of all the other totems amongst the Warramunga tribe, while the men of the totem actually performed the ceremonies, every preparation of every kind in connection with them was made by men of the Kingilli moiety.

The original home of the Wollunqua was the deep rock-hole called Kadjinara (Fig. 82). Setting out thence upon his

wanderings towards the east, he travelled at first underground, coming up, however, at various spots where he performed ceremonies and left behind him large numbers of spirit children who came out from his body and remained behind, forming local totemic centres when he passed on. There are eleven spots which are more especially associated with him in connection with his wanderings. The first is called Pitingari. Here there is a water-hole where the old Wollunqua is reported to have come out of the earth and looked around. When performing the ceremony connected with this spot, two men were decorated with a broad, curved band of red down running across both the back and front, the whole of the upper half of the body, with the exception of this, being completely covered with a mass of white down. Each man also wore a tall, conical helmet decorated with a curved band of red down. These bands all represented the Wollunqua. The two performers were both Thapungarti men, though neither of them actually belonged to the Wollunqua totem, one being a black snake and the other a crow man. They were decorated by Tjupila, Thungalla, and Thakomara men—that is, by individuals who belonged to the other moiety of the tribe. When they were ready each of them went and hid himself behind a bush, and then, while the audience, which consisted of adult men representing all subclasses, sang and beat boomerangs and sticks together on the ceremonial ground, they ran in, stopping every now and then to shake themselves, in imitation of the snake, and finally sat down close together with their heads bowed down on a few green gum-tree branches. Their head-dresses were immediately knocked off by a Kingilli man and the performance came to an end.

Still travelling on underground the Wollunqua reached and halted at a place called Antipataringa. The ceremony connected with this was performed by the same two men as on the first occasion, one of them carrying on his head a curious curved bundle shaped somewhat like an enormous rounded boomerang. This had been made during the course of the day in a secluded part of the bed of the creek by three old Kingilli men, one of whom, a Tjupila man of

the Worgaia tribe, took the lead in the preparation for the ceremonies of this totem, as he was one of the very few men who had seen them enacted in their entirety before. No men of the totemic group, or indeed of the Uluuru moiety, were allowed to see the sacred object until it was brought up on to the ceremonial ground just before the performance. It was made of grass stalks bound round with human hair-string, and then decorated with white down, and was supposed

FIG. 72.—TWO MEN DECORATED FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF A CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH THE WOLLUNQUA TOTEM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

to represent the Wollunqua itself. During the ceremony one of the Thapungarti men carried it upon his head in the way shown in the illustrations (Figs, 72, 73, 74).

From Antipataringa the Wollunqua, still travelling underground, went on to Tjunguniari, and there he came out and walked about amongst the sand-hills, or rather, to speak more correctly, the head end of the body came out, for the beast was of such an enormous length that, though he had travelled very many miles away from his home at Kadjinara, his tail end still remained there. Once more the same two men

performed the ceremony, being decorated, back and front, with the same characteristic broad band of red down enclosed in a mass of white. Tjunguniari is a native well amongst the sand-hills, and of the two performers one represented a

FIG. 73.—CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH WOLLUNQUA TOTEM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The curved bundle represents the Wollunqua snake.

large sand-hill, called Mindala, and the other personated the snake itself.

The above three ceremonies were performed on three consecutive days, and after that there was an interval of three more days, during which ceremonies in connection with the Kingilli moiety of the tribe were performed, the Uluuru men of course taking charge of them. On the fourth

day the Kingilli men, under the guidance of the old Tjupila man of the Worgaia tribe, spent the whole day in building up, out of sandy earth, a curious mound called *Mini-imburu*. The Uluuru men were not allowed to come anywhere near to the place at which the Kingilli were at work on the mound, and the latter was enclosed and completely hidden from view by two brakes of boughs. First of all a trench,

FIG. 74.—CLOSE OF A CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH THE WOLLUNQUA TOTEM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The youth in the background with his hair tied up has been recently initiated, and is witnessing the series of sacred ceremonies for the first time.

fifteen feet in length and two in width, running north and south, was dug out and then filled again with sand mixed with water, every handful being carefully patted down until finally a keel-shaped mound was made, about two feet high and tapering off towards either end, its length corresponding to that of the original trench. On the smooth surface a long wavy band, about four inches in width, was outlined on each side, the two bands meeting at both ends. At the

FIG. 75.—PREPARING THE WOLLUNQUA MOUND. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

northern end a small round swelling indicated the head, and at the southern a short median prolongation represented the tail (Fig. 75). The whole double band indicated the body of the Wollunqua, and was finally covered with dots of red down; the rest of the surface of the mound was one mass of little dots of white down. The mound itself was emblematic of the sand-hill by the side of which the snake stood up and looked around. The Kingilli were hard at work upon it all day long, singing chants referring to the Wollunqua, its wanderings and its going down into the ground. Every now and again they broke out into refrains such as "*Yunga le deba; le deba; yunga le deba*"; or "*Waiu irri; we gar dudu; waiu wanga wanga; waiu irri; irri wanga; du du du; wanga du du du*," all of which have no recent meaning and belong to the Wingara. The words were repeated time after time with wearisome repetition, the singing as usual beginning on a high note, very loudly, and gradually dying away, falling lower and lower as it did so.

The mound was completed between five and six in the late afternoon, and then word was sent out to the elder men of the Uluuru moiety that all was ready. It must be remembered that the mound really belonged to these Uluuru men, but that, in accordance with the customs of the Warramunga tribe, they had not been allowed to come anywhere near to the sacred ground while the mound was being constructed. Escorted by an old Tjupila man, they approached in single file. The Kingilli stood round about while the Uluuru, led by the old Tjapeltjeri man who was the head of the Wollunqua totem, walked round and round the mound, after which one of them, taking a gum bough in his hand, stroked the ground all around its base (Figs. 76, 77). Meanwhile the Tjupila man of the Worgaia tribe, who knew most about the matter, was busy explaining what it meant to the Uluuru, and then, joining together the hands of the two oldest Tjapeltjeri men, he told them that the Wollunqua and the mound which they, the Kingilli, had made belonged to them. All of the men then sat down quietly examining the mound and talking in low tones about the Wollunqua, after which the Uluuru arose and went silently back to their

camps, leaving the Kingilli seated by the mound. Nothing more took place till dark, when three old Kingilli men—two Tjupila and a Thungalla—lighted fires on the ceremonial

FIG. 76.—THE KINGILLI MEN SHOWING THE WOLLUNQUA MOUND TO THE ULUURU, WHO ARE WALKING ROUND IT. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

ground, and began to sing aloud so that the Uluuru men in their camps could hear them :—

Da dun burri wurri a
Da dun burri wurri a
Da iwun ma
Da dun burri wurri a
Da iwun ma :

alternating this refrain with that of

Yamana yanti andi,

repeated time after time, all of which, as usual, has no meaning at the present day, but has been handed down from the Wingara. At intervals they shouted out, telling the Uluuru that they were "singing their Wingara,"—that is, they were singing songs referring to the Wingara ancestors of the Uluuru—in this case the Wollunqua.

FIG. 77.—STROKING THE BASE OF THE WOLLUNQUA MOUND TO APPEASE THE SNAKE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

Later on, towards nine or ten o'clock, the Uluuru and other Kingilli men came on to the ground, more fires were lighted, and all of the men sat round the mound singing refrains such as those above. Every one was evidently very excited. Late on in the evening the leading Uluuru men brought their lubras up and, as described elsewhere, invited the older Kingilli men to have intercourse with them. The women were not of course allowed to see the mound. Still later on, three recently initiated youths were brought up under the charge of their guardians, and everything was carefully explained to them. After this, and until three o'clock in the early morning, singing went on without a pause. Then, amidst a scene of the wildest excitement, fires were lighted all around the ceremonial ground, making the white trunks of the gum-trees and the surrounding scrub stand out in strong contrast to the darkness beyond. The Uluuru men ranged themselves in single file, kneeling beside the mound, and with their hands upon their thighs surged round and round it, every man in unison bending over first to one side and then to the other, each successive movement being accompanied by a loud and simultaneous shout. The Kingilli men were standing all around in a state of the greatest excitement, the oldest man amongst them swaying his body about as, with exaggerated high-knee action, he walked backwards at the head of the kneeling procession of Uluuru men. As the Kingilli clanged their boomerangs together, the Uluuru swayed about wildly from side to side, shouting, or rather yelling, at each movement, "*Yrrsh! yrrsh! yrrsh!*" until they had passed twice completely round the mound. Then, as the fires died away, they arose from their knees, and for another hour every one sat round the mound singing incessantly. Every now and again the singing would flag and almost die away, and then suddenly break out afresh, until at four o'clock, when the earliest streak of dawn appeared in the east, every man jumped to his feet. Fires were once more lighted, shining brilliantly on the bodies of the men and throwing into strong relief the white mass of down upon the mound, round which the Uluuru ranged themselves. Urged on by the Kingilli, the Uluuru

men fiercely attacked the mound with spears, boomerangs, clubs, and spear-throwers, until, in a few minutes, it was hacked to pieces, and all that remained was a rough heap of sandy earth. The fires died down, and for a short time there was silence. Very soon, however, the whole camp was astir, and, just at sunrise, the ceremony of *parra*, or subincision, was performed upon the three youths who had recently passed through the earlier stages of initiation.

This ceremony connected with the *Mini-imburu* is supposed in some way to be associated with the idea of persuading, or almost forcing, the Wollunqua to remain quietly in his home under the water-hole at Thapauerlu, and to do no harm to any of the natives. They say that when he sees the mound with his representation drawn upon it he is gratified, and wriggles about underneath with pleasure. The savage attack upon the mound is associated with the idea of driving him down, and, taken altogether, the ceremony indicates their belief that, at one and the same time, they can both please and coerce the mythic beast. It is necessary to do things to please him, or else he might grow sulky and come out and do them harm, but at the same time they occasionally use force to make him do what they want. They have, amongst others, a tradition of one special occasion on which he came out and destroyed a number of men and women, but was finally compelled to go underground, after having been pelted with stones. On the evening of the day succeeding that on which the *Mini-imburu* was performed, the old men who had made the mound said that they had heard the Wollunqua talking, and that he was pleased with what had been done and was sending rain, the explanation of which doubtless was that they, like ourselves, had heard thunder in the distance. No rain fell, but a few days later the distant rumble of thunder was again heard at night-time, and this, the old men now said, was the Wollunqua growling because the remains of the mound had been left uncovered. They also told the younger men that a heavy bank of clouds which lay on the western horizon had been placed there as a warning by the Wollunqua, and at once cut down boughs and hid the ruins of the mound

from view, after which the Wollunqua ceased from growling, and all went on peacefully until the end of the series.

During the next four days no Wollunqua ceremonies were performed, nor indeed any concerned with the Uluuru moiety, the time being occupied with Kingilli ceremonies belonging to the ant, lizard, fire and wild-cat totems. On the fifth day an entirely new phase of the Wollunqua series was entered upon, which in its most noticeable feature was quite different from anything which we had met with before, except in the single instance of the emu Intichiuma ceremony in the Arunta tribe, though even this differed in important respects from that of the Wollunqua. We have previously described[1] how, in connection with the emu totem, the natives clear and smooth down a patch of ground, and then, after covering it over with blood, so as to obtain a level surface, draw upon it a design called *churinga ilpintira* which represents, by means of circles and lines of yellow, white, and black, the eggs in various stages of development, together with the intestines, feathers, and excreta of the bird. In the Arunta tribe this is the only ground drawing of this kind with which we are acquainted, and it was the only one used in connection with the emu Intichiuma, this latter ceremony only occupying one day. In the case of the Wollunqua, however, a series of eight distinct drawings were made upon the ground, during as many successive days. Each one represented, or rather was associated with, the various spots at which the animal stood up, performed ceremonies, and left spirit children behind him in the Wingara time. The drawing was made, day after day, on the same spot on the ceremonial ground, and was either rubbed out the morning after the ceremony had been performed or was restored and added to (Figs. 309-312). When making the design, the sandy ground was first of all smoothed down and then sprinkled over with water and rubbed so as to afford a more or less compact surface. After this it was covered with a coat of red or yellow ochre, and when this was dry the design, which in all cases consisted of concentric circles and curved lines, was outlined by means of a series of

[1] *N. T.* p. 179.

white dots, and then the whole surrounding surface was covered with these (Fig. 78). The material used for the white dots is a kind of kaolin, of which there is a deposit close to Tennant Creek. Small lumps of this are taken into the mouth, and after being ground down by the teeth—a somewhat gritty proceeding—the semi-fluid material is spat out into a receptacle and mixed with water. The dots are then made upon the ground with the aid of a little wooden

FIG. 78.—PREPARATION FOR A GROUND DRAWING IN CONNECTION WITH A CEREMONY OF THE WOLLUNQUA TOTEM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

twig, one end of which is frayed out by the teeth so as to form a kind of brush. This is first of all dabbed into the white emulsion, and then on to the smoothed ground, where of course it makes a little white dot. The old man in charge used to draw the circles and lines in red or black as the case might be, and then, after giving directions, the mass of dots was filled in by other men, the whole work often occupying the best part of the day. Whilst it was in progress the artists, all of them of course being Kingilli men,—no member of the Wollunqua totem being allowed anywhere near,—

continually sang refrains relating to the marching of the Wollunqua in the Wingara.

The first ceremony of this series was connected with a place called Gnuratitji. The ground design consisted of four series of concentric circles to the side of one of which a half-circle was attached. One series of circles represented an ant-hill, the second a native well called Purtjatji, the third a gum-tree, and the fourth, with the half-circle by its side, a rock-hole called Meilkura, where, according to tradition, the Wollunqua tried to go down into the ground but could not succeed in doing so. To the whole design the name of *meltjinta* was given, indicating the fact that the snake came up out of the ground at the spot which it represents. The previous ceremonies had been concerned with a tract of country in traversing which it had journeyed underground. At Gnuratitji it came out and afterwards remained above ground until the time when it returned to its home at Thapauerlu. The same term *meltjinta* is used in connection with the first coming out of the ground of all of the totemic ancestors of the tribe.

After the drawing on the ground had been made it was shown and explained to the Uluuru men and then covered up with boughs. Two of the Uluuru men were decorated and one of the usual ceremonies enacted, the men running in on to the ceremonial ground, and after finally circling round the concealed drawing they sat down on the boughs above it.

The second ceremony was concerned with a spot called Upitingnari. The drawing of the previous day was obliterated and a new one made, consisting of five series of concentric circles; three of these represented ant-hills, and to one of these two half-circles were attached. This indicated a specially large ant-hill, but all of them were *mungai* spots, as also was a big tree, represented by the largest series of these concentric circles. The fifth series had a wavy band attached to it which was supposed to indicate the tail of the Wollunqua, who tried to go down at this spot but could not succeed, as the earth was too hard, so he journeyed on to Tikomeri, with which spot the third ceremony was connected

(Fig. 79). For this ceremony five men were decorated, two of whom were Tjapeltjeri, one Thapanunga, and one Thapungarti. The new design on the ground consisted of four series of concentric circles. Three of them represented gum-trees, where the Wollunqua left spirit individuals behind him, whilst the central one represented Tikomeri itself, the spot at which he again tried to go down into the earth, but once more could not do so because it was too hard and stony. From this series of circles five wavy bands radiated; three of them represented his shed skin, while two others were supposed to represent the way in which he moved about, wondering as to the direction in which he should travel.

In the next ceremony the same design was retained, and by the side of it a new one was drawn consisting of three series of concentric circles, one representing a special gum-tree and the others two native wells at a spot called Untjeri. On this occasion no fewer than seven performers were decorated, some of whom wore head-dresses in which a broad wavy band represented the Wollunqua.

In connection with the four remaining ceremonies the ground colour on the earth was changed from red to yellow. In the first of these there were five performers. It was associated with a locality called Parrapakina, and represented an episode in the wanderings of the Wollunqua when he met with the two hawks who, according to tradition, were the first individuals amongst the Warramunga people to make fire by means of twirling two sticks together.

The Wollunqua and the hawks met at this spot, the former looking about him meditating which way he should go, and the latter searching for and eating white ants. The design consisted of three distinct parts. On one side there was a large set of three concentric circles, with two broad wavy bands running out from them. The circles and bands were done in black, and represented respectively a native well called Tjikaringia, and the snake itself standing up and gazing about in various directions. The second part of the design had a centre of three concentric circles, out from which six wavy lines radiated more or less symmetrically. All of these were drawn in red, and were supposed

FIG. 79.—GROUP OF MEN STANDING AROUND A GROUND-DRAWING IN CONNECTION WITH A CEREMONY OF THE WOLLUNQUA TOTEM.

to represent the fire which was made by the hawks at Mintilli. The third part was joined on to the second, and like the latter it was associated with the hawks and consisted of three sets of yellow circles outlined by white dots. Two of the circles indicated native wells, which arose to mark the spot where the birds searched for white ants, while

FIG. 80.—GROUND-DRAWING IN CONNECTION WITH A CEREMONY OF THE WOLLUNQUA TOTEM, AND FIVE PERFORMERS TAKING PART IN THE CEREMONY. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

the third represented a gum-tree, which arose where the hawks threw out the inedible parts of the ants.

The next two ceremonies were connected with a place called Thakankalitjimeri. There were three performers, each of whom wore a snake head-dress and a broad curved band on back and front emblematic of the Wollunqua. The drawing on the ground was painted in black, outlined as usual by a mass of white dots. To one side were three concentric circles, and running out from these towards the south was a broad wavy band representing the Wollunqua

cracking its tail where it tried to go down. A second band curved round, and then ran parallel to the first, enclosing a space about three feet long, the whole drawing being about ten feet in length. This band represented the track of the snake coming up from Tikomeri towards the spot where he made a well trying once again to go down into the ground. Between the two bands were three series of circles, each of which represented a tree close to the well where the Wollunqua left spirit children behind. The second ceremony, in connection with which there was only one performer, was a very simple one, as was also the design on the ground, consisting of only two sets of circles, one representing a tree and the other a well close to Thakankalitjimeri, where the Wollunqua paused for a time in his travels and again left spirit children behind.

The last ceremony was the most important, and was especially concerned with a spot called Ununtumurra, where the Wollunqua ceased from his wanderings. It must be remembered that all this time he had been getting gradually further and further away from his home at Thapauerlu, though the end of his tail still remained there, as he was of a most enormous size. At the same time there was also performed another Wollunqua ceremony concerned with a rock-hole called Miradji, lying in the bed of the creek between Kadjinara on the one side and Thapauerlu on the other, only a few yards away from either of them. The ground design was concerned, however, only with Ununtumurra (Fig. 81). The main part consisted of a broad, waving band of black charcoal at least eighteen feet long, terminating in an expanded part attached to a half-circle which in its turn was attached to the outer of a series of three concentric circles. Joined to another side of these again were two curved bands. All along by the side of the main band there was outlined a series of tracks which very cleverly imitated those of a man walking along with naked feet, and thus stood out in strong contrast to the purely conventional design with which they were associated. By the side of the two small curved bands above described were also drawn two impressions of feet. The long broad band

FIG. 81.—FINAL CEREMONY IN CONNECTION WITH THE WOLLUNQUA TOTEM WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
The helmets are in the act of being pulled off the heads of the performers who are seated around the ground-drawing.

indicated the Wollunqua travelling across the country, the swollen end and semicircle represented his head, just as he was supposed to be in the act of plunging down into the earth at Ununtumurra, which was itself indicated by the annexed circles. There were, in addition to these designs, four series of concentric circles which represented paper-bark trees (*Melaleuca leucodendron*) where the Wollunqua left spirit children. Tradition says that in the Alcheringa a man named Mumumanungara came out of the snake's body and remained with the Wollunqua as his mate. When the snake set out upon his travels the man was very distressed for fear lest he should leave Thapauerlu altogether. Accordingly he set out to follow him up, and meeting with him at Ununtumurra walked quietly along by the side of his tracks, and then, standing close to the snake and lifting up his arms, as indicated by the two curved bands attached to the side of the circles and also by the double footmarks, he struck the snake hard with a stick in the endeavour to drive him back to Thapauerlu. The old Wollunqua curled his body round that of Mumumanungara, lifted himself on high, and with a great dive plunged into the earth and went back with his mate to Thapauerlu.

It is not possible to convey in words anything like an adequate idea of this series of ceremonies, which were the most impressive of any that we witnessed, all the more because they were associated towards their close with the final burial ceremony of a woman of the Wollunqua totem.

There were no fewer than eight separate designs drawn upon the earth, some of them very elaborate and entailing, each of them, not less than six or seven hours' labour, quite apart from the time which was daily occupied in decorating the men who were to take part in the performance. In addition to all this there was the Wollunqua mound, perhaps the most important part of the whole ceremony, and certainly unique so far as our experience of Australian tribes is concerned.

Taking the ceremonies as a whole, the first point of importance appears to be that they are evidently totemic in nature. There is the same fundamental idea at the

bottom of them as exists in the case of others which undoubtedly have this significance. They refer to the Wingara ancestor of a special group of individuals who are themselves the reincarnations of spirit children who arose from him, and whom he left behind at certain definite localities represented in the ceremonies. On the other hand there is a great difference between the Wollunqua and any other totem, inasmuch as the particular animal is purely mythical, and except for the one great progenitor of the totemic group, is not supposed to exist at the present day. At the same time the totemic ceremonies concerned with it are most clearly identical in form with those connected, for example, with the black snake, and are enacted side by side with others, the object of which is to ensure the increase of various totemic animals and plants.

Amongst the Warramunga tribe the snake totems are of considerable importance, the great majority of individuals of the Uluuru moiety belonging either to the Wollunqua, Thalaualla (black snake), or Tjudia (deaf adder) totems; but at the same time the Wollunqua is undoubtedly the most important, and is regarded as the great father of all of the snakes. It is not easy to express in words what is in reality rather a vague feeling amongst the natives, but after carefully watching the different series of ceremonies we were impressed with the feeling that the Wollunqua represented to the native mind the idea of a dominant totem.[1] There can also be no doubt but that certain features of the ceremonies, such as the building of the mound to please the snake and the covering over of its remains when the old men heard it growling in the distance, for fear lest it should come and eat them all up, point to the idea of propitiation. At the same time the savage destruction of the mound seems to indicate clearly that they also think it possible for them to control the animal to a certain extent by force.

[1] At the same time it must be pointed out that, whilst the totem itself—that is, the Wollunqua—is vaguely regarded as possessing powers greater than those of other totemic animals—as, for example, its capacity to injure natives—the members of the totemic group are in no way regarded as of a higher caste or more important than those of any other totemic group.

A few days after the series of ceremonies was completed we went off, in company with a little party of older natives, including the two headmen of the group, to visit Thapauerlu, the great centre of the Wollunqua totem. For the first two days our way lay across miserable plain country covered with poor scrub, with here and there low ranges rising. Every prominent feature of any kind was associated with some tradition of their past. A range some five miles away from Tennant Creek arose to mark the path traversed by the great ancestor of the Pittongu (bat) totem. Several miles further on a solitary upstanding column of rock represented an opossum man who rested here, looked about the country, and left spirit children behind him; a low range of remarkably white quartzite hills indicated a large number of white ant eggs thrown here in the Wingara [1] by the Munga-munga women as they passed across the country. A solitary flat-topped hill arose to mark the spot where the Wongana (crow) ancestor paused for some time, trying to pierce his nose; and on the second night we camped by the side of a water-hole where the same crow lived for some time in the Wingara, and where now there are plenty of crow spirit children. All the time, as we travelled along, the old men were talking amongst themselves about the natural features associated in tradition with these and other totemic ancestors of the tribe, and pointing them out to us. On the third day we travelled, at first for some hours, by the side of a river-bed,—perfectly dry of course,—and passed the spot where two hawks first made fire by rubbing sticks together, two fine gum-trees on the banks now representing the place where they stood up. A few miles further on we came to a water-hole by the side of which the moon-man met a bandicoot woman, and while the two were talking together the fire made by the hawks crept upon them and burnt the woman, who was, however, restored to life again by the moon-man, with whom she then went up into the sky. Late in the afternoon we skirted the eastern base of the Murchison Range, the rugged quartzite hills in this part being associated partly with the crow ancestor and partly with the bat.

[1] The Wingara is the equivalent of the Arunta Alcheringa.

Following up a valley leading into the hills we camped, just after sunset, by the side of a rather picturesque water-pool amongst the ranges. A short distance before reaching this the natives pointed out a curious red cliff, standing out amongst the low hills which were elsewhere covered with thin scrub. This, which is called Tjiti, represents the spot where an old woman spent a long time digging for yams, the latter being indicated by great heaps of stones lying all around. On the opposite side of the valley a column of stone marks the spot where the woman went into the earth. The water-hole by which we were camped was called Wiarminni. It was in reality a deep pool in the bed of a creek coming down from the hills. Behind it the rocks rose abruptly, and amongst them there was, or rather would have been if a stream had been flowing, a succession of cascades and rocky water-holes. Two of the latter, just above Wiarminni, are connected with a fish totem, and represent the spot where two fish men arose in the Alcheringa, fought one another, left spirit children behind, and finally went down into the ground.

We were now, so to speak, in the very midst of *mungai*, for the old totemic ancestors of the tribe, who showed a most commendable fondness for arising and walking about in the few picturesque spots which their country contained, had apparently selected these rocky gorges as their central home. All around us the water-holes, gorges, and rocky crags were peopled with spirit individuals left behind by one or other of the following totemic ancestors :—Wollunqua, Pittongu (bat), Wongana (crow), wild dog, emu, bandicoot, and fish, whose lines of travel in the Alcheringa formed a regular network over the whole countryside.

After camping for the night by the side of Wiarminni, we set out in the morning under the guidance of the natives, and for some miles followed on foot the course of a broad valley which, after a time, narrowed down to a rocky gorge running right into the heart of the ranges. Before reaching this, however, we passed by sundry spots of traditional interest. A heap of stones, called *purntali*, resembling a cairn, placed on the sloping side of the broad valley, repre-

sented a large number of wild "oranges" (the fruit of a species of Capparis) which had been gathered, and for some reason left there, by a bandicoot woman. A little pinnacle called *kiankuthu* and a small cave high up on a hillside were associated with the old bat man. He set two boomerangs up in the ground at this spot in the Alcheringa, and left them behind him when he travelled on, while the ancestor of the Kulpu (honey bag) totem walked along the

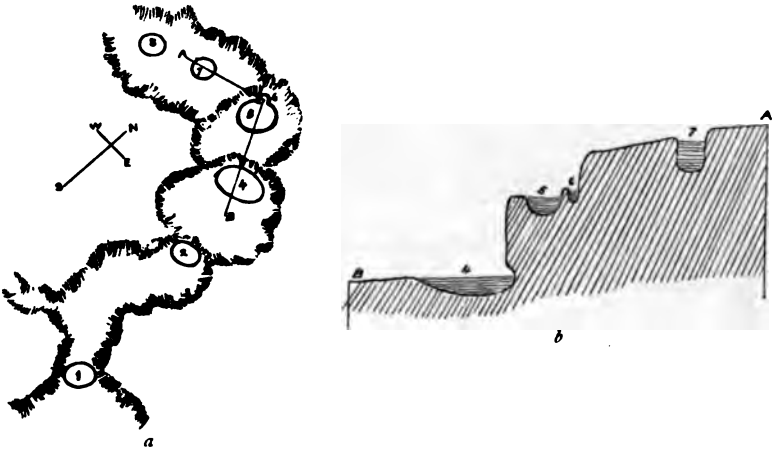


FIG. 82—(*a*) GROUND-PLAN OF THE VALLEY IN WHICH THAPAUERLU IS SITUATED. (*b*) SECTION ALONG THE LINE A—B.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, indicate water-holes in the rocky bed of the stream which flows down the valley.

top of the ranges, keeping away, however, to the north and east of Thapauerlu itself.

The annexed plan will serve to indicate the chief features in the gorge, the entrance to which is blocked save for a very narrow passage round the rocks on one side of the water-hole, called Tjintjinga (1), where there is a Wollunqua *mungai*. All of the trees bordering the creek contain spirit children, and a little further up the passage is completely blocked by a rock-pool, beside which there is a large cave called Maralintha-taparinia (3). This was made by two old Thapungarti men in the Alcheringa, and two weather-beaten shrubs on the opposite rocks indicate where they stood and

looked at the water-hole and cave. Making a detour to the west, we scrambled up the steep sides of the gorge, and then came down to Thapauerlu and found ourselves by the side of a picturesque pool with a sandy margin on the south, and a little precipice of red quartzite rocks curving round its northern edge, over which in rainy seasons the water falls from a height of twenty or thirty feet into the pool below. The rocks are hollowed out so that they overhang the water

FIG. 83.—THAPAUERLU, A WATER-HOLE IN THE MURCHISON RANGE WHERE THE WOLLUNQUA SNAKE IS SUPPOSED BY THE WARRAMUNGA TRIBE TO LIVE.

and form a long shallow cave, from the roof of which clusters of what are evidently roots of trees, which have forced their way down through the fissures in the quartzite, hang pendant, and are supposed by the natives to represent the whiskers of the Wollunqua (Fig. 83).

Up till this time the natives had been talking and laughing freely, but as we approached Thapauerlu itself they became very quiet and solemn, and as we silently stood on the margin of the pool the two old Tjapeltjeri men—the chief men of the totemic group—went down to the edge of

the water and, with bowed heads, addressed the Wollunqua in whispers, asking him to remain quiet and do them no harm, for they were mates of his, and had brought up two great white men to see where he lived, and to tell them all about him. We could plainly see that it was all very real to them, and that they implicitly believed that the Wollunqua was indeed alive beneath the water, watching them, though they could not see him.

Thapauerlu is evidently a permanent water-hole, though in seasons of extreme drought it is doubtless much diminished in size from what it was when we saw it. Under such conditions the margin of the water will retreat backwards towards the rocks, immediately under which it is not only very deep but is sheltered from the sun's rays. After having had the different features pointed out to us we made another detour, clambering up over the hillside and then again descending into the bed of the stream higher up the valley. Immediately above Thapauerlu, though quite invisible from the latter, is a deep rocky basin called Miradji, from which the water in the rainy season simply pours over a narrow ledge and tumbles down from a height of twenty or thirty feet into Thapauerlu below. This upper basin was formed in the Alcheringa during a fight between a wild dog and a euro.[1] As they fought the euro lashed its tail round and round, thus hollowing out the rock and making the present basin, but in the end the wild dog came off victorious, and killed the euro and eat its intestines. Attached, as it were, to the one side of Miradji is a kind of very large pot-hole about five feet in diameter and six in depth, which is especially associated with the euro. This contains a large number of rounded boulders, varying in size from an inch to nearly a foot in diameter, which are supposed to represent various parts of the organs of the old euro—kidneys, heart, tail, intestines, etc. The two younger men who came with us to the spot immediately went into the rock-hole, which contained about three feet of water, and after splashing this all over their bodies and rubbing each other with a few of the stones lying at the bottom, they were rubbed again by the elder Tjapeltjeri (Fig. 84). This

[1] The euro is a species of kangaroo.

ceremony, which is called *ini-ini*, is performed with the object of enabling the men who are thus rubbed with the stones representing parts of the euro to go out into the bush and catch euros more easily than otherwise they would be able to do.

Above Miradji again there lie two rock-holes, both, at

FIG. 84.—TWO YOUNGER MEN BEING RUBBED BY AN OLDER ONE WITH STONES WHICH ARE SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT PARTS OF THE BODY OF A EURO (KANGAROO). WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

This rubbing is supposed to enable them to catch euros easily.

the time of our visit, filled with water, and both intimately associated with the old Wollunqua who left spirit children here; indeed the oldest of the natives who accompanied us was the reincarnation of one of these individuals, and his personal and secret name, Marunquagnuna, is derived from Marunqua, the native name of the upper and smaller of the two water-holes.[1] The larger one is like a great pot-hole,

[1] Gnuna is a suffix, meaning of or belonging to.

about ten feet in diameter. Its name is Tadjinara, and here it was that the Wollunqua originally arose in the Alcheringa. When he started out on his travels he still kept the end of his tail in the pool, and only withdrew it when, at Ununtumurra, he made his great dive into the earth and returned to take up his final abode in Thapauerlu.

Scattered about on the rocky sides of the valley above Thapauerlu are numbers of little heaps of rounded stones, carefully hidden away under piles of rougher quartzite blocks which have tumbled down the hillside during the process of weathering. The rounded boulders are evidently water-worn, and have been brought up to their present resting-places from the pot-holes in the creek. The natives removed the rough outer blocks, and then, carefully arranged on beds of leaves under them, we saw, in each case, about a dozen or fifteen of the rounded boulders varying in diameter from an inch to a foot. The larger ones are called *marra*, and represent old male euros; the medium-sized ones are *bullukari*, and represent old female animals; the smaller ones are *tjulinjuri* and *bullunga*, and represent little euros, male and female respectively. There are perhaps six or eight of these cairns scattered over a length of a mile, and the old Tjapeltjeri man told us that they were very old, and that his elder brother, now dead, father, and grandfather had always been accustomed, when they visited Thapauerlu, to come up and rub and red-ochre the stones and renew the beds of leaves. They are really used for two quite different purposes, and it appears to be a matter of indifference whether the performers belong to the Kingilli or to the Uluuru.[1] In the first place they are lifted up and rubbed hard all over the bodies of young men of any totem, with the object of enabling them to catch euro; and in the second place the old men sing over them and rub them with euro fat and red ochre, with the idea of causing euros to emanate directly from them. From the *marra* old male euros arise; from the *bullukari*, old females and so forth; in

[1] As a matter of fact this part of the country is occupied mainly by men of the Uluuru moiety, and Thapauerlu is not often visited by Kingilli men.

fact, the natives pointed out to us the dung of a large euro close to one of the cairns as proof positive of this, and as unmistakable evidence of the fact that that special animal had recently arisen from one of the *marra* in that cairn.

CHAPTER VIII

CHURINGA AND ALLIED OBJECTS

The central part of the continent is the home of the Churinga—Churinga among the Urabunna—Term Churinga is applied to an object or to an attribute which it possesses—Ceremonies attendant upon the return of a number of Churinga which had been lent to another group—Introducing the visiting men to the local women—Ceremony of *atnitta ulpailima*—Visit to the *ertnatulunga*—Unmatjera beliefs with regard to Churinga—Rubbing a stone with a Churinga to cause a spirit child to enter a woman—Use of Churinga during Intichiuma—Old man giving a Churinga to a younger man—Churinga name in the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes—Churinga in the Worgaia tribe—The Munga-munga women—Small number of Churinga in the Warramunga, Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Gnanji tribes—Explanation of markings on a Warramunga Churinga—Association between Churinga and individuals to whom it has belonged—Churinga not used in sacred ceremonies in northern tribes—Tradition of Murtu-murtu and the wild dogs in the Warramunga tribe—Churinga seldom met with in the coastal tribes—Review of facts with regard to Churinga in the different tribes.

THE very central part of the continent occupied by the Arunta, Ilpirra, Iliaura, and Unmatjera tribes may be described as the home of the Churinga and of the beliefs which cluster round this sacred object. In all of the tribes with which we are acquainted we meet with Churinga or their equivalents, but it is in the central area only that we find them intimately associated with the spirit parts of the different individual members, and carefully treasured up and hidden away from view in the *ertnatulunga* or sacred storehouses of the various local totemic groups.

In the Urabunna they are not very much in evidence. They have a tradition that those belonging to the northern section of the tribe were stolen long ago by the Arunta—that is, in the Alcheringa times. In the Southern Urabunna they have a special form called *tjimbaliri*. In outline this

resembles the typical wooden Churinga of the Arunta, but its surface is always quite plain, and in section it is much more convex than the Churinga. The latter is called *thantha* by the Northern Urabunna, who, when they want to initiate a youth, actually either borrow some of these from the Southern Arunta or else send down to the southern section of their own tribe for a *tjimbaliri*. They say that if they were to make bull-roarers for themselves and sound them, the Southern Arunta would be angry with them and would say, "Why do you make Churinga when you have not got any of your own?" The women imagine the sound of the Churinga to be the voice of a spirit called Witurna, who, they are taught to believe, takes the boys out into the bush, removes all of their insides, provides them with new ones, and brings them back in the form of initiated men. There is no idea in the Urabunna, any more than there is in the Warramunga, of any special association between the Churinga and a particular individual.

We have previously described the Churinga and the beliefs associated with them in the case of the Arunta tribe, which may be regarded as typical of the group or nation of tribes inhabiting the heart of the continent.[1] Each Churinga was associated in the Alcheringa with some totemic ancestor, and remained on the earth as the abode of his spirit part when his body went below into the ground. When the spirit entered a woman and underwent reincarnation, the Churinga remained behind, and was searched for, and when found, or if not found then one made to represent it, was placed in the *ertnatulunga*.

Not only is the term Churinga applied to these stone or wooden slabs, some of which are popularly spoken of as bull-roarers, but in addition to being thus used as a substantive, the term is frequently employed as a descriptive one. Thus, for example, the stone or wooden slab is spoken of as Churinga, but in addition the natives will often say that a name, or a design, or some object used in connection with a sacred ceremony, is Churinga, using the term in its adjectival sense. Every man, for example, has what the natives call

[1] *N. T.* p. 128.

his *aritna churinga*—that is, his sacred or Churinga name. The term is used to denote both a concrete object and a special quality or attribute possessed by the same.

Since writing our previous account we have had the opportunity of witnessing the ceremonies attendant upon the return of a number of Churinga which had been lent by one group of Udniringita (witchetty grub) men to another. A messenger arrived one day at Alice Springs and told the local Alatunja, the headman of the group, that a party of Udniringita men from a place called Ulatherka, away out in the western Macdonnell Range, under the leadership of their local Alatunja, would arrive on the following day, bringing with it the Churinga which had been borrowed some years ago. Accordingly next day all of the local men of the totem, together with those who belonged to the Bulthara and Panunga moiety of the tribe, with which this totem is mainly associated, assembled at a secluded spot in the range, about half a mile away from the main camp, and on the route by which the Ulatherka people were to come in. The men greased and red-ochred their bodies, and painted their faces white, with a median stripe of red extending from the middle of the forehead along the bridge of the nose. This is the characteristic design of the witchetty grub totem, and the *ilkinia* or sacred design of the latter was also painted in red and white lines just below the breast-bone. Twigs of the Udniringa bush, upon which the Udniringita larva feeds, were worn hanging down from their forehead bands and in some cases under the armlets and through the opening in the nasal septum. The only men who were undecorated were the two old Alatunjas. They assisted in the decorating of the other men, and when this was over each of them took a shield and painted Udniringita designs upon it. On one the design represented a number of Udniringita in the *maegwa* or adult stage, just before the laying of the eggs. This particular design is peculiar to a place called Wungalathina, at which the ancestors camped in the Alcheringa as they marched from Untherkurpunda. The leader of this party is at the present day supposed to be reincarnated in the person of the headman of the Alice Springs group of

witchetty grub men. The central circles represent a big gum-tree which now marks the spot on the Todd River, about a mile south of Alice Springs, where the Ulatherka party left a man behind. During the two hours occupied by the decorating of the shields, the men sang continuously of the marchings of the witchetty grubs in the Alcheringa; and when at last the designs were completed, the shields were placed on the ground side by side, sung over in low tones, and then carefully hidden from sight with green twigs. Only such members of the Purula and Kumara sub-classes, two in number, as were also members of the totemic group, were allowed to be present; the others decorated themselves in various colours and draped their foreheads with Udniringa twigs at another place some distance away.

After the painting of the shields was complete, the Purula-Kumara were invited to attend, and Panunga and Bulthara men were sent to summon the women. A space was cleared, twenty or thirty yards away from where the shields were hidden. The two Alatunjas sat down with the Panunga and Bulthara men immediately behind them, and the Purula and Kumara in the background. The women squatted on the rising ground at a spot about thirty yards further back, higher up the slope than the men. The women of the totem, and those who were daughters of Udniringita men, were painted on the breasts with red and white lines, put on obliquely, and they sat in the front row. When the strangers were seen approaching, the women, who had kept up a low, moaning noise, quietly rose from the ground and returned to their camps. The two Alatunjas stood up, each of them swaying his body from side to side, holding a shield across his back and under his arms. The men forming the Inwura party (the name given to a special party of men engaged upon such a sacred errand as the bringing back of Churinga) advanced in single file with exaggerated high-stepping action, led on by the very old Alatunja of Ulatherka, who carried a bundle about two and a half feet long, which he held out extended towards the local group. The bundle, decorated with longitudinal lines

of red and white down, and with tips of alpita[1] tails, contained the Churinga—forty-two in number, and all of them stone ones. When the Inwura men were within a few yards of the local group, the two Alatunjas suddenly sat down, and the strangers, coming on at a run, stooped and placed the bundle on the knees of the Alatunja of the Emily Gap group, who held it in silence for a minute or two, and then placed it on the knees of his son, who sat between him and the other Alatunja (Fig. 85). As their leader stooped down with the bundle, all of the Inwura party, as well as the local mob, crouched upon the ground, and then the Emily Gap Alatunja got up and raised each man to his feet, after which all again sat down, and the same Alatunja repeatedly rubbed the bundle over the thighs and stomachs of the elder men, singing lowly as he did so. He then handed it back to the Inwura leader, who rubbed it over the thighs and stomachs of some of his party, then slowly, and with the greatest deliberation, began to unwind the hair-string which formed the outer casing of the Churinga. This was carried on to the accompaniment of a low mournful chanting on the part of the local men, some of whom actually wept—reminded apparently of dead relatives represented by some of the Churinga. This process of unwinding the vast amount of hair-string in which the objects were swathed occupied no less a time than an hour and a half, so slowly and deliberately was it done. In the bundle were also a large number of human hair-string girdles, which were laid one by one upon shields, and were finally handed over as a present to the local Alatunja, who, in the manner usual on such occasions, rubbed his own thighs and stomach with them and those also of the older men of his party. At length the Churinga were disclosed to view; each one was taken out solemnly by the Inwura leader, pressed against the stomach of the local Alatunja and those of the elder men, and then laid upon the shields which were piled up with girdles and balls of hair-string. When all were unpacked the local Alatunja removed the shields and their contents to one side, and then brought

[1] The rabbit-bandicoot, *Peragale lagotis*.

FIG. 85.—RETURNING OF CHURINGA. ARUNTA TRIBE.

another containing a number of forehead bands and girdles, on the top of which was placed a big damper. This he placed in front of the Inwura leader, to whom he apologised for the smallness of the offering of string and food, saying that they were taken unawares, and that the women were lazy and frivolous, and had not secured seed enough to make a larger damper. The leader of the Inwura, however, expressed himself as being quite satisfied, saying repeatedly, "Yes, yes, it is enough."

The local Alatunja now brought in a large *pitchi* full of water and placed it in front of the Inwura leader, inviting him to drink. The old man scooped up a little in his hand and swallowed it, and then each of the local Alatunjas, scooping some out with his hand in the same way, poured a little into the mouth of each member of the Inwura party. Each man turned his head and spat it out in the direction of Ulatherka. This giving of water by the Alatunja is called *illaur-illima.* When this was over the *pitchi* was again offered to the Inwura leader, who now dipped his face into it and drank deeply, as did each man in his turn, for it was now four o'clock in the afternoon and they had had no water since daybreak, because the ceremony of returning the Churinga must be performed without the participants partaking of either food or water. The local Alatunja then broke off a small piece of damper, which he put into the mouth of the Inwura leader, who slowly chewed and swallowed it. After this he put a piece into the mouth of each member of the party, all of them turning and spitting it out in the direction of Ulatherka. The party was then taken to the spot at which the decorated shields were hidden; they were uncovered and the meaning of the design explained by the Emily Gap Alatunja, who then pressed the end of the shields against the stomach of each man. Such of the Kumara and Purula men as were not members of the totemic group now retired, and the strangers quickly devoured the offering of food.

During the course of the evening the Churinga were examined one by one and sung over for some hours, after which the local Alatunja decorated four of the younger men

amongst the visitors and instructed them in the manner of performing, and the meaning of, the Achilpa totem ceremony of Okirakulitha, which they then performed.

On the morning of the next day all of the men amongst the strangers who belonged to the Bulthara and Panunga moiety, with which the Udniringita totem is especially associated, were taken to a spot at which the women belonging to the local men of the same moiety were already assembled, and each of them in turn was brought forward and, as it were, formally presented to the women, who were told which was his Alcheringa camp and also the name of his mother's Alcheringa camp and totem. This little ceremony, the only one of its kind with which we are acquainted amongst these tribes, is called *papilla-irrima.*

In the evening all of the men assembled at the original meeting-place, where the strangers performed an Achilpa totem ceremony of a place called Ertoatja.

On the morning of the next day all of the Panunga and Bulthara men, and a few of the older Kumara and Purula who had been especially invited, assembled at the spot where the Churinga were still stored. The Churinga were brought out, each one was polished with red ochre, an operation called *churinga ulpailima*, sung over, and pressed against each man's stomach. Some of the local men again wept while certain Churinga of dead relations were being rubbed. When the rubbing was over, the Emily Gap Alatunja laid two shields on the ground, at right angles to each other, forming a T. Each man in turn lay down upon his back on the shields, distending his stomach and slightly bending his body upwards. The local Alatunja then took a heavy stone Churinga, prodded the man's stomach on each side, and then struck it with considerable force with the flat side of the Churinga, in some cases three and in others four times. Finally he butted the stomach heavily, just below the breast-bone, with his own forehead (Fig. 86). This operation is called *atnitta ulpailima* (*atnitta*, stomach; *ulpailima*, to soften or break up finely). The force with which the stomach was struck was quite sufficient to cause considerable pain, especially in the case of the younger

men, but several of those present, and taking part in the ceremony, said that the force with which they were struck upon this occasion was comparatively mild compared with that which was sometimes employed. On previous occasions it had actually resulted in vomiting and passing of blood.

This custom of *atnitta ulpailima*,[1] in however a much milder form, is seen after the performance of any sacred

FIG. 86.—CEREMONY OF ATNITTA ULPAILIMA IN CONNECTION WITH THE RETURNING OF CHURINGA. ARUNTA TRIBE.

ceremony, when the inward parts of the performer are supposed to be tied up in knots owing to the emotion which he has experienced. On this special occasion, when it partakes more or less of the nature of somewhat of an

[1] It is interesting to note that the same word *ulpailima* is used in connection with the rubbing of the Churinga with red ochre. This is termed "softening the Churinga," and very evidently points to the fact that the latter is regarded as something much more than a piece of wood or stone. It is intimately associated with the ancestor, and has "feelings," just as human beings have, which can be soothed by the rubbing in the same way in which those of living men can be.

ordeal, it is supposed to be beneficial in various ways. It makes the men what is called *ertwa murra*—that is, good black-fellows, using the term good in the native sense; it helps to lessen the appetite, so that a man is satisfied with a moderate amount of food, and is always ready to divide what he secures with others who may not have been so successful as himself (as a matter of fact an Australian native is always ready to do this). Having undergone *ulpailima* in this form, a man is no longer what the Arunta people call *wurunthu muta*—that is, hard-hearted and greedy. Further still it makes the intestines *atnitta irrima*—that is, it endows them with "sight," so that a man becomes aware if his wife should be unfaithful to him, and as a further result he can also "feel" the approach of danger in the form of evil magic; he can detect, for example, the presence of a Kurdaitcha.

Feeling and seeing are sensations very closely associated in the native mind in very much the same way in which the two are associated in individuals of a higher stage of æsthetic development.

After all of the men present, except the two local Alatunjas, had gone through the ceremony, two of the Purula and Kumara men who belonged to distant northern groups came up and kneeled together close by the side of the local Alatunja, who stroked their mouths and beards with the Churinga—a ceremony called *aralkalirrima*.

In the afternoon of the same day the Alatunja of the Jessie Gap group, at the request of the Alatunja of the Emily Gap group, performed the ceremony of the witchetty grub totem connected with Ulatherqua. This, which represented the *maegwa* or adult stage of the insect, was originally performed by the great ancestor called Intwailiuka. Only the Bulthara and Panunga men were present while the performers were being decorated, and when this was complete and the performers were ready the Kumara and Purula men were called up. The performers took up a crouching attitude, and were supposed to represent the *maegwa* just emerged from its chrysalis, and went through various grotesque movements intended to represent the

maegwa making its first attempts to fly. The local men sat in front of the performers singing of the *maegwa*, but there was no dancing around them and shouting of "*Wha! wha!*" as in the case of most of the sacred ceremonies of the Arunta tribe. At the close of the performance the visitors were embraced by the performers.

On the morning of the next day the visitors were taken to the *ertnatulunga* at the Emily Gap. On arriving there the local Alatunja went on alone, and sat down in a crevice close under the sacred storehouse. He then beckoned to the others to come up, and pointing towards the mouth of the little fissure which serves as the *ertnatulunga*, made signs with his fingers, and each man in turn stepped up and laid his open hand solemnly over the mouth of the Ertnatulunga, and then retired to one side. This ceremony is called *raralilima*, and is designed to give the spirits notice of the approach of visitors, for, if disturbed suddenly, they would be angry. The Alatunja then opened up the *ertnatulunga*, and took out the ordinary Churinga as well as some *churinga unchima*,—round stones representing the eggs of the Udniringita,—which he pressed against the stomach of each of the visitors. When this was over the various spots of historic interest in the gap were visited, and their traditions explained to the visitors, who were then led back to the main camp by way of some of the Ilthura,[1] where the sacred stones used during the Intichiuma ceremony were unearthed and pressed against the stomachs of the visitors.

On the next day the leader of the Inwura party performed a ceremony connected with the Udniringita *maegwa* of Ulatherka. Between the spot where the performer stood and the audience there was an interval of about thirty yards, which was covered with twigs of the Udniringa shrub on which the grub feeds and the adult insect deposits its eggs. The performer represented the *maegwa* fluttering about

[1] The Ilthura are holes four or five feet deep at various spots within a radius of a few miles of the Emily Gap, in each of which there are one or more *churinga uchaqua*—that is, stones representing the chrysalis case out of which the adult Udniringita insect emerges. Cf. *N. T.* p. 173.

from bush to bush, and laying its eggs on each one. In his hands he carried tufts of alpita, which were supposed to represent the insect's wings. This concluded the ceremonies, but before the visitors departed to their own country they took part in the operation of circumcision performed upon two youths. A time such as this, when there are a number of men gathered together from various parts, is usually

FIG. 87.—STONE CHURINGA REPRESENTING THE LIVER OF A PANUNGA MAN OF THE EMU TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

FIG. 88.—WOODEN CHURINGA OF A BULTHARA WOMAN OF UNTJALKA (A GRUB) TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

taken advantage of for the performance of initiation and other important ceremonies.

As a general rule in the Arunta tribe the Churinga have a characteristic symmetrical shape. In a few cases they are boomerang-shaped—in fact so closely similar are these to the ordinary weapon that they are practically indistinguishable from the latter in external appearance. Others such as those represented in Figs. 87, 88, 89, and 90 are evidently very old ones which have been broken. In the first of these, which is a stone one, representing the liver of an old Alcheringa man of the emu totem, both ends are abruptly cut off. This is either intentional or, after having

been broken, they have been ground and then ornamented with down. The other three are of wood, and in each case the broken end is tipped with resin. In one of them, associated with a Bulthara woman of the Untjalka (a grub) totem, the surface shows no trace of a design which, if it were ever present, has been obliterated by long years of rubbing with grease and red ochre.

FIG. 89.—STONE CHURINGA OF THE "WILD-CAT" (DASYURUS SP.) TOTEM. KAITISH TRIBE.

The beliefs of the Unmatjera tribe with regard to Churinga are practically identical with those of the Arunta. They use the same name Churinga, and store them in secret places which, like the Arunta, they call *ertnatulunga*, each of which is under the headman of the totem, whom they call Inquatitja. Each Churinga, just as in the Arunta, has a spirit associated with it.[1] Thus, for example, in the tradition relating to Unthurkapunda of the grass-seed totem, we find that after he and the old Kumara man had exchanged their Churinga, and had carried them away to their respective camps, the spirits associated with them were supposed to be always anxious to get back to their old camping grounds. They are said to have been constantly passing backwards and forwards between the two spots, leaving their Churinga, for the time

FIG. 90.—WOODEN CHURINGA NANJA OF A BULTHARA MAN OF THE CRANE TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

[1] The Unmatjera say that if it should happen that a Kurdaitcha or other evil-disposed individual should steal a Churinga, then the *iruntarinia* of the man to whom it belongs would follow up the Kurdaitcha and recover the Churinga.

being, in the Ertnatulunga, in which the two old men had placed them.

Not only has the Unmatjera tribe this same idea with regard to the Churinga, but, like the Arunta, the members of the tribe also perform the Engwura ceremony. In one of their traditions they refer to an old man named Unkurra, of the Porcupine-grass resin totem, who came up with Kukaitja and saw a number of men performing the Engwura ceremony. These men had erected a *nurtunja* and were dancing round it, and the old Unkurra man lighted a fire, and burning his resin or Unkurra on this, he made such a smoke that all of the performers were suffocated.

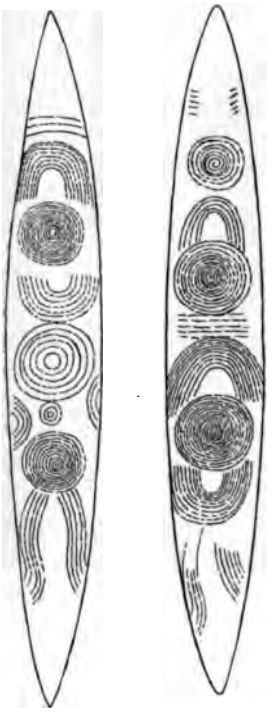


FIG. 91.—WOODEN CHURINGA. KAITISH TRIBE.

In the Kaitish tribe again we meet with the same beliefs. The Churinga, here called *allongalla*, are kept in a sacred storehouse or *amoama* under the charge of the headman of the local totemic group, who is called Ilpilpa-antiana. Just as in the Arunta, so in the Kaitish tribe, the immediate neighbourhood of these storehouses is sacred ground on which nothing may be destroyed. It is the haunt of the spirit individuals associated with the Churinga. The accompanying illustration (Fig. 91), which represents a wooden Churinga of a man of the grass-seed totem, will serve to show the identity of those of this tribe with the corresponding Arunta objects.

The term Churinga and its Kaitish equivalent *allongalla* is applied also to various objects associated with the Alcheringa ancestors. Thus, for example, the two originators of the rain totem cut off their whiskers, which still remain in the form of two rocks on a hill called Arumbia. Out of

them, which are spoken of as Churinga, came both the clouds and the rainbow.

To cause a child to enter a woman a Kaitish man will take a Churinga and carry it to a spot at which there is a special stone called *kwerka-punga* (child-stone), which he rubs with the Churinga, at the same time asking the *kurinah*, or spirit of the child, to go straight into the woman. In the Arunta we have just the same belief in these stones inhabited by children who can by magic be made to go into any woman, but in this tribe the Churinga is not used as it is by the Kaitish people.

The Churinga are normally in the charge of a man of the totem, but as in the Arunta tribe they may, if the local group becomes for any reason extinct, pass for a longer or shorter time into the charge of some man of another totem. At the present time in the Kaitish tribe there are only two grass-seed (Erlipinna) men ; neither of them has a grass-seed son, and when they die the *amoama* or storehouse and its contents will be under the charge of the younger brother of the present headman, who will take care of it until such time as a grass-seed man shall arise. This may of course happen at any time. The younger brother in question belongs to the opossum totem, and his country adjoins that of the grass-seed people. On the death of the headman of a totem group the successor, who is usually a son, goes alone, or sometimes with an actual brother, to the storehouse and there takes out and mourns over the Churinga and rubs them with grease and red ochre. After having rubbed his own body all over with ochre and spent a long time in the examination of the Churinga, he carefully replaces them and returns to camp. At intervals during the remainder of his life he visits the storehouse to see that all is right, and without his permission no one will think of touching its contents, and of course no woman or child will go anywhere near to it.

The Churinga are also in some cases used during the Intichiuma ceremonies. Thus in the case of the grass seed, the headman of the totem goes to the storehouse, clears the ground all around it, takes out a few Churinga, red

ochres and decorates them with down, singing all the time the words, "*Meri tango, meri tango,*" which apparently have no meaning at the present day. This done he rubs them together, so that the down flies off in all directions. The down is supposed to carry with it some virtue from the Churinga whereby the grass seed is made to grow.

Occasionally an old man will give Churinga to a younger man, even though the latter does not belong to his own totem. The object of this is not very clear. So far as we could find out it is certainly not associated with the idea, which is met with in the Arunta tribe, of enabling the man to more easily secure the animal which gives its name to the totem with which the Churinga is associated. For example, a Thungalla man of the grass-seed totem gave two Churinga, a larger one to a Panunga man and a smaller one, a *namatwinna*, to an Appungerta man. The two recipients went out in search of a kangaroo as a present for the old man. They caught one and brought it back with them close up to his camp, and then cracked a stick so as to attract the attention of the Thungalla. The latter came to the *ungunja*, or men's camp, and the Appungerta told him that the Panunga had caught a little wallaby which he would give him by and by. The two younger men then went back to bring up the kangaroo, which they carried between them. Placing the Churinga on the top of it, they handed the animal over to the Thungalla, who took the Churinga, rubbed both of them on his stomach, and then handed them back to the two men, who after this kept them as their own. These Churinga belonged to the grass-seed totem, and when the men approached the animal that they were in pursuit of, they were placed in a safe spot some little distance away, because the men were afraid that the Churinga might frighten the animal and so prevent them from killing it.

The Kaitish have a tradition with regard to two Alcheringa men named Tumana—a term applied to the roaring noise made by the Churinga. These two men themselves arose from Churinga, and one day they heard Atnatu, who

lived up in the sky, making the noise with his Churinga, and they tried to imitate it. First of all they took pieces of bark, but could not succeed with this, and then they cut a *churinga irula* (*irula* = wooden) out of a mulga-tree. This time they were successful. They decorated their Churinga with down, which flew about in all directions when they twirled them. Where the down fell, mulga-trees arose out of which Churinga can now be made. The two Tumana men were killed by wild dogs, but by good fortune there were two other men who knew what they had done, for they had secretly watched them making and twirling their Churinga, and so they were able to tell the other black-fellows exactly what to do—how to make the Churinga and how to swing them during initiation.

Amongst the Kaitish we only very occasionally meet with groups of individuals who wandered over the country leaving spirit individuals behind them, associated with Churinga, and thus forming local totem centres. As a general rule the ancestors of the totemic groups were few in number,—very often two individuals,—but they had stores of Churinga, and these, deposited in various places, gave rise to the equivalents of the *oknanikillas* in the Arunta tribe.

In the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes, just as in the Arunta, every individual has his or her secret or Churinga name; in some cases it is that of the Alcheringa ancestor of whom he or she is supposed to be the reincarnation. Thus, for example, the father of the present head of the water totem in the Kaitish tribe was supposed to be the reincarnation of one of the two original rain-men, and his sacred name was Erldunda; but as a general rule the sacred name is one which was possessed by some ancestor since the Alcheringa times, for the simple reason that the Alcheringa ancestors are, unlike what occurs in the Arunta traditions, very few in number. In the latter tribe, however, the more numerous Alcheringa ancestors carried with them Churinga, with which were associated spirit individuals who possessed no definite names, so that new ones had to be invented for the reincarnations of these particular spirits. As we pass northwards from the Arunta we find that the number of

Alcheringa ancestors of any totemic group gradually decreases, until finally we have only one great ancestor for each. The Kaitish tribe forms in this respect a stepping stone from the Arunta to the Warramunga.

In the Worgaia tribe, which inhabits the country to the north-east of the Kaitish and comes into contact with the Warramunga on the eastern boundary of the latter, we meet, so far as we have been able to discover, with the last traces of the Churinga—that is, of the Churinga with its meaning and significance as known to us in the true central tribes, as associated with the spirits of Alcheringa ancestors. In at all events the western section of the Worgaia there is the belief in ancestors who marched across the country carrying Churinga with them, which they deposited in various spots and so formed *oknanikillas*. Thus the Munga-munga women, whose totem was the Menadji, or yam, arose amongst the Warramunga people close to where is now Tennant Creek. They were sent away to the east by the great ancestor of the black-snake totem, taking their yams with them. The latter were *mitji-mitjari*, or Churinga, and they were deposited in various places along their line of route across the Worgaia country. The spirit individuals associated with these are constantly undergoing reincarnation, and at the time of our visit there was an old Worgaia man visiting the Warramunga tribe who, together with his brother, was the reincarnation of one of these Alcheringa yams. One of these Churinga, which, according to tradition, was carried by the Munga-munga women, is represented in Fig. 92. In form it is unlike any other which we have seen, as instead of being flattened it is almost circular in section, and carries the very simple design seen in the figure. These *mitji-mitjari* are made of stone, and in the same way we find stone Churinga associated with the white ant and the sugar-bag totems. In the case of the latter, however, they were

FIG. 92.—STONE CHURINGA REPRESENTING ONE OF THE YAMS CARRIED BY THE MUNGA-MUNGA WOMEN IN THE WINGARA TIMES. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

not associated with spirits but represented the actual sugar bag itself, just as in the Arunta tribe we meet with *churinga unchima* and *churinga uchaqua*, which represent various stages in the development of the witchetty grub. There is not, however, amongst the Worgaia any sacred storehouse equivalent to the *ertnatulunga* of the Arunta, though there is a headman of each totem. The old Worgaia Tjupila visiting the Warramunga is now the head of the yam totem, and performs the Intichiuma ceremony of the latter, on which occasion he carries his yam *mitji-mitjari* with him, leaving it on the ground in a special place so as to ensure the growth of the yams. In the case of one of the sugar-bag Churinga the zigzag edges are supposed to represent the wax and the concentric circles the sugar bags; the small spherical stone represents a mass of honey.[1]

In the Warramunga, Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Gnanji tribes we find only relatively small traces of Churinga as compared with the Arunta. They have a certain number of objects identical in form with those of the Kaitish and Arunta, but there is no idea whatever of any association of spirit individuals with them. At the same time they are definitely associated with the totems. The ancestors of the latter created all of the spirit individuals or *purtulu* of the totemic groups, and left them at certain places which are called *mungai* spots. Every individual has his *mungai* spot where he lived in what the Warramunga call the Wingara, the precise equivalent of the Alcheringa in the Arunta.

The Warramunga have two distinct terms for objects which amongst the Arunta are called Churinga. Anything carried by a totemic ancestor, or especially associated with this being,—as, for example, the stone knives which Winithonguru, the wild-cat man, used when he circumcised various young men,—are spoken of as *irrititji*. The Arunta people call them *lelira churinga*, the Warramunga call them *martan irrititji*. The wooden object shaped like a bull-roarer —that is, the true Churinga—is called *murtu-murtu*. No stone ones are met with in these tribes, and the markings upon the wooden ones are precisely similar to those of the Arunta

[1] *N.T.* Fig. 22, p. 158.

and Kaitish. The one figured belonged to a man of the Wollunqua totem, but had nothing whatever to do with the latter (Fig. 93). The explanation which he gave us of the markings was as follows:—A, a man of the mosquito totem; B, his tracks as he walked about the country; C, the banks of a creek; D, a man who wanted to kill the mosquito; E, the tracks of the two men, crossing each other; F, the spot at which the mosquito man was killed; G, the two legs of the mosquito man when he fell down dead. It will at once be seen that these markings are precisely similar in their style and meaning to those of the Arunta and Kaitish Churinga, and the owner of this particular Churinga received it from a Kaitish man. In the Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Gnanji tribes we occasionally met with Churinga of this kind (Figs. 94, 95, 96). In every instance they were regarded as of especial value because of their association with a totem. Thus, for example, the Churinga or, as the Umbaia tribe call it, *purtuli*, represented in one of the figures, was associated with a snake-totem centre at a water-hole made in the Alcheringa by a snake called Katakitji, in the Umbaia country. There was no idea of the association of a spirit with the Churinga, but in this case again it was sacred. It had a special value, and might not be seen by any uninitiated person because of its being connected with the totemic ancestor Katakitji. It

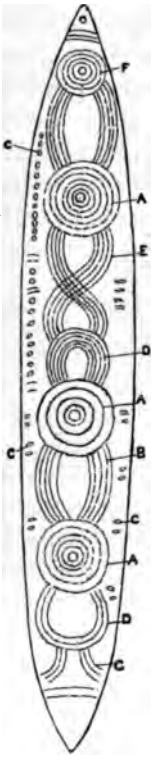


FIG. 93.—WOODEN CHURINGA. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 94.—WOODEN CHURINGA OF A SNAKE TOTEM. UMBAIA TRIBE.

was supposed to have been made in the far past by a great man of the totem, and here it may be remarked that the further we pass back from the present towards the Alcheringa times, the greater are the powers supposed to have been wielded by the members of the totem. Every native has a great respect for his *kankwia* or grandfather, and imagines him to have been a far greater man than he himself is, while his *kankwia's kankwia* is proportionately greater still; in fact we may say that the virtues and powers of various kinds attributed to any ancestor increase in geometrical proportion as we pass backwards towards the Alcheringa. The native has a vague and undefined but still a strong idea that any sacred object such as a Churinga, which has been handed down from generation to generation, is not only endowed with the magic power put into it when first it was made, but has gained some kind of virtue from every individual to whom it has belonged. A man who owns such a Churinga as this snake one will constantly rub it over with his hand, singing as he does so about the Alcheringa history of the snake, and gradually comes to feel that there is some special association between him and the sacred object—that a

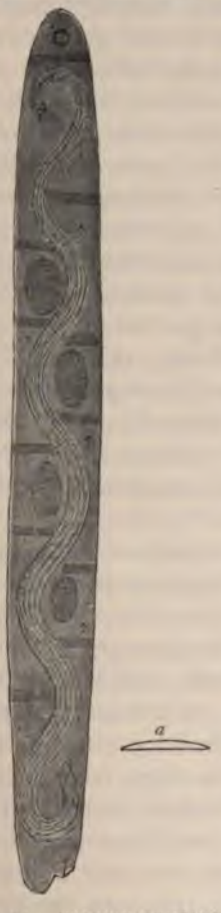


FIG. 95.—WOODEN CHURINGA OF A SNAKE TOTEM. GNANJI TRIBE.

FIG. 96.—WOODEN CHURINGA OF A SNAKE TOTEM. GNANJI TRIBE.

virtue of some kind passes from it to him and also from him to it.

In these tribes the eponymous ancestor of each group is supposed to have been a single individual,[1] usually regarded as more animal than human in form; in fact in many cases, such as the Wollunqua, he is supposed to have been distinctly an animal and not human at all. In the case of other totems such as that of the black snake—one of the most important amongst the Warramunga tribe—the natives distinctly state that he had no *irrititji* or Churinga, but that he made *mungai*—that is, established local-totem centres, leaving spirit children behind, who emanated from his body wherever he performed ceremonies. The Wollunqua, on the other hand, apparently had some Churinga, because, in one tradition, the Nappa-undattha snake during the course of his travels is reported to have stolen a Churinga from the former and then to have run away. They figure so little, however, that we never heard any reference to them during the whole series of ceremonies connected with the Wollunqua.

In the Arunta, Kaitish, and Unmatjera tribes the Churinga are very much in evidence during the performance of sacred ceremonies, forming usually the most important part of the decorations, but in the Warramunga, Tjingilli, Umbaia, Walpari, Gnanji, Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes they are as characteristically absent. We never in fact once saw them used, or heard them referred to, during the preparation for and performance of the large number of sacred ceremonies which we witnessed in these tribes. The only solitary occasion on which we saw one in any way at all associated with a ceremony, in these northern tribes, and this only very indirectly, was in the Anula tribe, on the Gulf Coast. One day, just before a ceremony was performed, a man went some little distance off and swung a bull-roarer to warn the women and children to clear out of the way, but this had no special reference of any kind to the ceremony.

[1] Except in the case of the Thaballa or laughing-boy totemic group and in that of the Munga-munga women of the yam totem. In these two there were groups of ancestors who walked across the country.

The Warramunga have a tradition relating to the origin of their Churinga or *murtu-murtu* which, in certain respects, recalls that of the Kaitish referring to the men Tumana. In the Wingara there lived a man called Murtu-murtu, whose body was round like a marble, and whose feet had only toes and heels. He had also only a tuft of hair on his head, which looked as if it had been shaved. He came out of the earth originally at Kalkara, and spent his time performing sacred ceremonies and making a noise like that of a *murtu-murtu*. Two wild dogs who lived at Alkanara, and were very big, and therefore called *wuntilla*, travelled down southwards, and as they did so heard the noise made by the man all day long. They decided to follow it up, and on the way formed deposits of red ochre where they voided their excreta. At Kitjaparitja and various spots they performed sacred ceremonies, leaving spirit children behind them. At Waiamaru they stopped and heard the noise very clearly, and so knew that they must be very near. They sneaked on quietly and saw Murtu-murtu, who was, as usual, making the noise with his mouth. One of the dogs went one way and the other another, and when close to they rushed up and attacked him, biting out pieces of flesh, which they threw about in all directions. As the flesh flew through the air it made a noise like that of a bull-roarer, and wherever it fell on the ground there immediately sprang up a tree called Naiantha (Grevillea sp.). When the dogs had torn all of the man's body to pieces they looked around, and were astonished to see the trees arising in all directions. It made them very angry, and they ran round and round biting the trees, one after the other, in the hope that they would be able to destroy the spirit or *munalgi* of the man Murtu-murtu, which was evidently in the trees, but they could not do so, and now the natives make the Churinga called *murtu-murtu* out of the wood of these trees.

In the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes Churinga are still less frequently met with than even in the Gnanji tribe. In the latter, as already described, we do meet with them occasionally, but in these three they are no more frequently

seen than, for example, amongst the coastal tribes in South-east Australia. They are only much in evidence during initiation, when one is given to the boy to carry about, partly for the purpose of assisting in the healing of the wound, and partly to be twirled round so as to warn off the women and children who must not come near to him. None of them at the present day have the significance of those of the Arunta, nor even of the Gnanji, where they are definitely associated with particular localities, and the intimate association between them and the totems is to a large extent lost sight of. It may also be noticed in connection with this that there are no sacred or Churinga names in the Binbinga, Mara, and Anula tribes.

In the Binbinga tribe the origin of the Churinga is attributed to two Dingo men of the Alcheringa, who also first introduced the use of a stone knife at circumcision. They used to carry their sacred sticks, which they called *watumurra*, under their arms during the day, but placed them on their heads at night-time.

In the Anula tribe the whirlwind first made the Churinga which is called *murra-murra*. The one carried by the initiated youth, after he has been hit upon the back with it, is finally buried in the ground at the bottom of a hole which is supposed to represent one of the *mungai* spots of the whirlwind. In the Binbinga and the Anula tribes the only references to Churinga which we met with are the two just described, and both of them are solely associated with the ceremony of initiation.

Reviewing briefly the various facts with regard to Churinga, we find that in the Urabunna they are few in number and are not specially associated with the totems. They are only much in evidence during the performance of initiation ceremonies. In the Arunta, Ilpirra, Iliaura, and Unmatjera tribes they are very numerous and intimately associated with the Alcheringa ancestors, who were not only many in number, but, in addition to his own special Churinga, each of them often carried very many others. In the Kaitish tribe the Alcheringa ancestors were less numerous, but they still carried many

Churinga.[1] In all of these tribes each Churinga is associated with a spirit individual.

In the Warramunga, Wulmalla, Walpari, Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Gnanji tribes the Churinga are intimately associated with the totems, but are practically not used in connection with the sacred totemic ceremonies, though these are just as important as in the first-named series of tribes, nor is there any idea of the association of spirit individuals with them. In the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes they are very few in number; there is not the intimate association between them and the totems such as exists in the other tribes, nor is there any association of spirit individuals with them. At the same time the relationship between the whirlwind and the bull-roarer used at initiation is very suggestive in this respect, the latter being closely connected with the totem of the individual who, in each instance, first introduced in the Alcheringa the ceremony as now carried out.

After our acquaintance with the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes, the only conclusion which it seems possible to arrive at is that in the more northern tribes the Churinga represent the surviving relics of a time when the beliefs amongst these tribes were similar to those which now exist in the Arunta. It is more easy to imagine a change which shall lead from the present Arunta or Kaitish belief to that which exists in the Warramunga, than it is to imagine one which shall lead from the Warramunga to the Arunta. From the former, by way of the Gnanji tribe, the transition is easy to the coastal tribes amongst whom the descent of the totem is strictly paternal, and the Churinga belief, as we know it amongst the Arunta, is only represented by surviving relics. In every tribe we have the idea of spirit children of special totems inhabiting spots from which they pass into the bodies of the mothers. In the Arunta and Kaitish we meet with what certainly appear to be the simplest and most primitive beliefs, according to which each spirit child has its own Churinga and can enter any woman, so that a child which is

[1] The same is true in regard to, at all events, certain totems in the western division of the Worgaia tribe, but we cannot speak of these as a whole.

conceived by a woman who may happen to be, as not infrequently occurs, out of her own country visiting some distant group with her black-fellow, belongs to the totemic group of that locality. This is a perfectly simple belief—simpler than that of the Gnanji, whose idea is that, in the case of a woman conceiving a child in some locality other than one concerned with her husband's totem, it is a spirit child of the latter who has followed her up, and therefore in all cases, with only the rarest exceptions, the child belongs to its father's totem wherever it may happen to have been conceived. In the Binbinga, Mara, and Anula tribes, in order to reconcile the belief in spirit children left behind by Alcheringa ancestors with strict paternal descent of the totem, the belief has grown up that the spirit declines to go into any woman save one whose husband's totem is the same as its own.

CHAPTER IX

INTICHIUMA CEREMONIES

Intichiuma ceremonies among the Urabunna—Intichiuma ceremony as carried out by the members of the witchetty grub group in the Arunta tribe—The eating of the totemic animal by the headman of the group—Essential features of Intichiuma in the Arunta—Ceremony in the Kaitish tribe connected with a grass seed and the rain totems—Ceremony connected with the Idnimita (a grub) totem in the Unmatjera tribe—Ceremonies in the Warramunga tribe—Differences between these and those of the Arunta tribe—Description of the Thalaualla or black-snake totem ceremonies—Ground drawings—The Munga-munga women—Bringing in of the animal after the ceremony—Variation in different groups—Ceremony of the white-cockatoo totem—A woman making lizards grow fat—Ceremonies in the Tjingilli and Umbaia tribes—Slight development of Intichiuma in the coastal tribes—Ceremonies to increase bees, kangaroos, dugongs, and crocodiles—Rain-making in the Mara and Anula tribes—Review of the more important features concerned with Intichiuma in the different tribes.

THE name Intichiuma is applied by the Arunta tribe to certain ceremonies intimately associated with the totems, the object of all of them being that of increasing the supply of the material object from which the totemic group takes its name. For the sake of simplicity we use the same name in reference to equivalent ceremonies in other tribes, though it must of course be remembered that the actual term applied to them varies from tribe to tribe.

Up to the present time, apart from "rain-making," Intichiuma ceremonies have been known to exist only in the Central Australian tribes amongst whom descent is counted in the male line. It is therefore of some interest and importance to find that they exist well developed in the case of tribes which count descent in the female line, and in which also there are no true class-names, but only names for

the moieties. In fact a closer study of one of these maternal descent tribes, such as the Urabunna, which, it may be remarked, is very closely allied to the Dieri, reveals the striking fact that in its beliefs and customs it is fundamentally in agreement with such a tribe as the Arunta. At the same time the differences between the two are such as quite to preclude the possibility of one having simply borrowed ideas from the other.

In the Urabunna tribe Intichiuma ceremonies are called *pitjinta*, and the special name of *pani-inta* is applied to the decorations drawn on the bodies of the performers. At a water-hole called Tjantjiwanperta, close to a hill now known as Mount Kingston, there is a local centre of the rain totem, and here ceremonies are performed for the making of rain. In the Alcheringa an old Kirarawa man of the rain totem, named Mutapatta, arose here and also a little boy who was his grandson. The old man had plenty of gypsum. Taking some of this he ground it up finely and threw it about in all directions so as to make clouds. After a time these came down to earth in the form of rain black-fellows. Later on they went up into the sky again in the form of clouds, and then rain fell, filling all the clay pans. Again they came down to earth as men, and then travelled away for a long distance. Every now and then they went up into the sky, forming a long low bank of clouds. Meanwhile an old rain man came down from the north, from the country of the Arunta. The Urabunna man sat down at Tjantjiwanperta, and the Arunta man at a hill close to Mount Kingston. The Arunta said, "I saw your lightning." The Urabunna replied, "What do you want to come and look at my Churinga place for?"[1] The Urabunna man had five stripes of down which he wore across his stomach when he made rain, and the Arunta man stole four of them, so that at the present day the Urabunna man, when performing, can only wear one. After this the Arunta man returned to his own country. The cloud men came back again to Tjantjiwan-

[1] This is the same as the *Nanja* in the Arunta—that is, the rock or tree or other object inhabited by the ancestor in spirit form. The Urabunna call it *Watthilli*.

perta, Mount Kingston arising to mark their tracks.[1] Then the old Urabunna man took them all on his back, the grandson climbing on to the very top, and a cluster of boulders at Tjantjiwanperta now marks the spot where this took place. Every now and again, as they travelled along, they went up into the sky in cloud form and made rain. A long way off there was another Urabunna rain man, named Mintali, who was a Matthurie. He saw the clouds appearing and then disappearing in the distance. He also had made a number of rain men who went up into the sky in the form of clouds. The two clouds met and mixed together, and finally all of the men went on into the country of the Wonkgongaru tribe, where they went into the earth, leaving large numbers of *mai-aurli* or spirit children behind them.

At the present day the headman in charge of Tjantjiwanperta makes rain. When performing he wore a head-dress of hair-string completely covered over with white down which extended over his shoulders and chest. A single bar of down passed across the stomach and two down each side of the spine. A tuft of cockatoo feathers formed a tip to the head-dress, and bunches of eagle-hawk feathers hung down all round from his waist-girdle. He held a spear-thrower in his hands. First of all he squatted on the ground in front of the few men who formed the audience, one man sitting down on each side striking the earth with a stone while singing the following refrain—

At nau walta walta
Mantja lintjurla an ni
Tjalpara nantja
Mantja an ni tjalpinna.

The performer rose from the ground to a stooping position, striking out and moving the thrower backwards and forwards, quivering his body and turning his head from side to side. At intervals he lifted his body up as if attempting to rise from the ground, while he gazed into the sky in imitation of the cloud men who, in the Alcheringa, used to go into the

[1] The native name for Mount Kingston is *Korara merkunda*, which means "clouds arising."

sky, forming clouds from which the rain came down. Finally he sat down abruptly and the ceremony was at an end.

The general term for Intichiuma in the Urabunna tribe is *pitjinta*, but in addition each totem group has a separate name for its own ceremony. In the case of the rain group this name is *wadni*.

In the Intichiuma ceremony of a snake group called *wadnungadni* the old headman of the group performed. His body was decorated with lines of red and yellow ochre, and on his head he wore a sacred ceremonial object called *pariltja*. It was made of two sticks each about two feet in length, fastened together at right angles. Strands of fur-string stretched across from stick to stick, so as to form a kind of banner. Each of the four ends was ornamented with a tuft of cockatoo feathers, and it was worn lying flat on the top of the head. Kneeling on the ground he extended his arms at full length, holding in each hand a sharpened bone about six inches in length. A man on his right took the bone out of that hand and pinched up the skin of the arm, while the performer with his left hand thrust the bone through the skin (Fig. 96*a*). Then another man on the left lifted up the skin of that arm and the performer thrust the second bone through it. Then holding his arms extended, he twice sang the following refrain—

Lirri watthai umpai
Lara nalari tjinta.

When this was over he drew the bones out and the ceremony was at an end. As usual, in the case of sacred ceremonies, the words have no meaning known to the natives, and have been handed down from the Alcheringa. It must be rather a painful ordeal to the performer, whose arms were marked with numerous scars. He told us that sometimes he pierces the skin of each arm with three or four bones. The bones are called *paidni*, and when not in use are wrapped in hair cut from the head of a snake man. After the ceremony, and when the snake has become plentiful, men who do not belong to the snake group go out and bring some in to the old man, saying, "*Au uta nanni obma*,"

which means, "See, here are snakes." A younger tribal brother who does not belong to the totemic group presents him with some fat taken from one of the snakes. He rubs his arms with this and then says, "*Unta tani urquari*," which means, "You eat—all of you."

The ceremony is a simple one as compared with some of the more elaborate ones, such as that of the Udniringita

FIG. 96*a*.—INTICHIUMA CEREMONY OF A SNAKE TOTEMIC GROUP IN THE URABUNNA TRIBE.

The snake man is piercing the skin of his arm with a pointed bone.

grub group in the Arunta tribe, but its significance is unmistakable. The old man told us that, if the men who did not belong to the totem group were to eat the snake without first bringing it in to him and asking his permission to do so, he would warn them that by and by they would see no more snakes.

A somewhat similar ceremony occurs in the case of a fish-totem group in the Wonkgongaru tribe which has the same organisation as the Urabunna. The headman of the

totemic group paints himself all over with ochre, and, taking little pointed bones, about an inch and a half in length, goes into a pool of water. He pierces his scrotum and the skin around the navel with the bones and sits down in the water. The blood from the wounds goes into the water and gives rise to fish.

At the Intichiuma of a louse-totem group the simple ceremony is performed at a sandbank which, in the Alcheringa, was especially associated with lice ancestors. Here there is one tree called *kata-pita* (ordinary louse tree) and another called *pintjeri-pita* ("crab" louse tree). The man comes to the spot, takes some dirt from the bank, rubs it on to the two trees and throws it about in all directions—a plentiful crop of lice being the result.

A curious form of Intichiuma ceremony is connected with a hill called Coppertop, which is supposed to represent an old Kadni or jew lizard standing up in the act of throwing boomerangs. The Kadni man can make the lizards increase by simply knocking pieces of stone off the face of the rock and throwing them about in various directions. On the hill there is also a tree with a rough bark which is supposed to represent the skin of the lizard. The Wonkgongaru natives have no Kadni lizard man amongst them, so, when they desire to increase the supply of these lizards, they invoke the aid of the Urabunna man. He goes to the lizard tree, strips off some of the bark, and sends it to the Wonkgongaru men, who burn it in their own country, and by this means secure a supply of the animal.

For the purpose of enabling the ceremonies, which are amongst the most important and characteristic of any performed by these tribes, to be properly understood, we must briefly refer to them as they exist amongst the Arunta tribe, in connection with which we have previously described certain of them at length and amongst whom their existence was first discovered.[1] The Arunta tribe is divided up into a large number of local groups, each one of which is presided over by a headman called an Alatunja, and is associated with some special totem. One group will be kangaroo,

[1] *N.T.* p. 167.

another emu, another grass seed, and so on, and each group, under the direction of its own Alatunja, performs the Intichiuma ceremony. The majority of the members of any one group belong to one of the two moieties of the tribe, and, to be the headman of any particular local group, an individual must belong both to the totem with which it is associated and also to one particular moiety. Thus, for example, to be the head of the witchetty-grub group at Alice Springs, a man must be of that totem and belong to the Panunga and Bulthara moiety of the tribe. On the other hand, to be the head of the emu group of Strangways Range, a man must be an emu and belong to the Purula and Kumara moiety of the tribe. The exact time when the Intichiuma ceremony is held is decided upon by the Alatunja, and any man may attend, provided only he belong to the totem, irrespective of which moiety of the tribe he has been born into. Very occasionally men who happen to be in camp when the ceremony is performed, and who belong to the right moiety, but not to the totem, are invited to attend; but on no occasion is a man allowed to be present who belongs neither to the right totem nor to the right moiety of the tribe. As an example of the ceremonies amongst the Arunta, which will serve for comparison with those of other tribes to be shortly described, we may take that of the Udniringita or witchetty-grub totem of the Alice Springs group. The men assemble in camp, and, leaving everything behind them, including even their hair girdles, they walk in single file to a spot, now called the Emily Gap, in the Macdonnell Ranges, some miles distant. This place is specially associated with the Alcheringa ancestors of the group, and on its walls are the sacred drawings characteristic of the totem. The Alatunja, who is in the lead, carries a small *pitchi* and all the others have little twigs of the Udniringa bush, on which the grub feeds, in their hands. First of all they gather round a shallow cave in which is a large stone representing the *maegwa* or adult animal, surrounded by smaller ones called *churinga unchima*, which represent its eggs. After every one has struck the *meagwa* with his twigs the Alatunja takes up one of the *churinga unchima* and hits

each man with it on the stomach, saying, "*Unga mirna oknirra ulquinna*" (You have eaten much food). Then after carefully examining other sacred spots in and about the gap they march back to camp, following precisely the track which, according to tradition, was followed by their Alcheringa ancestors. At intervals they stop at small holes in the hill-side where are deposited the stone *churinga uchaqua*, which represent the chrysalis stage of the animal. Each man's stomach is hit with one of them, and lastly, they halt within a mile or so of their camp, each man decorating himself with the *ilkinia* or sacred design of the totem, head-bands, hair-string, bunches of feathers, etc. While they have been away an old man, left behind for the purpose, has built a long narrow bush wurley called *umbana*, which is supposed to represent the chrysalis case out of which the *maegwa*, or fully developed insect, comes. Reaching this they all go inside and for some time sing of the insect in its various stages. Then they all shuffle out and in again and are supplied with water and food. Up to this time no one has been allowed to eat or drink, as the ceremony at the sacred spot must be carried out fasting, except in the case of the very old men. All night long they sit down singing by the side of the *umbana*, and in the morning they strip themselves of all their ornaments and hand them over to the Mulyanuka (in this case the Purula and Kumara), the Alatunja saying as they do so, "Our Intichiuma is finished, the Mulyanuka must have these things, or else our Intichiuma would not be successful and some harm would come to us." After the performance of Intichiuma and when the grub begins to appear, the witchetty-grub men, women, and children go out daily and collect large supplies which they bring into camp and cook, so that it becomes hard and brittle and will keep for some little time. The supply of the grub only lasts for a short time after the summer rains have fallen, and when it begins to disappear the store of cooked material is taken to the *ungunja*, or men's camp, where, acting under instructions from the Alatunja, all of the men in camp of both moieties of the tribe assemble together. Those who do not belong to the totem place their supplies

before the men who do, and the Alatunja takes one *pitchi*-ful, and with the help of the men of the totem, who are all grouped around him, he grinds up the cooked grubs between two stones. Then he and the same men take and eat a little, and after having done so hand back what remains to the other men. This over, the Alatunja takes one *pitchi*ful from the store collected by the members of the totem, eats a little of this, and hands over the bulk of what remains to the other people—that is, to the *Mulyanuka*. After this the witchetty people eat very little of the grub: they are not absolutely forbidden to eat it, but must only do so sparingly, or else they would be unable to perform Intichiuma successfully. On the other hand, the Alatunja especially must eat a little or else he would entirely lose his power of performing Intichiuma successfully.

The Intichiuma ceremonies vary of course in their details in the different totemic groups, but the essential features in the Arunta tribe are—

(1) That, except on one particular occasion, the members of the totem eat only very sparingly of their totemic animal. A very strict man will not even eat sparingly.

(2) That the men of the totem perform a very definite ceremony, the sole object of which is that of securing the increase of the totemic animal or plant.

(3) That the Alatunja especially, who presides over and conducts the ceremony, *must* eat a little or else he would be unable to perform the ceremony with success.

(4) That after the men of the totem have eaten a little they hand on the rest to the other men who do not belong to the totem, giving them permission to eat it freely.

(5) That only men of the totem and right moiety of the tribe are allowed to take any share in the actual ceremony, except in very rare cases.

In the Kaitish tribe the Intichiuma ceremonies are called *Ilkitnainga* and are conducted, as in the Arunta, by the headman of the totem, who is called *ulqua*. In the case of the Erlipinna (grass-seed) totem the following takes place. The *ulqua* is an old Thungalla man, and when he decides that the time has come to perform

Intichiuma he goes out to the *ertnatulunga* or sacred storehouse, clears the ground all around it, and then takes out the Churinga, greases them well, and, all the time that he does so, sings over them the words "*Meri tango, meri tango*," which have come down from the Alcheringa and have no meaning known to the natives of the present day. Then he takes two of the Churinga, red-ochres them and decorates them with lines and dots of down, the latter representing the grass seed. When this is done he rubs them together so that the down flies off in all directions. Then he replaces them in the *ertnatulunga* and returns quietly to his camp. Meanwhile the men of the other moiety of the tribe (Panunga and Bulthara) have gone out and collected yams, which they bring in to him and he eats. On the next day he goes to the ground where sacred ceremonies are performed and is there decorated by the same men—that is, those who belong to the other half of the tribe to that to which he himself belongs. Then, in the presence of all of the men, he performs a ceremony having reference to some incident in the Alcheringa history of the totemic group. In the Arunta tribe no such ceremony as this forms any part of the Intichiuma performance, nor in that tribe is the man decorated by the members of the other moiety of the tribe; in fact, as a general rule, none of the latter may come anywhere near to the spot at which the preparations for the ceremony are being made. This ceremony in the Kaitish is a curious intermediate stage between what occurs in the Arunta on the one hand and the Warramunga on the other. On the following day the headman goes out with his lubra and collects a *pitchi*ful of yams, which he brings back to camp and hands over to the *Mulyanuka*, except the Appungerta, who stand to him in the relationship of *gammona* (son-in-law). The Appungerta men go back to their camp sulky, and seizing their boomerangs throw them at the other *Mulyanuka* who have received the offering of food. These men guard themselves with shields but make no attempt to retaliate. This quarrel is of course only a pretence, as in these tribes the *gammona* is not allowed to receive any

food from his father-in-law. Then for days the old Thungalla man walks about by himself in the bush, "singing" the grass seed and carrying one of the Churinga with him. At night-time he hides the Churinga in the bush, returns to his camp, and sleeps on one side of the fire with his lubra on the other, the two having no intercourse whatever. During all this time, from the period at which he first visits the *ertnatulunga* to the close, he is supposed to be so full of Churinga—that is, of the magic power derived from these—that not only would it be *iturka* (a word expressive of the very strongest disapprobation) for him to have any intercourse with her, but such would result in making the grass seed no good and in causing his body to swell up when he tasted any of it.

When the seed begins to grow he still goes on "singing" it to make it grow more, and at length, when it is fully grown, he brings his Churinga to his camp hidden in bark. Then he and his lubra go out and gather a store of seed, and, bringing it back to camp, the woman there grinds it up with stones. Thungalla himself takes some to the *ungunja* and grinds it there, the Panunga men catching it in their hands as it falls, when ground, off the edge of the grinding-stone. One of the Panunga (who of course belong to the *Mulyanuka*) puts a little of the seed up to Thungalla's mouth and he blows it away in all directions, the idea of this being to make the grass grow plentifully everywhere. After this he leaves the seed with the *Mulyanuka*, saying, when he does so, "You eat the grass seed in plenty; it is very good and grows in my country." The only men who are allowed to be present on this occasion are the Panunga, Uknaria, and Bulthara, no Appungerta man being allowed to come up; if there be any old Thungalla men present in camp they will accompany the headman but will not receive any of the seed. When he returns to his camp he gives some of the seed to his lubra,[1] telling her to eat it and to tell the other lubras to do the same—that is, of course, unless they belong

[1] She does not belong to the grass-seed totem, nor of course to the moiety of the tribe to which Thungalla, her husband, does, and with which the grass-seed totem is associated.

to the grass-seed totem. The lubra makes four cakes out of the grass seed, and at sundown Thungalla returns to the *ungunja* with these. One of them he gives to the Panunga, one to the Uknaria, one to the Bulthara, and the fourth he tells his lubra to send to the Appungerta. An Opilla (Purula) woman then gives him some seed which he takes to his own camp and hands over to his lubra to make into another cake. Of this he eats a little and gives the rest to the Umbitjana men, who are his tribal fathers, saying, "I am glad to give you this." These men belong to his own moiety of the tribe, but unless they belong to the totem the seed is not tabooed to them. Then he tells his own lubra to instruct the women of all classes to go out and gather seed in plenty. He himself sits down quietly at his own camp and watches the women as they return with the seed, all of which is carried to the Mulyanuka men, with the exception of a small quantity which his own lubra and other women of her subclass (Uknaria) bring in to him. After a time the *Mulyanuka* men once more come up to him, bringing a little seed with them, but leaving the greater part of it in their own camp. In exchange for this, which he eats, they receive from Thungalla the supply which the lubras have brought him, and then he tells them that all is now over and that they may eat freely. He himself and the men of the totem only eat very sparingly. If a man of any totemic group eats too much of his own totem he will be, as the natives say, "boned" (that is, killed by a charmed bone) by men who belong to the other moiety of the tribe, for the simple reason that if he eats too freely of his totem then he will lose the power of performing Intichiuma, and so of increasing his totem.

The rain Intichiuma in the Kaitish tribe is conducted by an old Opila man who is now the head of the water totem. Accompanied by the old men of the totem, if such be present in camp, he goes to a place called Anira, where, in the Alcheringa, two old men sat down and drew water from their whiskers, the latter being now represented by stones out of which the rainbow arose. First of all he paints the stones with red ochre, and, close to them on the ground, he

paints a curved band supposed to represent a rainbow, drawing also one or more of these on his own body, and a special one on a shield which he brings with him for the purpose. This shield is also decorated with zigzag lines of white pipe-clay which are supposed to represent the lightning. While "singing" the stones he pours water out of a *pitchi* over them and over himself. Then he returns to camp, carrying with him the shield, which must only be seen by Purula and Kumara men, for if men of the other moiety were to see it then the rain would not fall. The rainbow is regarded as the son of the rain and is supposed to be always wanting to put an end to this, so that the shield with the drawing is carefully taken back to camp and hidden away out of sight until such time as a sufficient supply of rain has fallen, after which the shield is brought forth and the rainbow rubbed out. After the ceremony at the *ertnatulunga* the headman goes back to his camp, keeping a *pitchi* with water in it by his side. At intervals he throws small pieces of white down, which is supposed to represent clouds, in various directions so as to make the rain fall. Meanwhile the men who accompanied him to the *ertnatulunga* go away and camp by themselves, neither they nor the headman having any intercourse with the women. When the leader returns to his camp his lubra arranges to be absent, and, as she comes back at a later time, he imitates the call of the *pilpilpa* (plover), a bird the characteristic cry of which is always associated with the rainy season in these parts. The man may not as yet, however, even speak to his wife, and early the next morning he returns to the *ertnatulunga* and covers the stones over with bushes. After another silent night in his own camp he and the other men and women go out in separate directions, the women in search of vegetable food and Yarumpa (honey ant) and the men in quest of game. When the two parties meet on their return to camp they all cry *pilpilpa* in imitation of the plover. Then the leader's mouth is touched with some of the food brought in, and thus the ban of silence is removed. In this, as in other cases, if rain follows it is attributed to the performance of the ceremony,

but if it does not then it simply means that some one else has prevented it by superior magic. It is customary for men of the rain totem to wear little tufts of euro teeth hanging down over the ears, the reason for which is that, in the Alcheringa, two euro men came out of the whiskers of the two old rain men, and therefore there is a special association between rain men and euros.

In the Unmatjera tribe the ceremonies are closely similar to those of the Kaitish. In the Intichiuma of the Idnimita, a grub totem, for example, the Alatunja is a Purula man, and during the ceremony which he performs, and which has reference to one of the Alcheringa incidents connected with the totem, he is painted by men of the other moiety, that is, of the Panunga and Bulthara subclasses. When the grub becomes abundant, every one goes out and gathers supplies and brings them in to him at the *ungunja*. He himself eats a little, and then hands over the main supply to the men of the other moiety, telling them to eat it in plenty, and at the same time gives a few small ones to men of his own moiety.

In the Worgaia tribe also the ceremonies are essentially in agreement with those of the Kaitish. The head of a large *menadji* (yam) totem is at the present time a Kumara man, and during the course of the Intichiuma he performs one or more yam-totem ceremonies, for which he is decorated by men of the other moiety of the tribe. Before, however, doing this he takes a Churinga, wraps it up in bark, and leaves it on the ground at a spot where yams grow. When the ceremonies just referred to are over, the men of the other moiety of the tribe (Panunga, etc.) ask him to go and walk about in the bush and "sing" the yams, as they want them to grow. Accordingly he takes the Churinga, and carrying it under his arm-pit, goes out into the bush every day for about two weeks. At length, when he sees the plants growing well, he tells the men of the other moiety to go out and gather some. They do so, and leaving their main supply in their own camps bring a little up to the Kumara man, asking him to make them grow large and sweet. He bites a small one and throws the pieces out in all directions—

an action which is supposed to produce the desired effect. After this he eats no more of his totem, nor may his children touch it, whatever their totem may happen to be. In the same way the old Kumara man will not touch that of his father. Finally he says to the men of the other moiety, "I have made plenty of yams for you to eat, go and get them and eat them, and you make plenty of sugar-bags for me to eat." When he is a very old man he will be allowed to eat yams if they are given to him by a man of the other moiety.[1]

In the Warramunga tribe we find that one part of the ceremonies connected with Intichiuma, as performed amongst the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes, is very strongly developed, while at the same time what is, amongst these tribes, the most important part has, in the Warramunga, almost entirely disappeared. The Intichiuma ceremonies, here called *Thalamminta*, for the most part simply consist in the performance of a complete series representing the Alcheringa history of the totemic ancestor.

In this tribe each totemic group has usually one great ancestor, who arose in some special spot and walked across the country, making various natural features as he did so,—creeks, plains, ranges, and water-holes,—and leaving behind him spirit individuals who have since been reincarnated. The Intichiuma ceremony of the totem really consists in tracking these ancestors' paths, and repeating, one after the other, ceremonies commemorative of what are called the *mungai* spots, the equivalent of the *oknanikilla* amongst the Arunta—that is, the places where he left the spirit children behind. As may therefore be imagined, the Intichiuma ceremonies of the Warramunga tribe occupy a very considerable amount of time. Several of those belonging to the one moiety of the tribe are enacted at the same time, so that as many as four or five separate ceremonies, each of them concerned with a distinct totem, may be performed on the same day.

[1] This is in accordance with the fact that in all of the tribes nearly all food restrictions are done away with in the case of very old men. The man, however, is not allowed to gather his totemic animal or plant for himself, and as a matter of custom this is very rarely eaten.

The most striking feature is that the totems are divided up between the two moieties of the tribe, and though the members of a totem perform their own ceremonies, or ask some one else of the same moiety to do so, or to assist them, yet this is not done of their own initiative. They must be asked to perform the ceremony by a member of the other moiety of the tribe. The Warramunga are divided up into two moieties called Uluuru and Kingilli, the former representing the Panunga and Bulthara subclasses of the Arunta and the latter the Purula and Kumara. The Uluuru only perform their ceremonies when invited to do so by the Kingilli, and not only is this the case, but in addition no member of the Uluuru moiety, other than those who are being actually decorated for the performance, may be present on the ground during the preparation. Everything used for the ceremony—blood, down, and decorations of all kinds—must be provided and made up by the Kingilli, to whom afterwards presents are offered by the Uluuru. In exactly the same way the Uluuru take charge of the Kingilli ceremonies and receive presents from them. Ceremonies of the two groups may be performed following closely upon one another, though as a general rule different days are chosen for them. They are also always performed on clear spaces of ground placed at some little distance from each other.

The ceremonies which we witnessed were those connected with the following totems:—Wollunqua, a great mythic snake; Thalaualla, the black snake; Muntikera, the carpet snake; Tjudia, the deaf adder; Kutnakitji, a green snake; Emu; Watjinga, the Echidna; Lunkulungu, white ant eggs; and Thankathertwa, a snake, all of which belonged to the Uluuru moiety. Of those belonging to the Kingilli moiety we saw Utu, wind; Itjilpi, ant; Lirripitji, a lizard; Thaballa, laughing boy; Namini-patunga, a little bird; Tjalikippa, the white cockatoo; Karinji, the jabiru; Winithonguru, the native cat; and Walunkun, fire. They were begun on July 26, and six of the Kingilli series were not complete when we had to leave the tribe on September 18, during which interval of time we had witnessed more

than eighty different totemic ceremonies. This will at all events serve to give some idea of how elaborate and also lengthy these Intichiuma ceremonies are in the Warramunga tribe. Some of them are referred to in connection with the general description of the totems and totemic ceremonies; the Wollunqua series is described fully by itself, as it possesses certain features of importance which mark it out

FIG. 97.—TJINQUROKORA, A WATER-HOLE IN THE TENNANT CREEK WHERE THE ANCESTOR OF THE BLACK-SNAKE TOTEMIC GROUP AROSE, WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

No member of the totem may drink water here.

from the others, and here, as an illustration, we will briefly describe the Thalaualla totemic series.

Thalaualla, the black snake, arose first at a spot called Tjinqurokora, where there is a rocky water-hole in the bed of Tennant Creek (Fig. 97). This water-hole is now a sacred spot at which no women may drink. The snake was Thapanunga, and neither these men nor the Thapungarti, their sons and fathers, drink there; the other men of their half of the tribe—that is, the Tjunguri and Tjapeltjeri—drink if it be given to them by men of the Kingilli moiety, while

the latter may drink it freely at any time. This totem belongs to the Uluuru, and when it is desired to increase the number of black snakes the Kingilli men ask the Uluuru to perform their ceremonies.

The first ceremony, performed by two Thapungarti men, who were decorated by Tjupila and Thakomara men, represented the snake at the water-hole, each man's body being decorated with a curved black band enclosed in a mass of

FIG. 98.—CEREMONY OF IRRIMUNTA. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
Stroking the drawing of the snake on the back of the performers.

spots of white down. The two performers went out into the scrub and hid behind bushes, while the audience gathered on the ceremonial ground, on to which the two men ran in the usual way.[1] Their heads were pressed down as they sat on the ground by two Kingilli men, and when this was over all of the men in turn came up and stroked the drawing of the snake on their backs—an action which is called *irrimunta*, and is supposed in some way to be pleasing to the snake (Fig. 98). Of the two performers one was a crow

[1] For a description of the manner in which the totemic ceremonies are performed in the various tribes, see Chapter VI.

man, to whom the ceremonies of the Thalaualla at present belong. He inherited them from his father—an old Thalaualla man—who died without leaving a Thalaualla son to succeed to the headship of the totem. This crow man therefore takes charge of them until such time as there shall be a Thalaualla man old enough to do so. There is also a special reason why this duty should devolve upon a crow man, for in the Alcheringa the old crow, of whom this man is the descendant, was a mate of the snake and, as the natives say, "sat down" near to him.

Tradition says that, after coming up out of the earth, the snake made the creek now called Tennant, and travelled on to the Macdouall Range, which indeed he also created. As he went along he made *thuthu* [1] or sacred ceremonies, and where he did so he left spirit children behind him. When he did this, and performed the ceremonies, he always shook himself, preparatory to going on to the next place, and this shaking was represented in the two next ceremonies, which are called *purntu-purntu*, and were associated with the small rock-holes at the foot of the Macdouall Range, at a place called Lantalantalki. It was close to this place also that the snake met the old crow, and the latter having no ceremony of his own the snake lent him one.[2] The same two men again performed, and running on to the ground shook their bodies vigorously, while an old Tjupila man came up and held them behind by the elbows (Fig. 99). This shaking of the body, which is very characteristic of these ceremonies, is done in imitation of the old ancestor who is reported to have always shaken himself when he performed sacred ceremonies. The spirit individuals used to emanate from him just as the white down flies off from the bodies of the performers at the present day when they shake themselves.

[1] That is, he performed ceremonies the representations of which are now performed by his descendants.

[2] According to tradition a crow (Wongana) lived at a place called Murnalla, which means black nose, very close to Tjinqurokora, and performed sacred ceremonies. Close by there lived the great black snake from whose whiskers hung down a large number of Nat-thelma or little yams, which he gave to the crow who was a friend of his. The black snake told the crow to go a little distance away and perform his ceremonies, and then throw the yams back again to him. Neither the crow nor the black snake eat yams.

From Lantalantalki the snake went on to Orpa, another water-hole, and in the ceremony connected with this the two men had each of them a small red disc of down on the stomach and back representing the water-hole, and a curved red band indicating the snake. From Orpa he travelled up towards the source of the creek, making *thuthu*, and leaving spirit children behind him at Pittimulla. In the second of two ceremonies connected with this spot a special

FIG. 99.—CEREMONY OF PURNTU-PURNTU. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
Shaking the body to imitate that of the black-snake ancestor when children emanated from him.

drawing was made upon the ground (Fig. 100). A small space a few feet square was smoothed down, its surface damped, and covered with red ochre. A curved branching line about three inches in width was first of all outlined in white dots and then all of the remainder of the space was filled in with similar dots, completely enclosing the curved line, which represented the creek and its banks.[1] Finally, when the old snake had finished making the Macdouall Ranges and the creeks running out from them as far as

[1] Three of the ground-drawings are represented in Figs. 309, 310, 311.

Mount Cleland on the east side, he came back to his original home at Tjinqurokora, and the remaining two ceremonies were concerned with incidents which happened there.

In the Alcheringa some women, who were called Munga-munga, arose not far away from Tjinqurokora. They sat down on the side of the hole opposite to Thalaualla, who on seeing them said, "You are not snakes, you are Munga-munga; you must not paint yourselves or make corrobborees;

FIG. 100.—PREPARING A GROUND-DRAWING IN CONNECTION WITH A CEREMONY OF THE BLACK-SNAKE TOTEM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

you must only carry yams and yam-sticks." When he thought that they wanted to watch him performing his sacred ceremonies, he told them that they were not to do so, but ordered them to go away, which they did, carrying their yams along with them, which is why no yams now grow in that part of the country. They left, however, their yam-sticks behind them, and these are now represented by a large number of trees, which are called Kitji-paritji, and grow on the flat away from the banks of the creek. The Munga-munga women

walked away towards the east, dropping yams as they did so, until they came to places now called Alroy Downs and Lake Nash in Queensland, two or three of them going further on still in the direction of the Gulf of Carpentaria. The yams which these women left behind them were of the nature of Churinga, and were deposited mainly in Worgaia country. They changed into stones called *mitji-mitjari*, and it is one of these, decorated with red ochre and a long dark

FIG. 101.—PREPARATION FOR A CEREMONY IN CONNECTION WITH THE BLACK-SNAKE TOTEM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

line down the centre, representing the roots of the yam, which the Worgaia man sings when he goes out into the bush performing the yam Intichiuma ceremony. They were at first Uluuru, like the women who carried them, but after a time as they marched along they changed into Kingilli, and so the totem now belongs to the latter half of the tribe. All of the three last ceremonies of the Thalaualla referred to these Munga-munga women, and the decorations of the men consisted merely of red lines and ovals or circles, the latter representing the yams and the former the strings with which

they used to tie them up (Figs. 103, 104). In connection with the second ceremony three men were thus decorated and another man was ornamented with cross lines of black edged with white down. The last-named did not take part in the main ceremony. His was a kind of "side" performance illustrating an event in the history of the Thalaualla, which occurred at the period with which the main ceremonies were concerned. He lay down in a small

FIG. 102.—DECORATIONS OF TWO MEN FOR A CEREMONY IN CONNECTION WITH THE BLACK-SNAKE TOTEM.

trench, hidden from view behind a bush, about twenty yards away from the main ceremonial ground. Around his neck a ball of white down was tied, representing a small wallaby. As soon as the first and main performance was over an old man drew a line along the ground leading to the spot at which the fourth performer lay hidden. All of the men walked behind him keeping their eyes fixed on the track, as if they were following a trail up, and on seeing the hidden man pretended to be much astonished. An old Thakomara man stroked him with a stick, the idea being to make him

disgorge his prey. This represents a particular incident in the career of the old snake, whose son one day went out, caught a wallaby, and eat it without giving any to his father. The latter, however, tracked him up and made him disgorge his prey. In the last ceremony eight men took part, all of them representing Munga-munga women. On the ground a design was painted representing, by means of concentric circles and connecting lines, the Munga-munga

FIG. 103.—THE AUDIENCE GATHERING ROUND THE PERFORMERS AT THE CLOSE OF A CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH THE BLACK-SNAKE TOTEM. WARRA-MUNGA TRIBE.

women sitting down, tired out, with their legs drawn up, after they had been sent away by the Thalaualla. Four of the men wore head-dresses with pendants, the former representing yams and the latter the witchetty grubs on which the women fed. During the same night the men all assembled at the ceremonial ground, painted with black, and sang the walking of the black snake and of the Munga-munga women.

The old Thalaualla, according to tradition, ended his

FIG. 104.—CLOSE OF A CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH THE BLACK-SNAKE TOTEM.

An old man with his arm round the waist of a youth who has just been initiated, and to whom he is explaining the meaning of the ceremony. On the right hand one of the audience is in the act of pulling a head-dress off one of the performers.

days at Tjinqurokora. One day he saw a great white snake close by at Killaritji, where there is now a big stone indicating where he stood up. The black snake had a fire-stick made of acacia wood, and the white snake one made of orange tree. The former was making *thuthu* (sacred ceremonies) when he saw the latter, and said to him, "What are you looking at my *thuthu* for; do you want to steal it?" The white snake replied, "No, certainly not; I have a big *thuthu* of my own, quite as good as yours." The black snake then threw his fire-stick, the white replied with his, and the two fought on until they were both exhausted and went down into the ground, the black snake into Tjinqurokora and the white snake into another water-hole close by.

When all of the ceremonies have been performed, and the marching of the snake has been sung, the Intichiuma is at an end. It is supposed that after this the black snake will multiply in numbers, but there is no ceremony, such as exists in similar cases in the Arunta and Kaitish tribes, of bringing in the snake to the men of the totem. They alone can cause its increase, but they cannot perform the necessary ceremony unless requested to do so by the men of the other side of the tribe. These men make all preparations for the performance, and are the only ones who benefit by it. The Thapanunga men and the Thapungarti are absolutely forbidden to eat the snake under any circumstances, except when they are grown very old, and then, in the Warramunga, restrictions as to food are practically removed, save that any special food must be given to a man by some one who is not a member of the totemic group. The Tjunguri and Tjapeltjeri men may eat the snake if it be given to them by Kingilli men, and the latter may eat it freely at any time. There is no restriction as to killing the snake by men of the totem or the Uluuru generally, but if they do kill it they must hand it over to the Kingilli. If the men of the totem should eat it the belief is that it would cause their death, and at the same time prevent the animal from multiplying. Differences of very considerable interest exist, however, in regard to the bringing in of the animal or plant to the men of the totem after the Intichiuma has been performed. In every case the

men of the totem are requested by those of the other half of the tribe to make the Intichiuma. In the Itjilpi, an ant totem, the headman, a Thakomara, is asked by a Thapungarti man. He says "Yes," and requests the latter man to paint him. When the animals increase, the headman tells the others that they are to go out and gather the Itjilpi which he has made for them, but they do not bring any in to him. On the other hand he actually gives sugar-bag to the Thapungarti man as a reward for decorating him. In the Muntikera (carpet snake) totem the headman, a Tjupila, is asked by a Tjunguri man to perform the ceremony. When the snake appears the Uluuru go out and bring one in to the headman and say to him, "Do you want to eat this?" He replies, "No, I have made it for you; suppose I were to eat it, then it might go away; all of you go and eat it." In the same way a *kulpu* (honey or sugar bag) is brought to a man of that totem, after he has made Intichiuma, but he declines to eat it, and tells the others that he has made it for them, and that they can go out and collect and eat it.

We have already said that in the Warramunga and many allied tribes there is a notable absence of special magical ceremonies associated with Intichiuma—that is, any comparable to those of the Arunta and Kaitish tribes. It is true that in the latter we find a sacred totemic ceremony incorporated in the proceedings; but even here the important feature of Intichiuma is the special ceremony such as the decorating of the rain man's body at the *ertnatulunga* or the singing of the grass by a grass-seed man who carries a Churinga. In the Warramunga group of tribes, with the notable exception of the Worgaia, we only find mere vestiges of this magical part of the Intichiuma; in fact, though of course others may exist, we only met with traces in connection with one totem—that of the white cockatoo. The significance of this was, however, unmistakable. During the course of the performance of the usual series of totemic ceremonies, which were carried out just as in the case of other totems, the natives told us that a special ceremony was going to be performed, after which the white cockatoo could not fail to increase to a wonderful extent. It began at ten o'clock

one evening, and consisted simply in the old headman of the group imitating the harsh cry of the cockatoo with exasperating monotony all night long. He held in his hand a conventional representation of the bird, and when his voice failed his son took up the call and relieved the old man, until such time as he was sufficiently rested to begin again. This went on till after sunrise the next morning, by which time the two had hardly a squeak left in them. During the whole of the intervening time, extending over between eight and nine hours, one or other of them had kept up the call without a break save for a few seconds at a time.

In addition to the series of ceremonies above described, there are other minor ones which must be classed under the head of Intichiuma. Amongst the rocky gorges in the Murchison Range there are spots especially associated in tradition with the euro. Just above the water-hole called Thapauerlu, which is the home of the great Wollunqua snake, there lies a smaller one with a curious large pot-hole by its side. Here, in the Alcheringa, a wild dog caught and killed an old euro and made the rocky pool, while swinging its body round and round, as the two animals fought fiercely. In the pot-hole are numbers of round, water-worn stones which represent different parts of the body of the euro. Still higher up on the hillsides there are little groups of similar stones carefully covered over with little heaps of rocky debris. Any old man passing by will take the stones out, renew the red ochre with which they are covered, and rub them well. The rubbing may be done at any time by an old man, irrespective of whatever totemic group he may belong to, and is supposed to increase the number of euros who emanate from the stones. The larger stones in the hidden heaps represent the "old men" euros, and are called *marra*. Next in size to them are the *bullukari*, which represent the female euros, and still smaller are the *bullinga* and *tjulinjuri* representing the young animals. Close by one of these heaps which we visited there were the recent droppings of an old euro, which the natives assured us had only lately come out of one of the *marra* stones.

Mention may also be made here of a ceremony performed in the Warramunga tribe by a woman. It is not, strictly speaking, Intichiuma, but is closely allied to this in its essential features. In the Warramunga tribe there is a Nambin lubra named Manguntupu, belonging to the Mungaritji,[1] a lizard totem. She has the power of making the Mungaritji lizards grow fat. For this purpose she goes out and "sings" the animals—that is, she sings refrains, supposed to have been handed down from the Alcheringa times in the country where the lizards grow.

Amongst the Tjingilli and Umbaia tribes the Intichiuma ceremonies are identical in nature with those of the Warramunga—that is, they consist in the performance of a long series of ceremonies having reference to the totemic ancestors. The Tjingilli have a rather curious ceremony concerned with rain-making.[2] This can only be performed by the Liaritji—that is, by men belonging to the half of the tribe corresponding to the Kingilli amongst the Warramunga. A fat bandicoot is caught, care being taken not to injure it. The man then wraps it up in paper-bark and carries it about in a *pitchi*, singing over it until such time as it becomes very thin and weak. Then he lets it go, and the rain is supposed to follow. We could not find out any explanation whatever of this relationship between the bandicoot and rain. For the purpose of securing a downfall of rain the Gnanji people use crystals called *bi-oka*. These are sent down to them at their request by a great rain man who lives far away to the north. They pulverise the crystals and throw the powder about in all directions, requesting the rain to come as they do so and bring the fish with it.

Leaving the central tribes and passing on to the coastal ones, who live along the comparatively well-watered and wooded shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, we find that the Intichiuma ceremonies almost, but not quite, entirely disappear. These tribes have the same totemic ceremonies as those of the interior so far as their fundamental significance

[1] *Varanus spenceri.*

[2] This is apart from the ordinary Intichiuma ceremony, performed just as in the case of the other totemic groups by men of the totem.

is concerned—that is, they are one and all concerned with the Alcheringa history and doings of the old ancestors of the totems; but none of them are performed, either as they are amongst the Kaitish or as amongst the Warramunga and Tjingilli, for the purpose of increasing the food supply. Further still, we do not find that it is in any way obligatory for the headman of the totem to perform ceremonies for the increase of the totemic animal or plant, the idea being that this will take place without the intervention of any magic on their part. At the same time they can, if they care to do so, secure the increase by means of magic. The Mara tribe have certain ceremonies for this purpose which they call *gunlungun-paiatjula*. On the banks of the Barramunda Creek, close to the Limmen River, there is a large heavy stone representing a very big honey bag, which was carried about by the old ancestor of the totem, and left there on the spot where he finally went down into the ground. The Murungun and Mumbali men, who form the half of the tribe to which the honey-bag totem belongs, can increase the number of the bees and therefore of the honey supply by striking powder off the stone and blowing it about in all directions: this scattered powder gives rise to bees. A somewhat different ceremony is connected with the plain kangaroo, which belongs to the Purdal and Quial moiety of the Mara tribe. When it is desired to increase the number of these animals in any special place, men of that locality go to some other spot where the kangaroo is abundant, and ask the Purdal and Quial men who live there to allow them to send kangaroos into their own country. After permission has been granted, the men go out on to the sandy ridges and collect a grass called *pillinjirri*, of which the kangaroo is very fond, and which also belongs to the Purdal and Quial. They then get some kangaroo dung and wrap it up in the grass. After making a cleared space on the ground, *pillinjirri* grass is strewn over it; on this the dung is placed, and on it another layer of grass. The whole is then set on fire and the men, taking green bushes, light them at the fire and scatter the embers about in all directions. These embers are supposed to go to the country of the men who are perform-

ing the ceremony, and while this is in progress the men keep addressing the kangaroos saying, "There are plenty of you here; there are none along our country; you go there."

In the Anula tribe dugongs are a favourite article of food. They are called *waliki*, and in the Mungaia[1] times one jumped up at a place called Kulambirri on the Limmen River. It went away by itself up the river, and the blackfellows, armed with spears, went after it in a canoe, wanting to kill and eat it. The dugong tried to get back so as to join a mob of its mates who were near to the sea, but could not, as the natives were too many for it. At the present time a large tree represents the natives and a big stone the dugong, while close down by the sea a number of smaller white stones, which can be seen at low tide, represent the mob of dugongs. Numbers of dugongs now emanate from these rocks without the help of the natives; but if they desire to bring them out, the dugong men can do so by "singing" and throwing sticks at the rocks. Very much the same idea applies in the case of the crocodile called *murrumburra*. One of these arose at a place called Yalko. He wandered about, making what is now Batten Creek and the water-holes along its course, leaving spirit children at different spots as he did so. Also his excreta gave rise to deposits of pipe-clay now used for decorations during ceremonies. Finally he went down into the ground at a place on the river called Wankilli, where there is a big water-hole with a stone in the middle of it out of which crocodiles now come. If the crocodile men, who alone can perform the ceremony, want to increase their numbers, all that they have to do is to go to the edge of the water-hole, "sing" the rock, and, taking mangrove sticks which grow all around by the water's edge, break these up into small pieces and throw them at the rock.

In regard to rain-making the simplest ceremony is that of the Mara tribe, in which the performer merely goes to a

[1] Mungaia is the equivalent word for Alcheringa. In the Warramunga the word *mungai* is applied to the totem or to some spot especially associated with the totemic ancestor.

pool, and, taking care that no women or strangers are in sight, bends down over and "sings" the water; then he takes some up in his hands, drinks it, and spits it out in various directions (Fig. 105). After that he throws water all over himself, and after scattering some all around, returns quietly to his camp, and rain is supposed to follow. In the Anula tribe rain-making is especially associated with one particular spot called Upintjara, where there is a water-hole in the bed of a creek. In the Mungaia times, *mumbakuaku*, the dollar

FIG. 105.—WATER INTICHIUMA CEREMONY. MARA TRIBE.

bird, or, as he is often locally called, the rain bird, because his appearance is usually associated with the rainy season, first made rain here. This bird had, as a mate, a snake called Gnurulia, who lived in the water-hole, and when he wanted rain to fall used to spit up into the sky, with the result that the rainbow appeared and was shortly after followed by clouds and then by rain. Both bird and snake belonged to the Awukaria class, and now rain can be made at Upintjara by a man of the Mumbakuaku totem. The latter first of all goes and sings the Mungaia spots of the bird, one on either side of the water-hole. Then he secures one

of the snakes and puts it alive into the water-hole. After holding it under for a little time, he brings it out, kills it, and lays it down by the side of the creek. Then, in imitation of a rainbow, he makes an arched bundle of grass stalks called *abukuti*, tied up with fur-string, and sets it up over the snake. All that he then does is to sing over the snake and the imitation rainbow, and sooner or later the rain falls. No lubra may go near to the water-hole at Upintjara, and the men who do not belong to the Awukaria moiety must not drink there until they are very old and their beards are white; the Awukaria moiety may go and drink freely.[1] Whilst only the latter men can make rain, any black-fellow can stop it by simply taking a green stick, warming it in the fire, and then striking it against the wind.

We may now briefly review the more important features concerned with Intichiuma in these tribes. They afford an interesting series of stages leading from the fully developed ceremonies of the central tribes to the almost vestigial ones of the tribes inhabiting the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

In the Arunta and Ilpirra tribes only the men of the totem are allowed to be present at or to take part in the actual performance of or preparation for the Intichiuma ceremony. This is the most solemn of all of their ceremonies and naturally varies very much in its nature from group to group. It is always carried out at some spot or spots intimately associated with the Alcheringa history of the totemic group. During its progress there is always some ceremony such as that of allowing the blood of young men of the totem to flow out over the stone which, at Undiara, is intimately associated with the ancestors of the kangaroo totem. The idea of this is to send the spirits, in this particular case of kangaroo animals, out of the stone, in order that they may find their way into kangaroos, and so

[1] It will be noticed that this is practically the reverse of what holds true in the Warramunga tribe in the case of the water-hole called Tjinqurokora associated with the black-snake totem. Men of the totem may not drink there at all: those belonging to the other moiety of the tribe (Kingilli) may drink freely, and may also give water from the hole to Uluuru men who do not belong to the subclass with which the totem is associated.

replenish the stock of the totemic animal.[1] After the performance of these ceremonies, and when, as a consequence, the animal or plant has become abundant, the men of all classes and totems go out into the scrub and bring supplies of it into the main camp. No one as yet, however, eats it. The supplies are taken to the *ungunja* (men's camp), and in the presence of individuals of all classes and totems who may happen to be in camp, the headman of the totem, before whom they have been placed, solemnly eats a little and then hands the remainder over to the men of other totems, telling them that they can now eat it freely. It is essential for the headman on this occasion to eat a little. If he were not to do so it is believed that he would, as a result, lose the power of performing Intichiuma successfully.

In the Urabunna tribe, which adjoins the Arunta on its southern boundary and belongs to a group of tribes or nation having a very different organisation from that of the Arunta, we find Intichiuma ceremonies clearly developed but not so elaborate as in the northern tribes. The headman of the totemic group is responsible for the performance of the ceremonies which cause the increase of his totem. He is not allowed to eat this at any time, but when he has performed Intichiuma, then the men who do not belong to the totemic group bring the totem in to him, and he gives them permission to eat it.

In the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes, which adjoin the Arunta on its northern boundary and occupy the very centre of the continent, there is much the same procedure as in the Arunta. The headman of the totem, sometimes alone, at others in company with the elder men of the totem, performs a special ceremony. In the case of the water totem he visits the *ertnatulunga*, and decorates his own body and a shield with a special design. The head of the grass-seed totem carries a Churinga round and sings the grass to make it grow and produce seed. While this is being done, just as in the Arunta tribe, no man of any other totem may be present. In addition, however, he performs a ceremony connected with

[1] *N. T.* p. 193.

the Alcheringa history of the totem, and thus we see the beginning of a curious feature which is still more strikingly developed when we pass into the northern tribes. In strong contrast to what takes place in connection with the sacred ceremonies of the Arunta, the Kaitish man is decorated by men all of whom belong to the other half of the tribe and to other totems. The men of his totem may be present, but they neither provide the material necessary for the decorations nor do they draw the design on the body of the performer. In every instance when the totemic animal or plant has increased in numbers, a supply is brought into the main camp, and after the ceremonial eating of a small amount by the headman, the remainder is handed over to those who do not belong to the totem, and permission is given to them to eat it freely. Should the men of the totemic group eat freely of their totem, except during the ceremony, as described, then they will be "boned" by men of the other moiety of the tribe, because such eating would prevent them from successfully performing Intichiuma.

In the Warramunga, Walpari, Wulmala, Tjingilli, and Umbaia tribes there is only very seldom any special magical ceremony such as exists and in fact forms the important part of the Intichiuma of the southern tribes. We find instead a great development of one aspect of the ceremony of Intichiuma as carried out by the Kaitish tribe. In the latter the headman performs a ceremony associated with the Alcheringa history of the totemic group. In the Warramunga and allied tribes above named, it is curious to find that this feature is not only emphasised, but that the whole Intichiuma consists of a complete series of ceremonies dealing with the Alcheringa history of the great ancestor of the totem. Further still, the men of the totemic group actually only perform these ceremonies when requested to do so by men who do not belong to it, and in their preparation no one belonging to the totemic group, except the actual performers, is allowed to be present. All of the material used for decoration must be provided by men of other totemic groups. The latter belong exclusively to the other moiety of the tribe. After

the close of the ceremonies the procedure varies to a very considerable extent in the different totemic groups. In most there is nothing equivalent to the bringing in of the totemic animal or plant to the head of the group. It is apparently an understood thing that the animal or plant has been produced by the men of the totemic group for the benefit of the other members of the tribe, who may eat it freely. In none is there the ceremonial eating of it by the headman, such as forms so important a part of Intichiuma in the southern tribes. Amongst some of the totemic groups we find, however, interesting and very suggestive vestiges of these parts of the ceremonies. In, for example, the Muntikera (carpet snake) and honey-bag totems, the men who do not belong to the totemic group bring the snake or honey bag, as the case may be, to the camp, and take it to the headman of the group, asking him if he desires to eat it. He tells them that he does not, that he has made it for them, and that they are free to eat it; but he himself does not, as in the Arunta, partake of even a small portion. It is strictly tabooed to him and yet he, as head of the totemic group, is entirely responsible for its increase.

In connection with one totem, that of the white cockatoo, we met with a special magical ceremony in addition to the performance of the customary series dealing with the Alcheringa history of the ancestor. The headman and his son spent the whole of one night in "singing" the cockatoo. This is evidently a relic of those special magical ceremonies which in the Arunta form the whole of the Intichiuma and in the Kaitish the most important part of it.

Amongst the coastal tribes, such as the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara, there are only traces, but still unmistakable ones, of Intichiuma. This is, without doubt, to be attributed to the difference in climatic conditions, resulting in the more certain rainfall of the Gulf Coast and consequent more certain supply of food. The men of the totemic group can, if they desire to do so, perform ceremonies of a simple nature which result in the increase of the totemic animal or plant. For example, the dugong men can make dugongs increase by breaking up sticks and throwing them at a rock in the bed of the

Limmen River, which marks the spot where an old Alcheringa dugong went down into the earth. Only the men of the group can perform them, but there is no necessity for them to do so, and there is nothing corresponding to the solemn eating of the totemic animal or plant.

CHAPTER X

EATING THE TOTEMIC ANIMAL OR PLANT

Traditions in the Arunta tribe relating to the eating of the totemic animal or plant—These are not simply to be explained away as ætiological myths—Traditions in the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes—An Idnimita grub man eating his totem—Strangers asking permission to eat the totemic animal or plant—Restrictions applying to men of the water totem—The totemic animal and plant strictly tabooed to members of the totemic group in the Warramunga and northern tribes—Absence of the idea that any individual animal bearing the totemic name is a man's "greatest friend, to kill whom would be a great crime and carefully to be avoided."

IN the Arunta tribe we not infrequently meet with traditions in which the Alcheringa ancestors are described as eating the animal or plant which was their totem. At the present day the members of this tribe only do so as a sacred ceremony in connection with the performance of Intichiuma, which is supposed to result in the increase of the totemic animal or plant. The interest of these traditions lies in the fact that they are not of the nature of so many of those usually met with, which are merely ætiological myths such as are always invented among savage people to account for present-day custom. On the contrary, these curious traditions describe, apparently *apropos* of nothing, customs often totally at variance with those now in vogue, without in any way attempting to lead up to or explain the latter. Whether these traditions, many of which are certainly not to be explained away as simply ætiological, have any significance as relating to a previous state of affairs in which the eating of the totem was a normal thing, can only be a matter of conjecture. They are at all events on a different footing from the numerous traditions, such as those relating to the in-

stitution of the marriage system, which pretend to explain the origin of existing customs. It is not beyond the region of possibility that they do really refer back to a time when customs with regard to the eating of the totemic object were very different from those in force at the present day.

We find, for example, in the Arunta a tradition which relates that a number of wild-cat men went into the earth at a certain spot, and after a time arose as plum-tree men, and during their subsequent journeyings fed on plums. Another describes how a Hakea woman started out with a bandicoot woman. After travelling some distance the latter performed a sacred bandicoot ceremony, and then, painting the Hakea woman with down used during the ceremony, changed her into a bandicoot woman who afterwards went on eating bandicoot.

Speaking generally, we may say that the traditions of the Arunta tribe, referring to their Alcheringa ancestors, deal with a time when the present taboo with regard to the eating of the totem was non-existent. On the contrary, according to the traditions, it was the normal thing for a man to feed upon his totemic animal or plant. In this connection the evidence in the case of the individuals who changed from one totem to another is particularly striking.

In the Kaitish tribe the eating of the totemic object is carried out, just as in the Arunta, as a sacred ceremony in connection with Intichiuma, and we find also traditions closely similar to those of the latter tribe. For example, one tradition relates how an emu man came up from the west to a certain spot at which he found a number of other emu men eating emu. He said, "Why do you not give me some emu?" Being angry, for some reason, instead of giving him any they killed him and broke his back, Central Mount Stuart arising to mark the spot. Or again, some lubras of the Yelka (an edible bulb) totem walked about digging up and eating *yelka*, which indeed formed their staple food. The husks which they threw away formed a heap which is now represented by a hill called Pulina. A young Atnunga (rabbit kangaroo) man, travelling over the country, came across an old man of the same totem who was too old and

infirm to get about, so the old man gave the young one an Atnunga Churinga, telling him to go out and hunt for *atnunga* all day and dig them out with the Churinga. He did so, and brought the animals which he caught back to the old man, who cooked and eat them.[1] It is stated of an old grass-seed man that after wandering over the country he sat down on the spot on which he finally died, and there spent all his time gathering and eating grass seed.

On the other hand, on rare occasions we meet with traditions such as the two following, which refer to the non-eating of the totem, and one at least of which has evidently been invented as an attempt to explain the origin of the custom as now in vogue. In the first of these a Kaitish man, named Murunda, belonging to the grass-seed totem, is related to have continually given grass seed to another man of the same totem and name. He told him also that, by and by, when he (the old man) was dead, the grass was to be given to the *Mulyanuka*—that is, to men belonging to the other moiety of the tribe, and consequently, as things are arranged in the Kaitish, to other totemic groups. Accordingly, when the old Murunda died, the younger man told the other men to gather plenty of grass seed, and first of all show it to him, and then they might eat it. He was afraid that if he himself eat too much he would swell up.

The second tradition relating to two Idnimita (a kind of grub) men who arose at a later time at the same place, Intiara, is of a somewhat different nature, but may perhaps be regarded as an incomplete and vague kind of attempt on the part of the natives to account for the change in regard to the eating of the totem, or rather to account for the present abstinence. The two men were respectively Kumara and Purula. One day when, as usual, he had been out eating the grub, the Kumara man said to himself, "Suppose I eat more grubs, then perhaps they might all die." However, he went out and gathered some more and

[1] In connection with this mention may be made of the giving of an emu Churinga by an emu man to an individual of another totem in order to enable the latter to catch emu more easily. This is not an Alcheringa tradition, but is an existing custom. Cf. *N.T.* p. 203.

eat them, carrying with him his *alpita* (tail tips of the rabbit kangeroo), which he used when performing Intichiuma to make the grub grow. Then he said to himself, "No good, suppose I go on eating too much, they might be frightened and go away to another country." Then he again performed Intichiuma and sang the grubs, and went out and saw the young *idnimita* rising out of the ground and said, "Very good; I have seen them." Accordingly he went on making Intichiuma and then gathered the grubs together, took them home to his camp, cooked and eat them.

It is certainly a rather curious thing that, with the exception of the above two rather vague and unsatisfactory ones, the natives have not, so far as we could find out, any myth which pretends to explain what is after all one of the most striking features in connection with the totems, and that is the restrictions which apply to eating it at the present day. There is no attempt made to bridge over the wide gulf intervening between the Alcheringa times, when their ancestors are supposed to have eaten it freely, and the present when, excepting just at the time of Intichiuma, each totem is practically tabooed to the members of the group to which it gives its name.

In certain respects the customs of the Kaitish tribe in regard to the eating of the totemic animal and plant at the present day are of especial interest. Under normal conditions a man does not eat his totem except ceremonially; if he were to do so freely he would be "boned" by men of the other moiety, because such conduct would prevent him from successfully performing Intichiuma. He eats a very little just at the time of Intichiuma, when it is essential especially for the headman of the group to do this. On the other hand, if, for example, an emu man comes into the country of a grass-seed group, before eating the seed he will take what he has gathered to the headman of the grass-seed group and ask his permission to eat it. Even during the daily life in camp the relationship between a man and his totem is very clearly seen. In the Kaitish tribe the totemic groups, though not quite completely, are yet much more clearly divided between the two moieties than they are in

the Arunta. When any animal is killed, if a man of the totem is in camp, then, after it has been cooked, it is taken to him by men of the other moiety. He eats a very little and then hands it back to the other men to eat.

In the Unmatjera tribe the restrictions at the present day are fundamentally similar to those of the Arunta; at the Intichiuma ceremony a little is eaten, and the remainder, which has been brought in to the headman of the totem group, is handed over by him to men who belong to the other half of the tribe. The Unmatjera believe that if a man were to eat his own totemic animal or plant, except during the performance of Intichiuma, he would swell up and die. An individual who belongs to the water totem has, when in the company of other men, to be supplied with even this by some one who is not a member of the totem.

The Unmatjera also have certain interesting traditions relating to the eating of the totemic animal or plant by their Alcheringa ancestors. The following relates to two great ancestors of the Idnimita totem, named respectively Unthurkapunda and Idnimita. The former, who was a Thungalla man, arose at a spot on the Burt Plain and travelled over in the direction of a place called Intiara, where Idnimita, who was a Kumara man, lived, and where there was a big waterhole. Standing on the south bank of the creek, he saw a mob of Idnimita men who were camped on the other side. The old Kumara man Idnimita came out to him and gave him his own Churinga and *alalkira* (nose bone), receiving in return Churinga and *alpita*. The Kumara man was accustomed to using the *alalkira* for the purpose of digging out the *idnimita* grubs on which he fed. The Thungalla and Kumara men are reported to have had plenty of Churinga, which they left in a safe place in their camps when they wandered about. Tradition says that Idnimita used to think within himself, "What shall I eat to-day? I have got no brother or son to get *idnimita* for me; I will gather it for myself. If I do not eat *idnimita* I shall die." At that time there was nothing in the country but *idnimita* and a little bird called Thippathippa, which is not supposed, as far as we could ascertain, to have any special relationship to the Idnimita people.

The old Kumara man said to Unthurkapunda, " I have been eating *idnimita.*" Then another old man jumped up and said, " I have been eating *idnimita* also ; if I eat it always it might all die." After this Unthurkapunda returned to his own camp. A little later on the Kumara man, who eat the big grubs, performed a sacred ceremony of the Idnimita totem. Then he walked some distance away and performed another one, and then he went on and gathered *idnimita* and returned to his camp, where he once more performed a ceremony and sent a man out to secure the grubs which arose after he had thus made the ceremonies. Then he had a rest from his labours. Later on he again painted himself with down, performed Intichiuma, and went out and collected the grubs. After this boils appeared on his legs. He went out and gathered more grubs, and then he became so ill that he could not walk and had to lie down all day in his camp. He grew very poor and thin, his throat closed up, and before daylight he burst open and died. When the natives make Intichiuma at the present day, they pass between the legs of the old Kumara man, which are represented by stones.

So far as we could ascertain, the old man's miserable ending had nothing to do with the fact that he eat *idnimita.*

At the present day, except for the ceremonial eating of the totemic animal or plant during the performance of Intichiuma, it is strictly tabooed to the members of the totemic group, just as it is in the case of the Arunta tribe. Amongst the Kaitish, any stranger coming into the country occupied by men of any particular totem must ask the permission of the headman of the local group before they may eat the animal or plant. A curious restriction applies to the men of the water totem. The strict taboo with regard to eating cannot of course be applied in this case, but under ordinary circumstances, when in camp or on the march in company with other men, they are not allowed to draw water for themselves, but must have it given to them by individuals who belong to the other moiety of the tribe and to some other totem. Thus, for example, in the case of the present headman of the totem, who is a Kumara, in camp he normally

receives water from an Uknaria man who is his *ikuntera* (tribal father-in-law). In the absence of this man he will receive it from a Bulthara man, or, if he be not present, from an Appungerta man. If a stranger comes to Anira, the central spot of the water totem, he first of all asks the permission of the Kumara man to drink. The latter then tells the *Mulyanuka* (men of the other moiety of the tribe) to give him water. The natives say that, if permission were not asked, the headman of the totem would "bone" the stranger.

In all of the tribes to the north of the Kaitish the totemic animal or plant is strictly tabooed to the members of the totemic group. Not only is this so, but we do not even meet with the ceremonial eating of it at the time of Intichiuma. However, it is made perfectly evident by their customs that, in the Warramunga, Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Gnanji tribes, just as in the Kaitish and Unmatjera, the members of the totemic groups are supposed to be responsible for the perpetuation of the material object the name of which they bear. Amongst these tribes, as we have described elsewhere, the natives are very clear upon this point.

Amongst the coastal tribes, such as the Mara, Anula, and Binbinga, the taboo is equally strict. The ceremonial eating of the totem is quite wanting, and there are only, every now and then, traces of Intichiuma ceremonies to be met with. These traces, however, serve to link them on to the inland tribes amongst whom the relationship between the individual and his totem is much more clearly marked than it is amongst the coastal natives.

In the Arunta, Kaitish, and Unmatjera tribes there are plenty of references in the traditions to the totemic animals upon which the Alcheringa ancestors used to feed, but there is scarcely any allusion to the matter in the traditions of the Warramunga and northern tribes, though occasionally, as in the case of the Itjilpi (ant) women amongst the Warramunga, it is expressly stated that they gathered and fed upon their totem. This is to be associated largely with the fact that in these tribes the spirit individuals, who have since undergone reincarnation, are for the most part regarded as emanating

from the bodies of Alcheringa ancestors. The latter,—as, for example, in the case of the Wollunqua, the black snake and the deaf adder of the Warramunga, the Bobbi-bobbi snake of the Anula, and the Ulanji snake of the Binbinga,—are regarded as having been distinctly animals and not human beings. We have elsewhere described how the number of Alcheringa ancestors diminishes as we pass north from the Arunta.

In these tribes also there is no attempt made to explain the restrictions now in vogue in regard to the eating of the totemic animal or plant.

We may again draw attention to the fact that in all of these tribes, extending from Lake Eyre in the south through the centre as far north as Newcastle Waters, and then eastwards across to the gulf, there is no belief similar to that which Grey ascribes to the tribes met with by him, who only killed an animal belonging to their own totem with great reluctance, believing "that some one individual of the same species is their greatest friend, to kill whom would be a great crime and carefully to be avoided."[1] A Warramunga man, for example, will not hesitate, under certain conditions, to kill his totem animal, but he hands it over to men who do not belong to the same totemic group, and will not think of eating it himself. The fundamental idea, common to all of the tribes, is that men of any totemic group are responsible for the maintenance of the supply of the animal or plant which gives its name to the group, and that the one object of increasing the number of the totemic animal or plant is simply that of increasing the general food supply. If I am a kangaroo man, then I provide kangaroo flesh for emu men, and in return I expect them to provide me with a supply of emu flesh and eggs, and so on right through all of the totems. At the present day this is actually the belief of the Central Australian savage. Further still, no man must do anything which will impair his power to cause the increase of his totem.

[1] *Journal of Two Expeditions*, vol. ii. p. 228.

CHAPTER XI

INITIATION CEREMONIES

Difference in nature of initiation ceremonies between the central and the south-eastern coastal tribes—Probably tooth knocking out is the older form—The operation of subincision carried out by the central tribes has nothing to do with any idea of restricting the numbers of the tribe—Absence of circumcision in the Larakia tribe in the neighbourhood of Port Darwin—Circumcision in the Unmatjera—Throwing the novice up into the air—Burial of foreskin—Head-biting to make the hair grow—Subincision or *arilt'ha*—Presentation of boy to the women—Tradition of two Ullakuppera boys to whom Atnatu sent down stones knives from the sky—Introduction of the rite—Atnatu spearing natives who neglected to make the bull-roarer sound—Ceremonies in the Warramunga tribe—Circumcision—Boy carried off by the women and recovered by the men—Showing him a sacred ceremony and the bull-roarer—Boy hanging on to a tree from which he is removed by the women—Hiding the foreskin—Subincision—Seen by the women—Uuntamara ceremony—Presentation of head-bands and boomerang to the youth—Driving the boy from the lubras' camp—Presentation of food to the men and women—Ceremonies in the Binbinga—Boy taken to visit distant groups—Brought back and shown a sacred ceremony, and after the operation the bull-roarer—Foreskin finally buried—Mother visits boy, who sits astride of a branch—Ceremony of subincision—Ceremonies in the Mara tribe—Boy sent to distant camps—Visitors accompany him on his return—Boy shown to his father and mother—Taken to ceremonial ground and covered over with bark—Shown a sacred ceremony—Subincision performed and he is given a small bull-roarer to carry about—Finally a special ceremony connected with the whirlwind totem is performed.

IN every tribe there are certain ceremonies through which all of the youths must pass before they are admitted to the ranks of the men and allowed to see or take part in any of the performances which are regarded as sacred. The more important of these ceremonies are two in number, and are fundamentally similar in all of the tribes. They are those of circumcision and subincision. In this respect the central tribes differ markedly from those of the east and south-

eastern coastal districts, amongst whom the initiation ceremonies are, or rather were, of a very different nature.

Amongst these coastal tribes a very characteristic ceremony consisted in the knocking out of one or more of the upper incisor teeth. It is a curious fact that the central tribes very often performed this ceremony, but in this instance it has nothing whatever to do with initiation, and is not restricted to the men, as of course it is amongst the tribes in which it is associated with initiation. As we have elsewhere stated,[1] it appears to be very probable that this was the older form of initiation common to the ancestors of the central, eastern, and south-eastern tribes, and that in course of time it was, for some reason or another, superseded in the case of the central tribes by the ceremonies now in vogue. When once the latter became established, then the older ceremony lost all sacred significance, and came to be practised indiscriminately by men and women alike. It is at all events a very suggestive fact that whilst amongst the central tribes we find traces of the customs associated with initiation in the eastern and south-eastern coastal tribes, we do not, on the other hand, find amongst the latter even the slightest trace of the characteristic and important ceremonies of the central and western natives.

In addition to the rites of circumcision and subincision, there are other ceremonies associated with initiation through which in some cases the youths and in others the adult men must pass. These are, however, really of secondary importance. One of them is associated with boys at an early age and the other with men of mature age, while the two important ones are always performed when the youth arrives at puberty. We tried in vain to find any satisfactory explanation of the ceremonies of circumcision and subincision, but so far as we could discover the native has no idea whatever of what these ceremonies mean. One thing is quite clear, and that is, they have not the slightest reference to keeping down the numbers of the tribe.[2] It must

[1] *N.T.* p. 453.

[2] This has been pointed out previously by Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-west-central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 179, and also by ourselves, *N.T.* p. 264.

always, in regard to this matter, be borne in mind that in all of these tribes no one is allowed to have a wife until he has passed through the rites of subincision and circumcision, and that indeed the women look with contempt upon those who have not done so. Further still, if the natives do not wish a child to live, they adopt the very simple expedient of killing it as soon as ever it is born. This plan is by no means seldom adopted, and with this easy and well-recognised means of keeping down the population always to hand, it is scarcely likely that the men will submit to what is, after all, a very painful operation, for the purpose of achieving a result which not only can be, but normally is, gained by that of infanticide. These initiation ceremonies are of very ancient date, and their true meaning remains yet to be discovered. We tried hard to find among the traditions of the various tribes anything which might afford a clue to their meaning, but without success, and we know as little now as we did at the beginning of our work. The natives themselves have no idea in regard to their significance, and it is a rather curious fact that they have not invented some tradition to explain their meaning. All that they can tell you is that, in the Alcheringa, or the equivalent of the same in the different tribes, there was some ancestor or other who first of all performed one or both of the operations, usually upon himself first and later upon other individuals. Since that time the natives have continued to follow his example, but why their ancestor first of all performed the ceremony they have not the vaguest idea.

The ceremonies can never have had any reference directly to procreation, for the simple reason that the natives, one and all in these tribes, believe that the child is the direct result of the entrance into the mother of an ancestral spirit individual. They have no idea of procreation as being directly associated with sexual intercourse, and firmly believe that children can be born without this taking place. There are, for example, in the Arunta country certain stones which are supposed to be charged with spirit children who can, by magic, be made to enter the bodies of women, or will do so of their own accord. Again, in the Warramunga tribe, the

women are very careful not to strike the trunks of certain trees with an axe, because the blow might cause spirit children to emanate from them and enter their bodies. They imagine that the spirit is very minute,—about the size of a small grain of sand,—and that it enters the woman through the navel and grows within her into the child. It will thus be seen that, unless the natives have once possessed, but have since lost, all idea of the association between procreation and the intercourse of the sexes, which is extremely improbable, the elaborate and painful ceremonies of initiation cannot in their origin have had any direct relation to procreation.

There is one curious fact in regard to the distribution of the initiation ceremonies amongst the tribes in the northern part of the continent. Occupying the country in the Port Darwin district is a tribe called the Larakia, which apparently differs from all others in this part of the continent in regard to initiation. In connection with the latter this tribe practises neither the rite of knocking out of teeth nor that of circumcision and subincision. Unfortunately we could not work amongst them, and were only able to gather a little information from a member of the tribe—an elderly man—who happened to come down to the Macarthur River when we were there. The tribe has for long been under the influence of the white man, but the absence of ceremonies, so characteristic of the surrounding tribes, has nothing to do with this fact. The initiation of the Larakia youths takes the form of a series of more or less disagreeable tests, which are evidently designed to try the strength and endurance of those passing through them. A number of youths who have arrived at the age of puberty are taken to a retired spot under charge of certain old men, whose orders they have to obey implicitly. Here, as our informant told us, the old men do not give them too much to eat. A younger brother is provided by an elder brother with such food as he is allowed to have. Every now and again an old man, without any warning or reason, will bestow a hard blow or a kick upon one of the youths. The latter must neither resent it nor show any sign of being hurt, which would only result in his receiving worse treatment. The old men also

make the youths undergo severe manual labour, such as that of cutting down and rolling over heavy logs, and a favourite test is to order a few of them to go into the water and bring a crocodile to land. Finally, when the old men are satisfied with the conduct of the youths, they show them the sacred bull-roarer, which is called *Biddi-biduba*, telling them on no account to allow their younger brothers or any women to see it. The youths are each provided with one of these, which they take out into the bush and secrete in a safe place. Unlike what happens in most of the other tribes, the sacred stick is not kept, but at the end of two or three weeks it is broken and buried in the ground. The women call the stick, or rather the noise associated with it, *Eruba*, and believe that this is the voice of a spirit who has come down from the sky and is carrying the youths away into the bush from which they will return initiated men. With the exception of this tribe, all of those occupying the central and northern central area of the continent practise the two important rites of circumcision and subincision.[1]

In the Urabunna tribe a man who stands in the relationship of *kadnini* (paternal grandfather) to the boy seizes hold of him and puts his hand over the boy's mouth, telling him to remain silent. Placing string round the boy's neck, the old man takes him away to the camp. Here he is made to lie down, and is covered up while the lubras dance in front of the men. All night long the old man keeps watch over the boy, and at daylight, after the women have once more danced, he ties the boy's hair up with string which has been provided for the purpose by the father. Then the boy is formally shown to the lubras, the old man with the boy running round and round them shouting, "*Wo! Wo!*" Suddenly they dart off into the scrub. That day the two start away to visit distant groups and invite them to come in to the ceremony. Each time they approach a camp[2] the

[1] Curiously the Arunta tribe has a tradition relating to a number of individuals who were taken away to the north under the leadership of an Alcheringa ancestor named Kukaitcha. They travelled on until they came into the country of the salt water, and there they stayed and remained always uncircumcised.

[2] Travelling on an errand such as this the man and boy are perfectly safe. In regard to this immunity from attack, even in a strange country, there are

old man takes the boy by the arm and leads him up, while the strangers, understanding exactly what is taking place, shout out, "*Pau! Pau!*" On the way back they gather together the various groups, and for a time the lubras accompany them, but are left behind at a place some distance from the main camp. On the way back the men, after the women have been left behind, perform a few sacred ceremonies in the camp at night-time. For the first time the boy sees one of these and learns anything about the secret matters of the tribe concerned with the totemic ancestors. Some miles away from the home camp the old man tells the boy to make a big smoke so as to let his father and the other men know that he is returning. At the camp the women sit a little distance behind the men, and the boy, approaching, walks past the men and sits down close to the women. Then two old men who are *kadnini* (grandfather) to the boy come up, take the string from his head, and lead him off by a roundabout way to the men's camp. That night and the succeeding one singing goes on without ceasing, and totemic ceremonies are performed, some associated with local groups and others with those to which some of the strangers belong. Then the boy is taken a little distance away while the stone knife [1] is made ready by the *kawkuka* (mother's brother) and *nuthi* (elder brother). After this the boy is brought back, the singing is continued, and he is given a little food to eat.

After sunset three men, who stand in the relationship of *oknia* (father) to the boy, crouch down so as to form a kind of table on to which the boy is lifted by his *kawkuka* (mother's brother) and *kadnini* (grandfather). Fur-string is put into his mouth, and a *witiwa* (wife's brother) sits astride of his stomach. The foreskin is pulled up, the *kadnini* man makes the first cut, and this is rapidly completed by the

certain fixed rules amongst the natives. Any one carrying a sacred stick or Churinga is for the time being sacred and must on no pretence be injured. When an old man is seen with a youth travelling from place to place, the natives at once understand what is happening, and would not think of molesting them. Since the advent of the white man a letter, or, as the natives call it, a "paper yabber," carried in a forked stick is as safe a passport as a Churinga.

[1] This is often only a sharp chip of quartzite, or, when procurable, the natives prefer a splinter of glass.

kawkuka. Both the foreskin and the stone knife are handed over to the elder brother, who provided the knife, and he goes round and touches the stomach of every *nuthi* with the foreskin. The latter is then placed on a fire-stick and buried in the ground without any special ceremony, no further notice being taken of it.

An elder brother now takes the initiated youth away into the bush and makes a small, plain wooden Churinga, which he gives the boy to carry about, telling him that it belonged to the Umbumbuninia (the equivalent of the Alcheringa), and that he must keep swinging it. On no account is he to allow any lubra or child to see it. At times the elder brother watches over him and at others the *witiwa* (wife's brother). He is not allowed to eat *kadni*, the jew lizard (a favourite and fairly abundant food of the natives), or else it would make him sore and prevent his wound from healing. On the other hand he is supposed to make presents of it to the old men.

When he has recovered from the operation of circumcision he is brought into the men's camp, no women being allowed to see him. Early in the morning he is painted with red ochre, and later on a *kawkuka* (mother's brother) takes the string off his head. Then three men who stand to him in the relationship of *oknia* (father) crouch down so as to form a kind of table on which he is at once placed, another *oknia* performing the operation of subincision. A small piece of bark is inserted so as to keep the wound open, but is removed after a few hours, the blood being allowed to trickle down into a hole in the ground which is afterwards filled in with earth. That night he is shown more sacred totemic ceremonies, and men who are *witiwa* (wife's brothers) and *kadnini* (grandfather) to him come up and tell him that he is now a man and not a boy. He must not attempt to have intercourse with lubras other than his *nupa* and *piraungaru* women (lawful wives). If he does so then he will fall down dead like the stones. He is not on any account to interfere with other men's lubras.

In the morning the lubras light a fire and place green boughs upon it so as to make a smoke, in the midst of which

the youth kneels down while his *kupuka* and *kakua* (younger and elder sisters) hit him on the back, the women who stand to him in the relationship of mother being close at hand to prevent, so they say, the sisters from hitting him too hard. After this he may have a wife and takes his place amongst the initiated men at the *urathilpi* or men's camp. After a short time he must give a present of food, which is called by the special name of *katu*, to the men who assisted in the operation. These men put a little bit of meat up to his mouth, and in that way release him from the ban of silence.

The final ceremony of initiation in the Urabunna tribe is called Wilyaru, and is common to this, the Wonkgongaru, Dieri, and probably several other closely allied tribes. We have previously[1] described the ceremony in the Urabunna tribe, and elsewhere[2] give the traditions dealing with its origin. It does not occupy a great length of time, not being, in this respect, at all comparable to the Engwura or final initiation ceremony of the Arunta, but in both we meet with the placing of the men on the fire. In the Wilyaru an important part—in fact the important part—consists in laying the man down on the ground with his back uppermost. All of the men present strike him hard (they must of course themselves be Wilyaru). Finally two men, one a *kawkuka* (mother's brother) and the other a *witiwa* (wife's brother), make a series of cuts, from four to eight in number, down each side of the spine and one median one in the nape of the neck. The scars left behind when the wounds heal up enable a man who has passed through the ceremony to be distinguished at a glance (Fig. 105*a*). No Wilyaru[3] man will, if he can avoid it, stand or sit with his back turned towards women and children. The cuts, according to tradition, are supposed to represent marks on the bell bird, and are made in commemoration of the time when, in the Alcheringa, the bell bird was instrumental in causing the death of a great hawk ancestor who used to kill and eat the natives. At the present day the natives will not eat

[1] *N. T.* Appendix B, p. 640. [2] Chapter XIII.

[3] This term is applied both to the ceremony and to the men who have passed through it.

that hawk in consequence of his cannibalistic habits in the Alcheringa. In connection with this it is not without interest to notice that in the Arunta the wild cat (*achilpa*) is not eaten, and that in the Alcheringa it also was especially associated with cannibalism. One ceremony in connection with the Engwura represented an attack by wild-cat

FIG. 105*a*.—MAN OF THE URABUNNA TRIBE, SHOWING THE CUTS MADE ON THE BACK DURING THE WILYARU CEREMONY.

ancestors on a native camp with the idea of getting human bodies to eat. Following closely on this was another ceremony representing the taming of the wild-cat men. In the one tribe the cannibal eagle-hawk is represented as being killed, and in the other the cannibal wild cats as being tamed. Neither animal is eaten by any one. The Arunta nowadays do not know why, though we may conjecture that

originally the reason given was the same as that now given by the Urabunna people in regard to the hawk. Ceremonies associated with the cessation of cannibalism are represented during the final initiation ceremonies of both tribes, though in most other respects they are very different from one another. As we have previously suggested[1] in the case of one of these ceremonies, they may perhaps be explained as

FIG. 106.—CEREMONY OF ALKIRA-KIUMA. ARUNTA TRIBE.
Throwing the novice up into the air.

commemorative of a reformatory movement which probably took place at some early time in regard to cannibalism.

In the Unmatjera tribe, as amongst the Arunta, the first ceremony, known as *alkira-kiuma*, consists in throwing a boy up in the air. When about twelve years of age, he is simply taken out into the bush by men of various relationships, and, without being painted or decorated in any way, is thrown up into the air and caught in the arms of the men (Fig. 106). The *ikuntera*, his future wife's father, carries

[1] *N.T.* p. 368.

with him a stick, and if the boy has not been in the habit of presenting him with what he pleases to think a sufficient amount of food, in the form of small wallabies, etc., when he catches any, then it is so much the worse for the boy. As he rises and falls in the air the *ikuntera* strikes him repeatedly, emphasising each stroke with the remark, "I will teach you to give me some meat." The warning is not lost upon the boy, and the unpleasant experience serves forcibly to remind him that he must very carefully regulate his conduct in respect to his *ikuntera*, for the latter, if dissatisfied with his behaviour, has the power of taking away his wife and of bestowing her upon some other man. After having been thrown up, the boy is told that he must no longer go to the lubras' camp, but must stay with the men at the *ungunja* or men's camp, and during the day go out with them hunting, and not play about with the boys and girls.

The ceremony of circumcision, here spoken of as *pulla*,[1] is very closely similar to that amongst the Arunta, so that we will only describe it very briefly.[2] The boy, who, after having been thrown up in the air, spends his time with the men at their camp and hunting with them out in the bush, is seized one night by men who stand in the relationship to him of elder brother, wife's brother, father's sister's son, and taken to the ceremonial ground, where all of the men and women are assembled. The women perform a dance (Figs. 107, 108), after which the boy's hair is tied up and a human hair-girdle wound round his waist. He is told that during the ceremonies about to be performed he must stay where he is placed, and remain covered up, so as not to see anything unless he is told to watch. Should he ever reveal any of the secrets which will soon be told to him, then the spirit Twanyirika will carry him away. His mother then presents him with a fire-stick, which he is told he must on no account lose, nor must he allow it to go out, or else he and his mother will be killed. After this is over he goes

[1] Possibly associated with the term *apulla*, given to the ground on which the operation is performed amongst the Arunta tribe, who call the operation itself *lartna*.

[2] For a full account, cf. *N. T.* pp. 218-251.

out into the bush for some days, accompanied by an elder brother, and on returning is brought on to the ceremonial ground, where meanwhile the men have been performing sacred ceremonies. Exactly as in the Arunta tribe, some of these are shown to him, and for the first time he learns the secrets of the totems and the history of his totemic ancestors. The exact nature of these ceremonies varies according to the men who are taking part in the performance. Each of

FIG. 107.—WOMEN DANCING WITH SHIELDS ON THE APULLA GROUND ON THE DAY ON WHICH THE CEREMONY OF CIRCUMCISION IS PERFORMED ON IT. ARUNTA TRIBE.

the elder men has the right to perform certain of them which belong to his own totem, or to those of his father or elder brother, which he has inherited from them. In the Arunta tribe it is customary to perform one or more in which a sacred pole, called a *nurtunja* or a *waninga*, is used, but amongst the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes the *waninga* is never and the *nurtunja* but seldom used. It is only very rarely that the latter is met with north of the Macdonnell Ranges, and its use appears to die out completely a little

to the north of Barrow Creek. Amongst the Kaitish tribe we have only seen it used once, and that in the case of a ceremony of the water totem.

The actual operation of circumcision is conducted by the boy's father-in-law (*ikuntera*), and as soon as it is over he is presented by his elder brother with a Churinga belonging to his father. He is told that it is good, and will assist

FIG. 108.—WOMEN DANCING AROUND THE APULLUNPA. ARUNTA TRIBE.

A present of food is given by the women to the men on the day on which the ceremony of circumcision is performed. The food is in the shield on the ground, and the dance is taking place on the apulla ground.

him to recover, and that on no account must he lose sight of it or leave it anywhere about in the bush, because if by any chance he should lose it then some one would kill both him and his mother. It must also on no account be shown to boys, or else they will have their eyes put out. He must hide himself away in the bush, and if by any chance he should see a lubra's track, he must be very careful to jump over it. If his foot should touch it, then the spirit of the

louse which lives in the lubra's hair would go on to him, and his head would get full of lice. Not only this; but if he were to touch the track he would be sure sooner or later to follow up the lubra, who would ask him, "Why do you come and try to catch me?" and she would go back to the camp and tell her brother, who would come and kill him.

The foreskin is preserved for some time after the operation by the *ikuntera*, who, when it begins to smell offensively, gives it to the boy, along with some hair-string, saying, "This is your foreskin." Then the *ikuntera* goes back to his own camp, and a man who is *gammona* (mother's brother) to the boy comes up and ties the string round the latter's waist. The boy puts the foreskin on a shield, covers it up with a broad spear-thrower, and then, under cover of darkness, so that the lubras cannot by any chance see what he is doing, takes it away and puts it in a hollow tree, telling no one except an *unkulla* (father's sister's son) man where he has hidden it. There is no special relationship between the boy and the tree, though in times past there possibly may have been, for according to tradition the early Alcheringa ancestors always placed theirs in their *nanja* trees—that is, the trees specially associated with their spirits.

At an earlier stage than this, while the boy is out in the bush, he is visited by the men, and on one or more occasions he has to undergo the painful operation of *koperta kalkuma*, which consists in the biting of his scalp by a man who is his *gammona*. Though a comparatively unimportant ceremony, yet it is a very painful one, as the biter, urged to do his best by the men who are sitting round watching him, does not spare the boy, who often howls aloud with pain. Amongst these tribes it is only men who themselves have very good heads of hair who are allowed to bite the boys, their bite being supposed to be of especial efficacy in making the hair grow.

When the boy has recovered from the operation of *pulla*, the *okilia* (elder brother) tells the other men that it is now time to perform the operation of *arilthа*—that is, subincision, or otherwise he will grow too big and it will be too hard to cut him. He is brought up by the *okilia* and *umbirna*, the

latter being the brother of his future wife. These men have had charge of him out in the bush. The men are all gathered together at a spot some distance from the main camp, so as to be out of the way of the women. Here all night long they sit around small fires, while the father's elder brother and the boy's own elder brothers prepare and perform sacred ceremonies associated with their own totems, showing and explaining them to the boy. The latter sleeps with the men who are in charge of him a little way off from the rest, so that he does not see the preparations for the ceremonies, but when all is ready and the performers in position he is brought up to watch. Then, just before dawn—a very favourite time for the performance of many of their rites—the father himself prepares a ceremony—always, if possible, using a sacred pole or *nurtunja*. When it is over the elder brother leads the boy by the arm up to the pole, telling him that it is his own father's *nurtunja*, that it has made many young men, and that he must catch plenty of kangaroo and wallaby for his father. He is then told to embrace the *nurtunja*. Green boughs are now strewn upon the ground, a shield is placed on them, and the *nurtunja* on the top again of this; finally the boy's *umbirna* man lies down on the *nurtunja*. The boy himself is now seized and placed upon his back above the *umbirna;* fur-string is thrust into his mouth, one man sits astride his body while others hold his legs in case he should struggle. The man sitting upon him lifts up and stretches the penis, which is at once slit along its length with a stone-knife. In the Unmatjera tribe the actual operation is performed by an *ikuntera* of the boy, and in the Kaitish by an *okilia*. When all is over—and the operation seldom occupies more than a few seconds, though it must be an extremely painful one—the boy, who is usually more or less dazed, partly with pain and partly with fear and excitement, is raised to his feet, and his father gives him a Churinga, saying, "This is your *churinga alcheri* which had your *kurnah* in the Alcheringa,"—that is, it is the sacred stick with which his spirit was associated. "You must not go about the lubras' camp when you carry it; if you do, then you will lose your Churinga and your brother will kill you." His *ikuntera* and

okilia then come up and repeat the same thing, telling him also that he must keep to the lubra whom his *ikuntera* gives him, and must not interfere with other men's lubras or go to another camp and steal one. If he were to do the latter, then sooner or later other black-fellows would come up from that camp and kill both him and his friends. He must be very careful always to pay attention to his *ikuntera*, and provide him with plenty of food. While out in the bush he must be sure to make the bull-roarer swing, or else another *arakurta*,[1] who lives up in the sky, will come down and carry him away. If this *arakurta* hears the *luringa*—that is, the noise of the bull-roarer—he says "That is all right," and will not harm him.

The lubras and boys are taught to believe that the *luringa* is the voice of Twanyirika, who is supposed by the Kaitish to live in a particular rock, and that when a youth is initiated he comes forth in the form of a spirit and takes the boy away into the bush. He is further supposed to hobble along carrying one leg over his shoulder. Both women and children believe that in some way Twanyirika kills the youth and later on brings him to life again during the period of initiation.

The novice meanwhile gathers together a large amount of a grass seed called *idnimita*, and gives it to one of the men in charge of him, who takes it in to the men's camp. It is finally handed over to the boy's mother, and at the same time the lubras are told that Twanyirika has been giving the boy *alpita*.[2]

When the wound is healed the fact is notified to the women, who make a fire close to their own camp. Then the youth is brought up by his *umbirna unjipinna*—that is, the actual man to whom his sister is either betrothed or married. He brings with him a supply of kangaroo flesh which he has himself secured. At the same time the mothers and elder sisters bring with them yams, which they place

[1] *Arakurta* is the status term applied to a youth who has passed through the ceremony of circumcision, but not through that of subincision.

[2] Tail-tips of the rabbit-kangaroo, *Perameles lagotis*, used as an ornament by the natives.

beside the fire on which green bushes are piled so as to give out great volumes of smoke. The youth kneels down on the bushes in the midst of the smoke. One or more of his *mias* (mothers) holds his arms while his sisters rub him all over and then touch his mouth with a yam, thereby releasing him from the ban of silence. At the same time the mother takes the forehead-band from his head and keeps it. Then the women return to their camp with the offering of meat which the boy has made to them, and he, together with his *umbirna*, goes to the *ungunja*, carrying the yams which are *ekerinja* (tabooed) to him and must be handed over to the old men.

While the boy is out in the bush the mother wears *alpita* in her hair on the back of her head, and is careful also never to let her fire go out. The object of the former is to assist the boy to be watchful at night-time, so that no harm, such as damage from snake-bite, shall come near to him. The *alpita* is the tail-tip of the rabbit-bandicoot, a small animal which is very lively during the night, so that, of course, according to native logic, the wearing of the *alpita* is a sure stimulus to wakefulness. Not only is it efficacious in the case of the actual wearer, but it is effectual when worn by some one closely related to the individual whom it is desired to influence in this particular way.

As we have already said, the Unmatjera and Kaitish ceremonies are almost identical with those of the Arunta, and these again are the same as those of the Ilpirra tribe out to the north-east. There are, however, certain minor differences between the Unmatjera and the Kaitish; the former adjoin the Arunta, on the northern borders of the latter tribe, and share with them the belief in the mythic spirit Twanyirika above alluded to, whose existence is also believed in by the Ilpirra. Amongst the Kaitish, however, the belief in Twanyirika is to a certain extent replaced by one in a being called Atnatu, to whom further reference will be made later on. Meanwhile, so far as the initiation ceremonies are concerned, the following is the Kaitish legend:—In the Alcheringa two eggs were laid in a nest at Unjuia, out of which came two Ullakuppera (little hawk) boys.

The elder one broke through the shell first, and when he had come out he listened and heard the younger brother making a noise in his shell, so he broke it and set him free. The younger one coming out said, "Hullo, where is my father?" and the elder one said, "We have no father or mother." The younger one said, "Which way shall we walk; shall we go towards the Altimala (west)?" but the elder one merely stood up and said nothing. Then the younger one said, "Shall we walk towards the Okniroka (east)?" but the elder did not reply for some time, and at last said, "We will walk to the Altranga (north)." Then they set off. As they went along they gradually increased in size until, when they reached a hill a little to the north of the Foster Range, called Karrarinia, their pubic hairs were beginning to appear. All along the way they met with incomplete human beings called *inter-intera*, who, like the two boys, were continually trying to pull their foreskins back. Up in the sky there dwelt a great being called Atnatu, who had a black face and no *atna* (anus). Looking down he saw the two boys walking about searching for rats, and pulling their foreskins back in the hope of making themselves into young men. They went out on three or four successive days, and on the fifth the elder boy went out alone amongst the hills. To his surprise he saw what at first he thought was a big leaf tumbling down, but on catching it in his hands he found that it was a large *leilirra*—a stone knife—sent down by Atnatu. He at once circumcised himself with it and then returned to camp, where his younger brother on seeing him said, "Hullo, my big brother has been and cut himself." Then the younger brother went out into the bush, and once more Atnatu sent down a knife with which the boy cut himself and returned to camp, where the elder brother saw what had happened and said, "Hullo, my little brother has been and cut himself." Then the two sat down opposite to each other and performed the rite of subincision, and the blood of the elder boy flowed right away across the Barrow Creek flats, carving out the creek bed which still remains. It flowed on until it reached Urkampitjera, a spot some twenty miles away to the north. The blood of the younger

boy flowed to the north-west, and made a little creek running down from the Foster Range to the north; then it went on to Kopertanda, where it spread out, made a water-hole, and flowed on. When they had thus transformed themselves into fully initiated men, the two, who were now grown-up men, walked about the country, performing the initiation rite upon different groups of men and women whom they met in the course of their travels. Amongst others they initiated some little bird people called Lintja-linga, whom they heard singing, and watched while they tried to circumcise themselves with a fire-stick. After performing the operations of circumcision and subincision on them they went on and came to some individuals who were remarkable for the possession of extremely small mouths. In their camp the two brothers made a *wailpa* or *cutting* ground, and both transformed them into complete men and women and also initiated them. The position of that *wailpa* is now marked by a creek. At last, when their work was complete, they came to a rock-hole full of water, on the side of a hill now called Aniania. Here they took water in their mouths and washed the blood-stains off their knives. They were feeling very tired, but on seeing a big snake which came out of its hole and cast its skin they walked away, saying that it might bite them. After a time the younger brother said, "You and I are tired, shall we kneel down?" but the elder brother made no reply. Then the younger knelt down with his hands behind him, and after a time he said, "Shall we stand up?" Still there was no reply from the elder. They were carrying their *leilirra* in their waist-girdles, and had sacred Churinga under their arm-pits, on their shoulders, and in their hands, pressed up close against their stomachs. At last the big brother spoke and said, "We will neither kneel nor stand, but will lie down here. If we kneel or stand our Churinga will be seen, and then the place will be *ekerinja* (tabooed), and all black-fellows will not be able to come and drink. Let us lie down upon them, and then they will not be able to be seen, and every one will be able to come and drink." So they lay down upon their Churinga and died, and two great stones arose to mark the spot.

Atnatu is closely associated amongst the Kaitish with the initiation rite; not only did he give the boys the two stone knives, but he is supposed to be always listening to hear that the bull-roarer is properly sounded. In the Alcheringa, at a place called Irribilia, the natives were once initiating several boys. Their women sat down at Urtitjeritjera, some little distance away. The men had spent a long time in performing sacred ceremonies, and were so tired that for some time they ceased to make the bull-roarer sound. Atnatu thereupon was angry, and gathered together his big bundle of spears, making them rattle loudly as he did so, and was just about to throw them down when, luckily, some black-fellows got up and twirled the bull-roarer. However, they were too tired to go on for long, and soon stopped making the noise, and the boys were actually cut without the swinging of the sacred Churinga. Then Atnatu once more gathered up his spears, and this time hurled them down on the men, killed them, and dragged them up into the sky. Tradition says that he eat one of them,—a young *etwakurka*,—but found the flesh no good for food, so he did not eat the other men, but brought them to life again in the sky, and they have remained up there ever since, but cannot now be seen by natives on the earth. The lubras meanwhile, hearing no noise of the bull-roarers and no singing, became alarmed, and after a long time ran to the spot where they saw tracks and blood, but could find no other trace of the men.

The natives now believe that when Atnatu hears the bull-roarer sounding down below on the earth he is pleased, and makes his sound and at the same time also initiates one of the many young men who are with him up in the sky. If he does not hear it he is angry, and will spear the black-fellows upon earth, and the boy is told that out in the bush he must continually swing the Churinga so that Atnatu may hear him and be kept thereby in a good humour. The women, on the other hand, are taught to believe that the noise is made by a spirit whom they call Tumana, and regard him in the same light in which the Arunta women and children regard Twanyirika.

Amongst the Warramunga, Walpari, Wulmala, Tjingilli, and Umbaia tribes the rites of initiation are very closely similar, and we will describe them as they occur in the Warramunga tribe, which may be taken as typical of this group, in respect to its organisation, customs, and beliefs.

The details of the various ceremonies, as carried out in the case of a young man named Wagarithimina of the Thakomara class and wind totem, were as follows:—In these tribes there is no ceremony which is equivalent to the throwing of the boy up in the air—a custom which does not appear to pass further north than the Kaitish tribe. When the boy in question was about fourteen years old his elder brothers caught him and told him that the time had come when he must cease to be a boy, playing with the children and living in the lubras' camp, but must become a young man, go out hunting with the grown-up men, and take part in the ceremonies of the tribe. His elder brothers and some Thungalla men, who stood to him in the relationship of wife's mother's brothers, took him away and he camped with them out in the bush. During the day his father, an old Tjupila man, performed sacred ceremonies belonging to the wind—his own and the boy's—totem, but the youth was not allowed to see them. At night while he was asleep a Thungalla man struck him on the chest with a hair-girdle and woke him up, telling him that he must on no account speak without permission, but remain perfectly silent unless he was first spoken to by the men in charge of him. The same man then greased and painted the boy all over with red ochre, tied a hair-girdle round his waist, placed *murkalti* (women's head-rings) on him, and painted him back and front with designs of his totem. The latter, which in the Arunta are called *ilkinia*, are here known as *uknarinunta*, and he was told that they would make him grow big and strong. In the morning a Tjapeltjeri man, whom he calls *kulla kulla*, and who is his future wife's tribal brother, wound bands of fur-string round his neck. Then his elder brother, along with Thungalla, Thapungarti, Tjunguri, and Tjapeltjeri men, took him to where the lubras were stationed, dancing and singing out *Au! au! au!* Thakomara (sisters) and

Thungalla (wife's mothers) women ran round and round him shouting, and when this was over the Thungulla lubras took the fur-string from his neck, put their own rings on his head, and decorated him with opossum fur-string necklets and strands of the same, the latter running crosswise over his back and chest. One of the women who was *tjurtalia* to him—that is, the mother of his future wife—handed him a fire-stick, saying, "Do not drink clean water; you must walk about and drink only dirty water. You must not go near to snakes or they will kill you. Do not leave that fire-stick (*walunkun*) or allow it to go out; do not go into long grass or scrub where snakes are hidden." After this he was again taken charge of by the Thungalla men,[1] and went with three of them to a distant part of the Warramunga country, to a spot called Irrungirri. Then, after some time, he was told to go and camp with Tjunguri men who were his *auiniari*—that is, his tribal fathers-in-law. Accordingly he did so, and they fed him on bandicoots and sugar-bag and handed him on to some more Tjunguri men, who treated him in the same way. From the Tjunguri he was sent on to stay with Thapungarti men who were the sons of his mother's brothers, and with whom he remained four days, hunting for wallabies and searching for sugar-bags.

It was now time for him to return to the home camp, and the Thapungarti men told him to go and set fire to the grass with his *walunkun* or fire-stick, and so make a great smoke. This of course was intended as a signal to the home people that he was coming back, and they, knowing approximately how long he would be away, were on the look-out for a big smoke to announce the fact that the party had actually started. A halt was made at some little distance from the main camp, and the elder brother of the boy came out with a supply of water, and brought also red ochre and grease, which they rubbed on the boy's body. Just before sundown he was brought in by the Thungalla

[1] This relationship is an important one, because in this tribe the brother has the disposal of his sister's daughters. A Thakomara man marries the daughter of a Thungulla woman, and she is given to him by the Thungalla men. It is the relationship of Mura in the Arunta tribe.

and Thapungarti men, one of the former carrying him on his shoulders, to the camp where the women and children were all assembled. Thakomara, Thungalla, and Tjunguri women danced round him as before, shouting *Au! au! au!* After his mother had presented him with food he was again taken into the bush by his elder brothers and Tjunguri men, the latter of whom removed all of the fur-string and decorations from his body and sent him to camp for the night with some Thungalla men. Early in the morning, at break of day, the Tjunguri came again and took him to a camping place far away in the bush, so that he should be completely out of sight of any women or children. Here his elder brothers, Thungalla, Thapungarti and Tjapeltjeri men, were gathered together. A Tjapeltjeri man, his future wife's brother, told him to lie down on the ground and go to sleep and not attempt to watch anything that was being done, unless he was told that he might look. To make it certain that he could not see what was going on, his head was covered over while all the men sat round him quietly talking. By and by the Tjapeltjeri man woke him and told him to sit up, saying to him at the same time, "You must not tell women or children anything about this or we shall kill you." The Tjapeltjeri, Thakomara, Thapungarti, Tjupila, and Thungalla men then showed him their penes, spreading them out and stretching them as far as possible, saying, "You must not talk about what we tell you; you must not say that you have seen our penes; sit down quietly; never go and talk close to your *kaballa* (elder sister)." Then they told him to lie down again and be perfectly silent, and they went away to decorate themselves.

Just before sundown the *kaballa* women were summoned, together with the *kurnandi* (tribal mothers). The boy remained on the ground covered up, and the *kaballa* women came up to the spot and lay down on the top of him. Each one in turn said to him, "You must not go about with the boys any longer; you must not go near to the lubras' camp; do not sneak up close to it during the dark; always stay by yourself; do not drink clean water, but only dirty water." Then the sisters went away and the *kurnandi* women came

up and, taking hold of him, carried him for about half a mile, throwing him up every now and then into the air, while they shouted loudly, Oh! oh! Meanwhile the men had remained seated in the camp, but after the lubras had carried him some distance, the Thungalla men, seizing shields and shading their eyes with their hands, ran after them. The women thereupon dropped the boy and ran away, while the men picked him up and told him to shut his eyes and come with them. They took him to their camp and there he spent the night. For the first time in his life he now saw one of the sacred ceremonies (called *thuthu* by the Warramunga), the particular one shown to him belonging to two Tjunguri men of the fire totem. When this was over some Thapungarti, Tjunguri, and Thungalla men danced with bunches of leafy twigs (*wallunuru*) tied on to their legs, and then for several hours he listened to the singing of *mungai* songs connected with the ancient history of totemic ancestors. Finally, when he was worn out with excitement and with watching, an old Thungalla man went behind him, and suddenly he heard the *murtu-murtu* roaring, and was, as he told us, "too frightened to do anything." This was just at dawn, and as he sat wondering what was going to happen, a Tjunguri man seized him and laid him down on the top of two men, one a Thapungarti, the other a Tjunguri. A tassel of fur-string was pressed into his mouth, and while one man sat astride his body, a Thakomara came up and with a stone knife at once performed the operation of circumcision.[1] The operation itself—called *muru*—only occupied a very short time, and as soon as it was over he sat up, supported by one or two of the men. A Thapungarti gave him a bunch of

[1] The Arunta have a tradition referring to a celebrated Alcheringa ancestor named Kukaitcha, who travelled away to the north, taking with him two lubras and a number of *Ulpmerka* or uncircumcised boys. The Warramunga and Wulmala tribes both, curiously, have a tradition dealing with the same individual who is further supposed by them to have brought with him the initiation song:—

Irri yulta yulta rai
Ul katchera ul katcha arai
Irri yulta yulta ra
Ul katchara ul katch ai.

This is now actually used in both of these tribes just as it is in the Arunta.

eagle-hawk feathers with which he touched the heads of Tjupila, Thapanunga, and Thungalla men, so as to make them speak to him and break the ban of silence which existed between them and himself. The blood from the wound was collected in a shield and taken by a Thapungarti man to the camp of the boy's *kurnandi* (mother), who had tc drink some of it and subsequently to give an offering of food to the man who brought it to her.

The next day was spent by the boy out in the bush under the charge of a Thungalla man, and after that Thakomara, Tjupila, Thapanunga, Thapungarti, and Tjapeltjeri men came to visit him, and an old Tjupila, the boy's actual father, said, "We are going to show you *murtu-murtu*." Before actually doing this, however, they made him lie down and all of them, except the Tjupila man, "sang his hair" to make it grow. It was now dusk, and again the Thungalla man swung the bull-roarer. Then as soon as it was dark a big fire was made, and by its light the old Tjupila showed his son the sacred *murtu-murtu*. He was made to sit down, and then the stick was placed in his hands while his father showed him the marks and explained them to him, saying, "You must carry it all day long; do not lose it; do not allow any boy or woman to see it or you will be killed." Then they told him the legend of how the *murtu-murtu* was first made in the Wingara by a man whom the wild dogs killed and eat, but, though they did this, they could not destroy the sacred stick.

Then for the whole of a moon he stayed out in the bush, under the charge of a Thungalla man, carrying the *murtu-murtu* with him all the time until his wound was healed, when he gave it back to the Tjupila man, his father. During this time of seclusion he was visited by fathers, brothers, and *naminni* men (mother's brothers), and had to submit to the painful operation of *punthan*, when his scalp and chin were bitten so as to make his hair grow. Only those men who have themselves a good growth of hair can take an active part in this ceremony, but as a poor head of hair is of very rare occurrence amongst the natives, the number of eligible biters is not seriously affected by the restriction.

When the boy was ready to return to camp he collected a number of bandicoots and a good supply of sugar-bags, cooking the former out in the bush. A Thungalla man came out from camp bringing with him hair-string (*natjurta*), which he tied round the boy's waist. At night-time he walked towards the main camp carrying the meat and followed by the Thungalla man who was swinging the *murtu-murtu*. Not far from the camp he placed the meat down on the ground at the foot of a tree, to which he then clung with hands and feet. While he was thus clinging on to the tree, women who stood to him in the relation of *kurnandi* (mothers), *pinari* (fathers' sisters), and *tjurtalia* (wife's mother) came up to him carrying a *pitchi* full of yams. They put their hands on him and took him away from the tree, and then he gave them the bandicoots and they gave him their yams and returned to their camps. The boy thereupon went back to his camp, and, filling a *pitchi* with sugar-bags, sent it to his actual mother. Finally, he went out into the bush in search once more of wallabies, bandicoots, and sugar-bags and gave them to the men who had come to visit him and had shown him their penes. Until he has thus given them an offering of food he may not speak to them nor in their presence, but on being presented with food each man in turn gives him his finger to bite, and thus releases him from the ban of silence.[1]

The actual operation of circumcision is performed by one or other of those men who stand to the boy in the relationship respectively of *auiniari* (wife's father), *turtundi* (wife's mother's father), or *tjurtalia* (wife's mother's brother). The foreskin, called *gnuru*, wrapped up in string, together with the stone knife by means of which the operation was performed, is taken by a *tjurtalia* man to the *naminni* (mother's brother) of the boy, who in return presents the *tjurtalia* with food. The foreskin is then placed in the hole made by a witchetty grub in a tree, and serves the purpose of causing a plentiful supply

[1] After initiation he is supposed to be so much impressed with the performance that he is too overcome to talk. The older men also tell him that he has seen strange things and must not talk until he is told that he may by his *kulla-kulla*. The newly initiated youth is indeed supposed to spend his time pondering over what he has seen.

of the grub; or it may be put in the burrow of a ground spider, in which case it is supposed in some way to cause the penis to grow. The boy himself never sees the *gnuru* and is not aware of where it is placed.

When he has recovered from the operation it is customary to perform that of subincision or *parra* within the course of the next month or two. Amongst the Warramunga this second operation is always carried out at a time when a large number of men are gathered together in camp performing a series of sacred ceremonies. Unlike what obtains in the Arunta tribe, it is the custom amongst the Warramunga not to perform odd ceremonies at different times, but to perform a long series, passing in review, as it were, the whole Alcheringa history of one totemic ancestor. At this particular time, for example, the men were gathered together, and more than a month had been spent in performing ceremonies relating to the Wollunqua, an important snake totem. It was decided by the old men that, towards the close of these, three young men should be subincised. Nothing of course was said to them, but one day, when a special and very elaborately decorated mound had been built, representing the old Wollunqua, the three youths were suddenly seized and told that the time had come when they must be finally admitted to the ranks of the men. One of them was a Thakomara and the other two were Thungallas. The former was under the charge of a Thapungarti man who was his *naminni*—that is, his mother's brother, and the two latter under that of Thapanunga men who stood in the same relationship to them. Late at night, when all of the men in camp were gathered together singing and dancing round the mound, the three youths were brought up with their heads covered and told to sit down quietly and watch the proceedings. Their guardians explained to them what the mound meant; they were told that they must not quarrel with the men to whom it belonged, and especially must not throw boomerangs at them.

After the whole night, during the course of which the mound was destroyed, had been spent in singing and dancing, so that every one was more or less tired out,

the guardians of the boys told them to get up, and they were taken to a spot right in the middle of the main camp. Here, just at sunrise, the older men sat down quietly in a group close to some bushes, behind which the three boys were crouching. Their guardians still kept careful watch over them to prevent any attempt to escape from the painful ordeal which they now knew that they had to pass through in a short time. The women had meanwhile been informed of what was about to take place, and ranged themselves in two groups about thirty or forty yards in front of the seated men, one to the right and the other to the left side. The Uluuru women were in one group and the Kingilli in another, and in turn each of them danced, jumping towards the men as if their ankles were tied together. At the same time they extended their arms and flexed their hands, with palms uppermost, up and down on their wrists. This curious hand movement is very characteristic of the women when they are taking part in ceremonies. Then, with the women standing only a short distance away, three Tjapeltjeri men, brothers of the future wife of one of the novices, came forwards and extended themselves at full length on the ground immediately in front of the seated men. Two Thapungarti men led the Thakomara youth out from behind the bushes and placed him on the top of the Tjapeltjeri men (Fig. 109). One Thapungarti man sat on his stomach, a pubic tassel belonging to his father was pressed down into his mouth, and while other men held his legs and arms the operation of subincision was performed by a Thapungarti man (Fig. 110). As soon as it was over he was lifted up and, supported in the arms of the Thapungarti men, was placed between the knees of the old Tjupila man, his father, who tied a hair-girdle round his waist. Then in turn he stroked the heads of Tjupila and Thapanunga men, his tribal fathers' and mothers' brothers, with the tassel used during the ceremony, and was led to one side, where he sat down on a *pitchi* into which the blood from the wound was allowed to flow. This blood was afterwards taken by a Thapungarti man to the camp of the youth's father and mother, and was drunk by them.

After the Thakomara had been operated on, three Thapanunga men lay down on the ground with a Tjunguri on the top of them; one of the Thungalla boys was brought forward and placed on the Tjunguri. A Thungalla man sat on him and the operation was performed by a Tjupila man. The same performance was repeated in the case of the other Thungalla boy, and then each of them stroked the heads of

FIG. 109.—SUBINCISION CEREMONY. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
Placing the novice on the top of men who are lying on the ground.

Tjambin and Thapungarti men. Just as before, the blood which drained into the *pitchi*, on which the boys sat after the operation, was taken, in this instance by Thapanunga men, to the father and mother's camp, where the two latter drank it.

A very remarkable feature of the ceremony consisted in the presence of the women, who were so close to the actual ceremonial ground that, without any difficulty at all, they

FIG. 110.—OPERATION OF SUBINCISION. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The man in the middle of the group is sitting upon the novice whose legs are held apart by the man on right side. The man bending forward is operating with the stone knife, the handle of which can be seen in his right hand.

After the Thakomara had been operated on, three Thapanunga men lay down on the ground with a Tjunguri on the top of them; one of the Thungalla boys was brought forward and placed on the Tjunguri. A Thungalla man sat on him and the operation was performed by a Tjupila man. The same performance was repeated in the case of the other Thungalla boy, and then each of them stroked the heads of

FIG. 109.—SUBINCISION CEREMONY. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
Placing the novice on the top of men who are lying on the ground.

Tjambin and Thapungarti men. Just as before, the blood which drained into the *pitchi*, on which the boys sat after the operation, was taken, in this instance by Thapanunga men, to the father and mother's camp, where the two latter drank it.

A very remarkable feature of the ceremony consisted in the presence of the women, who were so close to the actual ceremonial ground that, without any difficulty at all, they

FIG. 110.—OPERATION OF SUBINCISION. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The man in the middle of the group is sitting upon the novice whose legs are held apart by the man on right side. The man bending forward is operating with the stone knife, the handle of which can be seen in his right hand.

could see exactly what was taking place. At the rite of circumcision the women usually take some part in the early performances, but are always rigidly excluded from the actual ceremony. In the Arunta, Kaitish, Unmatjera, and other tribes they take no part whatever in the subincision ceremony, and are not allowed to come anywhere near to the ground during its performance, much less allowed to actually witness any part of it. We could find no reason for this really remarkable exception in the case of the Warramunga tribe. It is certainly a very strange feature, when we take into account the fact that these initiation ceremonies of the men are, at the present day, amongst the most jealously guarded secrets of the tribes throughout the whole of Australia, so far as women and children are concerned. Possibly it may be a surviving relic of a long past time when, according to tradition common to all of these central tribes, the women took a much greater share in the performance of ceremonies which are now regarded as sacred and restricted almost entirely to the men.[1]

After the ceremony was complete the youths were taken away by their guardians and camped some distance off in the bed of the creek, out of sight of the women and children, who might not see them for some time to come. As usual they sat down over small fires, the smoke from which was supposed to have a healing and soothing effect upon their wounds. During the course of the succeeding day their bodies were decorated with designs in red ochre and charcoal, though these had nothing to do with totemic designs and were merely intended as ornaments. Fur-string was tied tightly round their arms,—so tightly as to cause them severe pain,—and this operation was renewed on subsequent occasions (Fig. 111). The hair of their head was also tied up tightly so as to form an upstanding tuft on the top of the crown. In the case of the Thakomara youth this was done by a Thapungarti man, and in that of the Thungalla by Thapanunga men. Fur-string was also placed around their

[1] In connection with this subject attention may also be drawn to the fact that the Warramunga, like the Urabunna people, believe that the sexes alternate at successive reincarnations.

necks, and various other men took it in turn to watch over them, both to guard against their being seen by women and also to see that they strictly observed the ban of silence.

Four days after the ceremony, Thapungarti lubras, who were the tribal mothers of the Thungalla boys, sent an offering of food to the Thapungarti and Tjapeltjeri men, who were respectively the mothers' brothers and sisters' sons of the Thungallas. The food was brought up on the *pitchi* in

FIG. 111.—TYING FUR-STRING ROUND THE ARM OF A NOVICE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

On the right side is another novice whose arm has just been tied up.

which the blood had been taken to the father's camp after the operation. It had been in the first instance specially provided for the occasion by a Thapungarti woman, and was now decorated with a fresh coat of red ochre and yellow lines. An old Thakomàra man brought it up, and placed it on the knees of the men to whom it was sent, taking care that no Thapanunga or Tjunguri men were about, as they are not allowed to see the food.

A few days later there took place a ceremony, called *kuntamara*, which consists in a repetition of the subincision

so as to make the cut more complete (Fig. 112). In the Arunta tribe a man will frequently be recut after the performance of the operation on a youth, but here, in the Warramunga, it is the regular custom for the newly initiated youth and the older men to gather together, and for every man to cut himself, or be cut by some one else. On this particular occasion, after the performance of a sacred ceremony on the corrobboree ground, all of the men gathered

FIG. 112.—OPERATION OF KUNTAMARA. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
The subincision is being cut deeper by an older man.

together in the bed of the creek, where the youths were camped and performed the *kuntamara*. Each man took a sharp flake of stone or glass, which latter they prefer if obtainable, and cut himself until the blood flowed freely, the newly initiated youths following their example. In some cases the cutting was done by other men. For example, a Thakomara man was cut by a Thapungarti, and two old Thapungartis were cut by Tjunguri men. The object of the custom is said to be that of assisting the boys in their

recovery, to strengthen the bond amongst the men, and to make the youths grow up into "good" black-fellows. It is not by any means as solemn a ceremony as that of *parra* or subincision, and is conducted without any order in the proceedings, the men simply standing about in groups, all of the classes mixed up together, and, if necessary, assisting one another. When it was all over, the Thakomara youth first of all touched the head of his actual father with a little of the blood from himself, and then, taking a green twig, stroked the head of a very old Thakomara man, who was his *kankwia* or grandfather (Fig. 113).

During the next few weeks sacred totemic ceremonies were enacted daily, and the youths were always called up from their camp to watch them, each of them under the charge of a guardian, who stood with his arm round the boy carefully telling him what everything meant. At the close of a special series of ceremonies connected with the Thalaualla (black-snake) totem, the two Thungalla boys were brought up and placed in the midst of the group of decorated men, who were seated on the top of a drawing made on the ground, representing the snake; the head-dresses of the performers were taken off, and the stomachs of the boys repeatedly struck hard with them.

Ten days after the operation the Thakomara youth was presented with a boomerang, armlets, and forehead-band by a Tjunguri man, who was his tribal sister's son. He came on to the corrobboree ground wearing the armlets and forehead-band, and carrying the boomerang in his hand. Four men, who were respectively Tjapeltjeri, Thapanunga, Thapungarti, and Tjunguri,—that is, representative of all of the groups in the moiety of the tribe to which he did not belong,—came up to him, and, in turn, he passed the boomerang through their waist-girdles. Each man then passed it in the same way through the novice's, the last man allowing it to remain in the position in which it is normally carried. This is emblematic of the fact that he has now entered the ranks of the men, and can take part in their occupations of hunting and fighting.

Towards the close of the series of ceremonies, some

weeks after the operation of *parra*, a further little ceremony was enacted, the object of which was evidently to

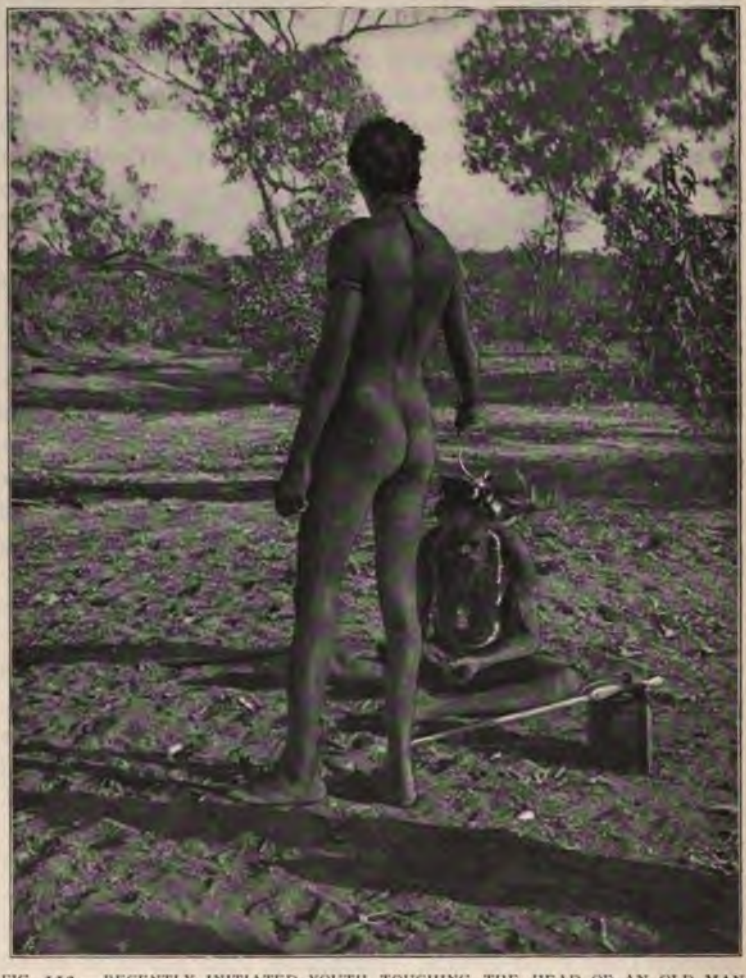


FIG. 113.—RECENTLY INITIATED YOUTH TOUCHING THE HEAD OF AN OLD MAN WITH A LEAFY TWIG IN ORDER TO RELEASE HIMSELF FROM THE BAN OF SILENCE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

show that the boys had passed completely out of the hands of the lubras. At the same time it was possibly meant as a warning to the boys of what would happen if they disregarded

the instructions which had been given to them and went near to the lubras' camp.

The natives had been busy all of the preceding day in getting ready for a special ceremony, the preparations for which were made by the men of one-half of the tribe, while the other men carefully kept away from the corrobboree ground until all was ready. The whole night long the former were singing and dancing on the ground, while the men of the other moiety came from their camps and slept, not far away, in the bed of the creek, from which they were summoned just at daylight. Meanwhile, acting under the instructions of the men in charge of them, the newly initiated youths had spent the night close by the lubras' camp, and as soon as ever the ceremony was over, which was just at sunrise, the guardians of the boys left the other men on the corrobboree ground and made a wide circuit so as to pass round behind the women's camp. The women meanwhile had deserted the latter, and had taken refuge on the far side of the creek. The guardians of the boys, who were lying concealed on the ground, came along rushing and yelling in the direction of the lubras' camp. When they were about a hundred yards off, the boys sprang to their feet and raced along, as hard as ever their legs could carry them, towards the corrobboree ground. They were evidently anxious to lose no time, and were urged to do their best by the yells of the men, and still more by the boomerangs, which, thrown by the pursuers with all their might, came bounding after them. Once on the corrobboree ground they were safe, and here they joined the group of men who had been watching their headlong flight with amusement.

The only thing now remaining to be done was to release the boys from the ban of silence. This of course meant presents of food. In the first place the boys were decorated—the Thakomara by a Tjunguri man, and the Thungallas by Thapungarti men. Each of them was elaborately painted both back and front with designs in charcoal and red ochre. Bringing up the food in a *pitchi*, they knelt down on a few boughs which had been spread

out for the purpose not far from the main camp. The Thakomara was in one place, and the two Thungallas side by side not far away from him. The women, decorated with red ochre and lines of yellow, approached them from behind, so as not to see their faces. Those amongst them who were tribal mothers and sisters stroked and patted them with their hands, and then, still keeping their backs turned towards the lubras, the youths got up and walked away to join the men, who were seated some little distance off watching the ceremony. To this little ceremony, the performance of which enables the boys to speak once more to the women, the name of *barkamunda* is given. Later on still an offering of food must be made to the men. The Thakomara has to present this to Thapungarti and Tjapeltjeri, and the Thungallas to Thapanunga and Tjunguri men. Each of the men who receives food holds up his finger for the initiate to bite, and the ban of silence is thereby broken. This ceremony is called *thallateilbunthan*.

As illustrative of the ceremonies amongst the tribes inhabiting the country on the western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, we may take those of the Binbinga tribe on the Macarthur River and of the Mara tribe inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Limmen River.

The following is an account of what took place during the initiation of a Yakomari boy in the Binbinga tribe, Yakomari being the equivalent of a Tjambin amongst the Warramunga and of an Umbitjana amongst the Arunta, Ilpirra, and Kaitish. He was seized by a Paliarinji man, his mother's brother's son, who told him to go to his mother and ask her for some hair-string. The mother of course knew what this meant, and gave it to the boy, weeping while he tied it on himself. Then she told him to go back to the Paliarinji, who rubbed him all over with grease and red ochre and placed fur-string crosswise on his chest and back, over his shoulders. Then the Paliarinji told him to go and show himself to his mother again, which he did, and after she had embraced and wept over him she gave him a supply of little roots and sugar-bag which she had herself collected. Then he went back to the men's camp, where he was allowed to

eat a little, the main part being divided up amongst the Tjuanaku, Pungarinji, Tjurulum, Tjamerum, and Thungallum men. The boy's elder brother then told him to go along with a Tjurulum man, who is the equivalent of the *mura* man in the Arunta tribe—that is, the brother of the mother of the boy's future wife. After rubbing him over with grease the former and the Pungarinji man took the boy up to a Tjamerum man who rubbed him, passed him on to a Tjurulum who did the same, and in turn handed him on to a Tjuanaku. After this rubbing ceremony was over his actual father told him that he was to go away for three moons, and he started out under the charge of a Pungarinji and a Tjuanaku man, who took him to visit distant groups, the members of which were invited to come in and take part in the ceremonies. After wandering about over the country under the care of his guardians, feeding for the most part on sugar-bags and lilies, he was brought back, accompanied by a number of strangers who joined the party at the various camps at which a call was made on the way home. As usual on such occasions, all of the men halted a short distance from the home camp, and a messenger was sent on to announce the fact of their arrival. When all were assembled, the men on a cleared space with a break of bushes behind them and the women a little to one side, the boy was brought up by the Pungarinji and Tjuanaku men, who held him by the wrists, and thus conducted him to the spot where his father sat. He was then sent on to his mother, and, bending his head down in front of her, she took the string off and kept it for herself. Then she sent him back to the men, a Tjuanaku man carrying him on his shoulders, from which position the father took him down and once more sent him back to his mother. She again gave him sugar-bag and lilies, which he took back to the black-fellows, who had meanwhile returned to their camp, eating a little himself as on the previous occasion. Returning to his mother's camp he spent the night there quietly sleeping, while the strangers who had accompanied him performed a sacred ceremony on the ceremonial ground, singing being maintained all the night. At sundown the next day the boy

was brought back by his elder brothers and made to lie down close beside the lubras, where he was covered over with paper bark. Meanwhile the men had been decorated again for a ceremony and approached singing. His elder brothers fixed a row of boomerangs upright in the ground in front of the boy, who still lay quietly down while the performers retired. All of the men then came close up to the ceremonial ground, and a number of fires were made, around which they camped, but there was only very little sleep allowed, and every now and then the singing broke out loudly. About midnight a Tjuanaku man awoke the boy and told him to sit up close by the bushes and watch what was happening. Then for the first time he was shown a sacred ceremony, the men dancing with *tjintilli*—that is, bunches of leafy twigs tied round the ankles, while their bodies were decorated with totemic designs such as are never used during the ordinary corrobborees. At this time of course there were no women present—they had all been sent away to their camps, where they could hear the sound coming from the ceremonial ground but could see nothing of what was taking place there. After the performance the boy was told what it all meant, and then a Paliarinji man came up and warned him that in future, and until he received permission from the old men to do so, on no account was he to eat snakes, female bandicoots, opossums, kangaroos and wallabies, emus or emu eggs. Just at dawn the elder brother walked over to where a Tjurulum man was sitting and handed him the cutting knife, which he carried under his arm-pit, and asked him to perform the ceremony of circumcision. Then two Paliarinji men at once lay down on the ground, the boy was placed on top of them, a Tjurulum man sat on his chest while his legs were held by an elder brother. Opossum-fur string was placed in his mouth to prevent him from crying out, and the operator coming up at once cut off the foreskin. While all of this was in progress, the sacred stick called *watanurra* was twirled round and round to make the roaring noise which is supposed by the women and children to be the voice of the spirit called Katajina, who lives in an ant-hill

and comes out to eat the boy. The Paliarinji man led him up to a sheet of paper bark, in which the blood flowing from the wound was collected, and, while the men stood round him, he was again warned not to eat the forbidden foods or he would be very ill and most likely die. He was also told that he must no longer speak to or even look at the Tjuan-aku men who are his tribal fathers-in-law. Then for the first time the boy was shown one of the sacred *watanurra*, which was solemnly placed on the palms of his hands. He was told that he must not quarrel with the older men, and for the third time the necessity of strictly observing the food restrictions was impressed upon him. He was given a small *watanurra* to carry about in the bush until such time as his wound should be healed, and was very carefully warned not to let boys or women on any account catch sight of it. If he were to neglect this instruction then both he and they would die. He was also told that he must keep swinging the stick.

When the operation was all over, the blood was taken in the paper bark by the boy's brother to the mother's camp, and she carried it off and buried it in the bank of a water-hole, the idea of this being that it would make the lilies grow more freely. The foreskin was tied up in bark and kept for some time by the Tjurulum man. Finally he brought it to the boy's father, showed it to him, received a present of spears and gave others in return for them. Then he handed the foreskin on to the boy's elder brother, who buried it in the ground, there being no special place where this is supposed to be done.

The elder brother had meanwhile taken the boy out into the bush, and there the two stayed by themselves until the wound was finally healed. The elder brother then brought the boy back, but left him outside the main camp, while he himself went to the mother and asked for some string. She gave him this and also a pubic tassel (*mauia*) which she herself had made. After decorating the boy the elder brother cut a limb from a tree, and, slanting it against the latter, left the boy sitting straddle-legged across it. He himself went on to the camp and told the mother to go out

and see the boy. Accordingly she went, carrying with her a supply of sugar-bags and lilies, gathered for the purpose. After rubbing the boy all over with red ochre she took him off the branch and gave him the food, telling him to give it all to his elder brother, who eat it. After she had retired the elder brother came up again and took the boy away to the men's camp, telling him that he was to live there now and no longer have anything to do with the women in their camp. The equivalent of some such ceremony as this, indicating that the novice has passed from the control of his mother into the ranks of the men, is met with in all of the tribes.

At a later time the operation of subincision was performed, taking place, as is usual amongst these tribes, when the ceremonies were enacted in connection with the placing of the bones of a dead man in a hollow log. The youth was brought up to the camp, where all of the men were assembled, by the elder brother, who told him not to be frightened. The time had now come for him to walk about a black-fellow and no longer a boy. Two Paliarinji men lay down on the ground, and the boy was placed on his back crosswise above them. A Yakomari held his legs open, and a Tjurulum man sat astride of him. Then the elder brother lead up another Tjurulum who performed the operation, and having done so immediately handed the knife to the former and retired to one side. The boy was then made to suck the blood on the knife, and after this was led to one side by an elder brother to a piece of paper bark, over which he sat so that the blood from the wound ran into it. While he did this the elder man made a small fire, and having warmed his hands at it held them over the penis, the idea being to relieve the pain. Then after a short time he took the boy away with him, and camped not far off in the bush, bringing him in daily to witness the ceremonies which were being performed in connection with the burial of the bones. The blood was taken in the paper bark to the boy's mother, who buried it in the bank of a water pool so as once more to ensure the growth of the lilies.

When the boy had recovered from the operation he was told by his elder brother to collect food, and having done this the two returned to camp, where the food was presented to the Tjurulum man who had performed the operation, and also to the Pungarinji, Tjuanaku, and Yakomari men who had come from a distance. Each of these men, standing in front of the boy, lifted his hand to the mouth of the latter, crooking the first finger, which the boy bit and was thus released from the ban of silence.

In the Mara tribe the operation of circumcision is called *gniarti*, that of subincision *marunku*; in the Anula tribe the equivalent terms are *taru* and *talkui*. The actual ceremonies are very closely similar in both tribes, and the following is an account of what took place in connection with the initiation of a Roumburia boy in the Anula tribe, the equivalent of a Tjulantjuka in the Binbinga.[1]

The boy was caught by a Tjurulum man who stood to him in the relationship of *meimi* or mother's brother's son. He was told not to cry out or make any noise, for the time had come when he must no longer walk about a mere boy but become a young man. The father brought up a hair girdle (*wuthari*), tied it round his waist, and sent him to his mother, who told him not to cry out or run away, but go and bring in a big number of black-fellows, because they wanted to make him into a young man. Then, under the charge of the Tjurulum, he went out and visited distant camps in turn, the men being asked to come up and take part in the ceremonies. They said, "All right, we will come." From the different camps other men went on with them, but the boy was allowed to speak only to his guardian. For two moons they wandered about, the Tjurulum, Pungarinji, and Yakomari men carrying him on their shoulders when he got tired. Meanwhile his father and mother, the latter assisted by other women, had been busy out in the bush collecting food supplies. The Tjurulum

[1] For the sake of simplicity we use the equivalent subclass names employed in the Binbinga tribe. Each of the four subclasses in the Anula and Mara is the equivalent of two in the Binbinga. Thus some of the Roumburia men are the same as the Tjulantjuka, and others the same as the Paliarinji in the Binbinga tribe.

man and the boy travelled as far inland as a place now called Anthony's Lagoon, more than 200 miles away on the tableland country. On the return journey they lighted big fires as soon as they came within a day or two's march of the home camp, so as to let the father know that they were close at hand. These fires were made as usual by the boy himself, and the Tjurulum man left the others behind and went on ahead alone and said to the father, "I have left your son at my camp; to-morrow I will bring him in; are all of the men here?" The father told him that all was ready, and he returned to his camp, carrying with him food sent to the boy by the father. That night the lubras danced in the main camp, in front of the men, who sang, and in the morning the boy, accompanied by the strangers, started for the home camp, the Tjurulum man again coming on by himself. All of the men and women had painted their bodies with red, white, and black, and were assembled on the ceremonial ground called *thamunki*. Seeing that all was ready, the Tjurulum man went back to bring the boy in. The father sat in the middle of the front row of men, and the women stood in a group behind. Then the strangers approached shouting "*Ka! ka! ya-a!*" those from the hill country right away inland singing out also "*Srr! srr!*" At first they held the boy by the hand, but on approaching close he was hoisted on to the shoulders of a Pungarinji man, who ran with him round and round the local mob, so that his father and mother could see him clearly. After this the Pungarinji, Tjuanaku, and Tjurulum men amongst the visitors came and placed spears, hair girdles, and other articles on a paper-bark dish at the feet of the father as a gift to him. The boy, who had been decorated with fur-string by his *meimi*, was brought up to his father, and the strangers leaving him there retired. After sitting for a short time by his father he was sent to his mother, who embraced and wept over him. The mother had brought up a supply of food which she had placed on the ground at the father's feet, and after a time this was handed over to the *meimi* man, who took it, accompanied by the boy, to the strangers. The *meimi* then painted a straight

line across the backs of the Pungarinji, Tjuanaku, Tjurulum, Thungallum, and Yakomari men, and acting under his instructions the boy added three vertical lines below. The food was placed by the boy opposite to the Thungallum men, who were his future wife's brothers, and when he had given it to them he went back to his father's camp. After the women had left the ground the men performed a sacred ceremony, and early the following morning the strangers returned and remained on the ground all day, a number of ceremonies being performed one after the other. The boy meanwhile had been sent to the *meimi* woman's camp, and told that he must not walk about, but lie down quietly and go to sleep. Late on in the afternoon the strangers painted themselves, and at sundown came on to the ceremonial ground, where the local men stood in a single line with the women behind them. The *meimi* woman brought up the boy covered in paper bark, telling him not to look about but to keep his eyes fixed on the ground. He was handed over to the *meimi* man, who made two small fires, between which the boy had to lie down covered over completely with sheets of paper bark. Then, standing on one side, the *meimi* struck his two *nulla nullas* (clubs) together, shouting out as he did so the names of the different countries from which the various parties had come. This over, he led up the painted men, who marched round and round, each of them waving a burning torch of paper bark, after which they returned to their camps and the lubras went away. Late at night the men were all recalled by whistling, and came on to the ground, each man having his legs decorated with bunches of twigs. Clanging boomerangs and waving paper-bark torches, the men marched round and round the boy, who was still hidden from view. Time after time they advanced and retired, singing loudly, until at length they all stood to one side. After a pause the *meimi* man, covering his eyes with his hands, brought up the Pungarinji man who had first of all carried the boy into camp on his shoulders, and at the same time the painted men came and placed themselves in front of the boy. The Pungarinji man stood behind the latter so that his face could not be

seen, and then the boy, instructed as to what to do by the *meimi*, lifted up the bark under which he had lain concealed and gazed at the men. After a few minutes they ran away, and the boy was told that what he had seen, and was about to see, was *kurta-kurta* (tabooed), and must on no account be spoken of to women or children. Sacred totemic ceremonies were then performed by Pungarinji, Tjuanaku, Thungallum, Tjurulum, and Yakomari men in turn, each of them being explained to the boy. At the same time songs referring to his own totem were sung. Just before dawn all of the men took their boomerangs and clashed them together; the *meimi* handed a knife to a Pungarinji man, asking him at the same time to perform the ceremony, and then, warming his hands at a fire, placed them on the thigh, leg, private parts, and head of the boy. Two Thungallum men who were *napi-napi*—that is, wife's brother to the boy—lay down full length on the ground. The *meimi* placed the boy on top of them, putting fur-string in his mouth, and telling him not to cry out or else the strangers would think that he was a coward. Then he seated himself astride the boy, pulled up the foreskin, and the Pungarinji man at once cut it off, laid the knife down on the ground, and retired to one side. The boy was lifted up, and standing above the two Thungallum men, allowed some of the blood to drip down on to their backs, thus establishing a special friendly relationship between himself and them. After this they brought up spears and boomerangs and presented them to the boy. Some of the blood was, as usual, placed in a paper-bark dish and, together with the spears and boomerangs, handed over by the father to one of the boy's *tjakaka* (mother's elder brothers), whom he told to go and bury the blood in the bank of a water-hole where lilies grew. The foreskin, tied up in bark, was at first taken possession of by the *tjakaka* man, who subsequently handed it over to the *meimi*, his son, telling him to send it on to a tribal father of the boy living in a distant group. This man finally brought it back to the boy's father with a present of spears, and it was then handed once more to the *tjakaka* man, who, after cutting it in pieces, buried the remains in the ground by the side of a water-hole.

As amongst the Binbinga the ceremony of subincision was performed some time afterwards, when the final burial rites in connection with the bones of a dead man were carried out. After being shown the ceremonies connected with the totem of the dead man, the Tjulantjuka boy was subincised by a Yakomari man, the details of the ceremony being closely similar to those of the Binbinga tribe. When all was over the boy was presented with a sacred stick (bull-roarer) called *mura-mura* and told that it was made, in the first instance, by the whirlwind ; that it was *kurta-kurta* (tabooed), and must on no account be shown to women or children, who think that its roaring is the voice of a great spirit called Gnabaia, who has come to swallow up the boy. He was then taken away into the bush by an elder brother, and kept there until the rain had fallen and the cool weather came, when he was brought back again to the camp, accompanied by men from other localities. Meanwhile the elder men in camp had been making preparations for the performance of certain special ceremonies concerned with the whirlwind totem. A hole had been dug in the ground large enough to hold two men easily, and into this a Paliarinji and a Tjulantjuka man went. Food was placed by the side of it, and then the older Tjurulum, Tjamerum, Yakomari, and Thungallum men came up and sang around it, after which they retired, taking the food with them. Later on the younger men were brought up and shown the hole, which they were told represented one of the *mungai* spots of the whirlwind when first he came out of the earth and wandered about over the country. Another and a still larger pit was then dug some distance away, and in this whirlwind ceremonies were enacted. On a cleared space by its side a pole about fifteen feet high, made by lashing two long sticks together, was fixed upright in the ground. The whole pole was tied round and round with string, a bunch of white feathers ornamented the top, and beneath this a nose-bone was inserted. On the ground at its base whirlwind ceremonies were performed at night-time, and the young men were told that it represented the totem. Finally the recently initiated boy was hit on the back with the sacred *mura-mura* which

he had carried about with him in the bush; the stick was then placed in the hole, the soil heaped over it, and there it was left. After having witnessed this ceremony the young men receive the special name of *wanjilliri*, and it may be noted that there is a curious resemblance in certain points between this final ceremony and that of the Engwura in the Arunta tribe. In each instance the ceremony includes the erection of a pole the decorations of which seem to indicate that it has some relation to a human being.[1] It is placed on a special ceremonial ground, and around it ceremonies connected with totems are performed in the presence of men, all of whom are already fully initiated, so far as the ordinary rites are concerned. Further still, in both cases the men, after having passed through the ceremony, receive a special designation, *uliara* in the Arunta tribe and *wanjilliri* in the Anula tribe.

[1] For a full description of the sacred pole called *Kauaua*, used by the Arunta, see *N. T.* p. 370.

CHAPTER XII

THE NATHAGURA OR FIRE CEREMONY OF THE WARRAMUNGA TRIBE

Women taking part in ceremonies—Two fire ceremonies, one associated with the Kingilli moiety and the other with the Uluuru—Commencement of the ceremony—Men march in procession towards the women and then go out into the bush—Younger men under the charge of the older men—Not allowed to go near to the women—Return to camp—Practical joking and jeering—The ceremony a mixture of license and restraint—Torches made—Pole called *wintari* erected—Men and women decorating themselves—Women dancing in front of pole and men advancing in single file—Uluuru men shut up in bough wurley—Five men decorated for the performance of a Tjudia ceremony—Men throw bark at a wurley in which the women take shelter—Actual fire ceremony at night, the men rushing at one another with the lighted torches—The bodies of the men coated with pipe-clay and mud—The torches completely burnt up later on—At sunrise the decorated men go near to the pole and the older women dance round them—The idea is in part to finally settle up old quarrels.

IN connection with the final initiation ceremony of the Arunta tribe we have previously described a fire ceremony[1] that took place during the course of the Engwura which we witnessed at Alice Springs. The Warramunga, Tjingilli, and Worgaia tribes do not appear to have anything which can be regarded as the true equivalent of the Arunta, Ilpirra, and Kaitish ceremony. On the other hand, it is just possible that, at the final initiation ceremony of the Anula and Mara tribes, who live farther still to the north-east on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, one part, when a pole, strangely suggestive of the sacred *Kauaua* pole, is erected, may be the equivalent of at least a portion of the Engwura ceremony. In the Warramunga, Tjingilli, and Worgaia tribes there is, however, a very elaborate fire ceremony, quite unlike any-

[1] *N. T.* pp. 271-386.

thing which we have met with elsewhere, and presenting special features of some interest. To a certain extent the women take part in it—in fact, as we have already pointed out, the women, in the Warramunga tribe especially, are allowed to see much more than in any other tribe with which we are acquainted.[1] Also, it is worth noticing that during the Engwura ceremony in the Arunta, the women not only take part in the fire ordeals, but, in addition, during its performance they really see more of the sacred objects than at any other time.

The following is a description of what actually occurred during the ceremony as enacted at Tennant Creek, beginning on August 24th, and ending in the early morning of September 7th.

As soon as ever the final performance in connection with the Wollunqua had been held, preparations were begun to be made for the fire ceremony. It appears that there are two distinct ones, or rather that in one instance the Uluuru moiety is especially concerned, and in the other the Kingilli. Exactly as in the case of the sacred ceremonies, so in that of the fire ceremony, the Kingilli take charge of the one called *Nathagura*, which belongs to the Uluuru, and the latter take control of the *Thaduwan*, which belongs to the Kingilli. In essential features, however, the two ceremonies are closely similar. The former was the one which we witnessed.

Within a few hours of the conclusion of the bone breaking ceremony, when it grew dark, we heard the sound of laughing, singing, and shouting going on at a spot not far away from the main camp, and found that there were a number of men assembled close to the bank of the creek, opposite to the ceremonial ground, and about two hundred yards away from the women's camp. It was evident that something out of the common was being enacted. Men of all classes were represented in the groups gathered around a number of small fires. Every now and again two or three of them would suddenly jump up and, flourishing spears, shields and boomerangs, would rush madly around, yelling at the

[1] Cf. the account of the initiation ceremonies.

top of their voices, and executing the most grotesque movements, much to the amusement of the others. Then some one would make a sneering remark, or deliberately insult another man, or steal off with a weapon belonging to some other man and hide it in the scrub. Younger men would snatch food away from older men—a most unheard of thing under ordinary circumstances—and run off with it.[1] Whatever happened seemed to be regarded by everybody as a subject for merriment, and, time after time, with a sudden yell, a man would spring up from the ground followed immediately by others, and then they would dance first to one side and then to the other, evidently intent, judging by their actions, upon making themselves look as grotesque as possible. At the same time the women and children were taking their part in the ceremony. The men continually shouted out to the women, who in reply came out from their *mia-mias* (bough shelters) dancing and singing in the light of fires which were now burning brightly at various spots in and about the camps. This went on until midnight, and then the women and children retired to their camps, and the men lay down around their fires by the side of the creek.

Very early the next morning, before sunrise, the men were up and began painting themselves with lines of yellow ochre. Just as the sun rose, the women grouped themselves together and began dancing in the manner characteristic of them when they are taking part in a ceremony. The hands are either held in front with the elbows bent and moved as if inviting the men to come on, or else they are clasped behind the head, while at the same time the legs are moved together and the body swayed backwards and forwards with a bending movement at the hips and knees. As soon as the women were assembled the men formed into single file, and, while one or two kept time to one side, beating on the ground with a shield, the others advanced in a sinuous line, every man with his hands clasped behind his neck. After moving slowly forward for a short distance, the men one after the other knelt down on their knees, and

[1] The special term of *wongana* is applied to this jeering and poking fun at one another.

swaying about from side to side waddled onwards to meet the women. The front men rose to their feet before those in the rear of the fantastic procession were down on their knees, producing thus a kind of undulatory motion (Figs. 114, 115). When within a short distance of the women all of the men arose and came on bending their bodies and swaying from side to side with exaggerated high knee action. Suddenly wheeling round, they turned, passed by in front of the women, and ran back to their camp. An hour later the camp was deserted save for a few old men who stayed behind; the others had gone out into the scrub for a few days in one direction and the women in another, as until the ceremony was complete the younger men passing through it were under the charge of old men, and were not allowed to have any intercourse with the lubras. It was a week before the party returned; meanwhile they had been kept out in the bush where, all day long, they had been hunting for sugar-bags,[1] opossums, etc., returning to their different camps at night, where the usual singing and banter were maintained for hours at a stretch. After they had come back home to the main camp the same thing went on every night, the men sitting around their fires, two or three every now and again springing to their feet, one with a shield, another with a club or boomerang, each one dancing and throwing himself into the most grotesque attitudes possible, the performance always ending with a wild yell. Just as before, also, the women and children, who were continually addressed by their names, came out from their camps and danced and sang by the light of their fires.

The whole ceremony was a curious mixture of license and restraint. The latter was, however, only in evidence, owing to the fact that the men were not allowed to go near to the women. Otherwise there was the greatest license allowed and practised. Men shouting out to women, to whom under ordinary circumstances they would not dream of speaking, every man playing practical jokes upon some one else, saying to each and every person just what he liked, calling a man by the wrong class name—very often,

[1] The comb of a native bee, much relished by the natives.

FIG. 114.—FIRE CEREMONY.
The men approaching the women.

in fact, doing just the opposite of what he would do under ordinary circumstances. The one condition was that no one might take offence whatever was said or done to him. In many respects it could only be described as a primitive form of saturnalia, free from all trace of sexual license, during which most of the ordinary rules which strictly governed daily life were, for the time being, laid on one side.

As soon as the party returned from the bush the Kingilli men set to work to make certain huge torches called *wanmanmiri*. They were made half a mile away from the men's camp on the other side of the creek, so that some of the men to whom the *Nathagura* belonged could see them. Twelve saplings were cut down, each of them furnishing a straight pole about fifteen feet in length. Then large numbers of gum twigs, with their leaves attached, were cut and tied tightly on to the central pole, till each was ensheathed in a mass of foliage nearly two feet in diameter. This occupied between two and three days, so that by the time that they were required for use the torches were one mass of dry and highly inflammable material.

On the morning of the first of the two last days a special pole called *wintari*, twenty feet in length, was prepared by two old Tjupila men. After having been red-ochred all over, a bunch of green gum-twigs was tied to the top. It was then brought up from the bed of the creek where it had been prepared, and taken to a level stretch of ground about midway between where the men were now camped and the women's ordinary camp, and there an old Thakomara and a Tjupila man fixed it upright in the ground. Previously, however, to the erection of the pole, all of the women had been driven far away from their camp, and, as soon as ever it was in position, the leading Tjupila man standing behind it made what is called by the Warramunga, *chalapurtan*, the equivalent of *puilillima* amongst the Arunta. This is a far-reaching noise produced by a man shouting and at the same time vibrating the hand rapidly in front of the mouth. In the Arunta it is a favourite and very characteristic way of attracting attention, or of warning women and children

FIG. 115.—FIRE CEREMONY. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The men dancing in single file towards the women, one of whom being in mourning is daubed over with white pipe-clay.

not to approach, but it is very seldom used amongst the Warramunga. On this occasion it was a signal to the women, informing them that the pole was up, and that they must not come anywhere near to the ground until such time as they were summoned. The whole of the afternoon was spent by the men of all classes decorating themselves in the bed of the creek where they were hidden from view. The Tjapeltjeri and Tjunguri men had cross lines of black edged with white, and the others were painted with vertical lines of yellow on their chests and backs. The lubras at the same time were busy decorating themselves, as usual, with yellow lines, and, like the men, they were seated out of sight in the bed of the creek, which here makes a very convenient bend.

The old Tjupila man who was in charge of the proceedings painted a little shield with a median, and on either side of this a U-shaped line of black, all of the remaining space being filled up with white dots. When all was ready the women were summoned, and came up to the pole dancing in the usual manner (Fig. 119). For a short time they clustered around it, and two or three of them attempted to climb it. Whilst they were doing this the men came up out of the creek and, led on by the Tjupila, approached in single file, except that the Tjapeltjeri and Tjunguri men were surrounded by a few others carrying boughs, so that they were hidden from the women to a certain extent. These were men belonging to the groups with which the *Nathagura* is more especially associated. The women retired a little way from the pole, still dancing and singing. Two or three of the Kingilli men knelt down to one side of the procession, keeping time by beating shields upon the ground, while the others came on, alternately waddling along on their knees and standing up. Slowly they all passed round the pole and then returned to their camp, the women running away as soon as the last man had reached the pole. The sun was just setting when the performance came to an end, and that night the singing and grotesque dancing were wilder than ever.

Very early the next morning a bough wurley was built, and into this the Uluuru men went, accompanied by a few

FIG. 116.—FIRE CEREMONY. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

Men with torches dancing in front of the wurley, in which the other men are seated singing and preparing for a sacred ceremony.

of the Kingilli men, and for hours they kept up a continuous singing to the accompaniment of beating boomerangs. The air inside the wurley, upon which the sun shone down hotly, was simply stifling, but the men did not seem to mind this, and the singing, which referred to the progress of the fire ceremony across the country from the far north-east, went on without any intermission. About noon the Kingilli men began to decorate five of the Uluuru men who were to take a special part in the performance. This was done inside the wurley, and every now and again the Kingilli men, who were not actually engaged in the decorating work, came and danced wildly outside the entrance, jeering at the Uluuru men imprisoned within. During the course of the morning the long twig torches were brought up by the Kingilli and placed slanting against the wurley. After a time each of them was lifted up by a Kingilli man, and, holding them in both hands, the twelve men danced and pranced about in front of the opening, first of all facing the Uluuru inside, and then turning their backs upon them, singing wildly as they did so (Figs. 116, 117). When this was over the torches were again placed slanting against the wurley, on the side away from the women's camp, and the men continued dancing outside, clapping their hands together (Fig. 118). The dancing and singing continued all day long without cessation, to the accompaniment of beating boomerangs, until just before sunset, when all of the men, except those who had been decorated, came outside, and some of them began to paint their bodies with smears of pipeclay and lines of yellow ochre. The women meanwhile had built a wurley for themselves not far from the pole, and having done so, returned to the bed of the creek some little distance away. The men, after painting themselves, went to the gum-trees bordering the creek, and cut slabs of bark from them. Then they set off armed with these, and made a detour so as to come round behind the place where the women were now hiding in the bed of the creek. As they rushed along, yelling at the top of their voices, the women, of course, heard them coming and fled for refuge to the wurley, sheltering themselves in this under the boughs.

FIG. 117.—FIRE CEREMONY.

Men with torches dancing with their backs turned to the wurley.

When within twenty yards of the wurley the men made an attack upon it, pelting it viciously with their bark slabs, as though intent upon knocking it to pieces, the only result, however, as the wurley was well built, being a slight cut on the shoulder of one woman. After a minute the men desisted and ran away back to their camp, the women at once coming out, gesticulating and shouting after them. They could give us no clue of any kind as to the meaning

FIG. 118.—FIRE CEREMONY.
Men dancing and jeering at others who are shut up in the bough wurley.

of this part of the ceremony, in which both Kingilli and Uluuru men took part.

For an hour or two after this was over everything was very quiet, the decorated men remaining in the wurley while all of the others sat down round about it. The women and children had meanwhile retired to their own camp. Up to this time, with the exception of the attack upon the women, everything had been carried out in a spirit more or less of merriment and good nature; indeed the

natives say that the one object of the ceremony is to make every one good tempered and kindly disposed to his fellow-tribesmen. The real fire ceremony which now followed is, however, a more serious matter, though again its object is stated to be that of bringing old quarrels to an end. If, for example, there be two men who have had a serious dispute which has not been finally settled up, they must now meet and, so to speak, fight it out with fiery wands, after which it

FIG. 119.—FIRE CEREMONY.
Women dancing in front of the pole.

may never be referred to again. They are supposed to, and in fact actually do, become quite friendly towards one another. This fire ceremony is, indeed, regarded as a method of settling accounts up to date and starting with a clean page—everything in the nature of a dispute which occurred before this is completely blotted out and forgotten. It may, perhaps, be best described as a form of purification by fire.

As soon as it was dark every man in camp was present on the ground near to the wurley, out of which the decorated

men now came for the first time, and sat to one side in the shade, so that the women could not by any chance catch sight of them. The usual dancing and poking fun at one another went on apace, and then four recently initiated youths were brought up and made to lie down flat on the ground with their heads covered, while the men danced and yelled all around. After a time the youths were told to get up and watch what was going on. A fire was lighted, and one of the decorated men came up to it, with twigs in his hands, while the men—Uluuru and Kingilli together—gathered round. Lighting them, the performer struck the two twigs together, sometimes over his own head, sometimes over those of the other men, scattering clouds of sparks in all directions. After this had gone on for a short time the men formed themselves into a procession and, with the decorated men in the middle, marched round and round gesticulating and shouting wildly, until at last the central man sat down some little distance from the fire. Leaving him there the men returned to the fire, and, two at a time, the other performers came forwards and the same scene was re-enacted. For a time the five decorated men squatted on the ground with the Uluuru close around them, the Kingilli men standing up, dancing and yelling, while the four novices were again made to lie down with their heads covered. In a few minutes another procession was formed, headed this time by the decorated men, who waddled along on their knees, swaying from side to side, followed by all the men, who were shouting at the top of their voices "*Oh! Oh! Oh! Prr! Prr!*" until with a final, prolonged "*Prr-rr!*" they all sat down in a dense clump, the performers in the centre. The women and children had meanwhile assembled at the pole, not far away from the ceremonial ground, where they could see at least a fair amount of what was going on, though not of course very distinctly. Fires were burning brightly all around, and the women, like the men, were dancing and singing. For about half an hour nothing special happened, the Kingilli stood singing around the seated Uluuru men, and every one was evidently in a state of the greatest excitement. The Kingilli then took bunches of gum-tree

twigs and tied them together so as to form double bundles, one bunch pointing upwards and the other downwards. Some of them were tied on to their thighs, others were fixed in their waist girdles in the small of the back. Each man seized a boomerang or fighting club, and, holding it with both hands behind his neck, they all formed into single file and danced along, with exaggerated knee action, every man moving his body as though he had a swivel joint in his hip region. Suddenly the line turned round and encircled the Uluuru men, who had remained seated upon the ground. After they had danced round and round, all of the bushes were taken off and heaped up on the fires, giving out a brilliant light. When this subsided the Kingilli continued the singing and dancing until, after some time, a circle of twelve holes was made in the ground around the seated Uluuru. Into these the *wanmanmirri* (the great torches) were fixed upright. The excitement was gradually growing more and more intense. The Uluuru sat, huddled closely together, within the circle of leaf-covered poles, and the Kingilli, dancing grotesquely all round, poked fun at them. The poles were at length removed to one side, and then preparations began to be made for the real, serious business. A large quantity of mud and pipe-clay had been brought on to the ground, and now the twelve men who were to carry the wands, some of whom belonged to the Kingilli and others to the Uluuru moiety, retired to various spots, each of them accompanied by a few friends. First of all they daubed themselves all over with red mud, literally from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot. This done they smeared a thick coat of white pipe-clay all over until each of them resembled a weird, ghoul-like model of a human being, done in dripping wet clay (Fig. 120). When all was ready each of the twelve men was handed one of the *wanmanmirri;* fires were made, and the ends of the poles were thrust into them until they were well alight. The performance opened with one of the men charging full tilt, holding his *wanmanmirri* like a bayonet, and driving the blazing end into the midst of a group of natives in the centre of which stood a man with whom, a year before, he had had a serious quarrel. Warded

off with clubs and spear-throwers, the torch glanced upwards. This was the signal for the commencement of a general melee. Every *wanmanmirri* was blazing brilliantly, the

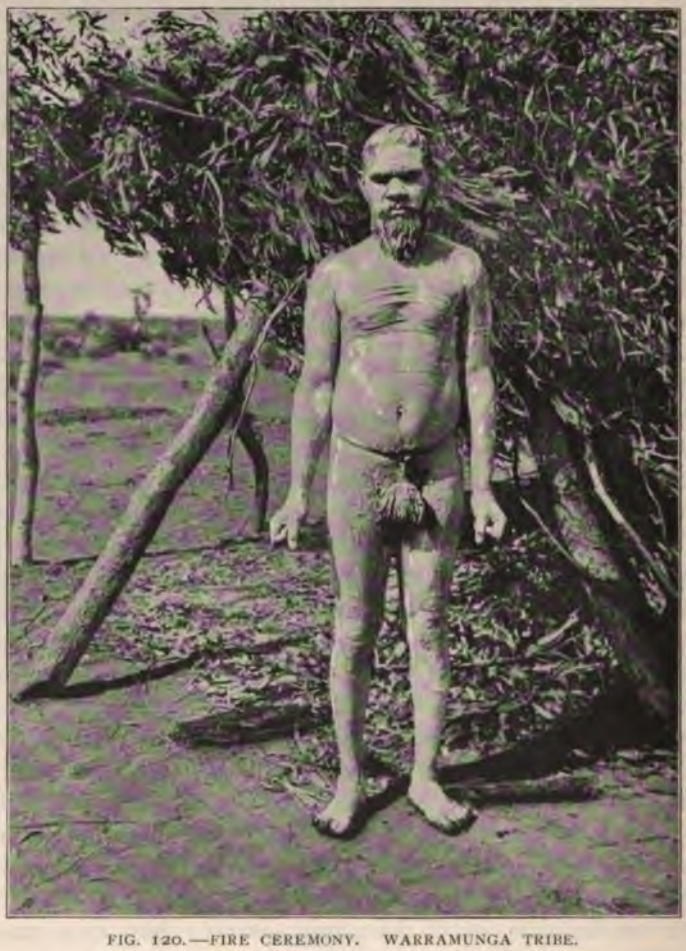


FIG. 120.—FIRE CEREMONY. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
Man daubed over with mud and pipe-clay.

men were leaping and prancing about, yelling wildly all the time; the burning torches continually came crashing down upon the heads and bodies of the men, scattering lighted embers all around, until the air was full of falling sparks,

and the weird, whitened bodies of the combatants were alight with burning twigs and leaves. The smoke, the blazing torches, the showers of sparks falling in all directions and the mass of dancing, yelling men with their bodies grotesquely bedaubed, formed altogether a genuinely wild and savage scene of which it is impossible to convey any adequate idea in words. To one side stood the lubras, wailing and burning themselves with lighted twigs, under the impression, so they said, that by doing this they would prevent the men from seriously hurting themselves. At length the *wanmanmirri* were dashed upon the ground and their fires extinguished, and then, for a time, there was comparative quiet. The men who had been carrying the torches retired with their friends to one side, washed the mud and burning embers from their bodies, and then all sat down and began to sing around a few small fires.

An hour after midnight the torches were relighted, but this time there was no attempt made to strike any one with them; they were merely lifted up, waved about in the air, and dashed down upon the ground, time after time, until finally every twig was burnt, and then once more the men gathered round the fires and continued singing. When the earliest streaks of dawn appeared in the east the decorated men crept quietly over towards the pole round which the women were still gathered, most of them having lain down on the ground there for the whole night. The women pretended not to know that they were there, though the older ones, who had been through the ceremony before, of course knew well what was taking place. Just before sunrise the men, who had now ceased singing, rose from beside their fires. Taking pieces of lighted bark they threw them in the direction of the women and children, and then, rushing across the intervening ground, led the decorated men on to where the women were standing by the pole,[1] left them there, and ran quickly back again. The younger women hereupon

[1] On the morning after the conclusion of the ceremony the pole was taken down and laid in the bed of the creek. Unlike the *K'auaua* pole used during the Engwura ceremony in the Arunta tribe, it is not regarded as sacred, and is seen by the women, who indeed gather round it at one part of the proceedings. We were quite unable to find out what was the significance of the pole.

ran away to their own camp, but the older ones, about ten in number, remained behind. The performers crouched down close together, while the women, each of them carrying a *pitchi* with small stones in it, danced round and round, jingling the stones all the time. In a few minutes—just as the sun rose—this was over, the women ran away to their camp, and the men came back to theirs. For the first time since they had been decorated—now eighteen hours ago—the tightly-fitting head-dresses were removed and the down rubbed off their faces. This was the final phase of the fire ceremony, and as in the case of other parts, so in regard to this, we could find no satisfactory explanation of what it meant. All that the old men who had charge of the series could tell us, and all, apparently, that they knew was, that it had been handed down to them from the far past just as it used to be performed by their Alcheringa ancestors, and that its object was to finally settle up old quarrels, and to make the men friendly disposed towards one another.

CHAPTER XIII

TRADITIONS RELATING TO TOTEMIC ANCESTORS

Irria and Inungamella the rain-makers—The emu man and Central Mount Stuart—The old man Illippa and the lubras—Stealing of Churinga—Thungalla and Murunda—Irritja Puntja, Central Mount Winnecke, and the eagle-hawks—Origin of the Unmatjera people—Unkurto, the jew-lizard man—The Ertwaininga women—Wanderings of two Parenthie lizards—The euro and the lightning—Illinga the opossum man and Murunda, the grass-seed man—The moon man and the lubra—Illtjerkna and Illinja, and the eating of grass seed—An emu woman and men—Three honey-ant men and the Oruncha—Origin of men of the water totem; a Purula man splits into two—Tumana and the Churinga—Kulkumba and the Iruntarinia—Origin of the laughing boy, or Thaballa totem—An Itjilpi, or ant lubra—The Parenthie man and the white cockatoo—Winithonguru the wild-cat man—Pittongu the fighting fox—Institution of marriage restrictions by a Thakomara man—Origin of historic men from Alcheringa ancestors—A snake man changing his totem in the Alcheringa—Karinji, the Jabiru man—The pelican, the ducks, and the crane—Murtu-murtu, the wild dogs and the bull-roarer—The snake Bobbi-bobbi—The snake Ulanji—Origin of the present marriage system in the Binbinga tribe—The ancestor of the dingo totem in the Binbinga tribe—The swamp lilies—The origin of different animals—The Idnimita man of Indiara—The Kulpu man—The Winithonguru man and the opossum man—The wind totem—Two Oruncha men—The Nanja—The origin of the Wilyaru ceremony in the Urabunna tribe.

IRRIA AND INUNGAMELLA THE RAIN-MAKERS

A MAN, named Inungamella, came down from the north, in the country of the Arunta tribe, to visit another called Irria, and tried his best to persuade the latter to go back with him, but he declined to do so. Then Inungamella himself returned, and on the way home sat down to rest behind a big sand-hill. Irria, who was a great rain-maker, started to make rain, wearing cockatoo feathers in his hair because in the Alcheringa the black cockatoo brought rain

down from the north. Very soon heavy rain fell, and then Inungamella came back to see what was happening, and found Irria still hard at work making rain. Irria took big lumps of gypsum out of his belly and gave them to Inungamella, telling him to take them with him as they would enable him to make rain. He also told him that, when performing the ceremony, he was only to paint one band round his body, but on no account was he to cover his face so as to make himself blind (*okiltja*), whilst he, Irria, would always do this. Then Inungamella went away north to the Erlithera Creek in the Eastern Macdonnell Ranges, and put the lumps of gypsum in the ground. These, which represented clouds, enabled him, as Irria said they would do, to make rain, and at the same spot he also made a big *oknanikilla* (totem centre) of the rain totem, so that this is now a great rain country.

The Emu Man and Central Mount Stuart

An emu man, named Ululkara, who was a Bulthara, came up from the west to a place named Upmarkunja, which is now called Central Mount Stuart, and there found a lot of emu men eating emu, and asked them why they did not give him some. This made them very angry, and so they killed him, and the hill arose to mark the spot, which is now a great emu *oknanikilla*. A pinnacled hill close by, called Allatthara, represents an Alcheringa Kumara man of the Kupakupalpula (bell bird) totem. He was *iturka* —that is, always on the look-out to catch women who were not his lawful wives.

The Old Man Illippa and the Lubras

In the Alcheringa some lubras of the Yelka (*Cyperus rotundus*) totem lived at a place called Illippa, in Kaitish country, and constantly walked about there, gathering the bulb to eat. They used to throw all of their husks on to one spot, and a hill arose there called Pulira. After some time an old man, named Ilpiritnata, came from Ilpiri and

wanted to take one of the lubras away with him, but she declined to go, so he went away for a short time and then returned. He was again unsuccessful, and at last he went back finally to his own camp, and went down into the earth near to where is now Barrow Creek station, a broken hill arising to mark the spot. Later on, another old man, named Illippa, who lived close by the lubras' camp, came up and tried to take one of the women away, but she also declined to go. Then he went back to his camp, and returned to where the lubras sat, holding his left hand out towards the woman and his tomahawk over his right shoulder, saying, "Why do you not come with me?" Seizing her by the hair he attempted to drag her away, but she resisted him, and then he struck her on the neck with his tomahawk and killed her. The other lubras cried long and loudly, and the old man went back to his camp at Illippa, where he made *quabara* (ceremonies) of the wild-cat totem, and at last died there forming a big *oknanikilla*. The man was a Panunga and the woman a Purula whom he might lawfully have married.

Stealing of Churinga

A Panunga man of the Kaitish tribe, whose name was Erlia (emu), which was also his totem, arose in the Alcheringa at Purnpa, about twelve miles to the north of Barrow Creek, and went away to a place called Allalgera, where there were a great many emu men who possessed many Churinga. He sat down close beside them, saying to himself, "I wonder whether they will give me any Churinga." They were silent and did not offer him any. After a time they went out to hunt emu, on which they fed, but the stranger said that his legs were too tired for him to go with them, so he remained alone in the camp. When they were well out of sight he began searching about and found a bag of Churinga. One of the local people, however, named Tiniokita, did not go very far away with the others, but remained to dig up some yams, and, having done this, returned to the camp just in time to see the stranger opening the bag. He said, "What are you stealing

that Churinga for?" Being old he was unable to follow the stranger, who at once took to his heels, carrying away with him half of the store of Churinga. He took them to Purnpa, and when he died there they remained behind, and so gave rise to an emu *oknanikilla*. Later on, since the Alcheringa, some of these Churinga have been burnt in a bush fire, and so no spirit children can come from them.

THUNGALLA AND MURUNDA

An old Thungalla man of the Kaitish tribe, named Murunda, of the grass-seed totem, walked about in the Alcheringa carrying Churinga with him. He met a young Thungalla man of the same totem to whom he gave a Churinga, telling him at the same time that his name was Arabinia-urungwinnia; he also said, "When I die you must take my Churinga and put them with yours, and take care of them." The old Murunda died soon afterwards and went into the ground, and a big stone, called Alkarilkara, arose and represents his organs, which were abnormally developed. From this stone evil magic can now be made to emanate. The young Thungalla then started to walk about, and at night time when he slept he put his Churinga under his head. At length he began to look out for a place where his Churinga would be safe when he died. He walked away from his camp to a tree some distance off, but looking back found that he could see the camp, and said, "No, this is too close, the lubras might see them"; he walked on, stopped, and again looked back, but could still see his camp; he did this twice more, but the third time he came to the conclusion that he was far enough away, and so he decided to put his Churinga in the ground, thereby forming an *oknanikilla*. Here he stayed, gathering grass seed for a long time. At last he walked back by another track to the tree from which he had started, and finally went into the ground there. That tree became his *nanja* tree, where his spirit dwelt, though it continually paid visits to the Churinga in the *oknanikilla*. Before, however, Murunda died an Umbitjana man of the Atnunga (rabbit bandicoot) came from a long

way off in the west country, and, stopping for a night at a spot some distance from where Murunda was living, went to sleep. In the morning he got up and smelt a strong smell coming from the direction in which he was travelling, and said, "Hullo! that may be a kangaroo which the wild dogs are trying to kill and eat; I will go and see what it is." So he travelled along to the east, following up the smell for many miles until, at last, he came to the spot at which Murunda was lying down on the ground. The stranger said to Murunda, "Oh, that is your smell, is it?" and Murunda replied, "Yes, I am an old man, and all day long I sit down here." Then the Atnunga man left him and went on for some distance until he came upon a very old man named Atnunga-urlunda (*urlunda* = dried and wrinkled skin). This man was of the Atnunga totem, and the stranger, seeing that he was very old, called him *arunga* (grandfather), for he was an Umbitjana man like himself, and therefore his father's father. They camped together, and the old man being very tired gave the younger one an Atnunga Churinga, and told him to go and hunt for the animal (rabbit bandicoot), and dig it out of its hole with the Churinga. He went out accordingly, and after catching some brought them into the old man, who cooked and eat them all up, and once more sent the younger man out on the same errand. He began to dig one out of its hole, but just as he got close to it it jumped up and ran away; he followed it, and it ran into another hole, which he dug up with just the same success. This was repeated several times, and at last, being angry, he threw his Churinga after it, but missed the animal, and the sacred object split into two—two stones arising to mark the spot. Still chasing it he dug out another hole, and again the animal escaped, but a little further on it went into a hole, and this time was captured by another Atnunga man, an Uknaria, who lived there and had a big stomach. The stranger sat down beside him wondering whether the man was going to give him any of the flesh. The Uknaria man cut the animal up the wrong way, disjointing it instead of cutting it straight up the middle, so the stranger showed him the proper way to do it, after which the Uknaria gave him the Atnunga, which

he at once took back to the old man's camp. On arriving there he could not see him, and said, "Hullo! my mate has walked away." Then he tracked him up to where the old man, being very feeble, had crawled on hands and knees, and there he found him dead. Then he returned to the old camp and finally died there, a great gum-tree arising to mark the spot.

IRRITJA-PUNTJA, CENTRAL MOUNT WINNECKE

In the Alcheringa an ancient eagle-hawk (Irritja) of the Unmatjera tribe sat down at Irritja-puntja, which means eagle-hawk's hill. In his camp by the side of a water-hole, called Illapunpilla, he had many Churinga and eggs out of which, later on, came some young eagle-hawks. One day another old eagle-hawk, whose camp was at Irultja, away out to the west, looked out and said to himself, "Hullo! I see a lot of eagle-hawks; I will go and visit them." So he flew across and sat down beside the old bird on the hill at Irritja-puntja. Now, the hawk from Irultja had no Churinga, so he was anxious to try and persuade the other one to come over with him and bring their Churinga. After a time he spoke and said, "You sit down in the sunlight too much; why do you not come across to my country where there is plenty of shade in the scrub?" But the old eagle-hawk took no notice of him. Then, after waiting patiently for some time in the hope that a Churinga would be given to him, he said, "Suppose you gave me that Churinga." But still the old bird took no notice of him, and presently the visitor went up into the sky with the young birds to hunt for wallaby, on which they fed, for they did not eat eagle-hawk, fearing lest it would turn them grey, as it always does, except in the case of very old people. While they were away the old Irritja on the hill, who had stayed behind to guard his Churinga, felt hungry, and searched around near to the camp for wallaby. He caught one, and was eating it when, unfortunately, a bone got crosswise in his throat and choked him, so that he died. The other eagle-hawk up in the sky saw what had happened, and said

to the young birds, "Hullo! the old man is dead." They all hurried back to the hill, and the elder one stood by and watched the younger ones cut their breasts with little Churinga and decorate themselves with *undattha* (birds' down), and then they all flew away into the sky. By and by they returned and sat down on the hill, where at length the young ones died. Finally the old one, who remained there and survived them all, died and went into the ground, and thus there was formed a big eagle-hawk *oknanikilla.* Before he died he made a large *nurtunja* or sacred pole, which he placed on his head; it went right through his body, and a big stone called *Nurtunja Irritja* arose to mark the spot.

Origin of the Unmatjera

In the Alcheringa an old crow man sat down at Ungurla by the side of what is now called the Woodforde River in Kaitish country. He arose at first from a Churinga, and when he came out he looked at himself and said, "I think that I must be a hawk; but no—I am too black." Then he thought that he was an eagle-hawk, but decided that he had too much wing; then he looked at his arms, out of which black feathers had sprouted, and said, "I am a crow." When the sun shone he sat out on the top of a hill warming himself, and when it set he went back to his Churinga camp and slept there. One day he saw, far away in the distance, a lot of *inmintera*—that is, incomplete men and women—belonging to the Unmatjera tribe. He decided to go over and make them into men and women. He did this by means of his beak, and then returned to his camp and there made a *churinga lelira*, a sacred stone knife, with which he intended to come back and circumcise them. Meanwhile, however, two old Parenthie lizard men had come up from far away to the south, and, with their teeth, they both circumcised and subincised the men, and performed the operation of *atna-arilthа-kuma* upon the women. When the old crow had got his *lelira* ready and was just about to start, he looked out and saw that the two Parenthies had been before

him, and so as there was nothing further for him to do, he stayed at Ungwurla, and there he died. A big black stone marks the spot, and in the *ertnatulunga* there his *lelira* is kept, as well as a number of stones which are Churinga, and represent the eggs which he used to void in place of the usual excrement.

UNKURTA THE JEW-LIZARD MAN

In the Alcheringa a Bulthara man of the Unmatjera tribe arose at a place called Umuli-illa-unquia-inika, in the Harts Range. At first he had the form of a little lizard called *Amunga-quinia-quinia*,[1] a word derived from *amunga*, fly, and *quinia*, to snap up quickly, in consequence of the habit of the animal; then he looked at himself and said "Hullo, I have got bristles like a porcupine." At first he was stiff and could not walk, but he lay down all day long in the sunlight, and warmed himself and stretched his legs. After a time he looked at himself and saw that he was not a porcupine, but an Unkurta, a jew-lizard.[2] He still lay quiet, and, later on, again looked and saw on the ground beside him another little Unkurta, who had come from him, and he said "Hullo, that is all the same as me"; again and again he looked, with the same result, and each time he said, "Hullo, that is all the same as me," until finally there were a large number of Unkurtas around him, all of whom had sprung from his body. Then, after a time, he saw one die, and said, "That is me dead—I will go and bury him in the ground; no, I am too sorry to do that—I will bury him in a tree." For a long time he remained quietly in the one spot, and continually looked at himself until gradually he increased and became great in the flesh, and grew into an *oknirabata*—a great and wise man.

After he had grown thus he left his camp and travelled away to a place called Unqurtunga, where he saw a Kumara man of the Iwuta (nail-tailed wallaby) totem named Aril-

[1] Compare the legend of the *Amunga-quinia-quinia* in the Arunta tribe. *N.T.* p. 389.

[2] This is *Amphibolurus barbatus*.

kara. First of all, he told him that if he lay down quietly and went to sleep and woke up he would see another Iwuta beside him, all the same as himself, and then another and another, and so on until there were a great number of Iwutas. Then, if he continued to look at himself, he would increase in size and become great in the flesh and an *oknirabata* just as he, Unkurta himself, had done. Finally, he told him to instruct the Iwutas who should spring from his body that when he, Arilkara, died they were not to bury him in the ground, but in a tree, and, further, that he should instruct his sons to go out and teach other men to bury their dead in trees. Then Unkurta travelled on and the Iwuta did as he had told him to do, and things happened just as he said that they would. The Iwuta increased and became great in the flesh, and an *oknirabata* and a large number of Iwutas arose from him.

Unkurta next came to a place called Intukina, where there lived a man named Qualpa, who was an Appungerta of the Qualpa totem (a long-tailed rat). Unkurta said to him, "My name is Unkurta; I had no mother; I have seen plenty of Unkurtas sitting down beside me, and said, These are all the same as myself; they came from me. Then for a long time I looked at myself and grew in size, until my flesh became great and I grew into an *oknirabata*. By and by plenty of picaninnies will come to you, as they did to me, and they will be just the same as you, and when you see them you will say, 'Hullo, that is me,' and, again, 'Hullo, that is me,' and a big crowd will sit down beside you. Then, if you go on looking at yourself, you will become great in the flesh and an *oknirabata*." Then Unkurta asked Qualpa, "What do you do when another man dies?" and he replied, "I do not bury him, I throw him away anywhere along the ground." Then Unkurta said that it was not good to throw him away like that; but that if he felt really sorry he ought to bury him in a tree, and said, "Tell your sons to put you up in a tree when you are dead, and tell them to teach other men to do the same."

Then he travelled on to Awampana, and there met a Kumara man named Waratah, who was an Arawa, a small

wallaby. Unkurta said to him, "What is your name?" and he said "It is Waratah." He, in his turn, asked the same question, and Unkurta told him, and said that he had plenty of children at his own camp, and that by and by the wallaby man would have plenty who would spring from himself. The wallaby, when he first arose, had looked at himself, and had seen that on his side, under his arm, he had black hairs; then he looked at his arm and saw that it was short, and said, "Oh, I am all the same as a wallaby." He told this to Unkurta, who looked at him and said, "Yes, you are a wallaby all right; you have got hair all the same as a wallaby." Then in return the wallaby looked at Unkurta, and said that he had got prickly spines all over his body just as the jew-lizard has. After this Unkurta told him to look at himself, and by and by he would see young ones around him just like himself, and he would increase in the flesh and become an *oknirabata*. Then he told him that if his children died he was to bury them in trees, and that he was to tell his sons to bury him, Waratah, in a tree, supposing he died and had a big *ertnatulunga*.[1]

After this Unkurta travelled back to his own country, and close by his camp, at a place called Okalpara, he saw a rat man who was an Umbitjana, named Iltjikinja, of the Atnunga totem. This man sat down in the sandy country amongst the Aiuta—that is, the porcupine grass. When Unkurta first saw him he said, "That man is black; I think he must be an Atnunga[2] because he has hair all along his foot." Unkurta asked him what his name was, and he replied, "My name is Atnunga"; and Unkurta said, "I thought it was." The Atnunga said, "I jumped up amongst the porcupine grass; I have got no mother." Unkurta said, "That is right; your country and mine are close together." Then he told Atnunga once more what he had told all of the others. When Atnunga slept he placed his Churinga under his head, and when he arose in the morning he saw

[1] In the Unmatjera tribe, if a man is very old when he dies—so old that he cannot perform the totemic ceremonies or look after the *ertnatulunga* or sacred storehouse—he is said by the natives to have "lost his corrobboree," or to have no *ertnatulunga*, and is buried in the ground straight away.

[2] Rabbit-bandicoot, *Peragale lagotis*.

young ones around him, and said, "Oh, that is all the same as me"; and again, "Hullo, that is all the same as me," for there were a large number of little Atnungas, all of whom had sprung from him during the night. Then, after giving Atnunga the instructions with regard to looking upon himself, and other instructions with respect to burial, Unkurta at last went back to his own camp, and from there he sent his children out in various directions so that they might give rise to numbers of Unkurta *oknanikillas* (local totem centres), telling them that they were to teach all the black-fellows to bury in trees and to beware of wild dogs. The young Unkurtas, however, looked at their prickles and said, "No wild dogs will touch us." Then, being a very old man, Unkurta died, lying down upon his Churinga, but he left many others in a hole in the rocks close by, and from them Unkurta men and women have arisen ever since.

THE ERTWAININGA WOMEN

The following tradition refers to the walking about of various groups of women all of whom are spoken of as *Ertwaininga*. The first relates to a number of Kumara women who walked across the Unmatjera country to Central Mount Stuart from somewhere out west. They belonged to the Namungi-yera (a little bird) totem, and were supposed to have come from the country beyond the sea. As they marched along they left women behind them at various spots, thus forming *oknanikillas*. One of them was left with the celebrated Alcheringa man named Unkurta, whom they came across during the course of their wanderings. The latter took place at an early time when there were yet many *inter-intera* (half formed human beings), of whom they appear to have been very frightened, as, on seeing them, they always went down into the ground and travelled on out of their sight. From the country of the Unmatjera they went on to that of another tribe (probably the Ilpirra), by whom they were called Quaralkinja, but by the Unmatjera they were called, and called themselves, *Ertwaininga*, and, like most of the women who figure in

the Alcheringa traditions, they carried yam-sticks instead of Churinga.

The second tradition refers to a company of women, some of whom were Panunga of the Erlia (emu) totem, and others Uknaria of the Impi-impi (a bird) totem. They travelled to the west from a place called Erlakerra away out amongst the sand-hills. They were called Arita because they had stiff legs. At Central Mount Stuart they left some of their party with the emu men, and on the other side of the hill they met some Ungalla men, who were also emus, and left women with them; in addition they left some more behind along the banks of a creek which runs out from the hill, so that now, close to Central Mount Stuart, there are three *oknanikillas* near to one another, one belonging to the emu, a second (made by the *Ertwaininga* women) to the Namungi-yera, and a third to the Impi-impi totem.

The third tradition relates to the wanderings of some Appungarti and Bulthara women of the Iralla (a beetle) totem. They started out from the Harts Range from a place called Unjanjuka, leaving behind them in their old camp a woman of that name. Thence they travelled away to the north-west. At Ilko-ordna they found two women who were Umbitjana, and belonged to the Urakulpa (plum-tree) totem, one of whom is now reincarnated and living on the Stirling Creek.

The fourth tradition is concerned with both men and women. According to this some *Ertwaininga* women of the plum-tree totem came through from the Ilpirra country towards Central Mount Stuart in the Unmatjera country. Here they met with some Ungalla men of the wild-dog totem. The women were Umbitjana, and one of them had a young child born while she was travelling through the country of the wild dogs. The child was of course Panunga, and the lubra, not wanting to be troubled with it while she travelled along, was going to kill it when one of the wild-dog men came up and said that if she did so he would kill her, put her in a hole, and sit down on the top of it. Accordingly she thought better of it, and left the child behind with the wild-dog man, who kept her for his

wife when she grew up. One day two *Kurdaitchas*[1] came up and saw the wild-dog man, who was searching in a hole for wild dogs on which he fed, while his lubra was standing some little distance away by the side of a fire. The wild dog was down a hole which turned at right angles, so he could not see the *Kurdaitchas* who came up, caught hold of the woman and broke her ribs. The wild-dog man soon afterwards came up out of the hole, and the two *Kurdaitchas* stood to one side, hidden in the scrub. The man had caught a rat down the hole, and he came up to the fire and cooked it, the lubra eating a little of it. She did not tell him about the *Kurdaitchas*, being too frightened to do so. Then they both went back to their own camp, and when it was dark the *Kurdaitchas* came sneaking up. One said to the other, "You catch hold of the lubra and I will seize the old man." Then they came quietly up, and, while one of them seized the man and screwed his neck round, the other killed the woman with a yam-stick, a big stone arising to mark the spot. The two *Kurdaitchas* had at first intended going to a country some distance off in search of wild dogs, but after this they returned to their camp.

THE WANDERINGS OF TWO PARENTHIES

Two Parenthie lizards,[2] who were elder and younger brothers, came away from the south into the country of the Unmatjera, and finding there some men and women, whom the old crow had transformed out of *Inmintera* creatures, they operated upon the men, both circumcising and subincising them. When all was over they said to the men, "Do not say anything to the lubras about what has been done to you, because it is Churinga and must not be known by women, and then they will think that you arose just as you are." The men promised to do as they were told, and, looking at themselves, said that they were like the Parenthies.

[1] A *Kurdaitcha* is a man who is supposed to go out secretly wearing feather shoes to kill an enemy.

[2] *Varanus giganteus.*

The younger Parenthie then said to the elder, "Shall we leave the women incomplete and not cut them also; we have cut the men, why not cut the women too?" The elder brother did not answer, being afraid that the women might die if they cut them, but at last he decided to do so, and performed the operation of *atna-ariltha-kuma* upon all of them. This done, the two lizards turned back intending to go straight to their own country, but they lost their way. The big brother sat down and they camped for the night. The younger leaned with his front legs up against a tree, but the elder one sat up straight all night and watched. At daybreak they were up and about, looking for their old tracks, and, having found them, said that they had come from the south-west, and called the place Panda. As they travelled along, the elder lizard micturated, and thus gave rise to *equina*, a whitish friable stone, much used by the natives for the painting of designs during the performance of ceremonies, and they called the spot at which he did so *mira-atna-rulika*. Then after they had gone a little farther on, the younger brother observed that his elder brother was too old to go much farther that day, so they camped and called the spot Unquirlitha. As they travelled on they both, in the same way as before, made supplies of *equina* for the natives to use, the elder brother making it in one place and the younger in another. Farther on they saw a mob of wild dogs camped under a tree. The younger brother walked quietly on the tip of his toes, the elder brother following. They decided first of all to kill one each, and then give chase to the rest. Accordingly they did so, and after having each killed one they pursued the others in opposite directions. The little brother ran up a tree which broke down and delayed him, but the elder one ran straight on and caught several of them. The younger brother said, "Shall we take their insides out now, on the spot?" but the elder one said "No; we will carry them along to our own camp." They did so, and after arriving there they exchanged the dogs which they had first killed, took their insides out, and found that they smelt badly. While they were doing this an opossum came up on to a tree

close by and began growling at them. The younger brother climbed up after it; he tried to get it down, but could not do so at first, until the elder brother told him to hit it with a stick, which he did, and down it came straight on to his face, scratching him badly. In the morning they started off again, and found a kangaroo which had been killed and left by the wild dogs, and carried it along with them to a camp, by the side of a water-hole which they called Ilka-lakulaka. The surface of the water was covered with a thick green scum, which they swished off with their tails before drinking. Then they cooked and eat the kangaroo. Travelling on they made more *equina*, and the next night had to camp without any food. At daybreak they heard the wild dogs howling. The younger brother went a roundabout way and hid behind a bush, while the elder went in a direction from which he could drive them straight towards where his younger brother was hidden. The latter killed one and chased another into a hole, up to which both of the brothers came. They looked down and discussed the best way in which to get him out. The younger brother suggested digging him out with yam-sticks, but the elder said, "No, I will tear the hole open with my tail"; he did so, and the younger brother caught hold of the dog and killed him as he came out and tried to run away. They called the place Tjapa, which means tearing out. They carried the dogs to Undatja, where they found water, cooked and eat the animals, eating them all up insides and everything, because they were very hungry. The elder brother was now getting very tired, and told his brother that he thought he would lose him soon. Still they travelled on, constantly making *equina*, the younger brother in the lead, the elder brother beginning to fall a little behind. They found an Iltjiquarra—a black lizard[1]—and the elder brother said to him, "Why do you sit down altogether black?" Then the Iltjiquarra went to one side of the track and the Parenthies to the other, the latter saying to the former, "We start away from here at break of day tomorrow." They named that place Iltjiquarrapinna. The elder brother was now so weak that he could not walk

[1] *Varanus punctatus.*

steadily, and as they travelled on towards the west they came to a place called Illia-la-kulaka, where at first he wanted to remain behind and die, but, making an effort, he managed to crawl on again. His long tail dragged behind him as he walked slowly on, making a creek called Latinja. At length they got back to their own country. The younger brother said, "Shall we lie down on our backs?" but the elder did not answer. The younger then said, "Shall we lie down on our sides?" but the elder replied, "No, we will stand up," and they did so, one on either side of a water-hole with their forefeet extended, and there they died. Two great stones arose to mark the spot, and on the top of each of these there is a hole in which are placed a number of round Churinga stones, representing the eggs which the lizards used to carry about in a cavity on the top of their heads. This is now a great lizard *oknanikilla*, but, because the Churinga are safely hidden away on the top of the stone columns, quite out of sight, men and women may all drink at the water-hole.

The Euro and the Lightning

A little euro arose in the country of the Kaitish tribe, and by and by a lubra of the Miniria (a lizard, *Moloch horridus*) totem came up and, finding it alone, gave it milk to drink. She then went away in search of a little red berry, called Katjera, and coming back again left her supply at the camp of an Ertua (wild turkey) man, who was her husband, and went to the euro and gave it milk. Every day she did this, the Ertua man knowing nothing whatever about the little euro, but thinking that the woman simply left his camp in search of food. The euro, meanwhile, of course, grew in size, and, when the lubra came one day as usual to give him milk, he sat up, refused to take any, and ran a long way off to a soakage where there was water and where he camped. In the morning he started off again and, walking along, put his foot into a rat-hole, and very nearly tumbled over, but jumped back just in time. He travelled along a creek called Illpilka, following this down for some distance to

Unquaruda, where he met with a large number of Iguana women, who tried to fight him with lightning, but they could not catch him, as he was too quick for them, and, instead of their killing him, he struck them with his lightning and then eat them all up. As he travelled on in the direction of Anira, the great centre of the rain country, he met a man of the Ilpirapinja (wren) totem, whom he killed with his lightning. Then he went up a hill, scratching the sand with his fingers as he did so. After this he travelled along on all fours through a gap in the hills, and came across a camp of lubras who belonged to the rain totem, and were his *uwinnas* (father's sisters). They offered him grass seed to eat, but he was angry and would not eat it, and threw it away, because they would not allow him to have intercourse with them as he desired to do. The lubras, not being of the right class for him to marry, were very angry with him, and killed him with their *pitchis*.

The euro had a Churinga representing the lightning, and he went down into the earth carrying this with him, and the lubras, whose grass seeds were their Churinga, went down on the top of him, and so formed a big *oknanikilla*.

ILLINJA THE OPOSSUM MAN, AND MURUNDA THE GRASS-SEED MAN

In the Alcheringa two beings came out of a small hole in the ground close to a rock-hole called Akalperra, out to the west of Barrow Creek. One, the elder man, was a Thungalla, and the other an Umbitjana. The Thungalla looked at his shadow (*illinja*) and called himself Illinja. At first down grew all along his arms and hair on his head, and his eyes became big and stood out like those of the Tittherai bird. The two men discussed matters, and Umbitjana said to the Thungalla, "You and I sit down little birds," but Thungalla said, "No, we sit down black-fellows, and we belong to the same country." Then he said, "You have got no father, you are my child, you are Umbitjana," and it was decided that Thungalla was an opossum, because fur had grown on him like that of an opossum, and his eyes

were prominent, and that Umbitjana was a grass-seed man, and that his name was Murunda. Umbitjana said to the Thungalla man, "You belong to the *Kartwia illinja* (shade country), and your name is Illinja." They were still both of them but small in size, and Thungalla watched by the hole while Umbitjana was inside sleeping. At sunrise they got up and went into a tree and warmed themselves, and in the heat they gradually grew and grew, until at last they were men with whiskers. One night Illinja was awakened by a curious noise, so he roused Murunda, and together they listened quietly. Away in the Unmatjera country the bell bird, Akapailapaila, used to swing his Churinga all day and all night, at a place called Kalladampunga, and it was this that they heard. While they sat up listening, something passed close by their heads with a whizz and, very frightened, they lay down, the Umbitjana underneath and the Thungalla on the top of him. It was the bell bird's Churinga which had broken loose from its string and flown right away to the sea. By and by the bird itself came along, tracking up the Churinga by means of the little bits of down which tumbled off as it whizzed along. The bird collected some of this, but could not get the Churinga, and returned to the camp, where he found that his shield was on fire, and it was while trying to put the fire out that he singed his breast, which has ever since borne the brown mark. When he had gone back again Illinja and Murunda set off in order to see whether they could not recover the Churinga, and as they went along they picked up bits of the down. They came to the spot at which it was stuck firmly in the mud by the sea-shore, and, taking hold of the end of the string, pulled away hard at this, but all to no purpose, for, instead of securing the Churinga, the string broke, and back they tumbled head over heels. Taking the string with them, they returned on their tracks, and when they got back to camp could not, at first, find their Churinga which they had left behind them. They saw the tracks of a lubra and, after a lot of searching, discovered two out of their four Churinga. They had no weapons, but, taking with them the two Churinga which were left, they

started off to track up the lubra, whose name was Amurlinjalunga. Seeing a smoke they went to the spot, and recognised the woman, who belonged to the grass-seed totem, and was grinding grass seed when they arrived on the scene. Just as they came up she walked away to get a little bush on which to place the cake which she had made. At first she told the men that she had no food, but, after a time, she offered them a little of her cake, which, however, they declined. Then she said, "What shall I give you?" but without replying Illinja, who was standing close to her, split her head open with a Churinga, so that she died. The Churinga itself smashed into two. They searched through her camp, and at last found the stolen Churinga, which the lubra had hidden away in a *pitchi.* Then they returned to their camp at Akalperra, and all day long made sacred ceremonies, decorating themselves alternately. One night Thungalla got up and made a ceremony while Umbitjana went on quietly sleeping, which rather annoyed Illinja, who threw stones at him. Waking up, Murunda said, "Shall I come and beat boomerangs together?" but there was no reply from Illinja. Then he said, "Shall I beat the ground with boomerangs?" Still no reply. After a time Illinja said, "No, you can come and dance round and shout, *Wha! wha! lu! lu!*" and he did so. Then Murunda painted himself and Illinja danced. Next day they went out and picked a lot of grass-seed down, and brought it home and prepared it on a stone. They were now growing into old men, and they tied up each other's hair, and alternately wore the Churinga on their heads, finally putting them in the hole in the ground where they concealed them. After some time an old lame Thungalla man who was an opossum came up. His camp was at Indu-ai-illpurra, close to that of the two other men. He looked around and saw plenty of down. Then Illinja said to Murunda, "Shall we kill this man?" and he said, "Yes, we will," for they thought that he had come up to steal their Churinga, just as the lubra had done before. Then they said to him, "We are hungry; we have eaten nothing all day"; and the lame man said, "We belong to the same country; we will sit

down together." They gave him some down, and as he stooped down Illinja killed him with a Churinga. After this Murunda cleared a space, and, cutting off the head, buried it, and afterwards the body. Then the old Thungalla man went down, followed by the Umbitjana man, who, when he had sunk down to his waist, gathered all of the Churinga together, and took them with him, so that they made an *oknanikilla* of both the opossum and the grass-seed totem.

THE MOON AND THE LUBRAS

The moon, who was originally a man and a Purula, came up at Uningamara in Kaitish country and took a Panunga woman as his wife; she had a child, and then he deserted her, went to another place, and calling himself an Appungerta, took a Kumara lubra, whom he deserted after she had had a child. Then in turn he took Thungalla, Umbitjana, Appungarti, Uknaria, Kumara, Purula, and Kabbidji women, and gave them up one after the other. After this he lived at Kullakulla with a large number of wives, all of whom belonged to the Uningara (a little bird) totem. While he was here a man named Endupruk, a Kabbidji of the magpie totem, came up and wanted to take an Umbitjana lubra who was not his lawful wife. The moon asked him what he wanted, and said that that was not his proper wife, and that he must always take a Kumara. The moon man said, "You always look out straight and take my child; do not look at a *mura* woman." Another man named Pulla came up from the sea to Kullakulla; he was a Purula, and stole an Uknaria woman named Alpita, who was *unkulla* to him, and therefore not his proper wife. The other lubras tried to stop him, but could not.

Still later a number of men came up to his camp from Aroitjarunga, where they lived, in search of wives, but the moon told them to go back again, because the women all belonged to him. However, they came back a little later on, and the moon decided that he would give them wives. Having had much experience, he also gave them instructions as to which was the right woman for each man to marry.

To a Kumara man he gave a Bulthara woman, to a Purula a Panunga, to an Appungarti an Umbitjana, to an Uknaria a Thungalla. The moon man led the lubras out one by one to the proper men, and told them always to marry straight in that way, and not to take wrong lubras. Finally, he left himself with only a Panunga lubra, who continued to live with him at Kullakulla. One day he went out to Itungulpa, where he looked around and saw the lubras who belonged to Ilparitnanta, and came back and told his wife that he had seen them. Finally an old man named Okinja-alungara came up to steal a lubra, and the moon, who was very angry, said, "What are you doing with my daughter?" Just as the old man seized her the moon man lifted up his stone tomahawk and killed him. Soon after this he himself died and went up into the sky, and now he can be seen in the moon with his tomahawk lifted up ready to strike.

ILTJERKNA AND ILLINJA AND THE EATING OF GRASS SEED

An old Anthinna (opossum) man named Iltjerkna, who was a Thungalla of the Kaitish tribe, came from Injinminja. He met another opossum man named Illinja, who had been gathering *allia*, the seed of a gum-tree, and had ground it down on a stone and then put on the fire to roast. It did not cook properly, and he put his thumb into it to taste it, but was not satisfied with the flavour. He rubbed his thumb down his chest, making a brownish mark which the opossum has had ever since. Iltjerkna told him that he ought not to eat much but only a very little of the *allia*. Now Illinja was accustomed to gathering large quantities of the seed, and he told Iltjerkna that if he were hungry he should still continue to do so. Iltjerkna said, "If you eat too much, then by and by you will swell up," and then he caught Illinja by the hand and the two men sang together, Iltjerkna hoping by this means to stop Illinja from eating too much seed. He was successful and Illinja eat less afterwards. All day long Iltjerkna watched Illinja, and at night-time the two men slept. In the middle of the night Iltjerkna got

up and began to perform Intichiuma, and looking around he said, "Who is asleep there?" for beside Illinja he saw another man, who had arisen from the *allia* which they had placed on one side. Iltjerkna looked at Illinja and said to him, "That man is all the same as you and me—why did he come up?" Then he took a Churinga and struck the man on the back so that he died. Then they cut him in pieces, throwing the intestines in one direction, the head, heart, liver, lungs, etc., in other directions. After this the man Illinja still went on eating plenty of *allia*, and again Iltjerkna remonstrated with him. Illinja now took his Churinga and meditated which way he should walk. First of all he thought that he would go to the south, then to the north, then to the east. Each time he decided, "No, I will not go that way." All this time Iltjerkna sat still, watching him, but saying nothing. At last Illinja started and walked a little way, looked back and saw the camp, and said, "No, I am too near yet," and a tree arose to mark the spot. Three times he halted, a tree arising on each occasion, and then he came to a hill and climbed it, and looking back from the top found that he could not see his camp. All the time Iltjerkna had been stealing along quietly behind him until he came to the hill which was called Ania-ania. Here Illinja erected a Churinga in the ground and a plum-tree arose, then he struck the rock with his Churinga, making a hole into which both he and Iltjerkna went, forming thus an *oknanikilla*. In the Alcheringa, in the time of these two, the opossum men did not eat opossum but *allia*, the seed of the gum-tree.

An Emu Woman and Men

There was in the Alcheringa an old emu (Atnulungu) woman of the Kaitish tribe named Arinpipa, who was an Uknaria. She laid an egg, and getting up in the morning saw that a man had come out from it. He was a Panunga named Ullabaya. Then she laid another, and out of this there came an Appungerta man whose name was Quaral-il-pinna, which means "self come up." Then she laid another egg, from which came another Appungerta whose name was

Allunganmerra. After this she died and went into the ground, carrying her Churinga with her. The two Appungerta and the Panunga man remained behind, and after a time an old emu man named Ingarbigwa came up from Allalgera. When he got to their camp he saw nothing but fire and smoke, for the men had disappeared; so he went back. The men had really dived into a hollow tree when they saw him approaching, for fear lest he might have come up wanting to take their Churinga away. When he had gone they came out again and walked about eating charcoal and witchetty grubs. Once more the old man came up, and down they dived, so that he saw nothing save a cloud of dust. The old man returned, and when he had been gone some time one of the men peeped out and just caught sight of him in the distance. Then they all came out and went on eating witchetties. Again he returned and again they dived down; he said to himself, "Why do they always want to go down into that hollow tree?" This kind of thing went on for some time, until one evening the old man came up from Allalgera, hid himself behind a bush, and waited quietly till they came out at daylight. They went a long way off in search of witchetties, and he watched them until they were out of sight. Then he came out of his hiding-place and stole most of their Churinga, which they had left behind, and carried them away with him to Allalgera. Near sunset the three men returned and said, "Hullo, who has been here?" The man had taken eight and left four of their Churinga. Taking those that were left they dived down into the ground and came out at Burnia, a long way off, where there is a soakage; but they said, "No, this is too near," so they dived again and came up at Kurndida, but were not satisfied yet, so again they dived and came up at Alilpurta, another soakage; dived again and came up at Tjipalalkara, where they went "crazy" and lost some of their Churinga, so that there is an emu *oknanikilla* there. At last they dived and came out on the tableland country at Munkitera and remained, forming an *oknanikilla*. That place is now in Warramunga country, and two Warramunga men have charge of it.

THREE YARUMPA MEN AND THE ORUNTJA

Three men who belonged to the Unmatjera tribe, and were of the Yarumpa totem (honey ant), arose in the Alcheringa. One of them, the father, was an Appungerta, and the other two, his sons, were Panunga. The father, whose name was Illiaba, stayed at Arunbia while one of the Panunga men walked away to Akurpilla. Here he saw an Appungerta man, who cracked a stick and made sacred ceremonies. The Panunga man said, "That is my son," and asked him what he was looking out for. He replied, "I am looking out for you." Then the Panunga man said, "When I go back to my father I shall go in search of lubras, away out in the Andigera country (south-west)." The Appungerta then said to him, "Do you want my Churinga?" but he answered, "No, because your and my country are the same." Then the former went back to his father's camp at Arunbia. When he got back his younger brother said, "Which way shall we walk?" The elder brother said, "We will go and look for lubras." They walked, and having reached Illura, a big clay pan, found a great number of lubras there of all classes, but all belonging to the Irriakura[1] totem. The two men put bunches of mulga twigs in their waist-belts, and the women stood up and looked at them. The men said, "We are Panunga, which lubra is the straight one for us?" One lubra said, "This one," pointing to a Purula woman, "is the straight one for you," and then the lubras stood up in a line. One of them said that she was Umbitjana, and the Panunga man said that she was his *mia* (mother); another was an Ungalla, and he said that she was his *ilchella* (father's sister's daughter). Then the men again asked the women to tell them straight or they might go wrong. Finally they separated the Umbitjana and Purula women, and took them back with them to their father, who had remained behind at Arunbia. The Purula were the proper *unawa* (wives) of the Panunga men, and the Umbitjana of the Appungerta. When they came near to their own

[1] The edible bulb of *Cyperus rotundus*.

place they left the women at a water-hole not far away and walked up to their father's camp. The old man, their father, said, "What shall we do now? We will go out and hunt for wallaby." They did so, and brought them back into camp. The women meanwhile had been out searching for manna on the gum-trees, and some of this they gave to the Panunga men in return for a supply of meat which the men brought to their camp. Next day the two sons went out in search of more wallaby, while the old man remained in the home camp making preparations for the performance of sacred ceremonies. In the morning the father said, "When you two come home at night you come up to this fire; I will make my ceremony away over there." They went out all day catching wallaby for food, and when they returned in the late afternoon they went up first to the fire, as the old man had told them to do. The old man had decorated himself, ready for the performance, and was seated on the ground waiting. After a time the elder brother got up and began walking backwards and forwards. The old man then beckoned to him to come near and said to him, "This is my country." Then the elder brother called the younger up; before this he had remained seated by the fire, but now when called he approached, carrying an offering of food. After this had been presented to the old man he performed his ceremony, while the two sons danced round and round shouting "*Wha! wha!*" Finally they placed their hands on the man's head and the performance came to an end. The younger brother gave all of the wallabies which they had caught to the father, and the elder took the forehead-band from his own head and placed it as an offering on the shield. The younger brother had not yet spoken, but after the ceremony the father stroked his mouth with some mulga leaves and thus released him from the ban of silence. The same events, exactly, took place during the next few days, the two Panunga men also taking meat to the women and receiving manna in exchange. After this had gone on for some time an old Inarlinga (echidna) man who was an *Oruntja*, or mischievous spirit, came up from the south-west country and sat down watching them from the top of a hill close by. One morning as usual the two Panungas went

out after wallaby, each with a spear and a boomerang; the old man stopped in his camp. The two brothers separated, going to opposite sides of the hill on which, unknown to them, the Inarlinga sat. The younger killed a wallaby and dragged it out of its hole by its tail. The elder on the other side also killed a wallaby, and while doing this caught sight of the Inarlinga and said to himself, "Hullo, that is an *Oruntja;* I will kill it." He threw his boomerang at it, but the *Oruntja* made it curve round the hill so that it struck the younger brother on the other side. He cried out, "Oh, I am killed." The elder brother, seeing what had happened, ran back to his father's camp, whereupon the Inarlinga rolled himself up into a ball and came tumbling down the hillside, right into the middle of the old man's camp. The father and son saw it coming and dived down into the ground, but had not time enough to collect their Churinga, which they left behind them. Here the old Inarlinga sat down until he died.

Origin of Men of the Water Totem; A Purula Man splits into two

In the Alcheringa a man named Arininga, a Purula, arose at a small water-hole called Anira, in the country of the Kaitsh tribe. At sunset he slept, but when the sun rose the next morning he split into two, one of whom was a Kumara and the other a Purula. At sunset the two became one again, and went down into the water-hole. At daylight the man again came out and split into two, and after this the two men remained separate. In the early morning they were red, but during the day the heat of the sun made them black. Gradually also, as they sat out in the sunshine, they grew into big men, and after a time they increased very much in size and became *oknirabata* (great teachers). They went on and walked up to the top of a hill, where they stroked their whiskers, and then, coming down, went on for some distance and then climbed another hill on which again they sat down, this time back to back. Here they meditated for a long time, stroking their beards and peering around in all directions. At length they

went up a very high hill called Kararinna, where there is a water-hole and two big gum-trees indicating the exact spot where they sat down. While sitting down by the side of the water-hole they heard a baby cry out, and at once put barbs on the ends of their spears and set out in search of it. The old Kumara went straight towards the spot, but the Purula went round about and after a short time they found a Purula woman sitting with her baby on her knees. The Purula man showed himself to her, and then she was speared by the Kumara, who also killed the child. They took the inside out of the woman and sewed her up in the usual way with a wooden skewer, just as if she were a wallaby, and then they cooked and eat her. Having done this they stroked their whiskers, and out from them came a flood of water which flowed all over the country. First of all it was dark-coloured and then it was red. They allowed the water tc run a long distance and then, just at sunset, called it back again, beckoning to it with their fingers. At sunrise they allowed the water to flow out again, but kept watching it all day long as it flowed away through the scrub, being afraid that some other man would come up and seize it. Then they went on and sat down by the side of a large pool at Arunbia, and, again stroking their whiskers, two men came forth from them who were euro, and from that time to the present the men of the euro totem have been the *alquathara*, or mates of the water men, who wear euro teeth hanging down on each side of the head over their ears and may not kill the animal. All day long the two men went on making the water flow as they travelled across the country, and before they died they cut off their whiskers, and from them the clouds arose and went up into the sky. The whiskers, however, remained in the form of two large stones on the top of a hill where they sat down, and out of them came, at a later time, the rainbow, which is the son of the rain and is always anxious to stop the rain from falling. Where they went into the ground they made a big rain *oknanikilla*, and the father of the old man, who is now the head of the totem, was the reincarnation of the old Purula man.

TUMANA AND THE CHURINGA

Two men of the Bulthara class, whose names were Tumana, arose at a spot called Urtumana, in the country of the Luritja tribe. The name Tumana is given to the sound made by the swinging of the bull-roarer, and the two men had originally emanated from Churinga. They heard Atnatu, away up in the sky, making the noise with his Churinga, and wanted to imitate him, so they took a piece of bark, tied string on to it, and swung it round, but it did not make the right noise. At length they hit on the idea of making a Churinga out of mulga wood, which was a success, and they said that it was a very good one. Two wild dogs living not very far away, at a spot called Arungatairidina, heard them and said, "Hullo, what is it making that noise?" for the Tumana had a lot of Churinga, and twirled them all day long. Then the two dogs quietly sneaked up to Arungalla, and there they smelt the men and said, "Oh, they smell very good." Each of them then chased one of the Tumanas, and caught them just as they were going down into holes in the ground. The wild dogs cut the men's heads off, and then went back to their own camp. When they saw the wild dogs coming up, the Tumana had taken up the Churinga, but were not in time to hide them, and so they were all spilled on the ground. However, the dogs left them alone, and they gave rise to a big *oknanikilla.*

Close up to the country of the Tumanas lived two men named Kallidinlidina and Atnabubu, who saw the down which the Tumanas put on their Churinga, and which flew about in all directions when they swung them. Kallidinlidina was a Kabbidji, and had an Umbitjana lubra, who was not the straight wife for him. These two knew that the trees which sprang up wherever the down fell were not like the other trees, but arose to mark these special spots; the other black-fellows, however, knew nothing about this. It was they also who told the men always to make and swing the Churinga, when they were initiating the boys, for

they had seen the Tumana doing this. They had also seen the mob of men whom Atnatu had speared and taken away up into the sky because they did not swing the Churinga.

KULKUMBA AND THE IRUNTARINIA

In the Alcheringa a Kaitish lubra, whose name was Aiippa, placed a little Illuta (a small wallaby) boy named Kulkumba on the ground while she herself went off in search of *aiippa* (a grass seed). She left him at Illkurtilla, and another lot of Illuta women came up and found him there, but did not take him away with them. He himself was searching for *aiippa.* The mother returned before very long, but could find no trace of the child, and, seeing the tracks of the other lubras, went after them and asked if they had seen him, and, if so, which way he had gone. They replied that they had seen him standing up at Illkurtilla, but had left him alone. The mother then went back with them to their camp. Meanwhile the *iruntarinia* (spirit) of Kulkumba's father had come up and taken the child away with him to Anuria. The lubras used to draw water at a native well not far from Anuria, and one day they saw a big smoke there and a great spear sticking up in the midst of it, which belonged to the *iruntarinia* whose name was Iwupa. The lubras lighted a fire, and Iwupa saw the smoke coming from it, and said, "Hullo, it is their child that I have taken away." Iwupa walked about the bush all day looking for Aiippa, and at evening came home and made a fire to warm himself. He stood up and the lubras saw him. A Purula lubra took *aiippa* (grass seed) to him. When she got back the other women asked her whom she had seen over there, but she pretended not to know. This went on for some days, the *iruntarinia* bringing up opossum flesh for the woman.

Iwupa sang the boy's head to make the hair grow, and sang so loudly that by and by the lubras heard him. One day he approached the lubras' camp, and they all stood up and came near to him, bringing him food. He said to them, "You threw away that child, and I was very sorry, and took him to my camp with me." The lubras

were very glad to hear that the boy was safe and sound. Iwupa told them to go and get plenty of food, and by and by he would bring the boy over to their camp, so they went out and collected large quantities of *aiippa.* One day Iwupa came up with the boy close behind him, and spoke to the Purula woman, telling her to make all of the lubras lie down on their faces with their hands under their heads. When they were all lying down, so that they could see nothing, the boy came quietly up and killed every one of them with his Churinga, saying as he did so, "You all threw me away to the ants for them to eat me." So the lubras died, and Kulkumba the boy went back to Illkurtilla. After some some the Iwupa and the boy started off from there to walk, Iwupa in the lead and the boy a little way behind him. When they thought that they had gone far enough away from their camp they went into the ground, and so formed an *oknanikilla.*

Origin of the Thaballa or Laughing-Boy Totem

At Yappakulimna, in the country of the Warramunga tribe, a laughing boy, who was a Thungalla, came out of the rocks. He played about all day with bits of bark. Later on some more laughing boys came from the country where the sun goes down. The Thungalla saw them coming, and when they got close to his camp they began to play with little bits of bark. He sang out to them, "Are you Thaballa?" and they said, "Yes, we are"; and he replied, "I am Thaballa too; come on, my mates, we will all of us play together; where have you come from and where are you going to? come and stay with me altogether." The boys laughed loudly, and said that they would stay with him. So he took them into the rock, which was his home, and there they slept that night. Next morning they came out and played with bark, and laughed, and at night again went back into the rock. This was repeated day after day. These Thaballa boys never died, and can be heard laughing now by any man of the Thaballa totem who goes near to the rock. At the present day this place

is under the charge of an old Thungalla man, whose mother conceived him at that spot, and he performs the ceremonies, imitating the laughing of the boys as he does so.

Close to what is now called Powell Creek is a small water-course, made in the Alcheringa by an old Thamungala (a frilled lizard) man who spent his time there performing ceremonies. A number of men of the Thaballa (laughing boy) totem came from Lamara, and hunted the old lizard away. As he travelled on he made Powell Creek, and the course of the stream as it flows away northwards marks the line of his retreat. Finally he went away southwards, and the sky fell down and killed him close to Renner's Spring, a great pile of stones arising to mark the spot.

ITJILPI LUBRAS

Two Warramunga women arose at a water-hole called Tjudu. One was a Naralu and the other a Nungalla, named respectively Tjiangalla and Lantjingalla. They gathered and fed all day long upon Itjilpi ant-eggs, which they obtained from amongst the tussocks of porcupine grass. They made bush-shades for themselves, called *barkalla*, which are now represented by heaps of stones. One of them said, "I think you and me sit down, Naralu," but the other one said, "No, you are Naralu; I am Thungalla." They disputed the point, and grew so angry that they came to blows, until finally both of them died, and they went down into the ground at Turla, leaving a large number of Itjilpi (ant) spirit children behind who had sprung from them.

THE PARENTHIE MAN AND THE WHITE COCKATOO

A Parenthie lizard man arose at Limpi, in the country of the Warramunga, and made ceremonies there. A white cockatoo came up to the place from Lirri, away out to the north-east, to join a mob of others of his own kind who were living near to the Parenthie. There were also grubs (Lalkira) there, and close-by the two Itjilpi women named Lantjingalla and Tjiangalla sat down. The white cockatoo took

all of the people with him when he returned to his own country except the two lubras, with whom he did not interfere in any way. All of them belonged to the Kingilli half of the tribe. They travelled along up in the sky, but every now and then the cockatoo man brought them down to the earth at various spots for the purpose of making ceremonies. At Munkatthera they rested for a while in the shade and sat down; at a water-hole called Tharantha they performed ceremonies and saw a big lot of Parenthies. Finally they all reached Lirri, but were so exhausted that all that they could do was to lie down and die. A large number of stones arose to mark the spot, which is now a local centre of the Parenthie (white cockatoo) and Lalkira totems.

WINITHONGURU, THE WILD CAT

Two wild-cat men who were Tjunguri arose at Atjitapintja in Warramunga country. They had good stone knives called *natanapinnia*, and the elder brother first of all operated upon the younger one and was then operated upon by the latter, so that, by means of thus initiating themselves, they were transformed from boys into *Thrumbruknarra*, or properly developed men. Starting away on their travels they came to Munatalawuna, and there changed their class to Tjupila and so became Kingilli. At the same time they changed into a smaller "cat." At a place called Nargai, where there is a native well, they saw a *Kurdaitcha* and were frightened and made a detour, but the *Kurdaitcha* did not see them. It was their custom to whistle all the time as they travelled along. At Chipiparanti they tied up their hair afresh, and in it concealed the stone knives which they carried about with them. At Mirrinjungali they made some sacred sticks which they called *thaburla*, put them on their heads, painted their bodies, and performed ceremonies. They took out their knives, decorated them, and made paper-bark sheaths for them. A little distance further on they cut the ground and so made a creek, and then went on to Wirrilyatjirri, where they heard children and men and women crying for water. The elder brother cut

the ground with his stone knife, but was not successful in procuring a supply. Then the younger brother cut the ground with his left hand, and a great stream of water flowed out, and with it came a big snake which, first of all, stood up so that its head reached into the sky, and then it eat every one up, except the two cats, who went away to Ligathanilla. The elder brother carried the younger man on his shoulders, so that he could see the country ahead. They camped on a tableland plain at Mitchipunurippa, where they looked at each other. When they first started out they had spots all over them just like those of a native cat, but now the elder brother, looking at himself and at his younger brother, said, "Our spots have become very small." Then the younger one said, "How shall we make fire? I think we will make it by rubbing two sticks together." The elder one said, "No; we will twirl two sticks together, one stick on the other." Up to that time they had no fire, and the elder brother told the younger always to carry a fire-stick with him; when picking it up, the latter, not being used to it, burnt his fingers. Travelling on they came to Alilaku-wata, where they saw a blind man of the snake totem, but passed by without speaking to him. Carrying their spears and spear-throwers they now passed quickly on, and came close to where a mob of men was camped who were just on the point of initiating some boys. The two cats were seen by them and, without saying anything, they came close up and sat down on their shields, watching the men as they tried to operate with a fire-stick. The men, who could not succeed, asked the two cats to come up and operate, offering them the fire-stick for the purpose. Then the elder brother said, "Let us leave the fire-sticks and cut them with knives," and he told the young man to go up and perform the operation while he himself sat on his shield watching. When it was over all were glad, and the men embraced the younger brother and said, "You are good; we will always use stone knives now." Previously to this boys had often died when they had operated with fire-sticks. They said, "We will call this country Minen." Once again the elder brother cut the ground trying to make water flow, but

without success. The younger brother then cut the ground with his left hand, and when he did so a big stream flowed out, making what is now the creek on the Brunette run. From this place they travelled on, making creeks all the way as far as Gnulgnurkumi. At Paramungiritja they saw two witchetty-grub men but did not speak to them, and camped by a big wattle tree. At Kallabrinia they scooped out a big water-hole and placed trees (*kallabera*) all round it. Still making creeks they walked on, leaving spirit children in trees at various spots and carrying their sacred stone knives on their heads. Then they painted themselves with red ochre, changed into a lighter colour, and made two parallel ranges of hills. At Thaupalankitji they halted for a while and the younger said, "Which way shall we walk now?" The elder said, "I am knocked up, and the knives are too heavy to carry." They made ceremonies there. The younger one said, "Why not walk along to the water-hole?" But the elder was too tired to do this, and so they lay down where they were and slept and waited four days. Then the elder brother said, "I will cut myself now" (subincision), so he did, and told his younger brother to do the same. First of all they spread out a bed of leaves, and standing over them, cut themselves, letting the blood flow on to the leaves, on which they laid down their sacred knives. After they had performed this ceremony they felt sorry and cried for their own country. The elder brother then walked on to look at a water-hole which he saw in the distance, and made a stone wurley with just a small hole at the top. When they started on again the elder brother said, "We want to take the blood on with us," so they went on bleeding all the way, the elder one in the lead and the younger following behind. Finally, at Baringara, the elder brother went into a water-hole and watched his younger brother coming up behind. When the latter got close up he said to him, "You come up quickly; the snake has almost swallowed me." So the younger man went in, and the snake coiled round them both and took them down into the earth, a stone arising in the water-hole to mark the spot, which is now a wild-cat *oknanikilla*.

PITTONGU, THE FLYING FOX

In the Wingara, Pittongu, the flying fox,[1] a Thapanunga man, arose in the country away to the north of the Warramunga and travelled south until he came near to Altunga in the eastern Macdonnell Ranges. He met a number of black-fellows who had lubras with them, and among the latter two young ones whom he wanted to secure as wives for himself, though one of them was Naralu and the other Nungalla, and therefore neither of them his proper wife. After thinking how he could best secure them—because of course the black-fellows would not give them to him of their own accord—he killed a bandicoot and put some of the blood on his foot and pretended to be lame and so unable to go any further. The men went out hunting, leaving the women in the main camp, and the stranger sat down, wondering what it was best for him to do so as to secure the two women. Going a little way out into the scrub, so as to be out of sight, he changed himself into a dog and then came back again to the women's camp. All of them were there except the two younger ones, who happened to be out hunting in the bush, and when they saw him the old women said, "Hullo, here is a big dog coming up," and they called to it, but the dog would not come near them and only snarled, so they left it alone. At dusk the two younger ones returned, and the dog at once went up to them wagging its tail and playing about them. The two said, "This is a very good dog for us to hunt with," and it stayed with them. They tried next day to go in several directions, but each time the dog stopped and refused to go on, until at length they directed their steps towards the north, from which direction the man had come, and then the dog walked along with them. The dog went in the lead, rounding up the wallabies, the lubras following up behind. It drove the animals into holes, the mouth of which it then filled up with stones. At length the dog went on ahead, right out of the sight of the women, and changed itself back into a man.

[1] Popular name for the large bat, *Pteropus poliocephalus.*

He returned to search for his spears and boomerangs, which he had secreted in the scrub. The lubras meanwhile came up and caught a large number of the wallabies, but were much surprised not to see any trace of the dog. Seeing the black-fellow approaching, they were frightened, but he said to them, "Why are you frightened? I made the wallabies go into the holes." Then he said, "We will walk along my country now," but the women declined to go with him. However, taking his spear-thrower, he tangled their hairs together and threw them on a long way ahead of himself to a place called Athalta, where he halted for a time and where, for the purpose of making himself better looking, he knocked out a tooth. Then he camped close by Thapauerlu, the home of the Wollunqua, and there he pulled out another tooth. He was the first man to knock teeth out, and he did so because he wanted the lubras to think him good-looking. He carried with him *mauia* (evil magic), spears, tomahawks, stone knives, and various other implements. All the way as he travelled across the country he left spirit children behind him and threw the two lubras on ahead. From what is now known as the Elsey Creek he threw them on as far as Pine Creek, and there he finally left them and went up into the sky. A mob of black-fellows saw him coming and threw their boomerangs with their right hands, hoping to kill him, but could not touch him. Then they threw with their left hand and he fell down. As he fell they shouted out, "Don't drop this way; drop with your head looking towards the Warramunga." Accordingly he did so, and his legs stretched out right beyond Pine Creek. When he passed over the Warramunga country he dropped stone axes, which is why the natives of these parts are especially good at making the axes; in the same way he dropped stone knives in the Tjingilli country, which is why the Tjingilli men now make the best knives, and then, away to the north, he dropped barbed spears in the country where these are now made.

THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE RESTRICTIONS BY A THAKOMARA MAN

In the Wingara a Thakomara man of the Warramunga tribe, who was a *purntuku* or wise old man, came up from away out towards the west and camped at Akurkarinia. He belonged to the Waripali (a lizard) totem, and brought with him young men from the Walpari, Bingongina, Tjingilli, and Worgaia tribes. These men he initiated at Akurkarinia. He was a great man and used to burn children in the fire so as to make them grow strong. Later on he taught the men how to marry "straight." His own lubra was a Naltjeri woman, and she had a daughter who was a Naralu; he gave her to a Thapanunga man who had a Thapungarti daughter, whom he gave to a Tjambin man. The latter had a Thungalla daughter whom he gave to a Tjunguri man, who again had a Naltjeri daughter whom he gave to a Thakomara man, telling the black-fellows that in each case the way which he had shown them was the straight way to marry. After spending some time at Akurkarinia he went on to Kalunja, where he circumcised a lot of boys; it was some of these who heard the wind as it came up from Illpintirnia, and hid themselves, but afterwards came out and cut it in two.

ORIGIN OF HISTORIC MEN FROM WINGARA ANCESTORS

In the Wingara a Thapungarti man (1) arose in Warramunga country. He was a black snake, and from him all the men of the black-snake totem originated.[1] He made a Thapanunga man (2) and spent his time in the performance of ceremonies which he taught to the Thapanunga. At first these two men lived in the ground, but after a time they came out to the surface. The Thapungarti man (1) died and went back into the ground, but the Thapanunga man (2)

[1] According to tradition this Thapungarti man used to sing aloud all day long, and when, nowadays, a native hears a curious whistling sound in his ears, he believes that it is caused by the singing of the old Thapungarti man.

lived and continued to perform ceremonies every day. As he did so, a number of Thapungarti men (3) came out of his body, issuing in the form of very little crystals. Thapanunga (2) told these men that he had lost his father, and that they (3) were to call the old man by the name of Kankwia. Then he himself died and went into the ground, and the Thapungarti (3) went on performing ceremonies, and when they did so more children issued out of their bodies who were Thapanunga (4). Like the others, they also came out in the form of small crystals called *muntulqua*. Thapungarti (3) said to them, "You call my father (2) Kankwia." Then the Thapungarti (3) died, and the Thapanunga (4), their children, walked about performing ceremonies and produced more Thapungarti (5) men from *muntalqua*. Now one of these Thapungarti men was called Wintjintjinpunungu, and another Au-uragari, and these two men made Kupertiringu and his younger brother Pulmurukari, the former of whom, though a Wingara individual, is regarded by the natives as having been actually the father of the *kankwia*—that is, the great-great-grandfather of a man who is alive at the present day. Both of the two first named men died at Nurnapurku, and when they thus died, Wintjintjinpunungu was buried in the ground, but Au-uragari was placed on a tree-platform.

After the five generations of men thus described there were three more generations consisting of men only, the eighth gave rise to both men and women, the latter being given by their brothers as wives to Tjupila men. These women were called Munga-munga, and arose close to Tjinqurokora, the home of the black snake. Subsequently they travelled away into the country of the Worgaia, forming there *mungai* (local centres) of the yam totem.

A second tradition deals with the origin of Tjupila men. In the Wingara two men, who belonged to the Lalkira (little grub) totem, and were Thakomara, arose at Burumburu, a water-hole on the Phillip Creek. For some reason they changed into white cockatoo men, a column of stone on the Phillip Creek representing their cast skins when they changed. Here they performed sacred ceremonies and

gave rise to Tjupila men, who, in their turn, performed ceremonies and gave rise to Thakomara men and went into the ground. This went on until ten generations had been produced altogether—five Thakomara and five Tjupila—all of them men only. They lived underground, but the tenth generation, which consisted of four individuals, came up to the surface (*melchinta*). These four were presented with the Napanunga women who had arisen from the Thapungarti men, and belonged to the Munga-munga women who travelled into Worgaia country.

A Snake Man changing his Totem

A Tjunguri man of the Nappa-undattha (green snake) totem arose at Nai-irini, living at first under the ground. He then came out of a native well in the country of the Binbinga and travelled southwards, throwing his muscles out. Following them up to Kupupu he found that a Tjapeltjeri child had arisen from them. He made the boy come out from the well in which he was living, and, together, they performed ceremonies all day long, at a place called Kiarloko. Here he left spirit children behind him, and, before travelling on, changed his totem to that of Nathakura (another form of snake), and, still later, into Kurdatjeri (another snake). Every time that he performed sacred ceremonies spirit children came out of his muscles, and, as he changed his totem, so he produced children of the new totem. He used to take the skin off the young snakes and leave them behind at various spots. After walking round by the salt water to Namangi, now called Corella, he came to Kulakun, where he performed many sacred ceremonies, left a large number of spirit children behind, and shed his skin. Before leaving he transformed himself into Kutnakitchi (a water snake) and crept up very quietly, hoping to be able to steal some Churinga belonging to the great Wollunqua, which the latter had left at Kalkaquraitja (now called Anthony's Lagoon). However, he could not find them, so he came on to Corella, where he found a large number of Wollunqua Churinga, and

stole one small one from amongst them. A big star-man sat down close by at a water-hole, but he did not see the snake, who ran away as hard as he could, and was very dry and thirsty by the time that he reached the sand-hill country. He went to a place where there is now a big tree, called Irrigidji, and left a number of spirit children there. This tree arose to mark the spot on which he stood up to see if he could find out whether the star-man was following him. He came on to Mirganni, and was very dry and hungry, and tightened his waist-belt. At Pitimula he tried himself to see if he were strong enough to fight the star-man, and deposited down there, forming a totem centre. Going to the well, to his disappointment, for he was very thirsty indeed, he found that it was quite dry. He was so tired that he sat down in the shade, but an ant bit him and so he went on and came to a water-hole called Kunguru, and said, "I am very thirsty now." Here he left behind him a spirit child called Thamundongana, which means "the dry one." At Wallgura he left behind him the spirit individual who is actually the grandfather of a man now alive. Travelling on he tried the native wells, one after the other, but without success, and came to a place called Wallianminiakuri, where there were some children standing at the top of the well, and some others down below. Speaking in the Umbaia language, he said, "All of you give me water to drink—I am dry," but the lubras picked up their clubs and wanted to fight him, so he was frightened and went away without a drink, and sat down some distance off in the scrub, where the women could not see him. He walked on to Bingaladji, but the ants bit him again, so he got up and went on from place to place, making sacred ceremonies and leaving children behind. Also he made many creeks as he travelled along. At Malukathera he stood up, looked back, and saw lightning behind him, and knew that the star-man was following him, so on he ran, leaving a Tjunguri child named Walalukarinia behind him. He raced on, feeling terribly dry, past Koramunthu to Punthapukari, the star rapidly gaining on him. Another little snake, called Urabulka, saw him coming and sang out,

"Come on quickly, the star is following you; look out!" As he did so he opened up the bushes so as to allow him to dive into the well, and down he went, opening the ground up with his tail, and remained there ever afterwards, keeping the Churinga with him. The star did not catch him, but remained close by the well, and, where it went into the earth, a big rock arose to mark the spot.

KARINJI THE JABIRU

A Thakomara man of the Karinji [1] totem arose from the ground at Tjinpia in the Warramunga country. He had special pointing-sticks called *lumuru* with which he used to kill the natives. He found two young Thakomara boys in the ground, and said to himself, "I think I will eat these two boys," but, on further thoughts, he decided not to do so, but to keep them and send them out in search of food for himself. Bringing them up to the surface, he first of all sent them out in search of a black-fellow. When they had caught one and killed him, they brought the flesh into the Karinji man, who then cooked and eat it. This went on for many days, the old man hanging the flesh which he could not eat up in the trees, so as to keep it safe until he wanted it. Close by Tjinpia there used to be a number of men, women, and children, living in holes in the ground. The Karinji heard them singing, went to the place and closed up the holes, thus suffocating them. Then he divided the bodies into two great heaps, men in one, women in the other, and carried them to his camp, where he made a big fire and cooked them all. The hole where the fire was made still exists. It is a quarter of a mile long, and in the middle of it is a spring which is called Tjinpia. Some of them he eat straight away, but the rest he hung up in trees to keep until he had had a sleep. Meanwhile Winithonguru, the "native cat," came on the scene, and, finding the dead bodies in the trees, was very angry. Sneaking quietly up, he saw the old Karinji lying down asleep, and "boned" him with a special

[1] Karinji is the native name of the bird (*Mycteria australis*) called Jabiru by white men.

pointing-stick, called *muntinpa*, which he had secured far away in the north country. The next day the two young Thakomaras, who had been sent away, returned and found the Karinji dead, so they buried him in the ground. Then they went away to Mutamattharu, now called South Newcastle Waters, where they found an aged pelican, named Thaparungu, who growled at them all day, and at night time when they slept he crept up and choked them, a number of large stones arising to mark the spot.

THE PELICAN, THE DUCKS, AND THE CRANE

In the Wingara the pelican called Thaparungu was a big black-fellow of the Warramunga tribe. Close by his camp lived some ducks, who used to laugh at him all day long. A little black crane came up and said, "What are you all laughing about?" and tried to stop them, for he saw that it made the pelican angry, but he did not succeed. The pelican called the crane up to his camp, and, when it came, he put it in the white ashes of his fire, so as to make its feathers white, because it had tried to stop the ducks laughing. All now slept; the pelican tied bushes together, and under the shelter of these sneaked up to the duck men's camp and burnt them all up, a heap of stones arising to mark the spot.

MURTU-MURTU, THE WILD DOGS, AND THE BULL-ROARER

In the Wingara a man, named Murtu-Murtu, came out of the earth at Kalkan, where he spent his time performing sacred ceremonies, and making a noise like the roar of the *murtu-murtu* or bull-roarer. His body was as round as a ball, his head had only a single tuft of hair on the top of it, as if it had been shaved, and his feet had only toes and heels. At Alkanara, in the country of the Warramunga, there lived two wild dogs who were very big, and therefore called *Wuntilla*. Hearing a strange noise, they determined to follow it up, and started off for Thakala, where their

excrement produced a mass of red ochre. As they travelled along they carried sacred sticks on their heads. At Elimeriwata they lifted their tails over their backs, and yams arose to mark the spot. After passing several other places, where they performed ceremonies, they came to Waianuru, where they stopped and heard the noise of the *murtu-murtu* very clearly. They sneaked up quietly, and saw the man making the noise with his mouth; one dog went one way, and the other the other way, and when close up they rushed out on him, biting pieces of flesh, which they threw about in all directions. As the flesh flew through the air it made a sound like that of the *murtu-murtu*, and trees called *nanantha* (Grevillea sp.) sprang up where they fell on the earth. Out of these trees the natives now make their bull-roarers. When the dogs had torn the body to pieces they looked round, and saw the trees springing up all round. This made them very angry, and they ran about biting the trees in the hope that they would thus be able to kill the *muntalki*—that is, the spirit of the *murtu-murtu* man which had gone into the trees.

THE SNAKE BOBBI-BOBBI

Two boys, one a Paliarinji and the other a Tjamerum, were circumcised at Akuralla on the Macarthur River, in the country of the Binbinga tribe. They went to an old woman and asked her for food. She said, "I have no food for you," so, being angry, they tore off their pubic tassels, threw them at her, and ran away. After going a little way they made a fire, and carried a fire-stick on with them. The boys travelled on to Narulunka, and made a hole in the ground, out of which water flowed, and then ran on to a spring which still exists. They went on and killed a female hill-kangaroo, called Mantita, which they dragged along by the tail, thus carving out the bed of what is now Walunga Creek. They carried it further on their shoulders and made a hole in the ground, in which they lighted a fire and cooked the body. The hole gave rise to a pool of water, in which lilies now grow. One of them

then said to the other, "What shall we call this country?" and the latter said, "We will call it Akulunka." They went on making a creek, which is now called Manunga, and heard a bell-bird, *pall-pall-kitjima*, singing out "*pu-pu-pu-pu*." They crept quietly up and killed it with a waddy, after which they cooked it and called the place Kanta-pu-pu-pu. The latter is now the name of the spring which came out of the ground there. Then they travelled on to Atthara, making a creek all the way, and a little farther on, at Anawainga, they camped and struck the ground with their stones. The snake Bobbi-bobbi heard the noise which they made, and sent a mob of Kinaquantj (flying foxes)[1] after them to find out what they were doing. The boys saw them coming, and said, "Hullo, flying foxes are coming." They made a number of waddies, and threw them at the foxes, killing so many of them that it took them a long time to collect the bodies and bring them all into camp. They made a ground oven in which to cook them, and, covering them up in this, went out to catch some more. On returning they went to the oven, intending to eat the meat, but, to their surprise, as soon as they opened the earth the foxes jumped up and flew away screeching. The boys said, "What does this mean? The foxes are flying away." Then the Paliarinji said to the Tjamerum, "You go out and kill some more." Just then the snake Bobbi-bobbi, who was underground watching them, took out one of his ribs and threw it on to a plain, where the Paliarinji boy found it, and said, "Hullo, this is my boomerang," and put it in his hair waist-girdle. After that he sang out to Tjamerum, "You come here," and showed him the boomerang, saying, "I have got a good boomerang for you and me." Then Tjamerum took the boomerang and killed a lot of flying foxes with it, after which Paliarinji threw it into the air, and it flew straight up into the sky, making a great hole in the latter, through which it disappeared out of sight. They watched, and at last saw it coming down with a whizz. It fell end on and stuck in the ground where the snake lay hidden, and he gripped and held on to it. Paliarinji said to

[1] *Pteropus poliocephalus*, a large bat.

Tjamerum, "You pull it out," but the harder he pulled the deeper down it seemed to sink. Tjamerum said, "I cannot get it out; you come and help me." The two pulled their hardest, but could not draw it out. Gradually they sank up to their knees, and then the snake caught hold of them and dragged them down, a big water-hole called Mumbi-mumbi arising at this spot. The snake took the two boys away down the Macarthur River and across to Waliangu Island, one of the Pellew group, and there they have remained ever since.

The Anula, through whose country Bobbi-bobbi passed, have the following tradition with regard to them :—One boy was a Roumburia (the equivalent of the Paliarinji), and the other Urtalia (the equivalent of the Tjamerum). First of all they killed birds with boomerangs, then they killed a snake, and then a euro. As they travelled on they made creeks and lily pools and water-holes. At Arrawantju they killed some flying foxes, and, just as in the Bingbinga tradition, so in the Anula one, the snake Bobbi-bobbi pulled them underground after having thrown one of his ribs out, which the boys used as a boomerang. The snake eat them, but they remained alive in his stomach as he travelled along, and at various places they gave rise to *mungai* spots, Urtalia spirit individuals being left in some places and Roumburia ones in others, the snake telling them which country belonged to each of them. At length they came to the Pellew Islands, some of which the snake made, telling Roumbaria that certain of them belonged to him, and Urtalia that others belonged to him. This is why some of these islands are now the *mungai* spots of Roumburia people, and others those of Urtalia groups.[1] At Aninjira Bobbi-bobbi was taken ill and threw out the Urtalia, telling him that that country belonged to him. He took the Roumburia on to Uikumpo and left him there, and nowadays, when the tide is low, a rock can be seen which is the home of the Roumburia boy.

[1] It will be noticed that this tradition deals with the formation of local centres occupied by spirit individuals who belong to certain classes, their totems not being mentioned. In all other traditions known to us the local centres are those of definite totemic groups. It may be added that in the Anula tribe the totemic groups are strictly divided between the classes.

THE SNAKE ULANJI

In the Mungai times, the equivalent amongst the Binbinga people of the Alcheringa of the Arunta, Ulanji, a snake, came out of the ground at Makumundana, where he made a large water-hole in which lilies grow. After this he walked along above ground, making creeks, and springs, and hills. He crossed what is now the Limmen Creek, and made a range of hills called Epindana, in the middle of which he made a valley with a creek, and water-holes, and crocodiles in them. Everywhere where he camped he performed ceremonies and left spirit children behind him who came out of his body. At Kuriella-dat-kaulu he saw a number of flying foxes hanging on to the rocks, and, climbing up, cut their heads off and left their bodies hanging just as they were. Travelling on up country, he took out two of his ribs and left them on the ground, two trees, now called Lamara, arising to mark the spot, which is also a *mungai* place of the Ulanji totem. He made all of the upper part of the Limmen River, and many other creeks, water-holes, and ranges. At a place called Tutita he left a lot of hard stone, called *maitjama* (quartzite) behind him, which is now used for making knives and spear-heads. Further on, at Nanawandula, he made a creek and a water-hole with plenty of crocodiles, and then took out his heart and called the place Kurta-lula (heart). Then he went down into the ground, and, after travelling along for some distance, came out again at Uminiwura, where he ceased from his wanderings, and finally went down into the ground.

ORIGIN OF THE PRESENT MARRIAGE SYSTEM IN THE BINBINGA TRIBE

A man of the Ulanji (a snake) totem, who was a Paliarinji, first told the natives of the Binbinga tribe who were the proper women for them to marry respectively.[1] Up to the

[1] This was first shown to the Mara people by Kakan, the white hawk, who disputed with the black hawk as to the giving of fire to the people. After the death of the black hawk, the white Kakan, who was Quial, took a Mumbali

time of his coming amongst them they had no proper rules for marriage. He came to a place called Marawa, where he stayed for a time performing sacred ceremonies. Here he met a kangaroo who was a Tjurulum man. The latter heard the snake man performing, and came up and asked him his name. The snake man said that he was a Paliarinji, and the kangaroo man in return said that he was a Tjurulum. Then the snake man said, "What shall I call you? I will call you *napitji* (wife's father)," and the Tjurulum man said, "What shall I call you; I will call you *tjungarai* (daughter's husband)." The Tjurulum then said to the Paliarinji, "Have you got a lubra?" and the Paliarinji said, "No, I have not got one." Then the Tjurulum said, "I think that I will give you my daughter," which accordingly he did, and the snake man stayed at that place, which was called Marawa, and belonged to the kangaroo. Close by there was a water-hole called Walania, which belonged to the snake man. Then Tjurulum brought his daughter to the Paliarinji, and said to him, "You must always take a Tjamerum lubra, the Tjurulum men are your *napitji*."

After a time the Tjurulum man started off on his travels, and, close by, met a Tjuanaku, who was performing sacred ceremonies. He sneaked up and watched him for some time. At last the Tjuanaku man saw him and said, "Where have you come from?" The former replied, "I have come a long way; we will sit down together. I will call you *kai-kai* (wife's brother)," and the Tjuanaku said, "I will call you *kai-kai* also." The Tjurulum said to the Tjuanaku, "Where are your sisters?" and he replied, "Oh, my sisters are here; but my father has gone a long way off; you must wait till he comes back." At length the father of the Tjuanaku, who was of course a Pungarinji, came back, and the former said to him, "My *kai-kai* is here, and has asked me for my sister." Then the Punjarinji man said,

lubra and told a Mumbali man to take his sister, who was of course a Quial woman, as his wife. A dingo man, who was a Purdal, took a Murungun lubra, and told her brother to take his sister as wife. After the Kakan had made these arrangements there came along a Uralanku (eagle hawk) man, who was a Mumbali. He agreed with Kakan that his method was the "straight" one, for before that time they had married anyhow.

"He is my *tjungarai* (daughter's husband)," and then he gave him the Tjuanaku woman, and the old kangaroo man went away with him to the country of the salt water.

THE ANCESTOR OF THE DINGO TOTEM IN THE BINBINGA TRIBE

A Yakomari man, named Wataninka, of the dingo (Tjantji) totem came down into the country of the Binbinga people from the tableland, to a place called Auanula, where he found a Thungallum man, who had come out of a big fresh-water spring. They walked on together, and first of all made a water-hole called Makunka. Then they made some corrobboree sticks, and hid them by the side of a plot of ground which they cleared, and made ready for the performance of the ceremony of circumcision upon it. The Yakomari man had brought stone knives called *kurtu* with him, carrying them on his back. Previous to this time the Binbinga people had always circumcised with a fire-stick. The Yakomari circumcised the Thungallum with his knife, and then presented him with the latter, which he carried in his armpit. After this they walked on together to Allaua, where they made a water-hole, and then on to a range of hills called Yauo, where they made a cave, which can now be seen. There they slept, and when they awoke they ran on for some miles. Both of them then pulled out their penes and placed them in the ground, the Thungallum first and the Yakomari a little further on. In each case a stone arose to mark the spot. Travelling on they made more creeks and water-holes and ranges of hills. At Mungaialla, Thungallum brought forth a child out of his body and left it behind him by the side of the creek. Further on, in the sand-hills, they met an emu man, whom the dingo told to walk one way while he himself went on by another track. At Muntura they made a water-hole, filled with lilies, and here the Yakomari man broke a stick in two, and twirling one piece on the other made fire. They met a frilled lizard (Kakamunga), who was a Tjurulum. The Thungallum circumcised him, and then presented him with the knife,

after which the lizard travelled away into the country of the Karawa people, and showed them how to use a knife instead of the fire-stick.

After this they made various water-holes along the course of what are now called the Western and Oakey Creeks, and finally passed on into the country of the Willingara people, and then went down into the earth. As they travelled along they performed sacred ceremonies, and wherever they did so there they left spirit children behind who came out of their bodies.

The Swamp Lilies

Two Warramunga black-fellows who were Tjapeltjeri, and belonged to the euro totem, caught a wallaby at Palpani and carried it on with them. Later in the day they came across a lubra with a newly-born baby. They killed both of them, and carried their bodies to what is now called the Wycliffe Creek. One said to the other, "I think that you and I will eat the wallaby first." While they were cooking it in the ground its body burst, and from it there arose the swamp lilies. After eating the wallaby they carried the bodies of the woman and child on, hoping to find a good place for cooking them, but after trying several spots with their digging sticks they found it too rocky. However, at Atjilpalunga they cooked and eat the child. Finally they turned back on their tracks and came to Guniangiri, where they knew that there was a good cooking-place. They made a fire in a hole, placed the body in it, covered it up, and then laid themselves down on each side of the mound and slept while the body was cooking. When they awoke they said, "We will dig the lubra out and eat her." Meanwhile, however, she had gone down into the ground, and to their surprise they could find no trace whatever of the body. They dug down and down trying to find her, and never came up again.

Origin of Animals

While traditions dealing with the origin of human beings are found in all of the tribes, any relating to the

origin of animals are very seldom met with. We have elsewhere shown that, in the Unmatjera tribe, the ancestors of certain totemic groups are supposed to have originated in the form of *inter-intera* (imperfectly formed human beings), whilst others are supposed to have been *ertwa*, or men, from the beginning. It is a curious fact that the latter are reported to have given rise to the animals whose names they now bear as their totemic names. Thus a man named Amulia sprang into existence at a place close to where Unkurta died, coming, in fact, out of one of his Churinga. He made the first ceremony of Intichiuma connected with the Unkurta totem, and this resulted in the formation of Unkurta lizards which did not previously exist. In the same way a wallaby man, named Arawa, made Intichiuma, and so made the first wallabies. A Qualpa man, who was an Appungerta, made Intichiuma after the death of the first great Qualpa man, and thus created the long-tailed rats. An Iwuta man arose after the death of the first Iwuta man, and, making Intichiuma, created thereby the first nail-tailed wallabies.

The Idnimita Man of Indiara

On the Burt plains there lived an old man of the Idnimita (a grub) totem called Untherkapunda. Far away, at a place called Indiara, he saw some other Idnimita men wandering about, and travelled over to speak to them and find out what they were doing. An old man came to meet him, and, in reply to a question of Untherkapunda, said that he had no *alpita* (tail tips of the rabbit bandicoot), so the Burt man went back to his camp and returned bringing with him *alpita*, *alalkira* (nose-bones), and Churinga.

When he came back the Indiara man was lying down asleep in his camp with his head on his hands. The Burt man hit him with his club, and he awoke suddenly and stood up, shading his eyes with his hand, saying, "Hullo! what is that? it is the old Burt man come back again." The latter had put his club behind his back so that it could not be seen. Then he asked the Burt man what was his

name, and he said, "I am Thungalla," and the Indiara man said, "I am Kumara." After this the Burt man took his Churinga and *alpita*, and holding them close to his stomach came up to the Kumara, who held his Churinga in the same way. They exchanged them and then embraced one another. Untherkapunda said to the Kumara, "When you go out to make Intichiuma always take the *alpita* with you." He did this all day long, and brought back the Idnimita grub with him to his camp, where he cooked and eat it. When he made Intichiuma he threw the down about in all directions so as to make the grubs come up.

THE KULPU MAN

A sugar-bag (Kulpu)[1] man named Illinthaualla arose close to Thapauerlu, the home of the Wollunqua. He carried sugar bags with him and was a sugar-bag man. During his wanderings he passed along the hills a little distance away from Thapauerlu, but did not actually see either this or the great Wollunqua. As he travelled on he dropped *kulpu* (sugar-bag) and left spirit children behind him at various spots, such as Wandagera and Turla, where there are now local centres of the sugar-bag totem.

THE WINITHONGURU MAN AND THE OPOSSUM MAN

A Tjupila man of the Winithonguru (native cat) totem arose at Wangari close beside a tree called Qurippi. At Tjinpia he killed and burnt the body of a Karinji (Jabiru) man named Warumalla, who lived on dead men. Feeling frightened after having done this, he ran on to Billinga, and then to Wunthara, where he saw a Tjunguri opossum man who had two young Napungerta lubras with him. He told the opossum man what he had done, and the former thought to himself, "What shall I do? I will lend the man my two lubras," so he took them to him. Winithonguru "sang" himself, and so developed a double penis, by means of which he had connection with the two women at the same time.

[1] The honey-comb of the wild bee.

The opossum man coming up saw what he had done and speared him, with the result that his body became spotted all over. Then the wild-cat man got up and they began to fight. The cat tore the opossum's head and back, and took its foot and put it in the fire so that it split open, and was thus made as it is shaped now. After this he went away to Tjinqurokora, where he heard the Munga-Munga women, and saw one of them lying down on the ground with her little child by her side. When the women were sent away by the old black snake, Winithonguru went with them for some distance.

The Wind Totem

In the Alcheringa a man named Pukulungara, a Tjupila of the wind totem, arose by the side of a big water-hole called Wongatu. He had a Churinga or *murtu-murtu*, and performed ceremonies there, leaving spirit children behind him. About this time there were two men, the one a Thapungarti and the other a Tjapeltjeri, who started from a distant place and came to Allinji on what is now called the Bonney Creek, where they performed ceremonies. They remained there for some time, but finally went away travelling very rapidly. However, the wind came, and before they could get out of its way it caught them and carried them up into the sky. As it rushed along the wind hollowed out the course of the Bonney Creek, and when it came to Wongatu Parkungulara saw it, and, being afraid lest it might hurt him or take away his *murtu-murtu*, he seized hold of the latter, and by means of it cut the wind in two. He immediately dived down into the ground, coming up again at Urtatjerapatjirri, where once more he heard the wind come rushing along. This time he succeeded in destroying it with his *murtu-murtu*, and then went down into the ground.

Unkura (Porcupine-Grass Resin) and Men of the Bean-Tree Totem

An old man named Unkura (porcupine-grass resin) came up from a place called Kukaitja away out to the west. He

saw a number of men of the Atjuritja (bean tree) totem performing Engwura (a great fire ceremony), and called the place Apmanapunja. Hiding in thick bush so that they should not see him, he watched and saw that they had a big *nurtunja* (sacred pole) in their camp. They slept with the old men, the *oknirabata*, nearest to the *nurtunja*. Unkara waited until it was near sunrise, and then made stones hot in a fire, and while the men slept, for they were very tired, he placed large lumps of porcupine-grass resin, which he carried with him, on the stones. So great a smoke arose that all of the men were suffocated and died, leaving the *nurtunja* standing up alone. Unkura was frightened and ran away, leaving his lumps of resin behind him. Diving into the ground at Allawanja he came out again at Aratika, where he met with a whirlwind which took him away up into the sky and carried him to Unjakakka. Then he walked along the sky and came back to his own camp at Ilkalatjilla. Here he died and formed a large Unkura *oknanikilla*.

Two Oruntja Men

In the Alcheringa two Oruntja or mischievous spirits camped at a place called Arknina in Unmatjera country. The younger one stayed near the camp searching for vegetable food, while the other went away to hunt for kangaroo. The elder sneaked up behind a kangaroo with his spear, but could not catch it. He tried all day long but could not succeed, and just about sunset returned to his camp. The younger brother asked him where the kangaroo was, and he replied, " I have not got it." Next day he went out again and saw the same mob of kangaroos, but could not catch any. That night it rained hard, but it cleared up in the morning, and at mid-day the elder Oruntja started off once more. Again he saw the same mob, and noticed that this time one old kangaroo lay down asleep; he crept up close enough to give it a kick, whereupon it jumped up and went off, with the Oruntja in pursuit, to a place called Pullapulla, where the Oruntja got bogged in the mud and could not for some time pull himself out. First of all he got one leg

out, but slipped back while lifting the other up, and it was a long time before he succeeded in extricating himself. At length he did so, and then walked on to a place where he met with a Thungalla man named Induda, who was an opossum, and had come out from Induda with a dog in search of kangaroo. He had seen the big old man kangaroo which the Oruntja had been chasing and had killed it, or rather his dog had.

When the Oruntja saw him he said, "Hullo, you have been and killed my kangaroo have you?" and Induda replied, "Yes, I have killed your kangaroo." Then Induda carried the body a little further on, and made a fire and cooked it, the Oruntja sitting a little distance away watching him. The Oruntja said to Induda, "Give me a spear-thrower; I want to sharpen my yam-stick." Induda threw it to him and nearly hit him in the stomach—in fact the Oruntja had to jump to one side so as to avoid being struck. When he had finished sharpening his stick he threw the spear-thrower back to Induda, who, to his annoyance, did not offer to give him any of the kangaroo. Then, going a little distance away, the Oruntja called up the dog, whose name was Prilpina, and killed it with his yam-stick. This made Induda very angry, and he threw down the kangaroo and began to fight the Oruntja, but could not come to close quarters with him, because he kept falling down first to one side and then to the other. At length the Oruntja took up a short club, with which he struck Induda on the side under the arm and killed him. Then, having sucked up Induda's blood, he proceeded to cook him on the same spot on which Induda had lately cooked the kangaroo. There also he cooked the dog and eat the intestines, both of it and of Induda, and taking out one of his shoulder blades made a *lonka lonka*[1] from it and hung it down over his forehead. This done he hung the body of Induda in a tree not far away, then the body of the dog on one a little further on, and that of the kangaroo on another. Walking back to his own camp he hung different animals on successive trees as he went along,—

[1] An oval plate made of shell or bone, worn as an ornament suspended from the head, neck, or waist-girdle.

first *iwutas* which Induda had caught, then lizards, then larger snakes, then small snakes, and after this he went into his camp.

His younger brother, who was on the look-out, saw him coming a long way off, but pretended not to do so, and sat quietly in his camp until the elder brother came up. The latter was sulky, but the younger one went up to him and patted him on the back saying that he was glad to see him again. The elder brother told him to go and get the snakes out of the nearest tree. He did this, in turn, in the case of all of the different animals left behind by the elder brother until he came to the kangaroo, when he was so glad that he went up and embraced his brother. He did the same also when he saw the dog. The sun went down, and the elder brother took his charcoal, painted himself, and got his spears and yam-sticks. In the morning, when the younger Oruntja came near to his brother's camp, he saw at once that he was painted up, and was wearing his nose-bone, and said, "What is my brother going to do to-day?" Then the elder one said, "I have killed your and my *unkulla*—come and growl at me." Instead of doing this he embraced him, and then the elder led the younger to his camp, and after a time sent him out to bring in the body of Induda. The younger brother had already eaten up the snakes, *iwuta*, etc., which the elder man did not touch, nor did he eat any part of Induda except his insides.

Meanwhile one of Induda's younger brothers had tracked him up, and had found the spot where he had killed the kangaroo. He had also seen the Oruntja's track, and the spot where he had killed Induda, and had then gone back to his camp at Irnga to organise an avenging party.

The younger brother said to the older one, "You and I had better look out or an *atninga* (avenging party) might come up to kill us," and before very long they saw a lot of men coming towards them from the direction of Irnga. The younger brother said, "We will not run away; we will fight them." Then they set to work, and at first the *atninga* men could not spear them, because, no sooner did they throw their spears, than the Oruntja dived into the ground—first

to one side and then to the other. At last two of the *atninga* men hid behind a bush, and the Oruntja men came up close beside them, with their backs turned towards the men, whom consequently they could not see, and in that way the men contrived to spear them. The hearts of the two Oruntjas came out, and, unknown to the avengers, lay still upon the ground. The men walked away, but after they had gone a little distance they heard the hearts growling, and not knowing what was making the noise, went back again, thinking that the Oruntja had not been properly killed. Once more they speared the two bodies, and while they did this the hearts remained quiet. After the men had gone away the hearts again began to growl, and again the men returned and threw more spears into the bodies, but without success, as they heard the growling renewed as soon as ever they had gone a little distance away. Returning a third time the men broke the heads of the Oruntjas into pieces, thinking that surely they would thus put an end to them. This time also two men stayed behind, hiding themselves in the shelter of a bush, and saw the hearts on the ground, and heard them growling when the other men had gone away; so they took the two hearts, and, making a fire, burnt them in this until nothing whatever of them was left. After this the Oruntjas ceased from troubling them and the men went back to Irnga.

THE NANJA

In the Arunta tribe every individual has his or her *Nanja* tree or rock at the spot where the old ancestor left his spirit-part behind when he went down into the ground. The spirit associated with the Churinga is supposed to haunt this spot until such time as it chooses to enter a woman and undergo reincarnation. This rock or tree and its immediate surroundings are sacred, and no plant or animal found there may be killed or eaten by the individual who is thus associated with the spot. In all essential features, but with variation in details, the same idea is found in the beliefs of the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes. Thungalla, the old head-

man of the Erlipinna or grass-seed totem in the former tribe, described to us how in the Alcheringa his ancestor was specially associated with a tree by the side of a water-hole. When it came to his turn to go down into the ground he walked away for some distance so as to leave his Churinga, of which he possessed many, out of sight of the water-hole. After walking on for a little while he looked back, but found that he could still see the water-hole; then he walked further on and again looked back, with the same result. This he did six times, but on the last occasion he could not see the water, and so decided that he was far enough away. There he sat down, gathering and eating grass seed, and finally died. The tree by the water-hole is, however, his *Nanja*, or, as the Kaitish people call it, *Ai-il-pilla*, and the spirit of the old man was continually passing backwards and forwards between the spot at which the Churinga were left and the tree. Periodically a man will visit his *Nanja* tree or rock, and carefully clear a smooth space around it, moving away pieces of bark and rubbish which may have accumulated.

This spot, which the Arunta call *ertnatulunga*, is known by the name of *moama* amongst the Kaitish, who call the Churinga *Allongalla*.

In the Urabunna tribe the belief is fundamentally the same as in the Arunta tribe. Every individual has his or her *Nanja* spot or *Watthilli*, as they call it. In some cases, however, one spot may be associated with individuals of more than one totem. Thus, for example, near to Mount Kingston there is a little hill which is the *Nanja* of a man of a grub totem, a man of the emu, and another of the snake totem. The ancestors of all these men were left there in spirit form in the Alcheringa. That hillside, or rather anything on it, is strictly tabooed to these men. On the other hand, a cluster of boulders not far away is the *Nanja* of certain pigeon men and women and of no other people, and in the same way they will not injure or eat anything in the immediate neighbourhood of the rocks. Another man, of the snake totem, has a water-hole for his *Nanja*, and he neither drinks water there nor eats any fish which may be caught in it.

The more northern tribes — Warramunga, Tjingilli, Umbaia, etc.—all agree with the Arunta and Kaitish in the belief with regard to the spirit children left behind at certain spots, who subsequently undergo reincarnation. They have not, however, so far as we could discover, any definite name for the tree or rock which the spirit is supposed to inhabit. Certain spots are frequented by these spirit individuals, but there does not usually appear to be one individual constantly associated with one particular tree or rock. The belief of these tribes is very well illustrated in the case of the trees which border the water-course at Tennant Creek. Each of these is supposed to be inhabited by numerous spirit children, and no woman will strike one of them with a hatchet for fear lest the blow should disturb one of the spirits, and it should immediately come out and enter her body. On the other hand we do, now and again, though only rarely, meet with beliefs similar to those of the Arunta—as, for example, in the case of the present headman of the Wollunqua totem, whose spirit ancestor inhabited a special water-hole close by the side of Thapauerlu, where the Wollunqua itself lives.

In the Arunta tribe the spirit individual is spoken of as an *iruntarinia*, and in addition to the latter a second spirit issues from the *Nanja*, whom the natives call *arumburinga*. The latter is really a kind of double of the first one.

When the spirit undergoes reincarnation the *arumburinga* remains behind, and is supposed, in a general kind of way, to keep watch over the reincarnated individual. The same belief is met with amongst the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes. The former call this second spirit *atthamarinia*, and the latter call it *arunga*. Just as in the case of the Arunta, so in these two tribes there are special individuals who are supposed to have the power of seeing the spirits. The latter also every now and then show them sacred ceremonies. These more fortunate individuals then perform them for the benefit of their fellow-men, or rather, to speak more strictly, for their own benefit, as such performances are associated with the giving of food, hair-string, etc., to the performers.

So far as we could ascertain,—though of course the

natives concerned do not admit, probably indeed they do not realise, that such is the case,—the simple fact is that there are some individuals who are more highly gifted with imagination than others. Possibly the performances which they originate may be due in the first instance to dreams. What a savage experiences during a dream is just as real to him as what he sees when he is awake. The natives have a very definite conception of the spirit part of an individual, and imagine that during sleep it can and does wander about freely. Their thoughts at certain times are so much occupied with the performance of sacred ceremonies that very naturally the latter enter into their dreams, with the result that the more highly imaginative ones believe that they have actually been in the company of the *iruntarinia*, and that the latter have shown them the ceremonies which in reality they invent, based probably upon the recollection of what they have seen during a dream.

It is only a very few men amongst the Arunta and Kaitish tribes who thus claim to and are regarded by their fellows as able to see and hold intercourse with the *iruntarinia*. In the Warramunga and northern tribes, while there are special individuals who in much the same way see the spirits, there is no idea of the latter showing them any sacred ceremonies, nor in these northern tribes could we find a belief in any individual comparable to the *arumburinga* of the southern tribes.

The Origin of the Wilyaru Ceremony

In the Alcheringa there lived two hawks in the Urabunna tribe. One was an Irritja and the other was called Wantu-wantu, and each of them was the owner of a tree with a nest and two children in it. The Wantu-wantu used to employ the Irritja to catch black-fellows, on whom he fed. Every day the two went out together, the Irritja in the lead, the Wantu-wantu a little way behind. The Irritja did not like to see the black-fellows killed, and yet he had to do what the Wantu-wantu told him. When he came near to

a camp he always told the black-fellows to run away. Day after day the two hawks went out, and each time Irritja managed to catch only one man, Wantu-wantu always coming up and saying, "Hullo, you have got a big mob to-day;" but Irritja said, "No, I have only caught one." The Wantu-wantu walked about looking at all the tracks and could not understand it, but still Irritja always managed to let all of the men escape except one, whom he was obliged to catch, or else Wantu-wantu might have been very angry. Every day they returned to their trees, Wantu-wantu with human flesh, on which he used to feed his children, and Irritja with wallabies. This kind of thing went on for a long time, until, in order to get men for Wantu-wantu to eat, the two hawks had to go further afield. One day they had been playing about in the sky, and after some time came down to earth and found a camp of natives, three of whom could not get away because they were weak, being covered with boils. Wantu-wantu came up as usual and said, "Well done, my mate; you have caught a big mob here." "No," said Irritja, "I have only got three." However, Wantu-wantu was not satisfied, and searched all about the bushes, thinking that some men must be hiding, but could not find any. The three meanwhile had gone down into a hole in the ground. Wantu-wantu said, "Hullo, I cannot get in." Irritja said, "You go and try again." He tried again but without success, and felt as if he could cry. He thought to himself, "What shall I do? I think I will get a forked stick." He got one, but it was too straight and no use; so he threw it away, and at last got one with a crook at the end, with which he caught hold of the men by the leg and hauled them out one by one. Then he tried again, thinking that there might be more in the hole, but without success. He eat one man himself, and took the two others home to his children. As usual, Irritja walked on ahead, and when he reached the home camp found another little hawk there named Kutta-kutta. He said to him, "Hullo, are you here alone? The old man Wantu-wantu is coming up; you had better get away quickly." But Kutta-kutta, who had a very good opinion of himself, said, "No,

not I, if the old man wants to fight let him come on. I am not afraid of him." Irritja, not wanting to see the little fellow killed and eaten, said, "Now you must go away quickly, before the old fellow sees you; it is no good your staying to fight him." But Kutta-kutta would not go. However, as soon as he saw Wantu-wantu he changed his mind, and said, "Hullo, which way shall I run?" Irritja said, "No, it is too late now." Kutta-kutta said, "I think I will go under your wing"; but Irritja said again, "No, it is too late now; you must stay where you are." "Oh, well," said Kutta-kutta, who was terribly frightened, "I will lie down on the ground and look like bark"; and Irritja, to try and help him, threw some soil over him, though he knew that Wantu-wantu had caught sight of him. Wantu-wantu came up and said, "Where is Kutta-kutta?" though all the time he knew perfectly well where he was. Irritja said, "I do not know which way he has gone." Wantu-wantu pretended to search for his tracks, and after a short time said, "Oh, very well, I am not going to bother about him; I will make a fire." He did so, and when it was burning brightly he said, "I will put the bark on," and picked up the little Kutta-kutta and threw him into the flames. Kutta-kutta was, of course, badly burnt, but he managed to flutter out, crying "*Tuk! tuk! tuk!*" and ran away as hard as he could. The old bird chased him round and round, but could not catch him, and when the sun set he gave the chase up, and said, "Oh, very well, let him go; I must go back to my children." Kutta-kutta ran on until he came to a camp at which lived a bell-bird who had married his sister. There were also some other black-fellows living there. Kutta-kutta went into the bell-bird's camp, and by and by the men returned from hunting. First of all the bell-bird smelt something, and then another man, who was a little lizard called Katta-katta, said to the bell-bird, "Do you smell anything?" Then, when he heard them talking, Kutta-kutta came out and told them that the old Wantu-wantu had put him on the fire, and they said, "All right; we will kill him." Early next morning the bell-bird sent off two painted finches, and told them to go to the camp of

the Irritja and Wantu-wantu and, while they were out in the bush, cut through the trunks of the two trees which held their nests, so as to leave only the bark uncut. The finches did this, and then Baku-baku, the bell-bird, started out with the men who lived in his camp. Marching in two columns, they surrounded the trees of the Irritja and Wantu-wantu and hid themselves in the bushes round about. By and by the two hawks came home, the Irritja as usual carrying wallaby and the Wantu-wantu black-fellows. The Wantu-wantu tried to throw the bodies of the natives up to his children in the nest, but could not. Each time they went into the nest of the Irritja. Wantu-wantu asked the Irritja to throw his wallabies up to the young Wantus, but Irritja declined to do so. Then both birds flew up on to their nests, and as soon as they alighted on them down came the trees with a crash. Before they could get clear of the broken boughs the natives, led by the bell-bird, rushed out upon them. First of all they broke one of Irritja's arms, but he cried out and said, "Don't kill me; I do not eat black-fellows; you kill Wantu-wantu and his children." They did so, and kept the Irritja alive. When all was over the bell-bird said, "I have killed the old Wantu-wantu for you; I think it would be a good thing for all of you to make the same marks on your bodies as I have on mine." They all agreed that this would be the right thing to do. and while they made the marks they sang the bell-bird song—

Baku baku wa yan thidna we
Win muru
Win mure baku bakungu.

The cuts which are now made on the bodies of the Wilyaru men are supposed to represent the marks on the back and on the neck of the bell-bird. At the present day the natives will not eat the hawk Wantu-wantu because, in the Alcheringa, he eat black-fellows, nor will they eat the Irritja because, in the Alcheringa, he helped the natives to escape from the Wantu-wantu.

CHAPTER XIV

MAGIC

Magic associated with pointing-sticks and bones—The *injilla*, *irna*, and *takula* of the Arunta—The *tjinpila*, a double pointing-stick peculiar to one part of the Finke River district—Unmatjera magic—The *ingwaninga*—Kaitish magic — Various forms of pointing-sticks and bones — The *imwania*, *unqurlia*, *therpera*, *atnilinga* — Headman of water totem not allowed to use pointing-sticks—Gnanji pointing-bone called *pirritthi*, made out of the leg bone of a dead man—Radius of dead man carried on avenging expeditions—Women's magic in the Kaitish tribe—*Ittha atumtinna* or yam-stick magic—Women's magic in the Warramunga—Punishing a lubra who has run away from her allotted husband — Magic connected with the dust of a powdered ant-hill—Use of *mauia* magic stones in the northern tribes—Tradition of the origin of *mauia*—Magic associated with the knout *ililika* —The same object used as a waist-girdle by Warramunga and other men, and as a neck-girdle by coastal tribes—Special spots associated with evil magic—Heaps of stones representing the insides of men which are endowed with evil magic—All persons passing by must throw a stone on to the heap —Obtaining wives by magic—Wearing women's head-rings to cure headache —Causing the growth of the breasts of young women in the Arunta, Kaitish, and Warramunga tribes—Ceremonies in the Tjingilli tribe to ensure the growth of the young people — Magic associated with the hair of dead persons in the different tribes — No fear of evil magic being worked by any one in consequence of his possessing a fragment of the hair of any other individual.

THE form of magic most widely spread over the whole of Australia is undoubtedly that which is associated with pointing-sticks and bones. Under various forms and names some one or other of these is always found in every tribe. Amongst the Arunta and Ilpirra tribes there are the *injilla* or *irna*—short sticks or bones with one end sharpened and the other usually, but not always, tipped with porcupine-grass resin (Figs. 121, 121 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*). In addition there is the *takula*, which only differs from the *irna* in being flattened and often ornamented with rings of down or with notches

or rings cut with a fire-stick (Figs. 122, 122*a*). The *injilla* is more especially used by the *Kurdaitcha*[1] man, who, after he has "killed" his enemy, puts the bone under his tongue, thereby rendering him totally oblivious of all that has taken place when, by magic power, he is restored to life, only to sicken and die by slow degrees. The *irna* and *takula* are used by the ordinary native, and it is a striking

FIG. 121.—POINTING THE IRNA. ARUNTA TRIBE.

feature of these tribes, right through the centre of the continent and across eastwards to the Gulf of Carpentaria, that any native can use them, whereas in certain other parts there are only special individuals who can do so, and they

[1] We have dealt with the form of magic associated with the *Kurdaitcha* at length in our previous work (cf. *N. T.* pp. 476-485). The same custom associated with the manufacture of a special form of shoe is met with as far north as the Tjingilli tribe at Powell Creek. The shoes in this part are made out of opossum fur-string, and are called *wata*. A man "going *Kurdaitcha*" is called *Mumba* by the Tjingilli. Other forms of magic used by the Arunta tribe are described in *N. T. loc. cit.*

act as sorcerers. In the Arunta tribe a man desirous of using any one of these goes away by himself to some lonely spot in the bush, and, placing the stick or bone in the

FIG. 121*a*.—INJILLA OR POINTING-BONE, WITH ITS CASE. ARUNTA TRIBE.

FIG. 121*b*.—IRNA OR POINTING-STICK, COVERED MOSTLY WITH BIRDS' DOWN. ARUNTA TRIBE.

ground, crouches down over it muttering the following or some similar curse as he does so :—

"*Ita pukalana purtulinja apinia-a.*" "May your heart be rent asunder."

"*Purtulinja apinia-a intaapa inkirilia quin appani intarpakala-a.*" "May your backbone be split open and your ribs torn asunder."

"*Okinchincha quin appani ilchi ilcha-a.*" "May your head and throat be split open."

Having done this he returns to his camp leaving the *irna* in the ground, but after some time he brings it back

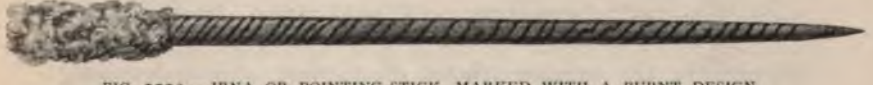


FIG. 121*c*.—IRNA OR POINTING-STICK, MARKED WITH A BURNT DESIGN. ARUNTA TRIBE.

FIG. 121*d*.—INJILLA OR POINTING-BONE. ARUNTA TRIBE.

again and secretes it somewhere close to his camp. Then one evening, after it has grown dark and the men are seated chatting round the *ungunja* (men's camp) fire, he removes the stick from its hiding-place, and, taking care that no one sees him, quietly creeps up until he is close enough to distinguish

the features of his victim. He then stoops down, and turning his back towards the camp takes the *irna* in both hands and jerks it repeatedly over his shoulder, muttering the same curses again. The evil magic called *arungquiltha* goes from the point of the *irna* straight to the man, who afterwards, without apparent cause, sickens and dies, unless his life be saved by some medicine man who can discover and remove the evil magic. The *irna* is then concealed, for if it were

FIG. 122.—TAKULA, A FLATTENED POINTING-STICK ORNAMENTED WITH BURNT DESIGNS AND RINGS OF BIRDS' DOWN. ARUNTA TRIBE.

known that any one had "pointed the bone," that man would at once be killed. Very frequently before the victim dies, the string, which is usually attached to the wax end, is slowly burnt in the fire—an act which is supposed to render the death of the victim as certain as it does the destruction of the string.

A somewhat peculiar form of pointing-stick is the one called *tjinpila*. It is apparently peculiar to a small area of

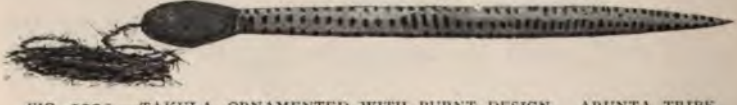


FIG. 122*a*.—TAKULA, ORNAMENTED WITH BURNT DESIGN. ARUNTA TRIBE.

country in the neighbourhood of a place called Running Waters, on the Finke River. This is situated just to the south of the gorge, forty miles in length, by means of which the Finke pierces the James Range on its way to the south. It consists of two flattened pieces of wood about twelve inches in length and tapering to a point at one end; at the other they are imbedded in a mass of porcupine-grass resin, which fills up the space of about an eighth of an inch in width, by which they are separated from one another (Fig. 123). They are tied together by resin in two places, as shown in the figure, and are rubbed over with a mixture of human

blood and charcoal. Human hair-string is attached to the resin, and after having been made the implement is charmed by being sung over, and thus endowed with evil magic. When it is being used two men stand opposite to each other. One of them holds the end of the hair-string while the other grasps the attached ends of the two sticks in both hands, and, stooping down, jerks them backwards between his legs in the direction of the person whom it is desired to injure. At the same time both of the operators mutter curses. The evil magic is supposed to go out from the sticks and enter the body of the man whom it is desired to injure.

FIG. 123.—TJINPILA, A DOUBLE POINTING-STICK. ARUNTA TRIBE.

The pointing apparatus called *injilla ungakura* is made and used by the natives on the Erlitthera Creek. It consists of a long strand of human hair-string, to one end of which five small pointing-bones are affixed, and to the other one pointing-bone and a pair of eagle-hawk claws fastened into a small piece of porcupine-grass resin. When it is being used two men hold it as shown in the illustration.[1] The front man holds the pointing-bones and the hinder man the eagle-hawk claws (Figs. 124, 125). After pointing and jerking it in the direction of the intended victim, a little dust is pushed up in front of the man who has been pointing, forming a small ridge an inch or two high. If this were not done, the chances are that the victim would dream of the Alcheringa camp of the pointer's mother, and would thus at once know that her son had pointed the bone at him. This particular form of magic is said to be much

[1] For an excellent account of magic of various forms see Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin 5, p. 28, Figs. 20-36.

dreaded by natives of other parts. It is also said to cause very great pain, the eagle-hawk claws more especially gripping the internal organs, squeezing and lacerating them.

FIG. 124.—UNGAKURA, POINTING APPARATUS. ARUNTA TRIBE.

Amongst the Unmatjera tribe a special form of stick called *ingwaninga* is "sung." The old man who first gave the stick to our native informant taught him to use the following words—"*Lapura illamina, lapura illamina, Alpongura, lapura illamina, lapura illamina*," the meaning of which he did not know. After being used the stick is brought back and placed on the ground close

FIG. 125.—USING THE UNGAKURA POINTING APPARATUS. ARUNTA TRIBE.

to the man's camp. In the morning, if he sees the point broken, he knows that it has gone inside his victim.

Amongst the Kaitish tribe various forms of pointing-sticks are used (Figs. 126, 127, 128). The *imwania* is a common form; it is about a foot in length, and the man who is desirous of using it goes away to a secret place in the bush and there cuts a stick into the desired form. At one end he fixes on a little lump of resin to which a strand of hair-string is often attached. Then he covers it with blood drawn from himself, and places it close to the fire to dry, after which he burns rings all round it with a fire-stick, and ornaments it with rings of white birds' down. For some time he keeps it secretly in his camp wrapped up in bark. When using it he goes under cover of darkness to his enemy's camp, shuffling along with his feet as he does so. If the man remain asleep he turns his back to him, and taking the *imwania* in both hands, jerks it towards him between his legs. Then he quietly returns to his own camp and places the stick in a hollow log somewhere out in the bush; if any one should happen to find it the stick would be left severely alone, as no native would venture to risk the danger of coming in contact with the evil magic which it contains if he could possibly avoid doing so.

FIG. 126.—POINTING-STICKS. KAITISH TRIBE.

FIG. 127.—POINTING-STICK. KAITISH TRIBE.

FIG. 128.—POINTING-STICK. KAITISH TRIBE.

Another form called *unqurlia* differs from the *imwania* in being covered with red ochre and spotted with drops of blood, the down covering only the very tip of the stick and the resin knob, together with the string. After it has been "sung" the evil magic is present in every part, and should even small specks of down tumble off the natives are very careful lest the very smallest particle should touch their body. If a little bit is carried away by the wind they will follow it up for a long distance, and carefully cover it over with earth.

The *therpera* has notches instead of rings cut with a fire-stick, but is not ornamented with down. Both this and the *unqurlia* are pointed between the legs when being used.

Another kind, called the *atnilinga*, is similar in form to the *therpera*. In the Alcheringa it was used by Bulthara and Panunga men just as other pointing-sticks were used only by men of the other moieties. Not long ago a number of these pointing-sticks, which were supposed to have come down from the Alcheringa times, and to have caused the death of many men, were washed away from their hiding-place during a big flood and lost. During the making of the *atnilinga* the following words are sung time after time—"*Ya pa il perta; ya pa il kari; ya kurti wali; yung wenti kari; ya pa alkari.*" These are so-called Alcheringa words and have no recent meaning.

There is no doubt whatever but that the natives stand in great awe of these pointing-sticks. After considerable persuasion we induced one old man to show us how the *atnilinga* was used. Another native who was with us at the time promptly retired to a safe distance, and after the old man had vigorously jerked the pointing-stick towards an imaginary enemy, he himself was evidently rather upset, and told us that some of the *arungquiltha* or evil magic had gone up into his head. The natives are people of the most wonderful imagination, and we thought at first that it was going to affect him seriously; however we assured him that our medicine chest contained magic powerful enough to counteract the effect of all the *atnilingas* in the tribe, and

gradually he recovered his equanimity. Had he made the stick himself, then the pointing would not have affected him, but he was frightened because its magic was that of some other and unknown person.

Sometimes a spear-head is used for pointing. The one represented in Fig. 129 was obtained by a Kaitish man from a tribe out to the west, and is supposed to be endowed with very strong evil magic. It simply consists of a chipped flake of opaline quartzite with a small mass of resin at one end, to which human hair-string is attached. This pointing apparatus is called *nakitja.*

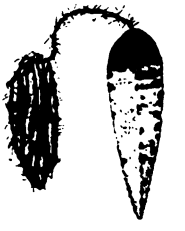


FIG. 129.—SPEAR-HEAD USED AS POINTING APPARATUS AND FOR EVIL MAGIC, CALLED NAKITJA BY THE KAITISH TRIBE.

There is one curious exception in regard to the use of pointing-sticks and bones in the case of the Kaitish tribe, and that is in the instance of the headman of the water totem. He is not supposed ever to handle one, because if he were to do so, then it is believed that the water would stink and go bad.

Sticks and bones, closely similar in form to those above described, are also used in all of the other tribes, and in the Gnanji, Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes a form still more potent is made out of the femur or fibula of a dead man. The Gnanji call this form *pirritthi*, and occasionally one of them is traded south as far as the Warramunga tribe, but it is really only amongst the Gnanji and tribes inhabiting especially the Gulf coast that dead men's bones are actually manufactured into pointing-bones (Plate 1, Fig. 1). Amongst these tribes also the radius of a dead man is always carried on the expedition which goes out to avenge his death, and is attached close to the head of the spear, which cannot then fail to go straight and kill the murderer. Amongst the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes both pointing-bones and sticks are used. Instead of being, as in the Arunta or Warramunga tribe, held in the hand during the performance, they are attached to a spear, and under the cover of darkness are pointed at the man whom it is desired

to harm. The man "speared" in this way is not supposed to know anything about it, but a short time after the evil magic has entered him, he begins to waste away and sooner or later he dies.

All of the above forms are used exclusively by men, who of course are much more concerned with magic than are the women, but at the same time there are certain forms which are peculiar to the latter. In the Kaitish tribe the magic concerned only with women is perhaps better developed than anywhere else in the central area. If a man has had intercourse unlawfully with a woman, and without the latter being a consenting party, she will tell her husband, and acting under his instructions will make a pointing-bone out of the fibula of a wallaby, sharpening it at one end. She carries this about with her as she hunts for food in the bush, "singing" it all the time. When it has thus been endowed with *arungquiltha*, she places it in some spot where the man whom she desires to injure is likely to micturate. Should he or anything belonging to him come into contact with the bone, then at once the evil magic enters into him, with the result that his penis decays and drops off. At the present time there is in the Kaitish tribe, living near to Barrow Creek, an old man who suffered in this way as a result of his misdeeds.

Another form of woman's magic is called *ambua*. When for any reason she desires to injure a man she first of all blows on her fingers (*ittha ambiningua*), and then claws the air, moving her hand up and down with jerks towards the man as he leaves his camp, taking very good care of course that neither he nor any one else sees what she is doing. After this he gradually wastes away; his eyes sink into his head and his muscles wither away until he is a mere skeleton.

To injure another woman, her enemy has recourse to a form of magic called *ittha atuminna*[1] or yam-stick magic. If, as sometimes happens, a black-fellow has two lubras, and the elder of them ill-uses the younger one, the latter takes

[1] *Ittha* is the equivalent of the term *arungquiltha* amongst the Arunta, and signifies either evil magic itself or an object endowed with this.

her yam-stick out into the bush, sings over it, moves it about as if she were pulling something towards her, and then leaves it hidden in some out-of-the-way spot in the scrub. Gradually the older woman becomes ill and wastes away. Then the younger one will perhaps come to the conclusion that her victim has suffered enough, and having brought some fat and red ochre, tells the woman that her illness has been caused by magic, but that she will now cure her. Then she rubs the victim all over with the fat and ochre, and at the same time rubs her with the yam-stick, as if to draw the evil magic back again into the stick. Often also when one woman, as they call it, "growls" at another, the latter will take her yam-stick and sing over it in some retired spot, and then leave it there for a time. Finally she brings it back to camp, and on some pretext or other picks a quarrel with her enemy, and hits her with the yam-stick. The evil magic goes into the woman and she pines away and dies.

Amongst the Warramunga tribe a woman will "sing" three-cornered prickles (seeds of a species of Tribulus), and place them in a spot where men whom they are desirous of injuring are likely to micturate, with the result that the penis decays. If a woman desires to make a man grow thin and poor in condition she will sing one of her own head-rings, and point it secretly towards the man as he walks about. If she has any reason to suspect any other woman of being unduly familiar with her husband, she charms her yam-stick by singing over it, and then points it at the woman, producing thereby a flow of blood from the vulva. She can also punish wrongful intercourse by making and singing over poison bones manufactured out of the leg and arm bones of euros and emus, which are then used in the ordinary way. The Warramunga women have also a special form of pointing-stick called *atnitjarunga*, which, when thrown towards a man, gives him pains in the stomach.

To punish a lubra who has deserted her husband and run away with some other man, the following curious and cruel form of magic is practised. It may be added that

in such cases the woman and not the man is regarded as being most to blame—in fact the men say that it is always the women who incite them to run away. The aggrieved man takes a *kullinia*,—that is, one of the sticks used for making fire by rubbing,—and looks about until he catches a lean old female rabbit-bandicoot with a number of young ones in her pouch. He dislocates both its hip joints but does not kill it, and then, placing it on its back, pretends to make fire by rubbing the *kullinia* against a teat on each side until he has worn them away with the friction. While he does so he sings, "Lubra (mentioning the woman's name), go and kill, go and kill." Before catching the bandicoot he ties string tightly round his own thighs, calves, head, neck, arms, and waist. When he has finished "singing" the bandicoot he leaves it on the ground and runs away as hard as he can for some distance, and then throws himself on the ground, tearing away savagely at the string, and scattering the bits about in all directions. The bandicoot being unable to move dies by slow degrees, and as it dies so the lubra wastes away. If, however, after his return to the camp the man feels at all sorry about the woman, and would like to coax her back again to him, and does not wish her to die, he bleeds his tongue and arm, greases his body with lizard fat, rubs the blood on himself, and drinks a little of it. A little later he again greases and red-ochres himself. The result is that the lubra recovers, and by and by comes back to him again. Otherwise she would soon become unable to move about and would die.

The Kaitish have a special form of magic connected with ant-hills, called *ittha inkupia*. A man who desires to kill another who has done him some real or supposed injury will go out into the scrub, and selecting a small ant-hill a foot or two in height, will "sing" it, and then bring it back secretly into his camp. There he will pound it up, and some day, when all of the men are going out hunting, he will make a pretext to remain in camp alone. When all is safe he steals up to his enemy's camp and scatters the dust over the ground. The fine material cannot be distinguished from the sand, which in this part of the country is daily

blown about in all directions, and the man lies down on it quite unconscious of the fact that any evil magic is round about him. For a few days nothing happens, but gradually the magic begins to act and his inward parts become rotten. His skin becomes affected, and he commences to scratch himself, thinking at first that he has somehow got burnt. Then sores break out and spread all over his body, and he becomes more and more rotten until at last he dies.

Amongst the Kaitish, Warramunga, and northern tribes generally a very potent form of evil magic, called *mauia*, is supposed to be associated with certain special little stones. The latter are only actually procured and endowed with their evil magic by members of the Worgaia and Gnanji tribes, who call the magic *maringilitha*, but they are traded away south as far as the Kaitish tribe, and members of the latter will occasionally use *mauia* when they desire to injure an Arunta man. Each little stone is wrapped up in fold after fold of paper bark and string. When it is used amongst the southern tribes, the usual plan is to powder a little off on to the tip of a spear, and then to drop it very quietly on to the victim's body while he is asleep. Sometimes a little will be carried on a bit of bark between the toes, and may thus be dropped without exciting suspicion on to a sleeping man. A native in the act of doing this is represented in one of the scenes during the performance of the Illionpa corrobboree (Fig. 130). Amongst the Gnanji tribe, from whom supplies of *mauia* or *maringilitha* come to other parts, the man carrying the powder, wrapped up in paper bark, sneaks upon his enemy at night-time. Then he quietly returns to camp, bringing back the paper bark with him, lights a small fire, and burns the bark while his enemy lies asleep. This burning of the bark not only makes the death of the man still more certain, but, according to the speed at which it is burnt up, it can be foretold whether the man will die slowly or rapidly. According to the Warramunga tradition it was an old Pittongu (bat) man who first of all introduced *mauia*; he travelled away to the north from the Murchison Ranges, carrying with him stone arches, stone knives, barbed spears, and *mauia*. Far away to the north he dropped some of the

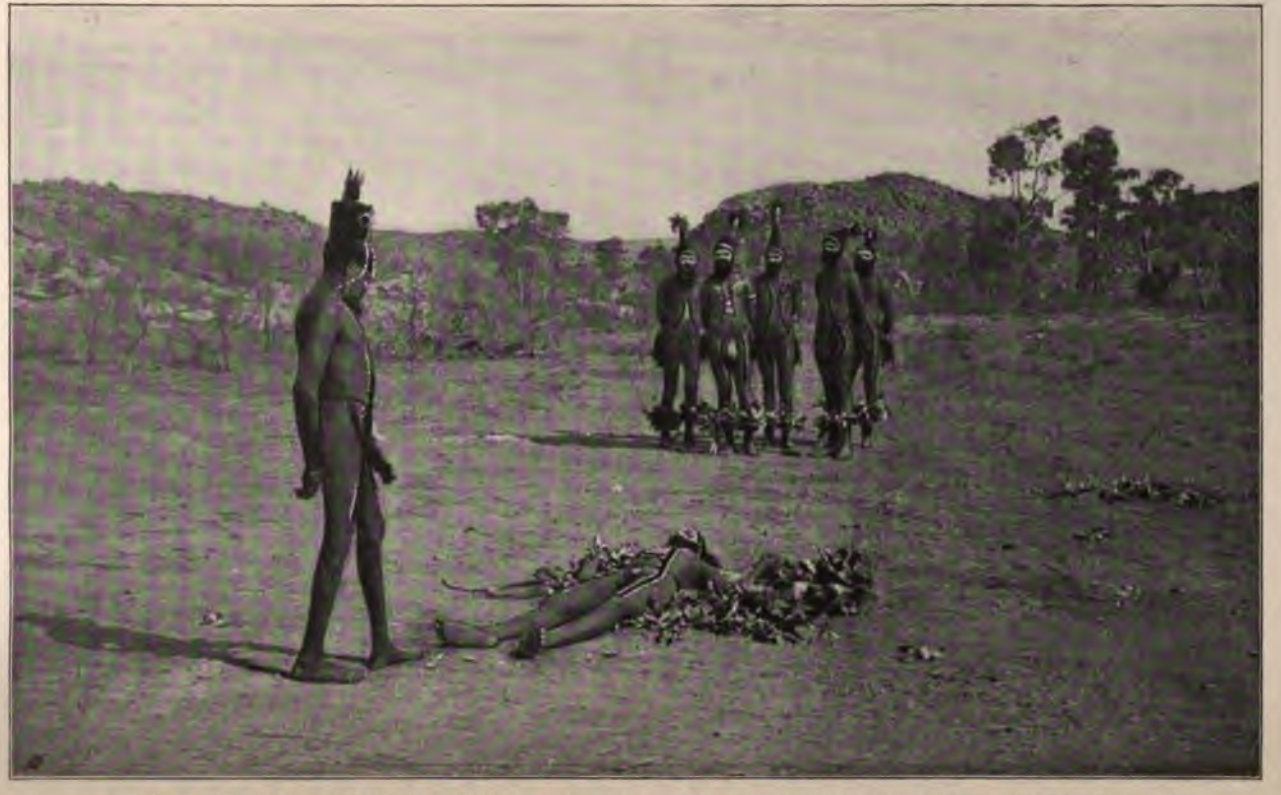


FIG. 130.—SCENE IN THE ILLIONPA CORROBBOREE DEPICTING A MAN GIVING MAUIA TO ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL WHO IS SUPPOSED TO BE LYING ASLEEP. ARUNTA TRIBE.

latter, which fell to earth and made a very great explosion, a stone arising to mark the spot, and from this place *mauia* can now be obtained.

Another instance of magic associated with people living in a distant country is to be found in connection with the *ililika* or knout, usually carried about by the men of the Arunta, Kaitish, and Ilpirra tribes. It consists of from thirty to sixty strands of rather fine string, made from vegetable fibre. In the case of the Arunta and other southern central tribes, the knout is carried about secretly in the man's wallet, and acts as a great deterrent upon any woman who might, for example, feel inclined to disobey her husband. The very sight of the knout is enough to bring her to a sense of what is right and proper, whilst a blow from it is supposed to have most serious and usually fatal effects. Even a distant woman can be injured by cracking the knout in her direction, the evil magic which it contains flying off from it through the air. Amongst the Warramunga and Tjingilli, on the other hand, precisely the same object—there called *watiliki*—is used by most men as an ordinary waist-belt. It is very much in evidence, and not in any way whatever associated with evil magic. Those used by the Arunta have been "sung," usually by Tjingilli men, and then traded away to the south, where they have a special value because they contain the magic of a distant and unknown group of people. Further again to the north-east a similar article is worn as a neck-band, and here it may at times be associated with magic, after the death of the man who has been accustomed to wear it.

In many cases special spots are associated with magic of one form or another. We have previously referred to the place close to Undiara, where an old man named Ungutnika plucked out boils from his body and threw them on the ground, where they changed into stones.[1] If the latter are struck with spears, these are, as it were, inoculated with the essence of boils, which essence can further, along with the spear, be projected in the direction of any individual whom it is desired to afflict with boils. Close by the Jessie Gap,

[1] *N.T.* p. 550 *et seq.*

in the Macdonnell Ranges, is a stone representing an ancient and emaciated emu. Here any one can make a man grow thin by merely rubbing the stone, and at the same time exhorting the evil magic to go forth and afflict his enemy.

On the tableland above the valley of the river Finke, close to a spot called Engurdina, we came across several curious heaps of stones which had very evidently been specially gathered together and taken care of by the natives, and had apparently some special significance. It appears that in the Alcheringa a woman of the Injirra (grass seed) totem lived here and had a son, whom the men of Engurdina took away to a distant place, called Urapuntja,—the mountain of fire,—in the Macdonnell Ranges, for the purpose of initiating him there. He was *aralkirra*,—that is, fair in colour, —and the men of Urapuntja took a great fancy to him, and determined if possible to keep him amongst them. After much discussion they prevailed upon his local friends to leave him behind, and to go back taking one of their Urapuntja youths in exchange for him. The old Injirra woman was constantly on the look-out, waiting for the return of the party with her son. After a long time she at last saw a party of natives, accompanied by some of the Urapuntja men and the youth coming towards Engurdina over the sand-hills. Even in the far distance she knew that it was not her own son, and was very angry, and went away to put some *arungquiltha* in the water which, according to custom, she carried out to meet them. The men, knowing nothing about the presence of *arungquiltha* in the water, drank it and immediately became very ill, vomiting out their insides, and so died miserably. The heaps of stones now represent what they vomited forth. The boy whom they brought back with them did not die immediately, but crawled away on hands and knees to a place close down by the river itself and died there, a stone arising to mark the spot. A fire lighted at this stone has the effect of making the sand so hot that it is uncomfortable to walk on, and in this way it is possible to annoy people, because the heat will travel out from the stone to wherever they may happen to be travelling. The heaps of stones representing the

insides of the men are under the charge of a man of the Injirra totem, and fires lighted upon them will make it comfortably warm in cold weather. After killing the men, the old Injirra woman lived on for some time, but at last she died, and where her body lay a stone arose charged with *arungquiltha*. The stone is called *aperta arakutja* (which simply means woman's stone), and by rubbing it and muttering curses the magic can be made to go out and kill people.

At Charlotte Waters we witnessed a ceremony having reference to an old Alcheringa man of the brown-snake totem. It is now in the possession of a man of the same totem named Erlikilliakirra. The old man was blind, and while he was out of camp one day two men came from Witjita and stole his lubra. He found out where they had gone to, and started to follow them up, feeling his way with a long stick. He tracked them as far as what is now called Mount Frank, nine miles to the south of Charlotte Waters, but was quite unable to overtake them and recover his lubra, so he returned to his camp, and finally went into the ground at a place called Upnura-kanara, where a big gum-tree arose to mark the spot. This tree is now known as the *apera akiltja* (blind tree), and it is believed that, if it were to be cut down, all of the natives living round about would at once become blind. Not only this, but in addition any evil-minded individual can go to the tree for the purpose of producing blindness in an enemy. All that has to be done is to rub the trunk and at the same time mutter an exhortation to the *arungquiltha* to go forth and make his enemy blind.

The Kaitish people have a belief that the sun, who is regarded as having originally been a woman, arose in the east and travelled away to the west to a place called Allumba. Here there arose a great tree which must not be destroyed. If any one were to kill it, then every native would be burnt up. Nothing on it may be touched. If a native were to kill and eat an opossum caught on the tree, then the magic from the latter, which is imparted to everything on it, would pass from the opossum into him and burn up all of his insides.

Not far from Undulia, twelve miles to the east of Alice Springs, there is a special heap of stones. Here in the Alcheringa there lived two men of the eagle-hawk totem who —so says tradition—one day eat a large number of eagle-hawk men, women, and children, filling themselves very full. They became very ill as a result of their greed, and vomited up everything—what they brought forth being now represented by the heaps of stones called *ulkutha*. These stones are full of evil magic, and for the purpose of keeping it from coming out they must be covered with sticks and kept hidden from view. If they should happen to be exposed, then any person passing by and seeing them would immediately become very sick ; indeed the natives say that once some men had the misfortune to catch sight of the stones, and became so ill that they vomited forth their livers. At the present time any native passing by—man, woman, or child—must throw a stick on to the heap, and so help to keep the evil magic down and prevent it from issuing forth.

The only other instance with which we are acquainted of this particular aspect of magic is in association with an old ancestor of the Muntilieru (a little rat) totem in the Urabunna tribe. During his travels he is reported to have attempted to have intercourse with women who had not passed through the ceremony of *atna ariltha kuma*. As a punishment his penis was broken, and he fell down dead at a place called Atnintjimera, the women also dying there. Two stones arose to mark the spot, and they are now full of evil magic, which is so strong that, if any but old men go near to the place, it will kill them. Every now and again a very old man will go near and throw stones and bushes on to the spot so as to keep the evil magic down.

Throughout all the tribes there are certain well-recognised methods of obtaining a wife by magic, and they vary very little from tribe to tribe. In all cases the woman so obtained is supposed to belong to the proper class into which the man may lawfully marry. In the event of his magic being successful, he will, sooner or later, have to fight the individual from whom he has stolen the woman, while the latter is quite sure to meet with rough treatment. If he

should obtain a lubra belonging to a class with the members of which it is not lawful for him to have marital relations, then both of them are almost certain to be killed, though perhaps some time may elapse before the opportunity arises of killing the man, who knows perfectly well what a risk he is running. The obtaining of a woman by magic is one of the most fruitful sources of quarrels amongst all of the tribes. The method of procedure depends upon whether the woman belongs to a distant or to the man's own group. In the former case he swings the little Churinga called *Nama-twinna*, usually spending the night out in the scrub with his friends when he does so. The whole time is spent in singing and continually swinging the little bull-roarer, the humming sound of which is supposed to be carried far away to the ear of the woman whom he desires to charm. She responds in many cases to the invitation, and sooner or later comes to the man's country to meet him. What usually happens is, of course, that an elopement of the kind takes place when a visit is paid by blacks from a distance to some other camp, and the woman convinces herself, and the man also, that she heard the sound of the bull-roarer far away in her own country.

When the woman lives in the same locality as the man the latter usually charms his head-band, *lonka-lonka*, or perhaps his pubic tassel. The head-band is rubbed against the remarkable white trunk of a special species of gum-tree (*Eucalyptus terminalis*) which grows in the central area. The man goes out into the bush, carrying his forehead-band, and singing the woman's eyes and internal organs as he walks along. The woman is either supposed—and she alone—to see the head-band shining brightly as the man dances at the corrobboree ground, or else he takes occasion to whisper to her that he is going to some special spot, to which, as a general rule, she follows him and they run away together. In much the same way the *lonka-lonka*—a shell ornament used to hang down from the waist-girdle—or the pubic tassel is sung over and thus charmed, the latter after it has been rubbed over with pipe-clay.

Sometimes the conditions are reversed, and it is the

lubra who charms the man by means of singing his forehead-band, armlet, or neck-band; but in all cases it is customary to blame the woman, and say that she was the real cause of the elopement.

Seeing the often extremely cruel treatment with which the women who are guilty of elopement usually meet, it is really a matter of wonder that they ever consent to it. In addition to being knocked about with a fighting club and most severely handled, the enraged husband, when his erstwhile wife falls into his hands, will, on some occasions, push a lighted fire-stick into the vulva, often thereby causing terrible injury, though at the same time it is marvellous how rapidly and completely the women recover from wounds which would most likely prove fatal to a civilised person.

Amongst the Warramunga and Tjingilli especially, the men adopt a form of magic for the curing of headache not met with amongst the more southern tribes. Very frequently in camp we saw men wearing women's head-rings, which in most cases belonged to their wives (Fig. 131). This was connected with the belief that the pain in the head would pass into the rings, and that then it could be thrown away with them into the bush, and so got rid of effectually. The natives have a very firm belief in the efficacy of this treatment. In the same way when a man suffers from internal pain, usually brought on by overeating, his wife's head-rings are placed on his stomach; the evil magic which is causing all the trouble passes into them, and they are then thrown away into the bushes, where the magic is supposed to leave them. After a time they are searched for by the woman, who brings them back, and again wears them in the ordinary way.

Amongst all of these tribes there are certain forms of magic associated with causing the growth of the breasts of young women. In the Arunta the men assemble at the *ungunja*—their camp—and sing songs, the burden of some of which is an exhortation to the breasts to grow. Others have the effect of charming some fur-string, red ochre, and fat which are being mixed together by a man who is a brother of the girl's mother. This man, or another who

stands in the same relationship, then goes to a spot to which the girl has been brought by her mother. There he rubs her all over with fat, and paints a circle of red ochre round each nipple, and lines down the chest and back. Her neck, head, shoulders, and chest are decorated with fur-string, and after this has been done she is taken out to a special camp in the bush, where she remains under the charge of her mother until such time as the design has

FIG. 131.—MAN WEARING WOMAN'S HEAD-RINGS AS A MAGIC CURE FOR HEADACHE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

worn off. In the Kaitish tribe the paternal grandfather sends a small *pitchi* containing string, fat, red ochre, eagle-hawk feathers, rabbit-bandicoot tail tips, and charcoal, all of which he has charmed by singing over them. They are given to the girl's maternal grandmother, who takes her into the bush, and, after singing over her all day long, paints a black line across the face, enclosing the eyes, a red band on the nose, circles round the breast, and lines up and down the chest. Eagle-hawk feathers and rabbit-bandicoot tail tips are allowed to droop down over her forehead from

under her head-bands, and a special fur-string band is fastened round her neck. The girl has to carry the *pitchi* about with her until such time as her breasts are developed, when she first of all breaks it up, and then throws the pieces away, so that they cannot be used again. The hair-string and bands she keeps until such time as the milk first comes into her breasts, when she gives them to her elder sister.

Amongst the Warramunga tribe, to make a young girl grow, the man to whom she has been allotted by her mother's brother sings over her body as she lies flat on the ground, muttering incantations with his mouth close to the different parts of the body—calves, thighs, legs, stomach, chest, and head. Then he sings her head-bands, places them again on her head, and puts fur-string crosswise over her shoulders and under her arms. He presents her with a small bean-tree *pitchi*, which he has specially made and "sung" for the purpose, telling her always to carry it about with her, and it will make her grow. At night-time she is made to lie down and sleep on ashes, which are supposed to have the effect of making her grow strong and fat.

For the purpose of making a lean woman fat the Warramunga procure a specially fat young opossum, out of its mother's pouch, and give it to the woman to eat.

The Tjingilli have a special custom of some importance which is not met with, so far as we are aware, in any other of these tribes. To make both young men and women grow strong and well favoured, the men perform, at intervals of time, a long series of ceremonies called collectively *wantju*, dealing with the various totems. There is no special reference to the young men or women in them, but they are performed solely with the idea and object of increasing the growth of the younger members of the tribe, who are not, of course, allowed either to see or to take any part in them.

The magic customs concerned with hair are largely dealt with elsewhere,[1] especially in connection with the description of the death and burial rites. Throughout the whole of the tribes studied by us, from the Urabunna in the

[1] See chapter on Death and Burial.

PLATE I.—OBJECTS OF MAGIC.

1. Aru-pero used for magic. See p. 10.
2. Kaitish, Unmatjera, Umbaia, Worgaia, and the Gnanji, Binbir[illegible] hair of the head [illegible] after death and u[illegible] and Unmatjera o[illegible] moved; in the Kai[illegible] into a special ma[illegible] (Fig. 2); further no[illegible] are used, but in [illegible]n, apparently, to [illegible] are preserved.
3. Aluwiri, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
4. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
5. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
6. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
7. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
8. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
9. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
10. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
11. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
12. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
13. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
14. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
15. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
16. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
17. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
18. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
19. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
20. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
21. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
22. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
23. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
24. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
25. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
26. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
27. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
28. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
29. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
30. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
31. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
32. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
33. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
34. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
35. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
36. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
37. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
38. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
39. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
40. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
41. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
42. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
43. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
44. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
45. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
46. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
47. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
48. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
49. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
50. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
51. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
52. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
53. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
54. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
55. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
56. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
57. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
58. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
59. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
60. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
61. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
62. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
63. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
64. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
65. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
66. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
67. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
68. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
69. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
70. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
71. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
72. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
73. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
74. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
75. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
76. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
77. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
78. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
79. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
80. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
81. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
82. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
83. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
84. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
85. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
86. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
87. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
88. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
89. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
90. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
91. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
92. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
93. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
94. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
95. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
96. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
97. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
98. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
99. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.
100. Akwaiwaia, Binbinga, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. See p. 10.

Kaitish, Unmatj
, Umbaia, Worg
he Gnanji, Binbir
air of the head
ter death and u
nd Unmatjera o
oved; in the Kai
nto a special ma
g. 2); further no
are used, but in
n, apparently, to
are preserved.
e such sacred ob
-wailia and *akunt*
nmi (Tjingilli),
he dead man (Plat
because it is suppo
f the dead man,
possessor. With v
e are aware, the l
men only, the wor
way while it is cut
arramunga tribe, wh
about with them li
up into a small pa
cases is that of t
er. It is this man w
trothing them to ot
sen from amongst
ession of a lock of
he fact that they h
, and at the same t
the advances of ot

ngst all of these tri
e manufacture of var
string. The disposa
or alive, is regulated
ble value is placed u

it. As everybody presents his or her hair to some one else at stated times, it would be a comparatively easy matter for any evil-minded person to secure a clipping of the hair of any one else. He has only to ascertain, which he can do without the slightest difficulty, to whom the hair was given, and then nothing would be easier than to steal a little bit of string made from the hair of the person whom he desires to injure. The result is that no one is afraid of any any one else possessing his or her hair, and there is never any attempt made to practise that form of magic so common amongst savage tribes, even in other parts of Australia, which consists in burning, or performing some kind of magic charm on the hair, with the idea that the person from whom it has been cut can be injured thereby.

CHAPTER XV

THE MAKING AND POWER OF MEDICINE MEN

The function of medicine men in the central tribes is to withdraw and not to impart evil magic—Made in the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes by the spirits called *iruntarinia*—The making of a medicine man in the Unmatjera—Two kinds of medicine men in the Warramunga—Making of one by a spirit called *puntidir*—Others made by Worgaia men—Restrictions in regard to the food of the younger medicine men in the Warramunga—Freedom from punishment of the medicine men who transgress the marital rules—Making of medicine men in the Binbinga tribe by spirits called *mundadji* and *munkaninji*—In the Mara tribe by spirits called *minungara*—In the Anula tribe the profession is hereditary in the *Yuntanara* or falling-star totem—Medicine men or women can only "give a bone," and cannot withdraw evil magic.

IN all the tribes, with one exception, there are certain individuals to whom the name of medicine men may be given. They are supposed in every case to have had stones or other objects placed in their bodies by certain spirit individuals, and by virtue of them they can counteract, to a greater or less extent, the evil magic to which any bodily pain is always attributed.

With the one exception of the Anula tribe, on the Gulf coast, the function of the medicine man is to withdraw, and not to impart, evil magic. In some other tribes—as, for example, those described by Roth in Central Queensland [1]—the medicine men are provided, by some mythic individual or animal, with special pointing-sticks or bones, by means of which they can "bone" men and women to death. Amongst the central tribes there is no belief of this kind in regard to

[1] Roth, *loc. cit.*, p. 153. For a further account of medicine men see also Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin 5, p. 29.

the medicine men. Like any other member of the tribe they can, if they desire to do so, employ evil magic to injure some other individual, but this is not in any way associated with the special powers which they are supposed to possess as medicine men. These are entirely curative in their effect.

So soon as a native feels unwell he will call in the aid of a medicine man, of whom there may be a very considerable number. The pain or discomfort experienced is due to evil magic, which in some concrete form has entered the patient's body, and must be removed, very often in such a form that the patient can see it for himself. In serious cases several men will be called in consultation, and, just as amongst ourselves, there are certain eminent members of the profession who are supposed to be much more able than the rank and file, and whose services are much sought after. Except in one very curious case, mentioned later, when dealing with the Warramunga tribe, there is nothing whatever by way of reward or privilege given or accorded to a medicine man in recompense for his services.

In all essential points the making of medicine men is closely similar in the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes. As a general rule they are made by the spirits called *irunt-arinia*, or their equivalents, and in all cases their functions consist to a great extent in the removal of "bones" and other forms of evil magic. A celebrated medicine man named Ilpailurkna, a member of the Unmatjera tribe, told us that, when he was made into a medicine man, a very old doctor came one day and threw some of his *atnongara* stones [1] at him with a spear-thrower. Some hit him on the chest, others went right through his head, from ear to ear, killing him. The old man then cut out all of his insides, intestines, liver, heart, lungs—everything in fact, and left him lying all night long on the ground. In the morning the old man came and looked at him and placed some more *atnongara* stones inside

[1] These *atnongara* stones are small crystalline structures which every medicine man is supposed to be able to produce at will from his body, through which it is believed that they are distributed. In fact it is the possession of these stones which gives his virtue to the medicine man.

his body and in his arms and legs, and covered over his face with leaves. Then he sang over him until his body was all swollen up. When this was so he provided him with a complete set of new inside parts, placed a lot more *atnongara* stones in him, and patted him on the head, which caused him to jump up alive. The old medicine man then made him drink water and eat meat containing *atnongara* stones. When he awoke he had no idea as to where he was, and said, "*Tju, tju, tju*"—"I think I am lost." But when he looked round he saw the old medicine man standing beside him, and the old man said, "No, you are not lost; I killed you a long time ago." Ilpailurkna had completely forgotten who he was and all about his past life. After a time the old man led him back to his camp and showed it to him, and told him that the woman there was his lubra, for he had forgotten all about her. His coming back in this way and his strange behaviour at once showed the other natives that he had been made into a medicine man.

Just as in the Arunta tribe, the medicine man must be very careful not to eat too much fat, or to allow a big ant to bite him, for if either of these things should happen the *atnongara* stones would leave his body, and with them he would lose his medical powers. He has also for the same reason to be very careful not to drink anything hot, or else the *atnongara* stones would disappear from him at once. Not very long ago a medicine man living near to one of the telegraph stations completely lost his powers through inadvertently taking a drink of hot tea. As soon as ever he had done this he felt somehow that his powers had left him, and now he has no *atnongara* stones left in his body, and cannot practise the profession.

Amongst the Warramunga there are two very distinct kinds of doctors, and concerning one of these, who are made by old practitioners in the neighbouring Worgaia tribe, there is perhaps greater secrecy maintained than in connection with anything else concerned with their customs. The other kind is made by a spirit called *puntidir*, who lives out in the Mulga scrub, and is the equivalent of one of the *iruntarinia* amongst the Arunta. The following is an account of what

took place when a Tjupila man of the Mungaritji (large Varanus lizard) totem was created a medicine man. He had been engaged in a fight near to Renner's Springs, on the northern boundary of the Warramunga territory, and was out in the scrub by himself, spearing euro on the hill-sides. He noticed two men walking about, but at first, as they were a long way off, and he knew that there were several of his own friends out hunting, just like himself, he took no notice of them. After a little time he killed a euro, and tried to make a fire in the usual way by rubbing two sticks together, but to his surprise, though the wood was quite dry, he could not get a light. Then he left the euro and went, just at sundown, to have a drink, but, to his astonishment and fright, he saw the same two men seated by the water-hole, and, recognising at once that they were strangers, and being therefore afraid of them, he went away to another rock-hole a little distance off. Still more to his astonishment, he found them seated down there by the water when he arrived. Then he was genuinely alarmed, and went back to where he had left the euro, without attempting to get a drink, expecting them to attack him any moment. By and by he lost sight of them. The sun went down and he camped all night, hiding in the long grass, so as to try and keep out of the sight of the men. Next day he spent wandering about, but still saw the two men, who appeared to be watching his movements. The day after this, just at sunrise, he went up to a rock-hole and secured some lizards and cooked them in a fire which he made there. He had stooped down to drink water, and had just lifted his head up again, when he saw the two strangers once more standing close to him. He was very frightened, and had just got his spear poised on the thrower when they said, "Don't kill us; we are your father and brother." He knew then that they were really spirits and was much alarmed, and went away, intending to return at once to his own camp, where his lubra was remaining behind. As he went away they shouted after him, asking him to stay with them, but, thinking that they wanted to put him in the water-hole, he walked on all the more quickly, and came to

a big rock, and there, to his fright and astonishment, were

FIG. 132.—MEDICINE MAN IN THE WARRAMUNGA TRIBE WEARING THE MAGIC KUPITJA THROUGH THE HOLE IN THE NASAL SEPTUM.

the two men, and he could not imagine which way they had come up. They told him to come with them and they

would show him a big corrobboree. But he said, "No, I want to go back to my own country," and so the two strangers, whom he now recognised as *puntidirs*, or spirit men, walked off. He sat down for some time, and then got up and danced. The two *puntidirs* returned after a time, looking very angry, and bringing with them pointing-bones. At night the man made a big fire and lay down to sleep, but, while he slept, the *puntidirs* came sneaking up and "boned" him, so that he died. While he was lying dead they cut him open and took all his insides out, providing him, however, with a new set, and, finally, they put a little snake inside his body, which endowed him with the powers of a medicine man. Then they went away and left him alone. Meanwhile his friends had become anxious about him, and set out to follow up his tracks. At length an old man came upon his body, and returned to camp to tell the others that he was dead, so some of them started off to get the tree grave ready, while others went to carry the body to the tree. Before, however, they reached the spot at which the *puntidirs* had left him, he had returned to life again, and then they knew that he had been made into a medicine man. He has since that time lost his powers, but, when in full possession of them, could easily draw evil magic out of anybody, by just passing his hands over their bodies without even having to suck the affected part.

The majority of medicine men in the Warramunga tribe are, however, made by old Worgaia men, and, as we have already said, there is very great mystery attaching to this matter. Every one of these medicine men wears through his nose a little structure called a *kupitja* (Fig. 132), which is at once both the emblem of his profession and very closely associated, in some mysterious way, with his powers as a medicine man.[1] In the Arunta and Kaitish

[1] We have not been able to examine the structure of these, as it was only with the very greatest difficulty and payment of a most liberal reward, that we could persuade a medicine man to part with one, and before doing this he had to gain the permission of the old Worgaia man who had originally initiated him into the mysteries of the craft. In shape it is cylindrical, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, with the two ends bluntly rounded off. Its external surface is made of fur-string, with a thick coating of grease and red ochre. Probably it is altogether nothing more than a little cylindrical mass of tightly wound fur-

tribes the only food restrictions of any importance referring to the medicine men are the prohibition of fat and hot drinks, but, in the Warramunga, they are very comprehensive—at least so far as the young doctors are concerned. Until they are old they are strictly forbidden to eat euro, black snake, carpet snake, white snake, kangaroo, emu, turkey, wild dog, native cat, big lizards, and certain grass seeds, and must only drink a moderate amount of water. Not only will any infringement of these restrictions cause the loss of medical powers, but it will result in very severe illness and probably death. We have elsewhere described how the Tjunguri man, who was by no means very young, was seized, as a result of eating euro, with an illness which proved to be fatal. Further still, every young doctor—that is, a medicine man whose hairs have not turned grey—must bring in the above foods to the old doctors; if he neglects to do this then he is again liable to severe illness. In fact the old doctors, and especially the particular man who made him into a medicine man, can kill a younger one who fails to comply with this rule.

When they are being made the candidates are not allowed to have any rest, but are obliged to stand or walk about until they are thoroughly exhausted and scarcely know what is happening to them. They are not allowed to drink a drop of water or taste food of any kind. They become, in fact, dazed and stupified, and, when in this state, are spoken of as *ungalinni*. Their sides are cut open, and, as usual, their internal organs are removed, and they are provided with a new set. A snake, called *Irman*, the great efficacy of which consists in the fact that it comes from the Worgaia country, is put into their head. Finally, one of the *kupitjas*, which are supposed to have been made by the snakes in the Alcheringa, is put through the hole in the nasal septum. The most profound mystery attaches to this innocent-looking little object, and we had the very

string. No young medicine man to whom one of them has been given would ever dream of conducting an investigation into its structure. He implicitly believes the old man, who tells him that it was made in the Alcheringa and is full of magic power.

greatest difficulty in persuading them to part with one. When first put through the nose it is described as producing a "biting" sensation, and it is supposed to be endowed with the most active magic powers, just as are the *atnongara* stones in the Arunta medicine man. In serious cases the *kupitja* is projected into the body of the patient, and here its magic counteracts the evil influence which is causing illness. The old Worgaia doctor—a very eminent man in his profession, and the maker of many young practitioners in the Warramunga tribe—placed one of these in the head of a Tjunguri man who was very ill, and by its means drove out the bone of a dead man which was causing the trouble. We saw him one day, in the presence of five other medicine men, solemnly feel the patient's head, and then point out to the others the exact position of the *kupitja* under the skin on the temple. A day or two later, according to the same authority, it had passed out of the head into the body, driving the dead man's bone before it. When the latter had been forced down below the waist, a hair-girdle was tied very tightly round, so as to prevent it from finding its way up again into the chest. The possession of these *kupitjas*, which of course he makes, is of the greatest advantage to the old Worgaia man, who positively declined to tell us anything about them except that they were made in the Alcheringa by some very powerful old snakes.

To this particular set of medicine men the name of *Urkutu*, the general term for snakes, is given, and, whilst in certain respects they have to be very careful in their conduct, yet they are allowed peculiar license in other directions. On one occasion we saw one of them lose his powers simply because, during a fight, he had struck a tribal father, who was a doctor much older than himself, with a boomerang. On the other hand, we could not understand how, one day, during a great disturbance, which arose because one man had been interfering with another man's lubra, the man who was the prime offender was actually not touched, though in the course of it the woman concerned, and others also, came in for very severe handling. Under ordinary circumstances he would have fared badly, but he was one of these medicine

men, and they may not be touched for an offence of this kind. Though the medicine men are all allowed remarkable freedom in this respect, the women concerned are punished just as they would be under ordinary circumstances. This is the only instance we met with in which any such license was allowed to any group of men. It is not, apparently, often taken advantage of, as, though not punishable, yet such conduct on the part of a medicine man is regarded as decidedly reprehensible.

In the Binbinga tribe the doctors are supposed to be made by the spirits, who are called Mundadji and Munkaninji, father and son. An old Thakomara man named Kurkutji, who is a celebrated medicine man in the tribe, told us that one day he walked into a cave in a hill called Yaua, not far away from Borroloola, on the Macarthur River, which flows into the Gulf of Carpentaria. The old Mundadji who, unknown to him, was wandering about, came up, caught him by the neck, and killed him. Mundadji cut him open, right down the middle line, took out all of his insides and exchanged them for those of himself, which he placed in the body of Kurkutji. At the same time he put a number of sacred stones in his body. After it was all over the younger spirit, Munkaninji, came up and restored him to life, told him that he was now a medicine man, and showed him how to extract bones and other forms of evil magic out of men. Then he took him away up into the sky and brought him down to earth close to his own camp, where he heard the natives mourning for him, thinking that he was dead. For a long time he remained in a more or less dazed condition, but gradually he recovered and the natives knew that he had been made into a medicine man. When he operates the spirit Munkaninji is supposed to be near at hand watching him, unseen of course by ordinary people. When taking a bone out, an operation usually conducted under the cover of darkness, Kurkutji first of all sucks very hard at the stomach of the patient and removes a certain amount of blood. Then he makes passes over the body, punches, pounds and sucks, until at last the bone comes out and is then immediately, before it can be seen by the onlookers, thrown in the

direction of the spot at which Munkaninji is sitting down quietly watching. Kurkutji then tells the natives that he must go and ask Munkaninji if he will be so kind as to allow him, Kurkutji, to show the bone to them, and permission having been granted, he goes to the spot at which he has, presumably, previously deposited one, and returns with it.

In the Mara tribe the practice of making doctors, who are called *mungurni*, is almost identical with the above. When a black-fellow wishes to become a doctor he collects a considerable quantity of fat from the echidna, kangaroo, emu, lizard, etc., and making a big fire towards sunset in some lonely spot where no one else is likely to come, he burns the fat, the smell of which, ascending into the sky, attracts the attention of two spirits called Minungarra who live there. They come down to earth, and seeing the man and knowing what he wants, they tell him not to be too frightened for they do not want to kill him altogether. First of all they make him insensible, and in the usual way cut him open and take out all his organs, which are then replaced by those of one of the spirits. Then he is brought to life again, told that he is now a doctor, shown how to take bones and evil magic out of men, and carried up into the sky. Finally he is brought down and placed near to his own camp, where he is found by his friends who have been mourning for him. They ask him what is the matter, and he tells them that the spirits have made him into a doctor. Amongst the powers possessed by a Mara medicine man is that of climbing at night-time by means of a rope, invisible to ordinary mortals, into the sky, where he can hold converse with the star people.

The idea in the Anula tribe, which in most of its customs and traditions is very closely similar to the Mara, in regard to doctors is quite distinct from that of any other tribe with which we have come into contact. The profession is strictly hereditary in the members of the Yuntanarra or falling-star totem, who are especially associated with the unfriendly spirits living in the sky. The Anula doctor is called *munkani*, and may be either a man or a woman.

Strictly speaking, he is a wizard or sorcerer rather than a doctor, as his powers consist in the giving of "bones" and not in the withdrawing of evil magic. The natives have special incantations which are sung both to oust the evil magic and to prevent it from entering them, and in serious cases they call in the assistance of a medicine man from some neighbouring and friendly tribe. Kurkutji, for example, the Binbinga man, is in frequent request amongst the Anula, who live in the part adjoining his own country.

CHAPTER XVI

BELIEFS IN BEINGS ENDOWED WITH SUPERIOR POWERS

Alcheringa individuals were endowed with powers superior to those of living men —No idea of appealing to any of them for assistance—No belief in a superior being who is pleased if a certain line of moral conduct is followed and no belief in reward or punishment—There is, however, a strict moral code—At initiation youths learn that the supposed spirit creature believed in by the women is a myth—Very easy to form a wrong conclusion in regard to the belief in a supreme being as the result of native statements, without minute investigations—Development of ancestor worship rendered practically impossible owing to beliefs in reincarnation—The Wollunqua forms the only exception to the rule that there is no appeal of any kind made to, or attempt to propitiate, any Alcheringa ancestor—The mischievous spirits or Oruntja —The spirit Twanyirika in the Arunta and Unmatjera not supposed to inculcate moral ideas—Atnatu of the Kaitish—Lives in the sky, and sent some of his children who displeased him down to the earth—Is angry if the bull-roarer is not sounded during initiation—The women think that the bull-roarer is the voice of Tumana—Murtu-murtu of the Warramunga—In the Binbinga the women think the bull-roarer is the voice of a spirit called Katajalina who takes the boy away—In the Anula they think it the voice of the spirit Gnabia—Mara and Binbinga belief in two hostile spirits in the sky and one friendly one in the woods—The injunctions laid upon the novice at the time of initiation—Insistence upon these is of advantage to the old men—In no case have they the sanction of a superior being.

THE Central Australian native is firmly convinced, as will be seen from the accounts relating to their Alcheringa ancestors, that the latter were endowed with powers such as no living man now possesses. They could travel underground or mount into the sky, and could make creeks and water-courses, mountain ranges, sand-hills, and plains. In very many cases the actual names of these natives are preserved in their traditions, but, so far as we have been able to discover, there is no instance of any one of them being regarded

in the light of a "deity." Amongst the Central Australian natives there is never any idea of appealing for assistance to any one of these Alcheringa ancestors in any way, nor is there any attempt made in the direction of propitiation, with one single exception in the case of the mythic creature called Wollunqua, amongst the Warramunga tribe, who, it may be remarked, is most distinctly regarded as a snake and not as a human being. The Central Australian natives—and this is true of the tribes extending from Lake Eyre in the south to the far north and eastwards across to the Gulf of Carpentaria —have no idea whatever of the existence of any supreme being who is pleased if they follow a certain line of what we call moral conduct and displeased if they do not do so. They have not the vaguest idea of a personal individual other than an actual living member of the tribe who approves or disapproves of their conduct, so far as anything like what we call morality is concerned.[1] Any such idea as that of a future life of happiness or the reverse, as a reward for meritorious or as a punishment for blameworthy conduct is quite foreign to them. Every individual, whatever be his or her manner of life, is supposed, when dead, to return sooner or later to the spot at which he or she lived in the Alcheringa, and may at a subsequent time undergo reincarnation. We know of no tribe in which there is a belief of any kind in a supreme being who rewards or punishes the individual according to his moral behaviour, using the word moral in the native sense.

It must not, however, be imagined that the Central Australian native has nothing in the nature of a moral code. As a matter of fact he has a very strict one, and during the initiation ceremonies the youth is told that there are certain things which he must do and certain others which he must not do, but he quite understands that any punishment for the infringement of these rules of conduct, which are thus laid down for him, will come from the older men, and not at

[1] The only possible exception to this is the belief concerned with the superior being called Atnatu by the Kaitish people, but he has nothing whatever to do with the inculcation of moral precepts, and is only supposed to be pleased or displeased according as the bull-roarer is or is not made to sound during initiation.

all from any supreme being of whom he hears nothing whatever. In fact he then learns that the spirit creature, whom up to that time, as a boy, he has regarded as all-powerful, is merely a myth, and that such a being does not really exist, and is only an invention of the men to frighten the women and children.

Amongst all of the twenty tribes with which we are acquainted who occupy the whole central and north-central area of the continent, there is apparently no equivalent [1] of the beings called Baiame or Daramulun, of whom we hear amongst tribes inhabiting certain parts of east and south-east Australia.

In connection with this subject it is perhaps worth while drawing attention to the fact that it would be a very easy matter indeed to form, as the result of a general statement such as might be made by any individual native in reply to a question, a very wrong impression with regard to the native's idea as to the existence of anything like a supreme being. Suppose, for example, a white man were to come across some Warramunga natives performing one of the Wollunqua ceremonies, and were to ask one of them who the Wollunqua was, and why they were dancing. Unless the native knew the white man and trusted him he would get no information, but if he did so he would receive an answer something like this:—"That one Wollunqua, him great big fellow; him been make creeks, trees, hills, and black-fellows all about; suppose me no make dance him sulky, suppose me make dance then him glad." Or again, suppose in the same tribe a native were questioned as to the use of the bull-roarer here called *murtu-murtu*, during initiation, the reply would probably be somewhat after this fashion:—"That one Murtu-Murtu him big fellow in Wingara time; first time him make *murtu-murtu*; when boy cut, show him *murtu-murtu*; put

[1] When we say "no equivalent" we are referring to Baiame, Daramulun, etc., in their supposed aspects of "all fathers," "supreme beings," or inculcators of moral ideas. In one aspect they find their exact counterpart in all of the central tribes where the women and children are taught to believe that the sound of the bull-roarer, heard during the initiation ceremonies, is the voice of a great spirit which has come to take the youth away, just as in other tribes the women and children are taught to attribute the same noise to Baiame, Daramulun, etc.

murtu-murtu along boy's hand, tell him that one *murtu-murtu ;* him big fellow in Wingara ; you no talk along lubra ; you no eat opossum, emu, kangaroo ; you no go along lubras' camp ; you no touch lubra suppose him belong to another black-fellow."

From these two statements, translated into intelligible English, a very erroneous impression of native ideas could most easily and naturally be obtained, and it would only be found out as the result of a good deal of further and rather tedious watching and inquiry, that when the native said that the Wollunqua "been make creeks, trees, hills, and black-fellows all about," he used these words in the Warramunga sense, in much the same way in which he would say, when describing the result of a fight, "Me been kill him dead," which merely means that he has, perhaps somewhat severely, but by no means fatally, wounded his adversary. The native meant to inform the inquirer that the Wollunqua had made all of the men of the Wollunqua totem, and that he had also created a large number of natural features over a limited area of country associated with the Wollunqua people. It might easily never be found out by the inquirer, unless he were living for some time in the most intimate association with the natives, that the Wollunqua was only one of a score or two of ancestral individuals who were endowed with just the same powers as it possessed, and that, as a matter of fact, in this particular case the individual was not to be regarded as human, much less as anything like a powerful supreme being, but was simply a huge snake. From the reply to the second question nothing could be simpler than to arrive at the conclusion that the native regarded Murtu-Murtu as a great ancestor who inculcated moral ideas, which were now passed on to the youth at the time of initiation, associated with his name. As a matter of fact nothing whatever of this kind takes place. Murtu-Murtu was one of the Wingara ancestors whose speciality was that of making the noise characteristic of the bull-roarer with his mouth. When he was killed and torn to pieces by wild dogs, trees arose where the pieces of his flesh fell to earth, and out of them the natives now make bull-roarers, but

he himself had nothing whatever to do with the inculcation of moral ideas.

What we desire to draw attention to is the very easy way in which it is possible to be misled in regard to matters such as this, even by statements which in themselves are perfectly true, but the real significance of which can only be rightly understood by a much greater knowledge of details. We have indeed been continually and more and more impressed with the absolute necessity of gaining detailed information, and of the danger of attempting to draw any conclusion from general statements, and this especially in regard to matters such as are now being dealt with.

We purposely avoid the use of the word religious, preferring the term sacred or secret in connection with this particular set of customs and beliefs, and will now proceed to describe those of the tribes with whom we came in contact in regard to the various beings who are supposed to be endowed with powers superior to those of the ordinary men.

In the first place all the tribes believe in the former existence of individuals from whom, in some way or another, the living members of the tribes are descended. They lived in the time to which the name of Alcheringa, Wingara, Poaradju, or some equivalent term is given, and all of them possessed powers superior to those of the present members of the tribe ; but in no case, so far as we could ascertain, is there the slightest indication or trace of anything which could be described as ancestor worship. The simple fact is that these Alcheringa ancestors are constantly undergoing reincarnation, so that this belief, which is common to all of these tribes, practically precludes the development of anything like ancestor worship. Each of the more important amongst these ancestors had certain ceremonies associated with him or her, but the performance of these, which takes place from time to time, is in no way a form of appeal to the individual in question, whom they do not regard (except in one particular instance in one tribe) as being desirous, or even, as far as we could ascertain, able, to help or to injure them, except in the most general way. When, for example, ceremonies connected with one of these ancestors are enacted

at the performance of the Intichiuma, designed to secure the increase of a totemic animal or plant, there is no idea whatever of invoking the aid of the ancestor. We may also remark in passing that amongst these tribes the rules with regard to the mentioning of a dead man's name are by no means so strict as to render impossible the development of ancestor worship on this account. There are always individuals, standing in certain relationships to the dead person, who may not mention the name of a dead individual for at all events a certain time after his death, but the restriction does not apply by any means universally; and in connection with the sacred ceremonies associated with the Alcheringa ancestors, the names are freely mentioned and always with the greatest respect, so that from this one point of view there has been no real hindrance to the development of ancestor worship.

The one and only exception with regard to making an appeal to, or an attempt to propitiate, one of these totemic ancestors occurs amongst the Warramunga tribe in the case of the Wollunqua totem. We have elsewhere dealt fully with this;[1] here it will suffice to state that the Wollunqua is regarded as a huge snake, still existing at a spot in the Murchison Range, and capable, if it feels so disposed, of coming out and injuring or even destroying the natives. It has actually, according to tradition, been known to do so, and there can be no doubt but that the series of ceremonies connected with it are, at least in part, performed with the vague idea of pleasing and propitiating it. This idea was most clearly brought home to us when we visited its haunt at Thapauerlu, accompanied by the two old headmen of the totem group. Standing with bowed heads on the margin of the water-hole, they told the Wollunqua that they had brought up two great white men to see where he lived, and asked him to do us and them no harm.

While they have a certain amount of fear of the Wollunqua, yet at the same time the men of the totem group believe that they are able to control the snake, at least to a certain extent. In connection with one ceremony they first

[1] Cf. Chapter VII.

of all built and then fiercely hacked to pieces a ı decorated so as to represent the beast, the object being t him to keep under the ground. Very shortly after however, the old men declared that they heard the old growling because the remains of the mound had be uncovered, and they at once piled branches over Under ordinary conditions, however, they never mak attempt to propitiate the snake, nor do they seem to it at all necessary to do so.

The beliefs and ideas with regard to the Wollunqı ceremonies concerned with which are of a most ela description, are of very considerable interest, and we in into them as minutely as we could. The beast is ce regarded as the dominant snake, and it is not diffic imagine that as time passes by it might come to be re as the father of all the snakes. Curiously, however, the other ancestors of the totemic groups, it is regar most distinctly animal and not human in form. T it is undoubtedly regarded as the most powerful cr human or animal, known to the Warramunga native have no idea whatever of its taking any interest in their conduct.

In connection with their totemic ancestors it may l that there is apparently no indication of the develo of beliefs which might ultimately lead to the associatio one or other of them of special attributes resulting i finally being regarded in the light of deities. Apar these ancestors, however, there are various traditions r to other spirit individuals.

In the Arunta tribe we meet with mischievous called Oruntja, who are supposed to wander about especially at night-time. There are certain spots, suc hill close by Alice Springs, near to which no native c venture after dusk, lest the Oruntja who dwells there carry him off underground; and for the same reason, w more especially, are afraid of wandering far away their own camp-fires—a restraint which is not p without its moral benefit. These Oruntja are reg however, as being mischievous rather than absolutel

and no attempt is made to propitiate them in any way whatever. During ceremonies concerned with them and representing their antics, the natives always evince a good deal of merriment, though at the same time they take good care to avoid the spots where they lurk.

Perhaps, however, the most important spirit individual in the Arunta tribe is Twanyirika, whose voice is supposed by the women and children to be heard when the bull-roarer sounds. The Arunta have, so far as we could find out, no tradition dealing with the origin of the Churinga; their Alcheringa ancestors possessed them, and behind the Alcheringa they do not penetrate. The women and children are told that Twanyirika is a spirit who lives in wild and inaccessible regions, and only comes out when a boy is initiated. During the actual operation of circumcision, the bull-roarer sounds in the darkness all round the ceremonial ground, and the women believe that Twanyirika enters the body of the boy and takes him out into the bush, keeping him there until he has recovered. While he is there, carefully secluded from the sight of the women and children, he constantly sounds the bull-roarer. As soon as the operation is over the elder brother of the youth comes up to him with a bundle of Churinga, saying, "Here is Twanyirika, of whom you have heard so much, they are Churinga and will help to heal you quickly; guard them well or else you and your *mia*, *ungaraitcha*, and *quitia* (that is, blood and tribal mothers and sisters) will be killed; do not let them go out of your sight, do not let your *mia*, *ungaraitcha*, or *quitia* see them; obey your elder brother, who will go with you; do not eat forbidden food."

In our previous work we stated[1] that this belief was fundamentally the same as that found in all Australian tribes. In saying this we did not at all intend to convey the impression that Twanyirika was regarded by the Arunta native as a supreme being who in any way whatever was supposed to inculcate moral ideas. In the Arunta, so far as we can find out, the natives have no idea of any being of this kind.

[1] *N. T.* p. 246, footnote.

In the Urabunna tribe the sacred stick given to the boy is called *chimbaliri*. The women and children never hear this word, but are taught to believe that the sound is the voice of a spirit called Witurna, who takes the boy away, cuts out all of his insides, provides him with a new set, and brings him back an initiated youth. The boy is told that he must on no account allow a woman or child to see the stick, or else he and his mother and sisters will tumble down as dead as stones. He is also warned not to interfere with other men's lubras.

In the Unmatjera tribe the belief is very similar to that of the Arunta. The noise made by the bull-roarer is called *luringa*, and the boy is told that, unless he makes it, whilst he is out in the bush recovering from the operation of circumcision, another *arakurta*, who lives up in the sky, will come down and carry him away. This *arakurta*, who, tradition says, had been initiated by the Ullakuppera men when first they introduced the use of a stone knife in the Alcheringa, went up into the sky at a place called Urniara. The lubras are taught to believe that Twanyirika, under ordinary circumstances, lives in a rock out of which he comes to take possession of the initiated youth. The old men tell the boys that Twanyirika has put his penis into the eyes, nose, mouth, and between the toes and fingers of the youth. They are also taught that when a big black cloud comes up suddenly it is caused by Twanyirika making a smoke.

Amongst the Kaitish we meet with a spirit individual named Atnatu, the beliefs with regard to whom are different from those concerning Twanyirika, and are peculiar to this tribe. This Atnatu is reported to be an *ertwa oknirra*—a very great man—with a very black face, who derives his name from the fact that he has no anus. He arose up in the sky in the very far back past—further back even than the Alcheringa. He made himself and gave himself his name, and has another sky and another sun beyond the place in which he lives. The *kurallia*, or stars, are his lubras, and he also calls his daughters *kurallia*, but his sons he calls Atnatu. Before the Alcheringa times he had plenty of sons and daughters up in the sky, but he was very angry with a

number of them because they did not treat him properly. They gave him no Churinga and did not perform sacred ceremonies for him, as they ought to have done, so he threw them down on to the earth, into the Kaitish country, dropping them through a hole in the sky, saying to them, "I shall all day long sit up here Atnatu, but you will sit down there men, with plenty of flesh." Along with them he let down everything which the black-fellow has,—spears, boomerangs, tomahawks, clubs, everything in fact,—and thus he made the Alcheringa in the Kaitish tribe. He himself still lives up beyond the sky, where he makes Intichiuma and eats everything. He has also many lubras who are very thin but have plenty of milk.

Atnatu first of all made the Churinga, and swung them up in the sky when he initiated his offspring, and now he is glad when he hears the natives on the earth making the bull-roarer sound as they initiate the boys, but he is angry if they do not. He has a large number of spears, and if he does not hear the men sound the bull-roarer when they perform the ceremony upon the boy, or the latter does not sound it, when he is out in the bush afterwards, he is angry, and gathers his spears together and rattles them ; if they still do not sound it then he hurls the spears down, and drags the men and boys up into the sky. When, also, he hears the Churinga sounding down below on the earth, he makes his sound, and initiates one of his sons. Tradition says that once in the far past, at Irribilia, the natives were initiating some boys, and were too tired to swing the Churinga. Atnatu was angry and speared them all, and dragged them up into the sky. He eat one of the *ertwakurka* boys, but found that the flesh was no good, and then the others all ran away, but could not get down on to the earth again, and so have remained up in the sky ever since.

The lubras know nothing about Atnatu, but think that the roaring of the Churinga is the voice of a spirit whom they call Tumana. He is supposed by them to take the boy out into the bush, and to bring him back again initiated. Tumana was the name given to two individuals who in the Alcheringa used to hear Atnatu swinging his

Churinga up in the sky. They themselves sprang from Churinga, and when they heard Atnatu they tried to imitate him. At first they used pieces of bark, but were not successful until they tried mulga wood. They were finally killed by two wild dogs, but, close by them, there lived two individuals named Kallidinlidina and Atnabubu. They had seen what the Tumana did, and so, when the latter were dead, they were able to show the other black-fellows how to make and swing the Churinga. When the youth is initiated he is told that he must not eat of forbidden foods, that he must do what his *okilia* (elder brother) tells him to do, that he must be careful to swing the bull-roarer, which is shown to him for the first time, or else Atnatu will spear him; he is also told that on no account must he allow the women or children to see it or else he will be killed, and his mother and sisters also, and further, he is warned against interfering with the lubras of other men.

In the Warramunga tribe the Churinga is called ***murtu-murtu.*** During the ceremony of initiation one of them is swung close behind the youth's head, making him feel, as one of them told us, very frightened. The next day, after it is dusk, the old men go out into the bush to the spot at which the youth is camped with the man who has been told off to keep watch over him, and tell him that they will show him *murtu-murtu.* They then place the sacred stick on his hands, and tell him the tradition relating to the man who first made it in the Wingara. They warn him strictly not to allow any woman or child to see it on penalty of death, and tell him also that it will heal his wounds. The lubras believe that the noise is made by the spirit called Murtu-murtu. As soon as the ceremony of initiation, which is closely similar in its leading features in the Warramunga, Tjingilli, and Umbaia tribes, is over, the boy is told that he must obey his elders, must not eat forbidden foods, must bring in food to the older men, and he is warned as usual not to interfere with women allotted to other men. All of these directions are given to him without any reference of any kind to any special individual whose moral sanction they are supposed to carry.

Amongst the coastal tribes, the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara, the initiation ceremonies are again closely similar to those of the inland tribes. The Binbinga call the Churinga *watamura*, and, according to their tradition, it was first made by two men of the wild-dog totem, who were the originators of the initiation ceremony of circumcision. The ceremonies are practically identical in these three coastal tribes. In the Binbinga, which will serve as an example, when a boy is operated upon, the *watamura*, called *mura-mura* by the Anula, is placed on his hands, and the meaning of it, and its association with the Alcheringa wild-dog men, explained to him. He is told that he must not quarrel with the old men, must do as he is told to do by them, must not eat of foods forbidden to him, and must on no account speak to his father-in-law. The women and children on their part think that the noise of the bull-roarer is made by a spirit whom they call Katajalina, who lives in an ant-hill and comes out and eats the boy up, restoring him subsequently to life. The Anula women believe that the noise is made by a spirit called Gnabaia, who swallows and afterwards disgorges the boy in the form of an initiated youth.

It was only on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria that we met with tribes amongst whom there was present the idea of spirit beings who could help or injure them. The Binbinga believe that the sky is inhabited by two spirits called Mundagadji, who are ill-disposed towards the natives. Their bodies are covered with fine white down, and instead of arms they have knives. They are always anxious to come down and kill and eat some black-fellow, but are constantly prevented from doing so by a friendly spirit called Ulurkura, who lives in the woods and watches for the coming of the Mundagadji and stops them. When a man dies the Mundagadji can always be heard singing up in the sky, and all three spirits can be seen by the medicine men.

The Mara have a very similar belief in two unfriendly spirits called Minungara, who live in the sky. It is they who make doctors, but at the same, if a man falls ill, they

are always anxious to come down and kill him, but are prevented from doing so by a friendly spirit called Mumpani, who lives in the woods, and prevents the unfriendly ones from doing harm. The Minungara, like the Mundagadji of the Binbinga, have knives instead of arms.

The Anula people believe that the spirits whom they call Gnabaia arose in the Alcheringa time at a place called Wuntirri on the Robinson River, flowing into the Gulf. They walked about for some time, but finally went up into the sky, where they have lived ever since. These two are very unfriendly to the natives, and are always anxious to kill them ; but here again a third, and friendly, Gnabaia lives in the woods and keeps watch to see that they do no harm. This one arose at a place called Liwurnungaiila. The medicine men can see the Gnabaia, and the friendly one instructs them to tell the natives not to attempt to hurt him, if they should chance to meet him in the woods, as he is friendly towards them. When also a man is ill they "sing" to this Gnabaia to come and make him well. In none of the three tribes is there any attempt made either to conciliate the unfriendly spirit or to reward or propitiate the friendly one, and the appeal which is made to the earthly Gnabaia, to come to the aid of the sick man, is the solitary instance of anything of this nature of which we could find any trace in all of the tribes studied by us.[1] The same idea does not occur amongst either the Mara or Binbinga tribes, though in them the beliefs are, otherwise, so closely similar to those of the Anula.

So far as the inculcation of anything like moral ideas is concerned, this, such as it is, may be said to take place always in connection with initiation, but it is never associated with the mention of the name of any individual who is supposed in any way whatever to sanction such moral precepts. Twanyirika of the Arunta and Unmatjera, and Katajalina of the Binbinga are merely bogeys to frighten

[1] In connection with this it may be noticed that the Anula is the only one of these tribes in which the medicine man is not endowed with curative powers. He can only impart, but cannot withdraw, evil magic, and it is therefore necessary for the Anula native to have recourse to some other individual endowed with magic power.

the women and children and keep them in a proper state of subjection, nor does there appear to be any evidence which would justify the hypothesis that the present ideas with regard to them are the result of degradation. Tumana of the Kaitish and Murtu-murtu of the Warramunga are merely Alcheringa ancestors who invented the Churinga, but are regarded as in no way different from, or more powerful than, scores of other such ancestors. Atnatu of the Kaitish stands by himself; before the Alcheringa was he was—in fact he made the Alcheringa; but he is, at all events according to the present ideas of the natives, in no way to be regarded as a great moral preceptor, and it may safely be said that, amongst the tribes inhabiting the whole of the central and northern central area of the continent, the natives have not the faintest idea of any such being. We searched carefully in the hope of finding traces of a belief in such a being, but the more we got to know of the details of the native beliefs, the more evident it became that they had not the faintest conception of any individual who might in any way be described as a "High God of the Mysteries."

Amongst these tribes the injunctions which are laid upon the novice at the time of his initiation are, speaking generally, the following:—

(1) That he must obey his elders and not quarrel with them.

(2) That he must not eat certain foods, but must provide food for individuals who stand in a certain relationship to him.

(3) That he must not attempt to interfere with women who have been allotted to other men, or belong to groups with the individuals of which it is not lawful for him to have marital relations.

(4) That he must on no account reveal any of the secret matters connected with the totems to the women and children.

It will be seen that in each instance (except to a certain extent the third one) insistence upon the carrying out of these precepts is clearly a matter of interest to the

older men. In regard to the third, whilst the carrying out of this is of mutual advantage, yet at the same time it is of special advantage to the older men because, owing to the curious system of betrothal in vogue amongst these tribes, the younger women pass into their possession, and the only lubra that a young man can probably obtain will be the widow of a dead elder brother.

So far as anything like moral precepts are concerned in these tribes—to which of course our remarks alone have reference—it appears to us to be most probable that they have originated in the first instance in association with the purely selfish idea of the older men to keep all the best things for themselves, and in no case whatever are they supposed to have the sanction of a superior being.

CHAPTER XVII

CUSTOMS RELATING TO BURIAL AND MOURNING

Arunta custom of earth burial—In the Kaitish, Unmatjera, and northern tribes tree burial precedes earth burial, and in the coastal tribes the flesh is eaten —Tree burial in the Kaitish—Widows cutting hair off—Removal of the bones from the tree and burial in the ground—Handing over the widow to the younger brother of the dead man—Making of the hair into a *wailia-wailia*—*Gammona* man must avenge the death—Whiskers made into an *akuntilia* and worn as a charm under the arm—Unmatjera traditions with respect to earth burial and the disposal of the hair of a dead man—Tree and earth burial customary among the tribes of the Warramunga group—Illness and death of a Warramunga man—Women and men cutting themselves—Mourning ceremonies on the next day—Distribution of the effects of the dead man—Women under the ban of silence—Visits to the actual spot on which the man died and to the tree grave to find some clue to the murderer —The spirit of the dead man tells the brother when it is time to perform the final burial ceremony—Visit to the tree grave to bury the bones which, except one arm-bone, are put into an ant-hill—Wrapping the arm-bone in paper bark, and bringing it into the camp where the men and women are assembled—Final burial ceremony and breaking of the bone—Disposal of the hair of a dead man—Carried on the expedition to avenge his death—Tree burial not characteristic of the Umbaia tribe—Gnanji tribe use the fibula as a pointing-bone—In the Gnanji the women have no spirit part—Burial and mourning ceremonies among the coastal tribes—Disposal of the dead man's effects in the Binbinga tribe—Eating the flesh of a dead man in the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes—Bones of a dead man when dried are wrapped in paper bark and placed in an upright forked branch beneath which a small fire is kept burning—The arm-bone is wrapped up and sent out with a message to summon distant groups to attend the final burial ceremonies—Arrival of the strangers and performance of ceremonies—Placing the bones in a hollow log decorated with a design of the totem to which the dead individual belonged—The log-coffin is placed by the side of a water-hole.

THE most striking differences amongst the tribes in regard to burial customs are associated in the first place with the practice of earth or tree burial, and in the second with the presence or absence of the custom of eating the flesh of dead persons.

The Arunta tribe bury the body within a very short time of death in a grave some feet deep in the earth, placing it in a sitting position, so that the face looks towards the dead person's camping ground in the Alcheringa—that is, the spot which he or she inhabited whilst in spirit form.[1] A low depression is left on one side of the mound, so that the spirit can pass in and out to visit the body.

To the north of the Macdonnell Ranges, amongst the Unmatjera, Kaitish, Warramunga, Tjingilli and other tribes, earth burial, which finally takes place, is preceded in the case of most persons by tree burial, whilst in the tribes bordering on the Gulf of Carpentaria the flesh is eaten and earth burial, strictly speaking, never takes place.

Amongst the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes the customs are closely similar to one another, differing only in unimportant details. Very old women are at once buried in the earth, the natives saying very frankly that they do not feel enough sorrow for them to go to the trouble of first burying them in trees and subsequently in the ground. The same takes place in the case of very old men who, to use the native expression, "have lost their corrobboree,"—that is, have become too feeble and decrepit to conduct the ceremonies of which they have charge, and which, probably years before their death, they have handed over to their sons. On the other hand, when a child or young woman or a man in the prime of life dies, then their sorrow is much greater. A child's body is placed in a *pitchi*, and this again on a small platform of boughs (Fig. 133), the hope being that before very long its spirit may come back again and enter the body of a woman—in all probability that of its former mother. There are, as usual, certain very definite customs which must be observed in connection with burial. When a man dies his *gammona* (mother's brother) and *itia* (younger brother) immediately carry the body to a tree, perhaps a mile or two away from the camp. Along with them go the *unkulla* (father's sister's son), the elder sisters, and the *mura* women of the dead man. A platform of boughs is made, and the *unkulla*, standing upon this, receives the body from the

[1] *N. T.* p. 497.

gammona and *itia* and covers it over with fresh boughs. When this has been done they all return to camp, and the grave, which is called *qu-undarara*, is carefully avoided for some time. The *gammona* men cut themselves upon the shoulder; the actual father of the dead man, who has remained in camp, cuts off and burns his whiskers and moustache, while the dead man's *itia* (younger brother) cuts the hair from the head of the widow, afterwards burning it close with a fire-stick. That is done, so they say, because

FIG. 133.—A CHILD'S TREE GRAVE. KAITISH TRIBE.
The body is placed in the *pitchi* which is lying on the top of the boughs.

the dead man having seen it all day long, the *itia* is supposed to be too sad too look upon it when his brother is dead. In connection with this it may be mentioned that sooner or later the woman will become the property of the *itia*. The widow's hair is burnt, and she herself covers her body with ashes from the camp fire, and keeps renewing them during the whole period of mourning. If this be not done then the *atnirinja*, or spirit of the dead man, who constantly follows her about, will kill her and strip all the flesh off her bones. In addition to this the younger brother would be justified in severely thrashing or even killing the widow if at any time

he were to meet her, during the period of deep mourning, without this emblem of sadness. Further still she must also observe the ban of silence until, usually many months after the husband's death, she is released from it by the *itia*. When this takes place she makes an offering to him of a very considerable quantity of food, with a fragment of which he touches her mouth, thus indicating to her that she is once more free to talk and to take part in the ordinary duties of a woman. This little ceremony, which, like many others, is designed to benefit the men, is called *tjalka-lilima*.

Amongst these tribes there is no such elaborate ceremony as that of *urpmilchima*[1] practised by the Arunta. On this occasion the widow, wearing the chaplet of bones, goes to the grave. Here, amidst loud wailing and trampling down of the boughs which have been piled above it, she and other relatives cut themselves, both to show their sorrow and to indicate to the dead man's spirit that he has been sufficiently mourned for, and that now he must return to his Alcheringa camping-place and leave them in peace.

After some months, when all the flesh has disappeared from the bones, the *unkulla* man tells the *gammona* where to dig the grave. Together with a younger brother of the dead man and one or two *mura* women they then go to the tree. The *itia* climbs on to the platform, dislocates the bones, and collects them all into a *pitchi* which he hands down to a *mura* woman. They are then placed in the grave by the *gammona* in such a way that, in the case of a man, the head faces in the direction of the Alcheringa camp of his *gammona*. In the case of a woman the head faces in the direction of her mother's Alcheringa camp.

The earth grave is called *ulkna*, and the mound above it *aperta uria*. When the ceremony is over the dead man's spirit is supposed to go away and to remain in the Alcheringa spot, associating with those of his fellow-tribesmen until such time as he once more undergoes reincarnation. If he be a distinguished man, and have, as the natives say, a "big *ertnatulunga*,"—that is, if he be the possessor of important sacred ceremonies,—then his elder brother performs one of

[1] *N.T.* p. 501.

these in the presence of men of all classes. This special ceremony is called *quabarra undattha luraparimma.* It is usually about this time that the widow, who of course has practically no choice in the matter, is handed over to one of the younger brothers, actual or tribal, of the dead man. Before, however, she is actually handed over a curious ceremony has to be performed. The widow, or widows, go out and gather together a large quantity of what is called "bushey-tuck-out,"—that is, vegetable food such as grass seed, fruit, and yams. At the same time the *itia* brings in meat to his camp. The widow comes up and silently sits down on one side of the camp fire with her store of food beside her. The *itia* then approaches and strikes her lightly on the head with a small branch. She gives him at first a little of her food, and in return he gives her some of the meat which he has collected, after which she gives him all that she has gathered. The man then hands this over to the men whom he calls his *mulyanuka*—that is, to individuals who belong to the same moiety of the tribe as the woman. The latter meanwhile takes a little of the meat to the man's daughters (actual or tribal), and the *itia* tells the *mulyanuka* men to go out and collect meat. On the next day the widow brings in more vegetable food, and once more sits down by the camp fire. Then the man's *mulyanuka* come up, and the *itia*, standing beside the widow, who is stooping down, receives the meat from the men, who in their turn receive the food which the woman has collected. The *itia* takes the meat, gives a little to the widow, and the rest is divided up amongst the women of her own moiety of the tribe, except such as belong to her father's class—that is, are his sisters, actual or tribal. At night the lubra comes to the *itia's* camp, but the two sleep on opposite sides of the fire. On the next day the *itia* hands her over to men who stand in the relationship of *unkulla*, *ipmunna*, *okilia*, *itia*, *gammona*, and *oknia*—that is, to men representative of all classes. All of them have access to her, and make her presents of *alpita*, red ochre, fur-string, etc., which she carries to the *itia's* camp, where he decorates her with the string. Previously he has sent, by the lubra, an offering of spears and shields to the men—a

gift which is necessary, or else, later on, they might kill him if he had taken possession of the widow without both offering them the present and allowing them to have access to her.

This passing on of the widow to a younger, but never to an elder, brother is a very characteristic feature of these tribes. If one *itia* does not want her then she is simply passed on to another.[1] Her acceptability depends of course to a large extent upon her age. If she be getting old, then she is passed on from one to the other until she finally finds a home in the camp of some individual who has not, as yet, been fortunate enough to secure a younger and more attractive lubra.

When a man dies the *gammona* (daughter's husband) takes possession of his spears and weapons. An *itia* (younger brother) cuts the hair off, and this, together with the fur-string, arm- and forehead-bands, is placed in a *pitchi* held by an *unkulla* (father's sister's son) man. The *itia* takes the *pitchi* and gives it to an elder sister of the dead man. She hands it on to the widow, who in her turn presents it to the *gammona* man. The latter sits close by in company with a number of men standing in the relationship of *ikuntera* to him, and therefore in that of brother to the deceased. The *gammona* gives the fur-bands to his *unkulla* men, keeping the hair for his own use, and also the small Churinga which the dead man carried. After a short time he gives the hair to an *itia*, who makes it up into a waist-band, or amongst the Kaitish into a *wailia-wailia*—an object which consists usually of three strands of hair-string tied together at one end, the free tips being ornamented with feathers. The wearing of the hair-girdle (*irulknakinna*) or of the *wailia-wailia*, which is suspended from the ordinary waist-girdle, is supposed to make the inward parts of the man hot and savage, and it is then his duty to avenge the death of his *ikuntera*.

Amongst these tribes there is a curious custom according to which the *gammona* who secures the hair of a dead man is obliged to go and first of all fight with some other *gammona*. Along with a party of men whom he has

[1] It must of course be remembered that the term *itia* includes both blood and tribal brothers.

summoned for the purpose, he goes to a distant part of the tribe and there challenges another *gammona* man belonging to that locality to fight. The challenge cannot be refused, and, when they have fought and cut one another about on the thighs and shoulders, the challenger hands over the dead man's hair to his opponent, who will later on challenge another *gammona*, and so the quarrel, if such it may be called, passes on from group to group. Not seldom a distant *gammona* will hear that some special individual, belonging to another local group of the tribe, has his dead *ikuntera's* hair-girdle, and will come up armed with that of another dead *ikuntera*. This necessitates another fight, and, when it is over, the two men pull their hair-girdles off, rub them in their own blood, and then exchange them. Young *gammonas* will often have arm-bands presented to them which have been worn by the dead man. In the event of this, when the fight between the older men is over, these younger ones will fight and cut one another, after which the fur-bands are rubbed in their own blood and exchanged.

In addition to all that has been described above, it not infrequently happens that, with the assistance of the medicine men, the *gammona* learns who was really the cause of his *ikuntera's* death, and then it is his further duty to organise an avenging party and kill the guilty person. In the first instance it is simply another *gammona* (son-in-law)—it does not at all matter which particular one—who must suffer, but in this case the man accused of murdering the deceased may be of any relationship, and of course may or may not belong to the same tribe.

In addition to the *irulknakinna*, which is characteristic of the Arunta and Unmatjera tribes, and the *wailia-wailia* made by the Kaitish, the whiskers of the dead man are usually cut off and made up into a small cigar-shaped object called an *akuntillia* (Plate 1, Fig. 2). This is decorated outside with designs in charcoal, pipe-clay, and ochre, and worn as a charm under the arm band.

The custom of tree burial prior to that of finally placing the bones in the ground is one of the chief marks of distinction between the Arunta, amongst whom it is not practised, and

their immediate northern neighbours, the Unmatjera and the Kaitish tribe. In the latter we meet with a state of affairs indicating a further remove from the conditions prevalent in still more southern tribes, such as the Dieri in the Lake Eyre district, amongst whom the very fact of old age carries with it respect. Indeed in this tribe the older and more decrepit a man becomes the higher apparently is the position which he holds in the eyes of his fellows. In the Arunta every old man is treated with more or less respect, and the ceremonies attendant upon burial are identical, whether he dies in the full possession of his faculties, or whether he be infirm and practically helpless. In the Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes, while every old man has certain privileges denied to the younger men, yet if he be decidedly infirm and unable to take his part in the performance of ceremonies which are often closely concerned—or so at least the natives believe them to be—with the general welfare of the tribe, then the feeling undoubtedly is that there is no need to pay any very special respect to his remains. This feeling is probably vaguely associated with the idea that, as his body is infirm, so to a corresponding extent will his spirit part be, and therefore they have no special need to consider or propitiate this, as it can do them no harm. On the other hand they are decidedly afraid of hurting the feelings of the spirit of any strong man who might be capable of doing them some mischief unless he saw that he was properly mourned for. Acting under much the same feeling they pay respect to the bodies of dead children and young women, in the hope that the spirit will soon return and undergo reincarnation. It is also worth noticing that they do not bury in trees any young man who has violated tribal law by taking as wife a woman who is forbidden to him ; such an individual is always buried directly in the ground.

Of the origin of tree burial and its original meaning they have no idea at all, but of course have found it necessary to have a tradition, which is to them a satisfactory enough explanation. The Unmatjera say that, long ago in the Alcheringa, a Bulthara man arose in the Harts Range at a place called Umuli-illa-unquia-inika, which was also his own

private name. When he first arose he was very stiff, and lay down all day long in the sunlight until his joints were loosened, when he stretched himself, got up, and walked about. After some time he looked and saw, to his surprise, that there was another man beside him who he knew had sprung from him in some manner. In the same way several more men arose from him, and at last he saw one of them dead, and said, "Hullo, I will go and bury him in the ground"; but after thinking it over for a few moments he changed his mind and said, "No, I am too sorry to do that; I will bury him in a tree," which thereupon he proceeded to do. Then he walked about and saw in succession several old men, and amongst other things said to each of them, "What do you do when another man dies?" They each replied, "I throw him away." Then the old Bulthara man said, "It is not good to throw them away like that; if you are really very sorry you must put dead men in trees. Tell your sons that when you die they must put you up in a tree, and tell them also to put other men up in trees." In this way tree burial first arose amongst the Unmatjera people. In the latter as well as in the Kaitish tribe tradition says that, in the Alcheringa, men who were buried either in trees or in the ground used to come to life again in three days, and the Kaitish people have a myth of an old man who, for some reason or another, was very displeased with this arrangement, as he wanted men to die altogether. He was a Panunga man of the Wiliaru or curlew totem, and lived at a place called Illira. Not far away there dwelt a number of Illuta (little wallaby) men, one of whom died. His companions were just about to bury him when the old curlew appeared upon the scene. He was very angry and wanted to put him away altogether, so that he could not come to life again However the Illuta men at last persuaded him to wait three days, and he walked away. No sooner was the curlew's back turned than they set to work to bury the dead man in the usual manner; but the curlew, who had his suspicions as to what they meant to do, came back just in time to find the body lightly covered with earth. Being very angry indeed, he pushed the body into the sea with his foot, so that the

man could never come to life again, and then departed for his home at Illara. The Illuta men followed him up, crying, and trying to persuade him to bring the man back again, but he refused and hunted them all away. The old curlew lived and died at Illara, and left many spirit children there, forming a big *oknanikilla* out of which many curlew people arose in later days.

The old Illuta man, who was thus unceremoniously disposed of by the curlew, left behind him, he being a Panunga, a son who of course belonged to the Appungerta class. His name was Kulkumba. When his father died, and before the curlew came upon the scene, Kulkumba had cut off the old man's whiskers, a stone arising to mark the spot at which he did so. He carried them with him to the main camp, where men of all classes were gathered together, and there they discussed the matter as to whom the hair ought to be given. In turn he named all of the different classes, saying, "Shall I give it to a Kabbidji man? No; to a Panunga? No; to a Bulthara? No; to an Uknaria? No; to a Kumara? No; to an Appungerta? No. To whom shall I give it?" Meanwhile the Umbitjana man had been sitting down quietly, saying nothing, but Kulkumba had been watching him, and after thinking the matter over further, he said, "Very well, I will give it to the Umbitjana man." He did so, telling him at the same time to keep the hair which belonged to his dead *ikuntera*, for the old Panunga man was the father of the wife of an Umbitjana man. Before giving it to him, the Appungerta tied the hair up and then pressed it against the stomach of the recipient, telling him that now he must go out and fight with and kill another Umbitjana. From that time to the present, the hair of a dead man has always been the property of his *gammona*, who has thus been bound to go out and fight with another *gammona*. We could find no satisfactory explanation of this particular custom, which is not met with amongst the Arunta tribe, but it is evidently associated with the fact that in all tribes the son-in-law in some way or another always has to pay especial respect to his father-in-law. In the Arunta, unless the *gammona* cuts himself when an *ikuntera* dies, then any

one of the men who stands in the same relationship to the deceased may take away his wife and present her to some more dutiful son-in-law ; but the attempt to actually kill, or at least seriously injure, a *gammona* seems to be an extreme expression of this feeling. It is not even suggested that the *gammona* who suffers has actually had anything whatever to do with the man's death ; in fact, not seldom another man, who is suspected of being the real culprit, is also killed at a later time.

To the north of the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes there is a large and important group comprising the Warramunga, Wulmala, Walpari, Tjingilli, and Worgaia tribes, occupying the country from the Gilbert River in the south to the Daly River in the north, in all of which both tree and earth burial are customary. In addition, they have certain ceremonies enacted when earth burial takes place which may be regarded as the equivalent of the *urpmilchima* ceremony of the Arunta.

During our stay amongst the Warramunga we were fortunate enough to be able to witness practically the complete series of ceremonies, from the moment of death until the final placing of the bones in the earth, though of course the different ceremonies were concerned with more than one individual, because the entire series, in the case of one person, is spread over a period of two years or even longer.

A middle-aged man of the Tjunguri class who, when first we arrived, took an active part in the performance of the various ceremonies, fell ill. He was a medicine man, but not being very old there were certain foods, such as emu and euro flesh, which he was not only forbidden to eat, but which he was supposed, according to strict etiquette, to bring in to the older medicine men for them to eat. Now, not only had he omitted to do this, but on more than one occasion he had actually been known to eat euro himself—a very grave offence in the eyes of the older men, who had warned him that if he continued to do so something very serious would happen to him. Accordingly, when his illness came, it was at once attributed to the fact that he had deliberately

done what he knew perfectly well was contrary to custom, and no one was in the least surprised. Amongst the men in camp there were five doctors, and as the case was evidently a serious one, they were all called in to consultation. One of them was a celebrated medicine man from the neighbouring Worgaia tribe, and after solemn deliberation he gave it as his opinion that the bone of a dead man, attracted by the camp-fire, had entered the patient's body and was causing all the trouble. The others agreed with this opinion, but, not to be outdone by a stranger, the oldest amongst the Warramunga doctors decided that, in addition to the bone, an *arabillia* or wart of a gum-tree had somehow got inside the man's body. The three less experienced men looked very grave, but said nothing beyond the fact that they fully concurred in the diagnoses of their elder colleagues. At all events it was decided that both the bone and the wart must be removed, and, under cover of darkness, they were in part removed after much sucking and rubbing of the patient's body. However, their efforts were of no avail and the man, who was really suffering from dysentery, died.

Late one afternoon, just before sunset and immediately after the performance of several sacred ceremonies, we were all leaving the corrobboree ground when a sudden loud, piercing wail broke out in the direction of the man's camp. Every one at once knew that the end was near, and with one accord all of the men ran towards the camp as hard as they could, most of them at the same time beginning to howl. Between us and the camp lay a deep creek, and on the bank of this some of the men, scattered about here and there, sat down, bending their heads forwards between their knees while they wept and moaned. Crossing the creek we found that, as usual, the man's camp had been pulled to pieces. Some of the lubras, who had come from all directions, were lying prostrate on the body, while others were standing or kneeling around, digging the sharp ends of yam-sticks into the crown of their heads, from which the blood streamed down over their faces, while all the time they kept up a loud, continuous wail. Many of the men, rushing up

to the spot, threw themselves upon the body, from which the women arose when the men approached, until in a few minutes we could see nothing but a struggling mass of bodies all mixed up together (Fig. 134). To one side three Thapungarti men, who still wore their corrobboree decorations, sat down wailing loudly, with their backs turned towards the dying man, and in a minute or two another man of the same class rushed on to the ground yelling and brandishing a stone knife. Reaching the camp, he suddenly gashed both thighs deeply, cutting right across the muscles, and, unable to stand, fell down into the middle of the group from which he was dragged out after a time by three or four female relatives—his mother, wife, and sisters—who immediately applied their mouths to the gaping wounds while he lay exhausted on the ground. Then another man of the same class came rushing up, prancing about, and to all appearances intent upon gashing his thighs, but, watching him, we saw that in his case it was merely a pretence. Each time that he pretended to cut he merely drew the flat side of his knife across his thigh, and so inflicted nothing more serious than a few slight scratches. Gradually the struggling mass of dark bodies began to loosen, and then we could see that the unfortunate man was not actually dead, though the terribly rough treatment to which he had been subjected had sealed his fate. The weeping and wailing still continued, and the sun went down leaving the camp in darkness. Later on in the evening, when the man actually died, the same scene was re-enacted, only this time the wailing was still louder, and men and women, apparently frantic with grief, were rushing about cutting themselves with knives and sharp-pointed sticks, the women battering one another's heads with fighting clubs, no one attempting to ward off either cuts or blows. Then, without more than an hour's delay, a small torchlight procession started off across the plain to a belt of timber a mile away, and there the body was left on a platform built of boughs in a low gum-tree (Fig. 135).

Next morning there was not a sign of any habitation to be seen on the side of the creek on which the dead man's

FIG. 134.—DEATH SCENE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The men are lying upon and sitting around the dying man. The women are wailing loudly and beckoning towards some men who are running up cutting themselves with stone knives. The decorated men have just been performing a totemic ceremony.

camp had formerly been placed. The only trace left was a small mound of earth called *kakiti*, piled up on the actual spot on which the man had died, and around this the ground was carefully smoothed down for a few feet in every direction. Every camp was removed to a considerable distance from the scene, as no one was anxious to meet with the spirit—the *ungwulan*—of the dead man, which would be hovering about the spot, or with that of the man who had brought about the death by evil magic, as it would probably

FIG. 135.—TREE GRAVE OF AN ADULT.

come to visit the place in the form of an animal.[1] It must be remembered that, though the man was declared by the old doctors to have died because he had violated tribal custom, yet at the same time he had of course been killed by some one, though by whom they could not yet exactly determine.

The next day was a busy one in camp, because, according to etiquette, there were certain mourning ceremonies which had to be performed, the omission of which would indicate a want of respect for and be very displeasing to the spirit of the dead man. Different men belonging to the

[1] The spirit part of a living individual is called *thunalgi*.

Thungalla, Tjupila, Thakomara, and Thapungarti classes were lying *hors de combat* with gashed thighs. They had done their duty, and henceforth, in token of this, would be marked with deep scars (Fig. 136). On one such man we counted the traces of no less than twenty-three wounds which had been inflicted at different times. Of course everything is hedged around with very definite rules, and when a man of any particular class dies it is always men

FIG. 136.—MAN WITH GASHED THIGH, DURING MOURNING CEREMONIES. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The wound is made to gape as widely as possible by being tightly tied round on either side.

who stand in a special relationship to him who have to cut themselves. On this occasion it was a Tjunguri man who had died, and the men who gashed their thighs—an operation called *kulungara*—stood to him in one or other of the following relationships:—Grandfather on the mother's side, mother's brother (the same as son-in-law), brother of the mother of the dead man's wife, and brother of the last. In addition to this the Tjupila, Thungalla, and Thakomara men had cut their hair off closely, burnt it, and smeared

their scalps with pipe-clay, whilst the Tjapeltjeri—the tribal fathers—had cut their whiskers off. Groups of men and women were sitting about embracing each other and weeping. The leg of the Thapungarti man who had most deeply gashed himself was held by his father, a Panunga man, who at the same time was embraced from behind by an aged Thungalla, as if to support him in his grief. Then a tribal brother of the dead man came up and embraced the Thapungarti, both of them howling loudly. The Tjunguri man then sat down and was embraced from behind by an old Tjapeltjeri man who was his tribal father, and who in turn was embraced by other Tjapeltjeri, Tjupila, Tjunguri, and Thapungarti men, all of them alternately howling and moaning.

The women meanwhile were taking a very active share in the proceedings. The dead man had left two widows behind him who, according to custom, had gone away from the old camp, cut off all of their hair, smeared themselves over from head to foot with pipe-clay, and now sat down wailing under the shelter of a few boughs which they had fixed in the ground so as to make a small wurley for themselves apart from the other camps (Fig. 137). Everything had been taken from them except their yam-sticks. In company with two tribal sisters and an old Tjupila woman, the mother of the Thapungarti man who had gashed his thighs, they came up towards the place where the men were seated. The old Thungalla man arose, went towards them, and, after striking each of their yam-sticks with a club, they all sat down on the ground, embracing one another (Fig. 137*a*). After a few minutes the man left, and the women set to work wailing and cutting their scalps. When this had gone on for some time they once more got up and approached the lubras' camp, where forty or fifty women were assembled. The latter came out in small bands of perhaps six or eight at a time, every individual carrying a yam-stick (Fig. 138). After a series of sham fights they all sat down in groups with their arms round one another, weeping and wailing frantically (Fig. 139), while the actual and tribal wives, mothers, wives' mothers, daughters, sisters,

mothers' mothers, sisters' husbands' mothers, and granddaughters, according to custom, once more cut their scalps open with yam-sticks. In addition to all this the actual widows afterwards seared the scalp wound with a red-hot fire-stick.

The men apparently took no notice whatever of what the women were doing, though of course they were well aware of what was taking place; in fact it a woman does

FIG. 137.—TWO WIDOWS ON THE MORNING AFTER A MAN'S DEATH.
They have daubed themselves over with pipe-clay and built a small lean-to of boughs.

not do her duty in this respect she is liable to be severely chastised, or even killed, by her brother.

After a short time an old Thakomara man—the oldest man of his class in the camp, indeed in the tribe—was led by a Tjapeltjeri man to a group consisting of two Tjapeltjeri, another younger Thakomara man, and a Thapanunga man. The two Thakomaras embraced, howling loudly at the same time, though no tears were shed. When this had gone on for a minute or two a Thakomara woman and a tribal daughter of the dead man came up and embraced the men

who were now seated on the ground. The women then cut their scalps with yam-sticks. While this was taking place an elder sister of the younger Thakomara man brought up

FIG. 137*a*.—GROUP OF WOMEN CUTTING THEIR HEADS WITH YAM-STICKS DURING MOURNING CEREMONIES. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

the effects of the dead man and placed them, weeping as she did so, on the knees of the elder Thakomara. This over, the three women retired from the scene and went back to the lubras' camp. The man who had died was a Tjunguri, and therefore these Thakomaras stood to him in

the relation of mother's brothers or daughters' husbands, and were, according to custom, entitled to everything of which he died possessed, in the way of weapons and implements. The older man opened up the bundles, which consisted of boomerangs, clubs, *pitchis*, tomahawks, hair-girdles, etc., and asked the younger one which of them he would keep, pressing him first of all to take them all; but he said, "No, I will take the clubs and boomerangs; you take the

FIG. 138.—WOMEN CHALLENGING ONE ANOTHER TO FIGHT AND CUT THEIR HEADS DURING MOURNING CEREMONIES. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

rest." As we said before, the widows were allowed to take nothing whatever except their own yam-sticks; beyond these everything passed into the hands of the tribal brothers of the dead man's mother—that is, they went to men who belonged to the half of the tribe to which he did not belong, but to which, on the other hand, his mother belonged. It must also be remembered that the Thakomara men are the potential husbands of the daughters of the Tjunguri men—a very important relationship known as *gammona* in the Kaitish tribe and *naminni* in the Warramunga.

From this time until the final mourning ceremonies have been completely enacted—a period which may cover an interval of one or even two years—a strict ban of silence is laid upon those women in camp who stand to the deceased man in one or other of the following relationships:—Wife, mother, sister, daughter, or mother-in-law; in each case it must be remembered that the relationship is either actual or tribal. In this particular instance it meant that women

FIG. 139.—WOMEN EMBRACING AND WAILING AFTER CUTTING THEIR HEADS DURING THE MOURNING CEREMONIES. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

belonging to each of the following groups were under the ban:—Thakomara, Thungalla, Tjunguri, Tjapeltjeri, and Thapungarti. Amongst the Warramunga especially, it is no uncommon thing to find that the greater number of women in any camp are prohibited from speaking. In the case of the widows, mothers, and mothers-in-law, this ban extends over the whole period of mourning, and even at the expiration of this the women will sometimes voluntarily remain silent, preferring apparently to use the gesture language, in which they become most remarkably proficient. At the

present moment there is a very old woman in the camp at Tennant Creek who has not spoken for more than twenty-five years, and who will probably, before very long, pass to her grave without ever uttering another word. In the case of other women the ban is removed after a longer or shorter interval by men who stand to them in the relation of tribal son, to whom, as usual under such circumstances, the woman concerned has to make a present of food. The ceremony itself is a very simple one: the woman brings up the food, usually a big damper of grass seed, and in turn bites the finger of each of the men who are releasing her. When once a man is dead no woman may ever again mention his name, but in the case of the men the restriction is not so absolute, as the name may be mentioned by men of the two subclasses to which his wife's father and wife's brother belong.[1]

When the preliminary mourning ceremonies above described have been passed through there follow others, the first of which is a visit to the *kakita*, the little mound of earth raised on the exact spot on which the man died. This is always paid within a day or two of the death. Some or all of the following take part in this, their bodies being decorated with pipe-clay, while green twigs hang down from under their forehead-bands—brothers, mothers, elder brothers, sisters' sons, wife's father. The last walks at the head of the little procession, while every one holds his hands behind his bowed head. The *kakita* and smooth ground around it are very carefully examined to see if there be any tracks visible which might give the clue to the identity of the murderer of the dead man. If, for example, a snake track were visible, then this would be regarded as a sure sign that a man of the snake totem was the culprit, and there would then remain the task of finding out which

[1] It is perhaps worth while drawing attention to the fact that in all of these tribes there is no absolute prohibition of the mention of the name of a dead person. There are always individuals standing in a certain relationship to the deceased who may never mention it, but on the other hand there are others to whom the prohibition does not apply. It is not infrequently stated that amongst Australian tribes the name of a dead person may never be mentioned. In some tribes this may be the case, but amongst all of those occupying the central and northern central area of the continent it is not so.

particular snake man was guilty. If anything in the way of a track be noticed, only the father and mother of the dead man are told, the members of the party saying nothing about the matter to any one else. On this particular occasion nothing was to be seen on or about the *kakita* except the tracks of one or two camp dogs.

The next ceremony consists in a visit to the tree grave, made by men and women standing in the following relationship to the dead man:—Mother, father's brother, wife's brother, wife's father, sisters, and mother's elder brother. They walk, as usual, in single file, and approach very quietly in the hope of seeing the spirit of the murderer hovering over the remains of his victim. Then they march round and round the tree singing out loudly, "*Ah! ah! ah!*" and after placing fresh boughs on the body return to camp. In the case of the Tjunguri man the first visit was paid three days after his death by five men, two of whom were brothers, one an elder and the other a younger, a mother's brother, a father, and a wife's father. We left camp at 3 A.M., just before dawn. The father and wife's father sneaked across the plains, travelling in a more or less direct line towards the grave, while the others, with whom we went, followed a very roundabout course. For two miles we walked quietly along the bed of a creek, the high banks of which prevented us from being seen by any one on the plain, on which the two men who had gone on ahead of us dodged about from shrub to shrub. The object of all this secrecy was to catch sight of the grave without, if possible, alarming the spirit of the murderer, if it should happen to be hovering around. As we stole quietly across the plain from the creek, the natives (and of course we followed their example) took advantage of every bit of scrub, gliding across the open ground from one patch of shelter to the next, until we were all within sight of the tree. There was, however, nothing in the form of anything representing a spirit hovering over the grave, so after the two parties had communicated by means of gesture language, we all came out into the open and approached the tree. A careful search was made round the base in the hope of finding some track, but with-

out any success, and just as the sun rose the younger Tjunguri man climbed up, lifted the boughs, and carefully examined the body (Fig. 140). The Tjapeltjeri man handed some fresh boughs up to him, and when these had been arranged upon the platform we returned to camp, visiting the *kakiti* on the way. Here again the ground was very carefully examined, but there were still no traces which could afford any satisfactory clue. The grave after this

FIG. 140.—VISIT TO TREE GRAVE AT SUNRISE, A FEW DAYS AFTER THE DEATH OF A MAN, TO TRY AND DISCOVER SOME CLUE TO THE SUPPOSED MURDERER. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The men in the tree are examining the body.

visit will be left in peace for a long time until the body becomes putrid, when the wife's brother and father will make a careful examination of the fluid which has trickled down from the platform. It is supposed that the direction which this takes indicates that from which the murderer came. If the stream only flows a short distance, then the man is only a little distance off, but if it flows far, then they know that the culprit belongs to a distant group, and in this case they follow the stream to its end, and usually—so

they say—find a little kind of beetle called *teiri*, which is supposed to resemble a man. They kill this, believing that in so doing they are causing the death of the man whom it is supposed to represent, and say, "Now we know—our eyes are made bright." Sometimes, however, they can find no trace of any kind, and then, as a last resource, an elder brother, wife's brother, and wife's father[1] go to the tree. The first-named lights a fire close by, while the third climbs into the tree and dislocates the bones. Then the brother hands him a long fire-stick, which he thrusts into the cavity of the skull, and twists about between the ribs. After having done so, he binds fur-string loosely round his legs and arms, and, closing his eyes, deliberately tumbles down from the platform, often as a result hurting himself a good deal. On the ground he wriggles about and shouts out loudly, "*Wurtu! wurtu! wurtu!*" keeping his eyes shut because, whilst doing this, he must on no account see the tree. He then tells the others to run away, which they do as hard as they can, and he follows them, tearing off the string from his arms and legs as he goes along. Arrived in camp, they all sit down quietly for two days, abstaining from both food and drink. The water of which they deprive themselves is supposed to follow up the murderer and in some way to kill him. After the two days have passed, each of them takes a mouthful of water and spits it out in various directions, but they are careful not to let any one know what they are doing. For some time they remain silent and, by and by, hear a voice crying out in the distance, "*Watai! watai!*" which means, "What is the matter with me?" Sometimes they have to wait a long time before hearing this, but as soon as they do they know that their magic has taken effect, and that the man is dead. If it should happen that they suspect any one in the camp of being the murderer, the elder brother of the dead man goes to the medicine men and tells them to have nothing to do with the culprit, and not to take any "bone" out of him, if he should happen to fall ill, but allow him to die.

[1] These of course may be tribal relations and not actual blood relations—that is, the wife's father may very likely be younger than the dead man.

At intervals, before the flesh has completely disappeared from the bones, the actual and tribal mothers of the dead man are obliged to go to the tree and, sitting under the platform, allow some of the putrid material to drip down on to their bodies, into which it is rubbed as a token of sorrow. The women told us that they very much disliked doing this, and that they only did it because they were obliged to do so by custom.

After the conclusion of these ceremonies the tree grave remains undisturbed for at least a year, and sometimes longer still. The spirit of the dead person, called ***ungwulan***, hovers about the tree, and at times visits the camp, watching, if it be that of a man, to see that the widows are mourning properly; occasionally also it can be heard making a low kind of whistling sound. When the brother thinks it is getting near to the time for the final ceremonies he goes to the tree, and, addressing the spirit, says, "Shall I go away?" If the latter says "Yes," he goes back to his camp at once, knowing that the time for the ceremony has not yet come. It is often only after several such questionings that the spirit tells the man that it wishes the period of mourning to come to an end. When its consent has thus been gained the brother returns to camp and tells the dead man's father-in-law, who immediately makes arrangements. This final ceremony varies in its nature in different sections of the tribe. The two which we saw enacted were concerned with the remains, one of a woman and the other of a man, both of whom belonged to the southern division of the Warramunga. The two ceremonies were exactly similar to one another, no more respect being shown to the remains of the man than to those of the woman, which is partly, no doubt, to be associated with the fact that it is a common belief in this tribe that the sex of the individual alternates at each reincarnation—a dead man being subsequently reborn as a woman, and *vice versa*.

Early one morning, before sunrise, we started off to visit the grave of a Tjunguri woman who had been placed on the tree platform a year before. The party consisted of only three natives, two Thapungarti men who were brothers

of the mother of the dead woman's husband, and one Tjambin man who was her tribal son. Just as we left the camp, where all was perfectly quiet, an old Tjapeltjeri man, the father of the dead woman, came up and gave a ball of fur-string to the elder of the two Thapungarti men. The tree was about a mile and a half away from the camp, and on reaching the spot the Tjambin cut a bark dish from a gum-tree close by and then climbed up on to the platform

FIG. 141.—CLIMBING UP TO THE TREE GRAVE IN ORDER TO RAKE THE BONES OUT ON TO THE GROUND. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

(Fig. 141). With the aid of a stick, so as to avoid actually touching the bones, he raked them all out on to the ground underneath and then clambered down. First of all one of the arm-bones (radius) was placed by itself on some paper bark and put on one side. The rest of the bones were raked into the bark dish by means again of sticks, as they must not be handled (Fig. 142). Then with a few smart blows of a tomahawk the skull was smashed to bits by the Tjambin man—that is, the tribal son, while the two

Thapungarti men stood by watching silently. When this was over the former carried the dish with its contents to an ant-hill two or three hundred yards away. Here one of the Thapungarti men took hold of the dish and, breaking off the top of the mound, slid the bones down into a hollow cavity in the centre, put the dish above them, and then replaced the top of the ant-hill (Fig. 143). No passer-by, other than perhaps a native, would for a moment suspect the latter to be the grave monument of a dead black-fellow. The

FIG. 142.—RAKING THE BONES INTO A BARK DISH.

whole ceremony only occupied a very short time, and then, returning to the spot where the arm-bone had been left, the elder Thapungarti took this and wrapped it carefully in paper bark, around which he twined the fur-string given to him by the Tjapeltjeri man (Fig. 144). One end was decorated with a bunch of emu feathers (in the case of a man owl feathers are used), and the whole made a torpedo-shaped parcel eighteen inches long and about four inches in diameter. This is called *burumburu*, and having placed it in the hollow trunk of a gum-tree, the

FIG. 143.—BURYING THE BONES IN AN ANT-HILL. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 144.—WRAPPING THE ARM-BONE UP IN PAPER BARK. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

men went off into the scrub in search of game, which they had subsequently to bring in to the father of the dead woman.

On the next day a message was sent in to the main camp to say that they were returning late in the afternoon. The lubras were at once instructed to prepare themselves for the ceremony of bringing in the bone, and under the guidance of a few old women who had been through the

FIG. 144*a*.—GROUP OF OLD WOMEN WAITING IN CAMP UNTIL SUMMONED TO THE CEREMONIAL GROUND.

One with her face daubed over with pipe-clay has the arm-bone in its case between her legs, another has a *pitchi* containing cooked snakes which will be given to the old men.

performance before, they were busy for several hours painting the upper parts of their bodies with red ochre and longitudinal lines of yellow. Not far from the main camp a party of old men sat silent for a long time, the old Tjapeltjeri father in the middle of the front line with elder men of various classes on either side of him, until, just before sunset, word came into camp that the men with the bone had been seen in the distance. The women and children were at once summoned and came up, grouping themselves,

to the number of fifty or sixty, behind the men, who were seated on the ground, every one perfectly silent and all with their heads bowed down (Fig. 145). A long way off we could see the three men approaching in single file, walking rapidly. Each of them had green twigs hanging down over his forehead and tied under his arm bands; the first man carried a bunch of small boughs in the middle of which the bone was concealed; the second carried the offering of meat, also hidden in boughs, while the third man carried

FIG. 145.—GROUP OF MEN AND WOMEN AWAITING THE BRINGING IN OF THE ARM-BONE OF A DEAD PERSON.

boughs only. Twice they walked quickly round the group of men and women, and at the completion of the second round the leader bent down and placed the bone on the knees of the old Tjapeltjeri man (Fig. 146), the second immediately laid the meat at his feet, and then, without a moment's pause, the three retired quickly out of sight and took no further part in the ceremony. The handing over of the bone was the signal for the women to kneel down (Fig. 147), and while the men bent prostrate in silence over it, the women broke out into a loud, piercing wail

which became louder still when the father passed the bone behind him to an old Tjapeltjeri woman in whose charge it was to remain until the final ceremony took place. After a few minutes the women rose and went away, leaving the men still bowed down, the old Tjapeltjeri father retaining the meat offering. The Tjapeltjeri woman, supported by an aged Thakomara woman who was the tribal mother of the dead

FIG. 146.—BRINGING IN THE ARM-BONE.

The man on the left side is just handing the bone in its covering of paper bark to a man who is seated on the ground.

lubra, carried away the *burumburu* to her wurley, where she hid it amongst the boughs forming the roof of the primitive "lean-to." During the evening the women continually renewed the wailing; indeed it is a very rare occasion on which, amongst the Warramunga tribe, there are not a few women in camp who seem to be spending most of their energies in wailing, and the noise which they make can only be likened to that of a pack of wild dogs in the distance.

Nothing further was done in connection with the *burumburu* for seventeen days.[1] Meanwhile a series of sacred ceremonies had been in course of performance, the more important of which had been in connection with a snake totem, and it was decided that the final ceremony should take place at the close of one special performance, in connection with which a considerable number of men were to be decorated. As a general rule only perhaps two or three men are decorated for the performance of these cere-

FIG. 147.—GROUP OF MEN AND WOMEN SITTING ON THE GROUND WAILING AND WEEPING OVER THE BONE.

monies, which are quite distinct from the ordinary corroborees. The dead woman was the daughter of the headman of the snake totem, she herself also belonging to the same. On this the final day of the totemic ceremonies, a special drawing was made on the ground representing the old snake, together with a water-hole where he went into the ground, and certain sacred trees in the vicinity where he left spirit children behind him. On this particular afternoon there were ten men elaborately decorated with designs of red, white, and yellow, made out of birds' and plant down. The

[1] The *burumburu* is represented in Plate I, Fig. 11.

women were told to have everything ready, and as soon as the sacred performance, which they were not allowed to see, was over, a trench about a foot deep and fifteen feet in length was dug on the corrobboree ground a few yards away from the painting. Close to the latter a little pit was dug by a Thapanunga man who was the brother of the maternal grandmother of the dead woman, and had charge

FIG. 148.—GROUP OF MEN AND WOMEN AFTER THE ARM-BONE HAS BEEN BROUGHT IN.

On the right side the women are seen cutting one another's thighs, and in the middle one woman is cutting her scalp with a boomerang. The central man has placed his left hand on a large "damper" or loaf which is being given to the men by the women.

of the ceremony about to be enacted. This man, together with all of those who had taken part in the totemic ceremony, belonged to the same half of the tribe as did the dead woman. The Thungalla men, who were potentially the husbands of the woman, and one Tjupila man of the Worgaia tribe who also had a Tjunguri wife, painted themselves with black and yellow stripes. The ten decorated men

FIG. 149.—FINAL BURIAL CEREMONIES. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
Men standing over trench, the women approaching with the arm-bone.

stood in line with their legs straddled across the trench, each man with his hands clasped behind his head. All of the other men who had been watching the ceremony sat down beside the painting on the ground, with the exception of the one Thapanunga, who stood by the side of the little pit with a stone axe in his hand. Then the women were summoned from their camp and came across the creek on to the corrobboree ground in perfect silence, one aged lubra directing them by signs what to do (Fig. 149). They were all, as before, decorated with red ochre and lines of yellow, and as they approached the trench ranged themselves in single file, the rear being brought up by a young Tjupila woman who carried the *burumburu*, which was now decorated with a design in black and yellow. In turn each woman came forward, fell down on hands and knees, and in this way crawled along the length of the trench under the straddled legs of the men. As they emerged they stood up and formed themselves into a dense group some little distance in front of the men, with their backs turned towards the latter, so that they could neither see them nor the sacred painting on the ground (Fig. 150). Each woman held her arms high up and her hands clasped behind her head, just as the decorated men did. The file of women rapidly passed through, and as soon as ever the last one rose to her feet the *burumburu* which she carried was snatched from her by a brother of the dead woman and carried across to where the Panunga man stood ready with uplifted axe (Fig. 151). The young man held out the bone in its covering of paper bark, and with a single blow the old man smashed it, thrust it rapidly out of sight into the little pit dug beside the emblem of the dead woman's totem, and closed the opening with a large flat stone, indicating thereby that the time of mourning was over, and that she had been gathered unto her totem. The moment that the women heard, though they were not allowed to see, the blow of the axe, they fled away, shrieking, over the creek to their camp, and there in the distance we could hear them wailing. Most of the men went silently to their camps, but for some time the father, together with a few other men of his own

FIG. 150.—FINAL BURIAL CEREMONIES. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

Women crawling along the trench. The last woman carries behind her back the arm-bone in its decorated sheath of paper bark.

side of the tribe, remained seated on the ground by the side of the little grave (Fig. 152).

The pit in which the bone is buried and covered over with a stone is called *palpalla*, as is also the totemic design drawn upon the ground representing the spot at which the totemic ancestor finally went into the earth.

FIG. 151.—FINAL BURIAL CEREMONIES. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
Breaking the arm-bone, which is then buried in the small hole seen behind the right leg of the man holding the bone.

When once this ceremony of breaking the bone, which they call *anbiringa-tjinta*, has been performed, and the bone deposited in its last resting-place, the spirit of the dead person, which they describe as being of about the size of a grain of sand, goes back to its camping-place in the Wingara, and remains there in company with the spirit parts of other members of its totem until such time as it undergoes reincarnation.

At a subsequent ceremony we saw the breaking of the bone in the case of a man, but in all essential features it was similar to the one above described, except that the breaking was done by a man who stood in the relationship to the deceased of *au-inniari* or wife's father.

There are certain customs amongst these tribes in connection with the disposal of the hair of a dead man to which reference may be made here. After death, in the

FIG. 152.—FINAL BURIAL CEREMONIES.
Placing the bone in the ground and filling the little pit with earth.

Urabunna tribe, the hair is cut from the head by a man who stands in the relationship of *kupuka* (younger brother) to the deceased. During the mourning ceremonies the *kupuka* and *witiwa* (wife's brother) also cut their own hair off, and this is mixed with that of the dead man and made up into a girdle, to which the special name of *tata* is given, the ordinary girdle being called *madi*. The *tata* is worn during the avenging expedition. No man of one moiety is allowed to see the hair of a man of the other moiety while it is being made into the string-girdle. In the Urabunna also we meet

with a custom not noticed elsewhere. If a man's actual elder sister dies, after his own decease, then her hair is cut off and mixed with his to form the girdle. Possibly this, which seems to place the woman, in regard to this matter, on the same level as the man, is associated with the idea of the alternation of sexes at successive reincarnations. In the Arunta and Kaitish tribes the hair is always cut from the head of a dead man and made into a waist-girdle or a *wailia-wailia*, as the case may be, but amongst the Warramunga only the whiskers are cut off and made into what is called a *tana*. They are wrapped round with fur-string so as to form a little package in shape somewhat like a big cigar. They are removed immediately after death by the dead man's son, who presents them to a man who is either the actual or the tribal husband of the daughter of the dead man's sister, and upon him devolves the duty of finally avenging the death. This relationship is a very important one in this tribe, because every man has the disposal in marriage of his sisters' daughters, though of course he can only give them to men of the group into which they can lawfully marry. It is thus the man to whom the wife is given who receives the hair of the man who gives him the wife, and along with this gift there goes the duty of avenging the death. In the case, for example, of the Tjunguri man his hair was, after death, cut off by a brother, who presented it to a Thapungarti man, and the latter must sooner or later fight with and, if possible, kill the man who was supposed to have murdered the Tjunguri. Now the sister of the latter is also a Tjunguri, and her children belong to the Tjambin class—that is, her daughters, whom her brother has the right of giving away, are the lawful wives of the Thapungarti men, and it is one of these who receives the hair of the dead Tjunguri and must avenge his death.

When an avenging party is organised the man carrying the *tana*, and sometimes, but not always, one of the arm-bones of the dead man, takes the lead, and as soon as the man who is supposed to be the culprit is met with the *tana* and bone are shown to him, and he is supposed thereupon

to become so terrified that his legs tremble under him, and he becomes incapable of fighting and is easily speared. As a matter of fact, while sometimes the supposed culprit is actually put to death, if the avengers can succeed in creeping stealthily upon him, as a general rule what ensues is a more or less serious fight, during which, in the usual manner of the black-fellow, the accused stands up and submits quietly to be cut about without retaliating, or else wards off, as he best can, spears and boomerangs thrown at him by the man who has the *tana*. It must also be remembered that the very possession of the latter, endowed as it is with strong magic properties, is in itself a very great advantage to the person who holds it, and who in consequence of this fights with the firm belief that he is bound to be the victor. In the Tjingilli tribe the customs are practically identical with those above described, except that the hair from the head, as well as the beard, is also used, and the sacred objects made out of them are called *chantimmi*.

To the west of the Tjingilli, and extending southwards on to the table-land district, the country is occupied by the Umbaia tribe, who, unlike all of their neighbours, do not bury their dead, normally, in trees, but place them directly in the ground—a practice which is evidently due to the fact that over a large area of the country inhabited by the tribe there are practically no trees at all.

Westwards, again, of them, and extending as far as the coast ranges, there is a tribe called Gnanji, who bury their dead in trees. They are a fierce people, wilder-looking than their neighbours the Umbaia on the west, or the Binbinga on the east, and there can be little doubt but that they eat fallen enemies, and it is almost certain also that, especially on the eastern borders of the tribe, they eat their own dead. However, their general practice is to place the bodies of younger men and women on tree platforms called *palla-pallamma*, while old people are buried directly in the ground, the reason given for this being that they do not like the sun to shine upon them, as it is too hot for the bones. When the greater part of the flesh has disappeared from the bones, they are wrapped up in paper bark and

allowed to remain for some time longer on the platform. This wrapping up in paper bark is very suggestive of what takes place amongst the Binbinga tribe, which adjoins them on the east. There is little doubt but that at times, though not so generally as amongst the neighbouring coastal tribes, the flesh is eaten by the Gnanji. Still later, when they are dry enough to be easily separated, the bones are placed in a *pitchi* and remain in the tree until they are whitened. The fibula bones are removed, carefully red-ochred, wrapped round with fur-string, and retained for magic purposes, and are very highly prized as pointing-bones, which are called *pirritthi*. The father takes the collar- and arm-bones (radius), wraps them up in human hair-string, and sends the sons of the dead man out with them to summon distant groups of natives. When all are assembled special ceremonies are performed, similar to those described later in connection with the Binbinga tribe. The bones are then handed over to the custody of a man who stands to the deceased in the relation of mother's brother's son, whose duty it is to avenge the death. After this has been done they are returned to the father, who places them by the side of the other bones, which he has already buried, wrapped in paper bark, on the banks of a water-hole. This earth grave is called *loritmitpi*. The bones are supposed to be very efficient in causing the growth of lilies, which normally abound in such water-holes as Whanaluru, a favourite camping-ground of the Gnanji tribe.

Amongst the Gnanji a dead man is called *kurti*, and his spirit *moidna*, and they have the curious belief, which we did not meet with elsewhere amongst the tribes studied by us, that while each man has a *moidna* the woman has no spirit at all, and when dead is, as they say, done with altogether. On the other hand, the spirit of the dead man walks about visiting his ancestral camping-ground, and undergoing reincarnation at some future time when the rains shall have fallen and washed and cleansed the bones.

As soon as ever the man is dead one of his sons cuts off the whiskers of the deceased. He carefully keeps them

until the next rains fall, and then makes them into a small cigar-shaped structure called a *tana*, which he shows to the mother of the dead man, receiving from her a present of food. As amongst the Warramunga, the *tana* is used for magic purposes. The women also, mothers and wives of the dead man, cut their scalps with yam-sticks, sear the wound thus made with a red-hot fire-stick, and are under a strict ban of silence until such time as the final burial ceremonies have been performed.

The line of watershed between the coastal country and the inland plains marks approximately the inland limits of a group of coastal tribes—Binbinga, Anula, Mara, Allaua, Willingara, and Karrawa—who extend right down to the waters of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and amongst whom, as in the case of most of their customs, those connected with burial and mourning are very closely similar to one another. In the first place, all of them practise the custom of eating the flesh of the dead. The bones, from which all the muscles have been removed and eaten, are left for a considerable time, after which a more or less elaborate series of ceremonies are performed and the bones are buried in a log.

In the Binbinga tribe the father of the dead man hands all his son's possessions on to a man who was his *purnka*—that is, a man who stood to him in the relationship of mother's brother's son. The same man also cuts the hair off the dead man and keeps it for himself, wrapping it up in bark so as to form a small parcel called by the Binbinga *ni-irra*, and this at a later period is carried by a sacred messenger sent out to summon distant groups. The father tells the *purnka* man to burn everything except the spears and boomerangs of the dead man. In the same way, amongst the Mara tribe, the hair goes to the mother's brother's son; in the Anula it is cut off by two men belonging to the opposite side of the tribe; if the deceased, for example, be a Roumburia man, the hair is cut off by Urtalia and Wialia men, who are told to do so by the father. The sister's son, the Wialia man, takes the whiskers, while the hair from the top of the head goes to the mother's

brother's son, the Urtalia man. The hair from a dead man is called *namarattha*, that on a living man being called *nanattha*, and the former may never be seen by women.

In the Binbinga tribe the body immediately after death is cut up by men who belong to the opposite side of the tribe. If, for example, a Tjurulum man dies, the body is cut up by Tjuanaku, Tjulantjuka, Paliarinji, and Pungarinji men. The head is cut off, the liver taken out, and all of the joints are dismembered. A fire is made in a hole in the ground, stones are heated, and the different parts of the body laid on them to cook. They are then covered with green boughs and the earth heaped over until the cooking is complete, when the gruesome meal is partaken of by the men above named. No woman is allowed to taste human flesh, but the men appear to be by no means averse to it. The women give as an explanation of their abstention that they are too sorry to touch the flesh, but the real reason is that they are not allowed to do so, or indeed to go anywhere near to the spot at which this part of the funeral rite is carried out.

In the Mara and Anula tribes very much the same ceremony takes place, only here those who may eat the flesh are representative of both moieties of the tribe. In the case of an Anula woman, whose body was eaten a short time ago, the following took place. The woman belonged to the Wialia division of the tribe, and her body was disembowelled by a Roumburia man. Those present during the rite and participating in it were four in number; two of them were her tribal fathers, belonging therefore to the Wialia group—that is, to her own moiety of the tribe; the other two were her mother's brothers, and therefore Roumburia men belonging to the half of the tribe to which she did not belong. The woman's totem was Barramunda (a fresh-water fish); the tribal father's wild dog; the two mother's brothers were respectively alligator and night-hawk, so that it will be clearly seen that the rite of eating the flesh of a dead person is in no way concerned with the totem group. In another instance—that of the eating of an Anula man who

was a Roumburia—the body was disembowelled by an Urtalia man who was the mother's brother of the deceased; the other men present and participating were one Wialia, two Urtalia, and one Awukaria. Apart from this the ceremonies are practically identical in the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes.

After the flesh has been eaten the bones are carefully collected, wrapped up in paper bark, and taken by the mother's brother to the camp of the dead man's father, who must watch over them until the time of the final ceremony. The man comes up to where the father and mother are seated with their heads bowed down, and places in front of them the parcel containing the bones. For a short time the latter are spread out upon a small platform until they are quite dry, when they are again wrapped up in paper bark and the parcel is fixed into the fork of a stout stick standing upright in the ground (Fig. 153). This is placed in the centre of a little cleared space outlined by a raised circle of sand in which an opening is left at one side. Within the circle a small fire is made and kept continuously burning. It has to be specially lighted by rubbing two sticks together, and may only be approached by the father and mother of the dead person; no one else may touch or go near to it, and no fire-stick may be taken away from it. To this special fire the name of *koaka* is given, the ordinary fire being spoken of as *pui-uka*, and it is regarded as being *kurta-kurta* —a term applied also, for example, to boys after they have been initiated and are out in the bush, and may not come into contact with, or be seen by, women. The spirit is supposed to come and hover over the bones and fire, and at times may be seen by the father and mother, standing beside the little fire. There is no attempt to conceal the bones. In one case we saw the forked stick with its little surrounding mound of sand placed right in the middle of a camp of Binbinga natives whose wurleys were dotted about all round it amongst the trees on the steep banks of the Macarthur River.

After the bones have been brought in, the father takes one of the arm-bones, red-ochres it, and ties it tightly round

with fur-string, which he coats over with pipe-clay. This object, which is called *kallaua*, he gives, after the lapse of a considerable time—perhaps a year or more—to a man who

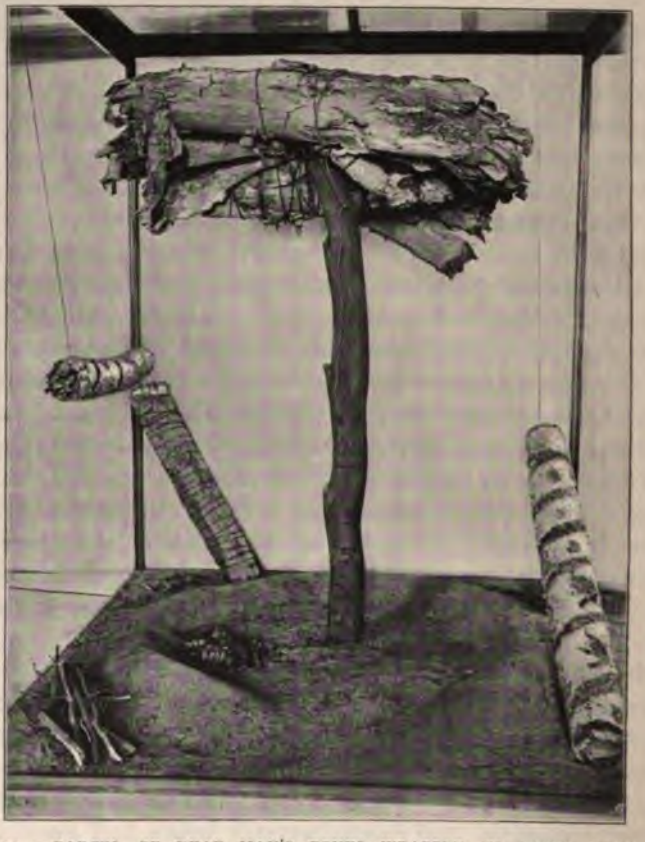


FIG. 153.—PARCEL OF DEAD MAN'S BONES WRAPPED IN PAPER BARK AND PLACED IN THE FORK OF A BRANCH STANDING UPRIGHT IN THE GROUND.

Around the base is a horse-shoe shaped ridge of sand within which a small fire is kept burning. The photograph is taken from a case in the National Museum, Melbourne. The scene is an exact reproduction of the original one. The parcel of bones was obtained from the Binbinga tribe, where it was found in the middle of a camp on the banks of the Macarthur River. In the same case are seen three log coffins decorated with totemic designs, the one on the right belonging to the dugong totem.

acts as a messenger to summon distant groups to take part in the final ceremonies. This man is always one who stands

in the relationship of mother's brother's son to the dead person. If, for example, it be a Tjulantjuka who has died then a Tjurulum man acts as messenger, if it be a Paliarinji then a Yakomari goes out, and so on. Sometimes the messenger carries only the *kallaua*, but in addition, in the Binbinga tribe, he may take with him the *ni-irra* or packet containing the dead man's hair, and in the Anula a *wi-airpi* or sacred stick.[1] A messenger bearing such a sacred emblem as the dead man's bone is himself regarded as sacred, and can pass with impunity from group to group, and in addition the emblem which he carries makes it impossible for those to whom he is sent to refuse his request. In significance it is the equivalent, in the more northern tribes, of the special sacred Churinga called *ilchinkinja* or dead man's hand of the Arunta tribe which beckons and must be followed. Passing from group to group, he shows the bone to the leading men, who make preparations, and on his return he picks up the parties at their respective camps, and all together they march towards the home camp, signalling their approach by sending up smokes, as agreed upon before the messenger started. They always arrange so as to reach a spot some little distance from their final destination late in the afternoon, and here they halt for the night while the messenger goes on ahead to tell the local people that the strangers are ready to come up. Early next morning the father takes the parcel of bones, which still remains in the fork of the stick, and places the latter upright in the ground at one end of a cleared space on the corrobboree ground. Here, close by the bones, he sits down in silence with the men of his camp arranged in lines behind him, no women being present. The performance is opened by one younger tribal brother of the messenger, who comes up and runs round and round the group, shouting loudly, "*Kai! Kai!*" while he strikes two fighting clubs together. Meanwhile, led by the messenger, the strangers have been approaching in single file; as they come on to the corrobboree ground they break into a run and circle round and round the sitting men yelling "*Oh! Oh!*" dancing wildly and brandishing their spears, holding them,

[1] The equivalent of the Churinga among the Arunta.

however, close by the barbed ends, which point downwards to show that they have no hostile intention. Each man wears his boomerang thrust behind through his waist-girdle, and when the dance is over the spears are gathered together and laid in a heap in front of the father, who sits perfectly still and impassive with his head bowed down. The boomerangs are fixed upright in a long row in front of the seated men. All of these weapons are given to the local men by the strangers, who then retire to one side and sit down in a group.

For some time previously the mother of the dead man and other lubras under her direction have been out in the scrub collecting honey-bags and lily roots, and now the father and sons, actual and tribal, of the dead man arise from their places and carry some of this food supply across to where the strangers are sitting, saying, "This is only a very little—eat it; we will give you more by and by when you have made corrobborees." Nothing more is done that day, the remainder of which, as well as the whole of the following night, is spent on the corrobboree ground, the local men singing sacred songs, all of which are connected with the totem of the dead man. Early next morning the *purnka* (mother's brother's son) of the dead man brings up a hollow log called *lalanga*, which he has painted with a design of the dead man's totem (Fig. 153). This is at first placed on a small cleared space to one side of the ground. The tribal fathers, but not the actual father, and the tribal sons of the dead man,—both those of the local group and also those from amongst the strangers,—are painted with designs of the totem. At this time any newly initiated youths who may be in camp, and who have not been permitted to come up before, are now brought on to the ground and placed amongst the seated men near to the parcel of bones. When it is dark the *purnka* man brings the hollow log and sets it upright in the ground, close to where the father sits beside the bones, still wrapped in paper bark. The strangers again sit to one side. Then a *purnka* man out of the local group leads up one of the decorated men. The two advance in a sinuous line along the cleared space, the local man beating boomerangs,

the other carrying wands, made out of paper bark, under each arm. His hands are clasped behind his back, and he performs a curious shaking movement of his body as he runs along singing *mungai* songs the whole time. One after the other the decorated men repeat the same performance, each one at its close tumbling down to one side. When all of them have been through this, the paper-bark wands are piled together close by the hollow log, the decorated men standing up, joining their hands, and dancing in a great circle round the bones and the group of seated men, amongst whom one *purnka* man stands up keeping time by beating boomerangs. Just before dawn the father calls up the eldest *purnka* man and hands the parcel of bones over to him, telling him at the same time to put them in the log. This he at once does, filling up both ends with paper bark and tying strips of this tightly round outside so that no design can be seen. Then the whole party sets off towards the father's camp, the *purnka* man carrying the log in the middle, and one man in advance carrying bushes which he beats together. As they walk quickly along they all shout, "*Oh! Oh! Sh! Sh! Wrr! Wr-RR!*" The lubras who hear them coming approach the spot and stand to one side, each of them carrying a kangaroo bone in her hand. They have previously made a cleared space with a hole in the middle, into which the log is placed. The men then retire and the lubras come up, weep and wail over the log, and cut themselves with the kangaroo bones, after which they return to their camps. Then once more the father and son come up and place food round about the log and one large honey-comb on the top. They then leave the spot, and after a short time the *purnka* men approach and carry away the food, which they give to the strangers, with the exception of the honey-comb, which they eat themselves. After having given the food away they take the log and place it in the boughs of a tree by the side of a water-hole, fixing it so that, if possible, it overhangs the water. For about three wet seasons they are the only individuals who will be allowed to eat lilies out of that pool, near to which no woman is allowed to go. There the bones of the dead man remain until such time as the log with its totemic

design rots and they fall into the water, or are perhaps carried miles away by some great flood and buried deep in the bed of the river. Meanwhile the father of the dead man has requested the strangers to stay for another day, and early next morning he takes the decorated arm-bone of his son to the camp and in turn places it under the arm of every man, saying, "You must kill the man who killed my son." Then he puts it in the mouth of one *purnka* man, telling him to keep it. It is now the duty of this man to organise an avenging party, which he does sooner or later. When setting out on this he ties the bone on firmly close to the stone head of his spear, which then cannot fail to go straight and kill the murderer. When this has been accomplished, and without removing the bone, he brings the spear all stained with blood back to the father, who says, "Have you killed him?" and he replies, "Yes; here is his blood." The father then unties the bone, and, rewarding the avenger with a present of weapons, sends him back to his own country. The bone has now accomplished its purpose; it is of no further use and is buried in the bank of the water-hole close by the decorated log.

When the burial rites are all over, the spirit, which is called *kutula* by the Binbinga, returns to its own *mungai* spot. After a time it walks about, and may occasionally be seen by other natives, and sooner or later it undergoes reincarnation.

There remains now only the releasing of the women, the mothers and widows, from the ban of silence. Two men who are the tribal fathers of the deceased send red ochre to the women, who, understanding what this means, go out and gather together a large supply of sugar-bag and lily roots. Returning to camp the lubras send the supply to the men, and it is distributed to certain of them, exactly whom depending on the class to which the dead person belonged. For example, if the latter were a Tjulantjuka the food is given to Tjurulum, Tjirnum, Tjamerum, Pungarinji, and Yakomari men. The women make a large fire and place the food close by this; then the men come up, and the lubras, taking small boughs, light them in the fire and brush them-

selves all over with the burning twigs, but not so as to burn themselves severely. Then an old Pungarinji man tells them that they may speak, and a Paliarinji (father of the dead man) divides the food into five parts, one going to each of the groups of men above named.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ATNINGA OR AVENGING PARTY

Initial ceremonies in the organisation of the party—Bringing in the *kirra-urkna*—Performance of *atninga unterrima*—Shield and boomerang dances—Drawing blood from penes—Men prostrating themselves on the spears—Departure and return of the party—Harangue by an old woman, and subsequent testing of the shields of those who had done the spearing—The men paint their bodies with black and wear *alpita*—The spirit of the dead man, in the form of a little bird called *chichurkna*, follows them up.

DURING the time which we spent amongst the Arunta at Alice Springs, during the month of May 1901, we were fortunate enough to witness the despatch and return of an *atninga* or avenging party. Some few months earlier an Alice Springs native had died, and his death was attributed by the medicine men to the fact that he had been killed by the evil magic of a man living some one hundred and thirty miles away to the north-west. Accordingly, while a large number of men were gathered together, advantage was taken of the occasion to organise an avenging party. One day, while the men were seated on the ground in the bed of the creek, the brother of the dead man brought up the *kirra-urkna* or girdle made out of the dead man's hair. Carrying this under his arm-pit, he went in turn to each man, and kneeling down in front of him placed his penis in succession in the hand of every man and had it rubbed. This ceremony is called *pura irripurinnia*. Then he took the *kirra-urkna* from his arm-pit and pressed it against the stomach of each man—a ceremony called *kirra-urkna illura illirima*. The idea of this again is to make them strong in fighting, and to pledge them to take part in

the avenging party which was thus organised. That night was spent in the camp making and singing over the *ilkunta* or flaked sticks which the men were to wear in their hair while on the war-path.

Early the next morning the men, armed with spears, boomerangs, and shields, and wearing the *ilkunta* or flaked sticks, came dancing up the bed of the creek in the form

FIG. 154.—ATNINGA PARTY APPROACHING THE CEREMONIAL GROUND. ARUNTA TRIBE.

of a solid square, pausing every few minutes as they approached in a sinuous line (Fig. 154). The leader, the brother of the dead man, every now and then ran round and round the party pretending, as he did so, to hurl his spear at an imaginary foe, in imitation of the way in which, later on, he intended to spear the culprit. After having traversed a distance of about a mile in this way, the party came to a halt, the spears were fixed upright in the ground, and every one sat down in perfect silence. In a

FIG. 155.—ATNINGA PARTY PERFORMING A BOOMERANG DANCE. ARUNTA TRIBE.

short time they were joined by some of the older men, and about an hour later they rose to their feet and soon went on to the ceremonial ground some distance away amongst the hills, out of sight of the main camp and the women and children. Here all of the men in camp were gathered together and a series of ceremonies called *atninga unterrima* was performed. First of all, holding only shields in their hands, they formed into a solid square at one end of the

FIG. 156.—RUBBING THE THIGHS OF THE MEN WHO ARE TAKING PART IN THE ATNINGA. ARUNTA TRIBE.

ground, and, with the usual high-knee action, come rushing along for about two hundred yards, when they wheeled round and returned to their starting-place. Laying aside their shields and taking boomerangs, which they held behind their necks with both hands, they went through the same movement, and finally, laying their boomerangs down, each man took his spear and with these held aloft they rushed backwards and forwards, led on by the brother of the dead man (Fig. 155).

The men then sat down on the ground. Those who

were actually going to take part in the expedition one by one went round the seated group and had their thighs rubbed by the others in order to make them lithe and active (Fig. 156). Whilst this was in progress the leader of the expedition went to each man, and placing one end of the waist-girdle made out of the hair of the dead man on the

FIG. 157.—ATNINGA PARTY.

The leader goes to each man in turn and places one end of the girdle made from the hair cut from the head of the dead man in his mouth and the other against his penis. This is supposed to arouse feelings of intense anger and ensure the man doing his best to avenge the death.

penis and the other end in the mouth of the man, embraced him (Fig. 157). The idea of this is that some influence passes over from the hair of the dead man to the individual with whom it comes into contact, making his inward parts burn with eagerness to avenge the murder.

After this there was a pause for a few minutes and then all of the men stood up, opened veins in their penes by

FIG. 158.—ATNINGA PARTY DANCING ROUND THE SPEARS WHICH ARE TO BE USED.

means of sharp flakes or pointed sticks, and, standing opposite to one another, allowed the blood to spurtle out over each other's thighs. This gruesome ceremony is supposed both to mutually strengthen those who take part in it, and at the same time to bind them still more closely together and to make anything like treachery quite impossible.

Finally, the spears which were to be used on the expedition were bundled together and held upright by two old men,

FIG. 159.—ATNINGA. ARUNTA TRIBE.
Dance of the men who are actually to take part in the killing.

who rattled them vigorously while all of the others danced round with their boomerangs held behind their heads (Fig. 158). Then the men who were going to take part in the spearing performed a dance with their hands clasped behind their heads (Fig. 159) and suddenly fell prostrate on the ground (Fig. 160), and remained in this position for a few minutes in dead silence. They were supposed to be imitating the mourning of the relatives of the man whom they intended to kill.

Rising to their feet, each member of the party took his shield, spear, and boomerang, and off they started as cheerfully as if they were setting out upon a pleasure trip.

These ceremonies took place on the twelfth of May, and after more than a week had passed by and there was no news of the party, there was not a little anxiety felt as to what had happened to them, for, when intent upon an object of this

FIG. 160.—ATNINGA.

The men who are to take part in the killing lying prostrate on the ground. They are supposed to be imitating the sorrow and mourning of the relatives of the man whom they intend to kill.

kind, the native does not loiter much by the way, and it is astonishing what an extent of country he will cover in a very short time. He is always anxious to steal upon the enemy without the latter having the chance of knowing that he is in any danger, and in the same way the return journey is made rapidly so to prevent the party from being overtaken by any friends of the dead man. Watchers were accordingly stationed on a hill which commanded a view of the country over which the *atninga* party must travel, but it was not till

the twenty-first of May that news came into camp that the party could be seen returning, some distance away. There was still considerable anxiety felt, as the men could not be seen distinctly, and it sometimes happens that the avengers, if the enemy gets wind of their coming, return minus one or two of their number. However, on nearer approach it was seen that each man was painted black with charcoal, and had twigs of Eremophila hanging down over his forehead and inserted

FIG. 161.—RETURN OF THE ATNINGA. ARUNTA TRIBE.
Old woman haranguing the men.

into the hole through the nasal septum—a sure sign that the *atninga* had been successful.

Following up the bed of the creek, the party came on through a gap in the hills. They approached in the form of a square, every man holding his spear upright in one hand and the shield in the other, and at the same time prancing along with the usual exaggerated high-knee action. An old woman, who, being in mourning, was bedaubed from head to foot with white pipe-clay, met them before they reached the

FIG. 162.—ATNINGA. ARUNTA TRIBE.

Women testing the shields of the men who have taken part in the killing. The woman on the right being in deep mourning is daubed all over with pipe-clay.

camp, and, with a fighting club in her hand, went through a series of grotesque dancing movements in front of them. As she did so they stood still in perfect silence, but after a minute or two danced on and then came to a final halt in the bed of the creek. Once more the old woman pranced about in front of them, haranguing them loudly (Fig. 161); then, without speaking a word, the *immirinja* men—that is, those who had actually taken part in the killing—came forward and stood in the front line, each man with his spear resting on the ground and his shield held with its convex side outwards. The old woman and a younger one struck each of them in turn with a fighting club (Fig. 162). This ceremony (called *ulquita atuma; ulquita*, shield; *atuma*, to strike) is regarded as being of considerable importance. The spirit of the dead man is supposed to be following up the party in the form of a little bird called *chichurkna*, which is watching its opportunity to injure the men by evil magic. If, when the shield of any man be struck, it gives out a hollow sound (*atalaia*), the owner is under some evil influence and will not live long; but if, on the other hand, the sound be firm and strong (*ilatilkima*), then all is well and the evil magic has not affected him. The men who had not actually taken part in the killing stood, meanwhile, in the back rows, every one listening carefully to the sound given out by the different shields. These men are called *alknalarinika*, or onlookers, and as soon as the *ulquita atuma* was over they left the group and related to the other men, who had now come up, what had taken place.[1] The *immirinja* men still remained silent, sitting down upon the ground. For a short time nothing more was said or done, and then, in twos and threes, the *immirinja* men jumped up, and making a wide circuit in front of the group of men, ran round with exaggerated high-knee action and finally came to a stand close to an old man who went out to meet them. Each of them held his shield with the convex side outwards and the old man struck it with a boomerang (Fig. 163). When this

[1] In the Urabunna tribe these men are called *pankninga uquamunda*, which means, "those who walk at the side." The actual slayers are called *ippurunkurta*, which means, "those who walk in the lead."

was done they walked back again to the group of seated men.

After an hour or two the men went away to their respective camps, but for days to come the *immirinja* must not speak of the expedition. They have also to be very careful to paint their bodies black[1] and to continue the wearing of the Eremophila twigs. At night-time they wear

FIG. 163.—ATNINGA. ARUNTA TRIBE.
Men testing the shields.

alpita,—that is, the tail-tips of the rabbit-bandicoot,—which, being part of a nocturnal animal, is supposed to make the wearer wakeful. The *chichurkna* keeps flying over the camp, hoping to injure his murderers, who have to be very careful not to allow the bird to catch sight of their right arm, else they would become paralysed. The *chichurkna* sounds like

[1] The idea of this is probably to render themselves invisible. The widow of a dead man has to paint her body white, so that the spirit of the dead man can see that she is properly mourning for him.

a child crying in the distance, and when once it has been heard by any man it is powerless to do him further harm.

It transpired that upon this particular occasion the avenging party had not killed the man whom they actually went in search of. He had somehow got news of their coming, and had discreetly cleared away to a distant part of the country. As they could not kill him they had speared his father, under the plea that the old man had known all about his son "going *Kurdaitcha*" to kill the Alice Springs man, and had not attempted to prevent him from doing so. It will not be very long before a return *atninga* will be organised to visit the Alice Springs group, and then probably the old man's death will be avenged. In this way, year after year, an endless kind of vendetta is maintained amongst these tribes, though, fortunately, it sometimes happens that there is more noise than bloodshed.

CHAPTER XIX

WELCOMING DANCE

Strict observance of forms and ceremonies—Etiquette on approaching a strange camp—Visit of southern blacks to Alice Springs—Men coming on to ceremonial ground—Preliminary dance—Handing over of the flaked sticks to the headman of the local group, who burnt them—Challenging a visitor to cut himself in token of mourning—A visitor charged with having killed the brother of one of the local men—A local man accusing a visitor of undue familiarity with his lubra—General recrimination and considerable excitement—The Panunga and Bulthara men separate themselves from the Kumara and Purula, who retire from the field and camp by themselves—Visit of a party of Walpari men to the Warramunga tribe—Following up the track of an Alcheringa ancestor, and visiting the *mungai* spots—The visitors perform a sinuous dance in front of the local men and women—Those of the latter tribe who come from the part of the country nearest to that of the visitors stand by themselves—Present of food given to the Walpari—Visitors taken to the camp and a corrobboree performed in honour of them.

ONE feature in connection with all of these tribes with which it is impossible not to be continually struck is the great amount of form and ceremony attendant upon any event which they regard as of importance. They have a very strict code of etiquette and distinct terms, implying strong disapproval, which they apply to any member of the tribe who does not observe this.

Visits are frequently made, either by individuals or by parties of men and women, to friendly groups of natives living in distant parts. If it be only one man who is paying a visit he will often, in the first place, make a series of smokes so as to inform those to whose camp he is coming that some one is approaching, which of course is an indication of the fact that the visitor has no hostile intention or he would carefully avoid making his presence known.

Coming within sight of the camp he does not at first go close up to it, but sits down in silence. Apparently no one takes the slightest notice of him, and etiquette forbids him from moving without being invited to do so. After perhaps an hour or two one of the older men will walk over to him and quietly seat himself on the ground beside the stranger. If the latter be the bearer of any message, or of any credentials, he will hand these over, and then perhaps the old man will embrace him and invite him to come into the camp, where he goes to the *ungunja* (men's camp) and joins the men. Very likely he may be provided with a temporary wife during his visit, who will of course belong to the special group with which it is lawful for him to have marital relations.

The following is what happened when a party of natives belonging to the southern part of the Arunta tribe paid a visit to the group living in the neighbourhood of Alice Springs, while we were at the latter spot during the month of May 1901. The account will serve as a good example of the nature of the incidents often associated with such a visit.

The party consisted of some thirty natives, all of them men. On reaching a spot about half a mile away from the main camp at Alice Springs the strangers sat down in the usual way, waiting until such time as they should be invited to approach the camp. Every man wore two curious flaked sticks on his head, and had a tuft of eagle-hawk feathers fixed into his waist-girdle in the small of his back. Each man was also armed with boomerang and spears. After a time they were invited to come up, and did so in the form of a solid square. They approached at a run, holding their spears aloft, and adopting the curious high-knee action which is very characteristic of the native on ceremonial occasions. Some of the older women of the local group came out to meet them, gesticulating and yelling and dancing wildly in front of them. As they advanced towards a small flat amongst the hills, where they were to be formally received, a few of the local men stood upon the top of the hills waving their spears and shields, their bodies

sharply outlined against the sky-line. As soon as they had passed through a small gap on to the open flat, they were joined by a number of the local men, and then, forming into a series of lines, four deep, they marched round and round, led on by the chief man amongst the visitors (Fig. 164). There was a considerable amount of excitement, and in a very short time every one in camp—men, women, and children—were gathered together on the flat. As soon as the preliminary dance was over the visiting and local people separated, the former sitting down on level ground, the latter grouped on the rocks to one side. Every man amongst the visitors wore two or more flaked sticks. These are characteristic of the Arunta people, and in the northern part of the tribe they are associated with the idea of fighting, and, if possible, killing an enemy. Every individual, for example, who takes part in an avenging expedition wears them. When the expedition has fulfilled its purpose, and has killed the man in search of whom it went forth, these sticks are broken up and thrown on the body of the dead man.

As soon as the preliminary dance was over the headman of the visiting party collected all of the flaked sticks and handed them over to the Alatunja or headman of the local, Alice Springs, group. This was intended to express the fact that the visiting party had no hostile intent but was perfectly friendly. The Alatunja then made a fire and burnt them.

There is, however, always a danger when a number of strangers arrive in a camp that quarrels will arise, and once or twice during the subsequent proceedings it seemed very likely that there would be a serious fight. After a short pause three of the local natives, all of them Umbitjana men, went out on to the flat and began dancing about and shouting at some little distance in front of the visitors, who were still seated on the ground. They were taunting one of the visitors, who was also an Umbitjana man, because, as they said, he had not properly cut himself and mourned when his father-in-law, a local man, had died. At length they all threw boomerangs at him, which he avoided. Then in his turn he jumped excitedly to his feet, hurled his own

FIG. 164.—WELCOMING DANCE. ARUNTA TRIBE.

boomerang in the direction of the three men, and ran towards them. When he reached the spot at which they remained standing, he and one of the challengers embraced, and then sat down on the ground with their arms around each other. The man who had been challenged expressed his determination of cutting his shoulder through to the bone, while the other man tried to prevent him from inflicting any very serious injury upon himself. This did not appear to be a very difficult matter, but a good deal of time

FIG 165.—MEN CUTTING SHOULDERS IN TOKEN OF MOURNING. ARUNTA TRIBE.

was occupied in pretence. In the end he inflicted a slight wound on himself with his stone knife, and then they all became reconciled. The same performance was repeated in the case of two other men belonging to the visiting party (Fig. 165).

Then there was a pause for a short time, every one apparently waiting to see what would happen next, for they were all of them very evidently beginning to get worked up and excited. Suddenly one of the local men called out to one of the visitors challenging him to fight, and accusing

him of having killed his brother some years ago. The challenged man stood up, defending himself with a shield and making no attempt to retaliate, while his accuser in rapid succession hurled three boomerangs at him. The first two he parried, but the third shattered his shield and inflicted an ugly wound on his arm, after which the old men interfered and stopped the fight.

No sooner was this over than one of the local men accused one of the visitors of undue familiarity with his lubra. In this case both men threw boomerangs, but no damage was done on either side. Then a Bulthara man amongst the local group accused one of the visitors of having been the cause of his lubra's death a year ago. All of the visitors now ran to the spot at which the accuser stood (Fig. 166). The local men joined them, and as usual the women appeared upon the scene, prancing about, yelling, and gesticulating wildly. Every one was apparently accusing every one else of have done something, and for more than half an hour the dispute went on. No sooner was this over than the same man turned round and accused the local Purula men of not having cleared away out of camp when a man who was their *ikuntera* (father-in-law) died. They ought, so he said, to have stayed until such time as the grass was green upon his grave, instead of which they had only gone away for a very short time. Once more the hubbub began. The women were much in evidence, rushing in between their respective relatives and any one who attempted to touch them, at the imminent risk, which they did not seem to consider, of receiving severe wounds from boomerangs and clubs. The older men in vain attempted to quiet matters down; boomerangs and spears were raised ready to throw, and it seemed impossible to prevent a serious disturbance. Every one was talking, or rather yelling, at the top of his or her voice. Those who, for the moment, were not engaged in actually challenging or hurling most opprobrious epithets against some one else, or attempting to come to close quarters with them, were busy trying to prevent others from doing what they themselves either had just been or would be doing in the

FIG. 166.—WELCOMING CEREMONIES. BEGINNING OF A QUARREL. ARUNTA TRIBE.

course of a few minutes. It was a most remarkable scene, certainly not without its amusing as well as its serious side. After nearly three hours of apparently the most intense excitement and high feeling, when every moment it seemed absolutely impossible to prevent a general fight, things quieted down. The last quarrel had, however, served very clearly to bring into view the fact that the tribe was divided into two moieties. On the one hand the Panunga and Bulthara men, and on the other hand the Purula and Kumara, took sides together, and in the end the latter, both local men and visitors, retired from the field in company and camped some distance away from the Panunga and Bulthara. During the next day relations were rather strained, but after this such ill-feeling as had been aroused died away and harmony was once more restored.

The exact method of procedure in connection with formal visits of strangers varies of course to a considerable extent in different tribes. The following account refers to a visit paid by a party of men of the Walpari tribe to the Warramunga tribe. The party had not set out especially with the idea of visiting the Warramunga people, but with the object of tracking up the path followed by one of their old totemic ancestors as he wandered over the country in the Alcheringa, or, as the Walpari call it, the Poaripa. As we have often stated, the doings of the "dream time" ancestors are all perfectly well known, even down to the minutest details. In some cases, as in that of the Arunta ancestors, they wandered about in groups, but in these more northern tribes there was typically one great ancestor for each totemic group. This individual, half animal, half beast, walked about the country, halting at various spots, where he performed sacred ceremonies and left spirit children behind him who emanated from his body. These particular places are spoken of as *mungai* spots. There are certain times when a party of men will set out with the deliberate intention of traversing the ground and visiting all of the spots associated with some one or other of these ancestors. In this particular instance it was a great white snake whose track they were following up. The party consisted of

FIG. 166.—WELCOMING CEREMONIES. BEGINNING OF A QUARREL. ARUNTA TRIBE.

The leader held his spear, which had been specially pipe-clayed for the occasion, in its position in the spear-thrower, but with the point turned downwards towards the ground. All of the others carried their spears in their uplifted hands, every man, however, grasping the weapon close to the head, as if to show clearly that they had no hostile intent. The two youths carried nothing, and were placed immediately after the leader. With very exaggerated high-knee action they performed a series of evolutions, each one taking the form of an S, the greatest length of which measured perhaps thirty or forty yards. When the leader, at the close of each movement, came to a stand, all of the other men, as they ran in one after the other, grouped themselves around him, and the party remained huddled together in this way for a minute or two. Time after time this was repeated, the men shouting "*Wah! wah!*" loudly as they ran along, the group of northern women replying to them with the same cry. At length they came near to the local people, and at a signal from one of the latter, the northern women fell in behind the visitors, and ran round with them as they performed their last evolution, at the close of which the women returned to their old position and the strangers sat down on the ground. They were about five yards away from the Warramunga men, and had their backs turned towards the latter. For two or three minutes there was silence, and then, at a signal from the same old man, the northern women came forward and approached the visitors, throwing food at them—pieces of meat and damper—which the men, jumping to their feet, tried to catch. Then once more the women retired to their old places, and the men sat down again eating the food. In less than a minute after this all of the Warramunga except the old Thungalla, one Tjambin, and one Thakomara man, quietly walked away to their camps, and when they had gone the Thungalla called up one of the visitors—a Tjambin man—and handed the damper over to him with the usual polite apologies as to the nature and smallness of the offering, but food was scarce, and the women too lazy to go out and collect seed as they ought to do, and so on.

After the damper had been divided up and eaten, the visitors were led to the camp, and during the evening one of the ordinary corrobboree dances was performed in honour of their arrival. During the succeeding two or three days the visitors were allowed to witness the sacred ceremonies then being performed. The older men were permitted to come freely on to the ceremonial ground, but the two recently initiated youths stayed in the men's camp, only approaching the ceremonial ground by special invitation just when the ceremony was actually being performed.

CHAPTER XX

NAMES AND NAMING

Names of individuals in the Arunta tribe—Ordinary and sacred names—Person addressed by name or term of relationship—Terms of address—Status terms—Ordinary name very seldom used in the Warramunga group of tribes—Use of class names—Sacred names of Warramunga—Only given when man is fully initiated—Less secrecy in connection with it than in the Arunta tribe—Names in the Gnanji tribe—One is the equivalent of the sacred names in the Arunta tribe—Only one name in the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara the equivalent of the second name in the Gnanji.

WE have previously dealt with the names of the individuals of the Arunta tribe.[1] In the latter each man and woman has first of all his or her individual name by which he or she is commonly addressed. This may almost be described as the equivalent of the so-called "Christian" name amongst ourselves, and is often derived from the name of the spot at which the individual is born. Thus, for example, a woman born and now living at Alice Springs in the Macdonnell Ranges is called Tjauritjirinia (Tjauritji, the native name of a special little hill, and *rinia* a suffix meaning of or belonging to). Another is called Untherquabrinia, from the name of an old ancestral spot of the wichetty-grub totem to which she belongs. Sometimes they will be called after an animal or plant, such names as Illuta (a rat), Erlia (emu), Irritja (eagle hawk), Untjalka (grub), etc., being very frequently met with; these names are often also those of the totems to which the individuals respectively belong. In the Arunta tribe the personal name is given by some male relative—usually the father or paternal grandfather.

[1] *N.T.*, Appendix A, p. 637.

In addition to the ordinary name, known to every one and in common daily use, each individual has his sacred or secret name which is only known to a limited number of people, consisting exclusively of the older, fully initiated members of his own totemic group. This name is associated with his *churinga nanja*.[1] It is spoken of as the *Aritna churinga*, and is in fact often the name borne in the Alcheringa by the tribal ancestor of whom he is supposed to be the reincarnation. In many cases, however, the Churinga, though carried about by Alcheringa individuals, were associated with spirits the names of which are not known, and in this case the older men of the totemic group decide upon the one which shall be given to the newly born individual.

The Churinga name is never mentioned except in very low tones, and then only in the hearing of old men belonging to the same totemic group. The women, until they become very old, know nothing whatever of the existence of these names, and even then all that they know is that there are such names.

It is not uncommon, in addition to the above described normal names, for an individual to have what may be called a nickname, given on account of some peculiar personal feature.

In speaking to or of a person one of the following methods is adopted. In the first place the ordinary individual name may be used, but it is still more frequent to address a person by the term of relationship. Thus, for example, if a man be speaking to a woman belonging to the same group as that to which his mother belongs, he will address her as *mia*, whatever her age may happen to be, or if to a man who belongs to his elder brother's group he will call him *okilia*. Thirdly, and more rarely, if the person addressed be one who acted in an official capacity during the initiation of the man who is speaking to him, then the special term applied to him in connection with this ceremony may be used. For example, if he actually performed the ceremony of circumcision, then he may be addressed, but not at all of

[1] The *churinga nanja* is the special one with which the spirit of the individual was associated in the Alcheringa.

necessity, as *atwia atwia.* This method, however, is usually only adopted during the period which more or less immediately succeeds the ceremony. There is, in addition, what we have spoken of as status terms indicating the grade of initiation reached by any individual, such as Amberquerka, Ulpmerka, Arakurta, Ertwakurka, etc.[1] These, however, are normally used rather when speaking of, than actually to, an individual. Each man, finally, belongs to a special class and totem group, and takes the name of both of these.

It will thus be seen that each man has (1) his personal name, (2) his secret or Churinga name, (3) sometimes a nickname, (4) the term indicating the relationship in which he stands to the person speaking to him, (5) his status term, (6) often a term of address connected with the initiation ceremony, (7) his class or subclass name (Panunga, Purula, etc.), and (8) his totemic name. Strictly speaking, only the first three and the last two of them can be spoken of as names in our sense of the word. The fourth is comparable to the use amongst ourselves of such terms as father, mother, brother, etc., with this difference, that, in these tribes, the terms are applied to groups of people and not to individuals. The fifth and sixth are entirely different from any of the other terms which are applied either to individuals or to groups, and are not, strictly speaking, names at all. The seventh and eighth, though not comparable to any terms in use amongst ourselves, are distinctly group names. The first of these is often used in speaking of a man, though in the Arunta tribe it is not often employed when actually speaking to an individual. The second is less often used, but there are certain times, such as those associated with the performance of Intichiuma, when the totemic group names are much in evidence.

In the Urabunna tribe each man has two names. One of these is given to him by his father when he is a little child, the other is given to him by the father's father when he is initiated. The following will serve as examples:—The first man was called Kulpalli-paku-wantata when a boy, Merkilli when initiated. The second man's names were

[1] For an explanation of these terms see *N. T.* pp. 218, 249.

respectively, Utapinji and Piltilli. The third man's were Matjilli and Pakinji. The fourth man's were Wantjalli and Ilimeri. The names have definite meanings, though they were fanciful as applied to the individuals who bore them. Merkilli means "rising clouds"; Matjilli means "full in the throat"; Pakinji means "in the sunshine"; Wantjalli means "drying up water." All of the names are known to the women, and we could find no trace of sacred names in the Urabunna.

In the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes the conditions with regard to names are precisely similar to those of the Arunta, and what has been said above applies exactly to them.

In the Warramunga, Wulmala, and Walpari tribes there is fundamental agreement so far as the main features are concerned. Each man has an ordinary and a sacred name. A very characteristic feature of the Warramunga people, however, is that the ordinary name is but very seldom used. When addressing another man it is customary to use either the relationship term, or, more often still, the subclass name. The natives continually address one another as Thapanunga, Thakomara, etc., in a way which one never hears in the Arunta or Kaitish camps. As a matter of fact the ordinary name is very seldom used, and though the women know these, and they are without doubt the equivalent of the ordinary names in the Arunta tribe, yet, curiously, the women may not employ them. In the Warramunga a man's name may sometimes be changed when he is initiated.

In regard to the sacred name there are one or two points of interest. The Warramunga have not the same extensive number of Alcheringa ancestors as the Arunta have, indeed each totem group has usually only a single ancestor, so that they have no Alcheringa names to fall back upon. The sacred name is always given by the paternal grandfather, and may be that of the spot at which the individual was left in spirit form in the Wingara, or that of some celebrated ancestor who lived since the Wingara. Thus, for example, the secret name of the headman of the Wollunqua totem group at the present day is Marungungina, which is also the name of the water-hole in the

Murchison Range where the spirit, whom he now represents in human form, was left behind by the great Wollunqua. So again another man's ordinary name is Wongana, his sacred one is Gwurnalla-gungina. A man is fully initiated before he receives this sacred name, and the last mentioned, who is a Thapungarti, described to us how he was taken by some old men to the spot at which his ancestral spirit had dwelt in the Wingara, and how here two of them, who were respectively Tjapeltjeri and Tjupila, decorated him with his *mongwura*—that is, the distinctive totemic design, the equivalent of the *ilkinia* in the Arunta tribe, and while doing so said, "That mark belongs to your place; do not look out along another place."[1] The old Tjapeltjeri man was the headman of the Wollunqua totem, to which the Thapungarti also belonged. The presence of the Tjupila man, who belonged to the other half of the tribe and to the wind totem, is probably to be associated with the idea, so strongly developed in the Warramunga tribe, that the men belonging to totemic groups, which are restricted to one half of the tribe, are responsible for the maintenance of the animals or plants after which they are named, and that they can only perform their ceremonies, which result in the increase of the latter, after they have been requested to do so by men who belong to the other moiety. In just the same way, when a Tjupila man receives his sacred name, one or more older men of the other moiety are present. We see here a very marked contrast in regard to sacred names between, on the one hand, the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes, and on the other hand the tribes belonging to the Warramunga nation. In the first place, amongst the latter the sacred name is only given to a fully initiated man, whereas in the Arunta it is given at a very early age, and in addition to this there is no such secrecy attaching to it in the Warramunga as there is in the Arunta. In the latter the sacred name is one of the most difficult things to find out, and no man will venture to

[1] This means that the man must not interfere with ceremonies belonging to other totems than his own: it also indicates the very close association which is supposed to exist between a man and his totem and any spot especially connected with the totem.

mention it in the presence of any individuals except the older men of the same totemic group, and then only in a low whisper. Should any young man, even if he belonged to the totemic group and were fully initiated, be present, he will be sent away before the name is mentioned, and on no account whatever is any one allowed to know it who does not belong to the same group. In the Warramunga tribe and its allies, on the other hand, there is no such reticence. Men of other totems are present when the name is given, and we had no difficulty at all in ascertaining the sacred name of any individual, so long of course as no women or uninitiated youths were present. It is in fact permissible to use the name on the ceremonial ground where the men are being decorated, and when the majority of those who are present belong to other totems. The Arunta have a vague kind of idea that in some way a stranger, who knows their sacred names, has the power to work them some ill in consequence of his possessing this knowledge, but the idea is only a very vague one. Possibly in times past it may have been more definite than it apparently is at the present day.

As we pass away from the central tribes towards the coasts of the Gulf of Carpentaria, we find an interesting modification which seems to imply the former existence of a sacred as well as an ordinary name. In the Gnanji tribe each individual has two names, which are given to him by his father. In the first place he has one by which he is ordinarily called, which is the exact equivalent of the same in the Arunta, Kaitish, and Warramunga tribes, but in addition he has a second one. We have already described how the sacred name of the Warramunga may be that of some celebrated ancestor who lived since the Alcheringa or Wingara times. In the Gnanji tribe this second name, which is very clearly the equivalent of the sacred name in the Arunta and Warramunga, is, in the case of a man, that of his paternal grandfather, and in that of a woman the name of her paternal or maternal grandmother. The name is not sacred, but, thanks to a knowledge of what occurs in the Warramunga tribe, where the sacred name may sometimes

be that of a celebrated ancestor who lived since the Wingara, we can see clearly that the second name in the Gnanji, which is that of a grandfather or grandmother, is the equivalent of the Warramunga, and therefore also of the Arunta sacred name.

In the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes only one name is given, which, curiously, is the equivalent of the second name in the Gnanji, and is that of the paternal grandfather in the case of a man, and of the grandmother in the case of a woman. There is thus a definite succession of names, though it must be remembered that the terms grandfather and grandmother are not by any means the equivalent of the same terms amongst ourselves, as a man may take the name of any individual who was a member of the group of men who stand to him in the relationship of father's father. So again a woman may take the name of any individual who stands to her in the relationship of mother's mother.

Amongst the coastal tribes living on the western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, the ordinary name is the equivalent of the sacred name in the central tribes, and we can see, more or less clearly, the following four stages of development in regard to this :—

(1) In the Arunta, Kaitish, Ilpirra, and Unmatjera tribes there is :—(*a*) an ordinary name in common, everyday use, and (*b*) a sacred name known only to the members of the totemic group, and supposed to have been formerly carried by an Alcheringa ancestor.

(2) In the Warramunga group of tribes there is (*a*) an ordinary name, the exact equivalent of that in the Arunta tribe, and (*b*) a sacred name carried by some individual who lived since the Alcheringa. This is known only to the fully initiated men, but, unlike what takes place in the Arunta, to men of various totemic groups and belonging to both moieties of the tribe.

(3) In the Gnanji tribe there are two names—(*a*) an ordinary one in common use, and (*b*) that of some blood or tribal grandfather, if a man, or grandmother, if a woman.

(4) In the Binbinga, Mara, Anula, and coastal tribes

there is a single name which is that of the grandfather or grandmother. There is no truly sacred name, but the one name is the equivalent of the second name in the Gnanji and of the sacred name in the Arunta, Kaitish, and Warramunga tribes.

CHAPTER XXI

CUSTOMS RELATING TO THE KNOCKING OUT OF TEETH—GIVING OF BLOOD—HAIR—CHILDBIRTH—FOOD RESTRICTIONS—NOSE-BORING—INHERITANCE—MAKING OF FIRE.

Knocking out of teeth in the Arunta and Kaitish tribes is optional—Operation in the case of a girl and a young man—Tradition of two men of a snake totem who first knocked out their teeth—Operation amongst the Warramunga—The women going into the water—Operation in the Tjingilli, Gnanji, Binbinga, and coastal tribes—Blood-letting for use during ceremonies—Drinking of blood associated with the idea of securing fealty and preventing treachery—Sprinkling blood over old men and drinking it when thirsty—Blood after initiation ceremonies is specially dealt with—Operation of *kuntamara* after that of subincision—Blood given to men who are ill—Presentation of food on recovery—Women receiving blood from son-in-law—Subsequent presentation of food—Menstrual period—Customs connected with hair in the Arunta—Hair cut from whiskers a sign of betrothal in the Warramunga tribe—Hair in connection with death and mourning—Treatment of the hair on the heads of living individuals—Pulling out of the moustache in the Warramunga group—Fundamentally the same idea with regard to conception in all of the tribes—Childbirth in the Kaitish tribe—Childbirth customs in the Warramunga—In the Binbinga—Infanticide—Food restrictions other than totemic in the Arunta group—Not eating food seen by father-in-law—Food restrictions applying to young men not removed till man at least middle-aged in the Warramunga—In Gnanji, Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes marked avoidance of father-in-law—Restrictions applying to young doctors in Warramunga—Those applying immediately after initiation—Those applying during pregnancy—Nose-boring—Inheritance of the Churinga in the Arunta—Of ordinary chattels in the Warramunga—Methods of fire-making—Warramunga tradition with regard to this—Drilling method in the coastal tribes—Mara tradition.

IN the Arunta tribe the rite of knocking out teeth is at the present day practised more especially by the members of the rain or water totem, though it is not quite obligatory upon any one, and, as we have pointed out before, it is a custom the significance of which has evidently, in the case

of the central tribes, undergone considerable change in course of time. To this point we will return after having described what takes place in the tribes to the north of the Arunta.

Amongst the Kaitish the knocking out is quite an optional matter, and there is not even any special group, as there is amongst the Arunta, with whom it is customary for the teeth to be knocked out. Any older man or woman may perform the operation in the case of a male, and in that of a girl it is usually a woman. Very often, however, one or other of the following operates—Husband's father, mother's mother, husband's mother, or mother's sister, and the ceremony is conducted at any age between that of ten and thirty. At the present day it is merely done, so the natives say, to improve the personal appearance. In the case of one girl whose tooth we saw knocked out the operation was performed by her mother's tribal sister. The patient and operator, together with one or two other women and children, for there is no secrecy in regard to the rite, save that it is not etiquette for men to witness the operation in the case of women and *vice-versa*, went a little distance away from the main camp into the bed of a creek. A small hole was made in the sand and the patient lay down with her head in this. The gums were pushed back from around the base of the right upper incisor, and the bluntly pointed end of a short stick was placed on the tooth. After two or three smart knocks on the stick, delivered with a stone held in the right hand, the tooth was knocked out (Fig. 167). The girl was then lifted up on to her feet, and, after a short pause, danced round with the operator who held her elbows behind. This over, she stood still, and then, having been told what to do by the older woman, she threw the tooth as far as she could in the direction of the Alcheringa camp of her mother. The tooth was left lying where it fell on the ground, no attempt being made to prevent it from falling into the possession of any one who might by chance come across it. They have no idea of any one attempting to do them any kind of injury by obtaining possession of the tooth and working evil magic upon it.

In the case of two Kaitish men whose teeth we saw extracted, the operator was an old Thungalla man, to which subclass also one of the patients belonged, the other being a Tjupila (Fig. 168). The operation was conducted in just the same way as in the case of the girl. The two men being *ipmunna* (mother's mother's brother) to each other were not allowed to witness the operation on each other, so, as soon as one of them had been operated on, he retired

FIG. 167.—KNOCKING OUT TOOTH. KAITISH TRIBE.

behind a bush while the other man's tooth was knocked out. Then they both came into the bed of the creek and each one threw his own tooth in the direction of his mother's Alcheringa camp.

The following tradition refers to the knocking out of teeth in this tribe. The Alcheringa people always said that teeth were to be knocked out, because the water tasted better with one of them out; in fact it was no good drinking water without having a tooth out, as otherwise the sand collected round about the gums, whereas when the hole was

made the sand was not tasted. In the Alcheringa two men of the Mantera (a snake, *Vermicella annulata*) totem arose at a place called Arinpera-lakilika, which means "mouth, teeth broken." They were brothers, and the elder said to the younger, "Suppose we pull our teeth out?" The latter however replied, "No, I will not pull my tooth out, I will knock it out." Then they made a small hole in the ground, and first of all the elder brother lay down with his head in the hole and the younger one, taking a stick and a stone,

FIG. 168.—KNOCKING OUT TOOTH. KAITISH TRIBE.

knocked his tooth out. When he had done so he said, "Hullo, blood is coming from my brother's tooth." Then in his turn he lay down and the elder brother operated on him. They then sat down opposite to each other and remarked that they looked very well with their teeth out. They spat the blood out on to the ground and buried their teeth, and a big water-hole arose to mark the spot. Later on another man of the same totem, named Ilungunjia, arose at a place close by, and he it was who first of all heard from the old snakes about the knocking out of teeth, and then taught

the other black-fellows how to do it, for they said, "The snakes knocked out their teeth in the Alcheringa; it is good for us to do the same."

Amongst the Warramunga it is comparatively seldom that teeth are knocked out in the case of the men, though women are frequently met with who have either one or two out. Any elder woman of any relationship may operate on young women and girls, and any elder man on younger men and boys, for the operation is conducted at any period between early youth and middle age. As a general rule it takes place towards the close of the wet season, when the water-holes are full, and it is always conducted on the banks of one of these. The same ceremony is enacted in the case of both men and women, and the following is an account of what we witnessed on one occasion when the teeth of six or seven girls were knocked out. The women to the number of forty or fifty, together with a considerable number of children, gathered together beside a water-hole. The usual track to the water-hole led about a hundred yards away from the ground on which the men were then preparing for a sacred ceremony, and, so as to make perfectly certain that they could not see anything of what was taking place, the women and children were ordered to make a detour of half a mile. When they arrived at the water-hole two or three fires were lighted, and then, one after the other, the girls who were to be operated on walked into the water till it reached close up to their breasts. Each one then scooped up water with her hand, and after drinking this and allowing it to remain in her mouth for a short time, she spat it out in all directions (Fig. 169). Then she splashed water over herself, taking care to thoroughly wet the crown of her head (Fig. 170). When this was over she came out of the water and at once lay down on the sandy bank with her head in a small hole. One woman pressed back the gums, and, just as in the Kaitish tribe, the tooth was knocked out by another woman, who applied the bluntly pointed end of a short stick to it and then gave one or two smart blows with a stone (Fig. 171). As soon as the tooth was out, hot gum leaves were applied to the mouth to relieve the pain, the

natives also saying that the object of filling the mouth with water immediately before the operation is to numb the gums.

The woman who has knocked out the girl's tooth takes it back to her camp, pounds it up, and places the remains in

FIG. 169.—TOOTH-KNOCKING-OUT CEREMONIES. WOMEN DRINKING WATER. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

a small piece of flesh, which has then to be eaten by the girl's mother. In the case of the men the ceremony is essentially similar and is always conducted after the fall of heavy rain, when they have had enough and do not want any more to fall. The man's tooth is pounded up and put into meat which, in his case, is given to his mother-in-law to eat.

The Tjingilli also knock out teeth towards the close of the rainy season when they consider that they have had enough rain. When the operation is over the tooth is thrown into a water-hole, in the belief that it will drive the rain and clouds away.

In the Gnanji tribe the operation is called *amara*, and is always performed during the rainy season. A man's tooth is

FIG. 170.—TOOTH-KNOCKING-OUT CEREMONIES. WOMAN PUTTING WATER OVER HER HEAD. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

knocked out—that is, if he desires to have it done, as the matter is purely optional—by his *yaminjilla* (mother's father), and that of a woman by the same relation or by her *ukua* (mother's brother). The operator carries the tooth about with him for some time, and then gives it to the man's or woman's mother, who in return presents him with food and red ochre. She has to bury it by the side of some water-hole, the object of this being both to stop the rain and to

FIG. 171.—TOOTH-KNOCKING-OUT CEREMONIES. FORCING THE GUM BACK. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

bring about an increase of the number of water-lilies growing in the pool. The hole made by knocking out the tooth receives the special name of *kunju*.

In the Binbinga and coastal tribes again the knocking out is not compulsory. Any one can perform the ceremony, but in the case of a man the tooth, wrapped up in paper bark, must be sent to his brother-in-law, who presents the former with food. After carrying it about for some time he buries it anywhere, and no further notice is taken of it. The two brothers-in-law exchange spears and boomerangs after the operation.[1] In the case of a woman the tooth is given to her mother, who wraps it up in paper bark and hands it over to the woman's brother. The latter makes a present of spears or other weapons, which are given to the woman, who then hands them over to her husband. The tooth, as in the case of a man, is finally buried without any ceremony.

CUSTOMS RELATING TO THE GIVING OF BLOOD

The drawing of blood from the body is of very frequent occurrence in connection with the performance of ceremonies in all tribes. Its most common use is that of a fixing material with which to fasten the down used for drawing designs either on the man's body or on some implement. For this purpose it is taken either from the arm or from the subincised urethra. When drawn from the arm a ligature is tied tightly round just above the elbow, and a small cut is made by a stone, or, if procurable, a glass flake, into one of the veins of the forearm, the blood spurtling out into the concavity of a shield or a little bark dish. It is astonishing what an enormous amount of blood is used for decorative purposes by these savages, one of whom will think nothing of bleeding himself perhaps twice a day for a week or two in succession. We have seen one man part with as much as two pints of blood in connection with one ceremony. When

[1] Men standing in this relationship are always friends in these tribes, and the interchange of belongings is not an infrequent occurrence. In camp when we have given tobacco to two men who were brothers-in-law, we have even seen them exchanging their pieces before beginning to smoke.

drawn from the urethra nothing is done to stop the flow, which appears to cease when the pressure applied by the hand to open out the subincision is removed; but when drawn from the arm it is usual to apply a slight pressure to the little cut, and the bleeding very soon ceases. In many cases, however, the ligature is simply removed and the bleeding seems to stop of its own accord. Every adult native has a series of little lumps marking the course of the veins on the forearm which indicate the places where he has cut himself for the purpose of drawing blood.

In different tribes there are special individuals, or rather individuals belonging to special groups of the tribe, who have to provide blood for this purpose on different occasions. In the Arunta and Kaitish, when a sacred ceremony belonging to an individual of one moiety of the tribe is performed, the blood must be drawn from a member of the same group, no one belonging to the other moiety, except on rare occasions, being allowed to even witness the preparations, much less provide any part of the necessary material. On the other hand, in the Warramunga and Tjingilli exactly the reverse takes place. The former tribe, for example, is divided into two moieties called respectively Kingilli and Uluuru. When an Uluuru ceremony is to be performed the decorating must be done by Kingilli men, whose duty it is to provide down, ochre, blood, and everything else necessary, and the man who has the first right to do this is the performer's father-in-law, though he may, if he care to do so, waive his claim. In all cases, however, the blood must be provided by a man of the other moiety. On one occasion, in the Warramunga tribe, we saw a father-in-law in a state of great anger because, without his permission, another man had taken upon himself the privilege of decorating his son-in-law. The father-in-law came up on to the corrobboree ground where the rest of the men were assembled singing and painting one another. He was armed to the teeth, and strutted about up and down in front of the group, using the strongest language, brandishing his spear and boomerang, and threatening to throw them into the midst of the seated performers. None of the latter apparently took much notice of him, though they ceased

from singing while he loudly harangued them. After a time he was pacified by one or two of the older men, who managed to effect a reconciliation between him and the delinquent, and then, after he had most affectionately embraced the latter, who of course offered to give up his work to the father-in-law, the two were just as friendly as if nothing whatever had happened to mar the harmony of the proceedings. When once amongst these savages a quarrel has been settled, or atonement made for any wrong-doing of any kind, there is no reference ever made to the past. What is past with them is really past and forgotten, just as if it had never taken place.

The drawing and also the drinking of blood on certain special occasions is associated with the idea that those who take part in the ceremony are thereby bound together in friendship and obliged to assist one another. At the same time it renders treachery impossible. As described in connection with the *atninga* or avenging expedition of the Arunta tribe, the men taking part in this assembled together, and, after each one had been touched with the girdle made from the hair of the man whose death they were going out to avenge, they drew blood from their urethras and sprinkled it over one another.[1] Sometimes, for the same purpose, blood is drawn from the arm and drunk, and on rare occasions a man, declining thus to pledge himself, will have his mouth forced open and the blood poured into it. Very much the same thing takes place in the Kaitish tribe.

It is a very common thing for a young man to open a vein in his arm and allow the blood to sprinkle over the body of an older man, the idea being to strengthen the latter, who also not infrequently drinks a little. When very thirsty and no water is procurable, men will either drink their own blood, obtained by cutting open a vein in the arm, or else they will exchange blood with another man. Sometimes under the same conditions they will sprinkle blood over one another's heads with the idea of thereby cooling each other. When, during the course of any ceremony, a young man for the first time receives blood from an older

[1] See Chapter XVIII.

man, the latter is tabooed to him until such time as he is released from the ban of silence by the older man singing over his mouth—a ceremony which as usual is associated with a gift of some sort, generally food, from the younger to the elder.

In different tribes the blood drawn from the wound after circumcision or subincision is dealt with in some special way. In the Arunta it is taken back to camp and there handed over to the wife of an elder brother of the boy, who rubs some on herself and some on an elder sister of the boy and of the boy's mother, the latter woman being never allowed to see the blood in this tribe. Amongst the Warramunga, on the contrary, it is taken to the mother herself, who has to drink some of it; in the Binbinga and tribes on the west side of the Gulf it is carried to the same woman, wrapped in paper bark, and she buries it on the banks of a water-hole, where it is supposed to make the lilies grow abundantly.

One of the most curious ceremonies concerned with blood is found amongst the Warramunga tribe. It is called *kuntamara*, and consists in the older men drawing blood from their subincised urethras in the presence of the newly initiated youth a few days after he has passed through the operation of subincision. The object of this is, in some way, to promote the healing of the youth's wound and to strengthen him generally.[1]

It is a very common practice to give both men and women blood to drink when they are ill, and when this is done blood may be drawn either from a man or from a woman; when drawn from a woman it is always taken from the labia minora. In every case the idea is to impart to the patient some of the strength of the blood-giver. One morning, at the close of a consultation of five doctors over a Tjunguri man amongst the Warramunga who was so ill that he died a day or two later, it was decided to give him some blood drawn from women to drink. This is only done in very serious cases. Every one left the sick man's camp except four or five old women who were his tribal mothers and father's sisters. The blood was allowed to

[1] For a full account of this, see pp. 359 *sqq.*

drain into a *pitchi*, and then some of it was rubbed on his body and some given to him to drink.

In the Kaitish tribe it is the custom, when a man is ill, for another individual who stands to him in the relationship of *gammona*—that is, daughter's husband—to go to the sick man's camp, open a vein in his arm, and allow the blood to spurtle down into the patient's mouth. In the same way, though more rarely, a woman who is the daughter-in-law, actual or tribal, will draw some blood from the labia, performing the operation in her own camp, and then carry it in a *pitchi* to the camp of her sick father-in-law. He drinks some of it, eats an edible grub which has been well rubbed in it, and then the remainder is smeared over his body, a coat of grease and red ochre being subsequently added. When the man gets better he goes out hunting for opossums, and the woman collects vegetable food. The man goes back to his camp with the meat, and the woman, having cooked her yams or made a grass-seed damper at the *erlukwirra* or women's camp, comes up to the man and places a yam in front of his mouth. He eats it, presenting her in return with the meat, which she takes away to the women's camp and there eats. Until this little ceremony has been enacted they are strictly tabooed to one another. In the same way the *gammona* man is tabooed for some time to the *ikuntera* after he has given blood to the latter. When the elder man has recovered he goes out and secures some meat, and at the same time the *gammona* searches for honey-bag. The *gammona* goes to the *ungunja* or men's camp, and sits down there with bowed head while the *ikuntera* comes up and pats his head, thereby breaking through the taboo. They then exchange and eat their offerings of food.

Sometimes when a man is very ill his *unkulla* (father's sister's son) will come to his camp while he is there alone, and, drawing blood from his penis into a spear-thrower, will give this to the sick man to drink. Some time after the patient has recovered, the *unkulla* man will present the former with an offering of honey, thereby indicating that the ban of silence between them is broken, and after another

interval of a few days the second man will make a present of some such article as fur-string to his benefactor.

As a general rule there may not of course be any intercourse of any kind between men and women who are *mura* to one another—that is, who stand in the relationship of actual or potential son-in-law and mother-in-law. On rare occasions, however, when a woman is very seriously ill, she may receive blood from a son-in-law. When this happens the *mura* man first of all opens a vein before leaving his own camp, and then, holding a finger on the cut so as to check the flow, walks across to where the woman is lying down. The woman, seeing him approaching, covers her eyes with her hand, and the man, holding his head turned away from her, allows some of the blood to drain down into her mouth. Should the woman recover—in the majority of cases, when either a man receives blood from a woman, or *vice versa*, the patient is so dangerously ill that recovery seldom takes place—she goes out into the scrub and gathers together a good supply of vegetable food while the man secures meat of some kind. When they have both obtained the food the woman goes and sits by herself some little distance from the camp, accompanied by another woman who is the daughter of the *mura* man's sister. The younger woman stands a little to one side, and shouts out to the man that his *mura* woman has brought up food for him. He goes to the spot at which she is sitting on the ground with her head bowed down and her offering of food by her side, approaching from behind so that she does not actually see him. He first of all hits her lightly on the head with a leafy twig, then gives her his offering of meat, and returns at once to his camp with her supply of vegetable food.

In all tribes a woman during the time of the monthly period is carefully avoided, and, as we have previously described, this avoidance is most strongly shown in connection with the first menstrual period.[1] During its continuance in all tribes it is customary for the girl to be taken away from the main camp and to live apart from all the other

[1] Cf. *N. T.* p. 460. Also Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin No. 5, p. 24.

members of the tribe, under the charge of her mother or an elder sister. In some cases she has to sit over a special hole which is dug in the ground to receive the flow of blood, but in all cases it is carefully covered up in the earth so that nothing can come into contact with it. After she recovers, the operation of *atna-arilthа-kuma* is usually performed at an early date. The Mara tribe has a legend according to which the menstrual period was brought on, in the first instance, because in the Alcheringa a number of bandicoot men who were making ceremonies had too frequent intercourse with a bandicoot lubra. This brought on a great discharge, and the woman said, "I think I will not walk about a lubra any more, but a bandicoot," and so she stuck grass all over herself, and went away and hid in a hole, so that the men could not find her, and ever since then women have had monthly periods.

CUSTOMS RELATING TO HAIR

In the Arunta a woman's hair is periodically cut and given to her son-in-law, who uses it as a hair-girdle. A man's hair is given to some one who is his *ikuntera* (wife's father), or *umbirna* (wife's brother). In the Kaitish tribe a woman's hair goes to her *erlitchi* man (husband's mother's brother) or to her daughter's husband; a man gives his to his *erlitchi* (wife's mother's brother). A Kabbidji woman, for example, gives her hair to a Panunga man, and her son, who is a Tjupila, gives his to an Umbitjana man. In the Warramunga, Umbaia, Binbinga, Mara, and Anula tribes, in the same way, a man's hair is given to his wife's mother's brother. This disposal of the hair is evidently associated in some way with the idea of payment, on the one hand to the man who has the disposal in marriage of the woman, and on the other to some member of the group to which the wife's mother belongs. Thus in the Arunta it is given to the wife's father, and he has the disposal of the woman; in the Warramunga and the Tjingilli it goes to the mother's brother, and here again he is the man who gives the girl away. On the other hand, in the remaining tribes men-

tioned above the man's hair goes, not to the individual who actually gives him the girl, but to a man of her mother's group.

In the Kaitish tribe there is a special little custom, which consists in the girl who has been promised as a wife to any youth—and the betrothal may take place before either one or both of them are born—making out of her own hair the girdle, which is placed round the youth's waist when, as a *wurtja*, he passes through the initiation ceremony.

There are certain rules which have to be observed when hair is cut. Thus amongst the Arunta the man must sit so that he faces in the direction in which lies his mother's camping-place in the Alcheringa, whilst amongst the Kaitish, Warramunga, and other tribes, he must sit facing towards the camp of his *gammona* (mother's brother or daughter's husband). There is no reason given for this custom except the usual one that their fathers did it, and therefore they do it now. In the Unmatjera the hair must be cut by the brother of the man's wife, and in the Warramunga by a *naminni* (mother's brother), who afterwards keeps it for his own use.

In the Warramunga, Tjingilli, Gnanji, Binbinga, Mara, and other tribes, amongst whom the daughter is given away by her mother's brother, a curious custom in regard to hair is associated with what may be described as a form of betrothal ceremony. One day, during the course of preparing for a sacred ceremony in the Warramunga tribe, we saw a Tjupila man cut a small lock of hair from the whiskers of a Tjapeltjeri man, the lock being then presented to a Thapanunga man, who placed it beneath his arm-band. Immediately after this, a Thakomara man in the same way cut a lock from the whiskers of a Thapanunga man and gave it to a Tjapeltjeri man. The meaning of this was that the Tjapeltjeri man, whose hair was cut, will present the Thapanunga man, to whom the hair was given, with a wife (his sister's daughter), the woman in question being the sister (blood or tribal) of the man by whom the hair was cut. In just the same way a Thapanunga man gives a woman to a Tjapeltjeri man, and she is the sister of a Thakomara man.

In both of these ceremonies we see clearly the relationship existing between the brother of the woman whose daughter is being promised and the man to whom she is promised. In the fact that the hair is cut off and presented by the brother of the betrothed girl, we have also an indication of the special relationship which always exists between a man and the brother of his wife, as well as, very probably, an indication that the man in question acquiesces in the betrothal of his sister. The whiskers are worn under the arm-band as an emblem of betrothal, which is called *makuntalthi*, the actual cutting off of the whiskers being called *tanunga*. It is no uncommon thing in the Warramunga, Tjingilli, and Gnanji tribes to see men thus carrying small locks of hair about. It is a simple plan of publicly announcing the fact that a special girl has been promised to one special man, and it very soon becomes known who are the parties concerned. The lock of hair is subsequently given to the betrothed girl and carried about by her, both as a sign to her and to others that she is betrothed, and as a kind of magic charm to defend her against the advances of other men.

There are, as described elsewhere, very elaborate ceremonies concerned with hair in relation to death and mourning. The dead man's hair is cut off and made by the Arunta into a waist-girdle or *irrulkna-kinna*; by the Urabunna into a *tata*; by the Kaitish into a *wailia-wailia*, and the whiskers into *akuntilia*; by the Warramunga the whiskers only are used and made into *tana*; by the Tjingilli both are made into *chantimmi*; lastly, amongst the Binbinga and coastal tribes, both are cut off, wrapped up carefully in paper bark, and sent out on the avenging expedition (Plate I). In all cases such hair is sacred and never allowed to be seen by women or children; and there are always certain men, such as sons-in-law or mother's brother's sons, who are lawfully entitled to it, and upon whom devolves the duty of avenging the dead man. The only occasions on which hair is ever destroyed are those on which it is cut off as an emblem of mourning, in which case it is always immediately burnt.

Throughout the whole series of tribes investigated we have never come across an instance of that special form of magic, so common elsewhere, which consists in the attempt to injure an individual by means of performing magic in connection with some part of his person, such as a lock of hair. The absence of this special form of magic is doubtless to be associated with the fact that, amongst these tribes, human hair is a very valuable article of barter, and that it is a constant and normal state of affairs for one individual to be in possession of the hair of another.

The method of treatment of the hair on the living person varies in different tribes. In the more southern tribes —the Urabunna, Arunta, Unmatjera, Ilpirra, and Kaitish—it is, as a general rule, very well developed, the beard and whiskers being indeed bushy and very noticeable features. In the Warramunga the beard is less strongly developed, and further north still, in the case of the Tjingilli and Gnanji, this feature of scanty hair on the face is still more marked. In the coastal tribes the hair on the head is remarkably well developed, but that on the face is markedly thin and scanty. The southern tribes again—except of course when it has to be cut off and presented to any one —do not touch the hair on either the head or the face, with the exception always of that on the forehead, which is pulled out for a distance back of two inches at least. The Warramunga and Worgaia, in addition to pulling out the hair on the forehead, do the same in regard to that on the upper lip, though they are not allowed to do this until they are beginning to grow old. It is by no means an uncommon thing in the Warramunga tribe to see an old man lying down on the ground, while any hairs which may be growing on his face are carefully pulled out one by one by a young man who is squatting down beside him (Fig. 35). The operation must be rather a tedious and disagreeable one, but they do not seem to object to it, and to have a clean upper lip marks a man out as one of the elders to whom respect must be paid, and what is more important from his point of view, offerings of food must be presented on certain occasions.

CUSTOMS AT CHILDBIRTH

In every one of the tribes dealt with by us there is fundamentally the same belief with regard to conception as we have previously described in connection with the Arunta. Every individual is regarded as the reincarnation of an ancestor. In all cases the spirit was very definitely associated with a special totemic group. Sometimes, as in the Arunta, Kaitish, and Unmatjera tribes, the ancestors of the totemic groups were many in number; at others, as in the Urabunna, they were few in number, often only one or two; at others, as in the Warramunga, there was one great ancestor, from whose body spirit individuals emanated. In every instance, however, the spirit is supposed to enter deliberately the body of the mother. In the Unmatjera tribe it is supposed to pass in through the navel (*ilpa*), and when it is evident that the woman is pregnant, the husband "sings" the navel to make the child grow. At the same time he rubs grease over the sides of the woman, chanting as he does so the words, "*Ara tapa tjiri ai; ara tapa tjiri ai; ara tapa para re*," repeating each refrain several times. The words have come down from the Alcheringa and have no meaning known to the natives.

In the Kaitish tribe, when a child is about to be born, the mother speaks to her *arira* or elder sister, who first of all tells the father and mother of the woman, the father then telling the husband. The father and mother go away and camp by themselves for two days, not speaking to each other during that time. The husband leaves his camp for three days. After the child is born the father and mother come back and go to the woman's camp where the mother and child are living, the father carrying a small bush, with which he touches the lubra's head. She then lifts the child up in the *pitchi*, in which at this age it is always carried about, and hands it to her mother, who first of all rubs it across her stomach and then throws it up and down in the air, this action being called *piltja*. Having done this she embraces the lubra from behind. When the father of the

new-born child goes out into the scrub for three days, away from his camp, he leaves his waist-girdle and arm-bands behind him, so that he has nothing tied tightly round any part of his body, a state of affairs which is supposed to be beneficial to the lubra. Out in the scrub he collects animal food, which he brings back with him into camp. The elder sister has been meanwhile supplying the lubra with vegetable food, such as grass seed and yams. On his return the father brings his supply of meat to the lubra's camp; here he first of all warms a spear-thrower over the fire, and then passes it backwards and forwards over the child's body, after which he paints a circle of black round the eyes and the navel. This done, he hands the child back to the woman, telling her to go and show it again to her father and mother.

If the lubra suffers much, or there is any great difficulty at childbirth, the elder sister goes and brings the *nania* (maternal grandmother), who makes a camp close by and sings there until the child is born.[1] The navel string (*tjilla-patjilla*) is simply allowed to fall off, and is then wrapped up in fur-string and tied round the neck of the child, and, together with the rings round the eyes and navel, is supposed to have the effect of keeping the child quiet.

In the case of the Warramunga tribe the customs are somewhat more detailed and more persons are concerned. When the child is about to be born, the lubra goes to a special camp attended by women who stand in the following relationships to her:—*kaballa* (elder sisters), *wankilli* (father's sister's children), *turtundi* (mother's mother). Men who stand to her in the relationship of *kulla-kulla* (husband), *gambatja* (father), *tapa-tapu* (mother's father), and *naminni* (mother's elder brother) are under a ban of silence until some time after the child is born. When this has taken place, it is kept at the mother's camp for about a week, and then the lubra, accompanied by her *kaballa* or *tapa-tapu* (father's mother), carries it to the father's camp,

[1] In the Arunta tribe, when there is any difficulty, the father takes off his girdle, which is then carried by a second man to the mother and wound round her waist to assist in delivery.

shows it to him, and says that the child belongs to him. The man then gives the *gambatja*, *turtundi*, *naminni*, and *tapa-tapu* a present of weapons, and they are released from the ban of silence by the lubra, who hits their heads with a twig. The navel string is not cut, but is allowed to drop off, and is then tied round the neck of the child to keep it quiet. After a time it is taken off the child and given to the wife's brother (the man who has the disposal of the child in marriage if it be a girl); he wears it in his armlet, and in return brings an offering of weapons to the father, who presents him with food. This particular man, who is the child's *naminni*, is not allowed to see it until such time as it can walk. When it can do so, the father takes him a present of fur-string, and he comes to the camp to see the child, making at the same time another present to the father. He keeps the navel string for some time longer and finally places it in a hollow tree, which is known to no one else save himself, but with which the child has no special connection in after years.

In the Binbinga tribe an elder sister, blood or tribal, assists at childbirth. She cuts the umbilical cord off with a stone knife and ties the end round with fur-string. The cord and after-birth are placed in a hole in the ground, where they are buried without any ceremony.

In all of the tribes infanticide is practised. There is no difference made in respect of either sex. The usual reason given for killing the child is that there is another one still being suckled by the mother. It is only on very rare occasions that any child, except a mere infant, is killed. Amongst the Luritja tribe—inhabiting country out in the dry and sterile desert to the south-west of the Arunta—a healthy child may be killed for the purpose of feeding a weaker and elder one, under the idea that the strength of the former will pass into and benefit the latter. With this solitary exception, if a child is to be killed it is put to death immediately after birth, the most usual plan being that of filling its mouth with sand. If once the mother has suckled it, then, with the exception mentioned above, it is never killed.

Twins are usually destroyed at once as something uncanny, but apparently they are of very rare occurrence. In the Binbinga and coastal tribes a child will be killed if it has been causing the mother much pain before birth. In every instance it must be remembered that the natives believe that the spirit part of the child returns at once to the Alcheringa home, and may very soon be born again—entering, very likely, the same woman.

Food Restrictions

Restrictions with regard to food vary to a great extent in different tribes. In the first place all restrictions may be divided broadly into two main groups: (1) those which have reference to totemic matters, and (2) all others. Totemic restrictions have been dealt with elsewhere, and are to be regarded as quite distinct in their nature from those according to which, for example, certain foods are confined to old men. Putting these totemic restrictions on one side, we find that there are many others which refer either on the one hand to food which has been killed by special individuals, or on the other to food which may not be eaten by particular members of the tribe at certain special periods of their lives.

In the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes a man is strictly forbidden to eat the flesh of any animal which has been killed, or even seen, by another man standing to him in the relationship of *ikuntera* (father-in-law). In the Arunta, in addition to this one person, the same restriction applies to food secured by his *umba* (sister's children), *mura* women (wife's mothers), and *ipmunna* men and women. As a general rule two men who are *umbirna* (brother-in-law) will hunt together, carefully avoiding their *ikunteras* (father-in-law). When, however, they have secured food it is their first duty to send some of it to their *ikunteras*—a duty which is not neglected, because the *ikuntera* is a person of considerable importance. Even before initiation, a boy is supposed thus to send food to his father-in-law, who will chastise him at the throwing-up ceremony if he be dissatisfied with his

behaviour in this respect. A man has also to be careful not even to allow an *ikuntera* to see him eating any food, or else he runs the risk of having it spoilt by what is called *equilla timma*—that is, "projecting his smell into it."

In the case of the tribes more to the north this restriction does not apply. An Urabunna man will not go to his father-in-law's camp—in fact he will only address him at some distance. Food caught by his father-in-law is not actually forbidden to him, but in practice the son-in-law is supposed to make his father-in-law presents of food. A Warramunga man keeps away from his father-in-law's camp, but the latter can come to his and watch him eating; nor is food caught by his father-in-law actually forbidden to a man, though it is, on the other hand, customary for the son-in-law to make presents of food to the elder man.

When eating food on the corrobboree ground during the preparation for ceremonies amongst the Warramunga tribe, it is no uncommon thing to see a man hand over some of his supply to a tribal or actual father-in-law, both men then eating in one another's presence. Such a thing as this could not possibly happen in the Arunta tribe. In the Tjingilli, Gnanji, and Binbinga tribes, presents of food are normally made by a man to his father, mother, mother's brother, father's brother, and wife's father.[1] Amongst these tribes, however, unlike what takes place in the Warramunga, there is a very marked avoidance of the father-in-law; indeed we have never seen this special feature so strongly marked as it is in the case of the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes. A man will even carefully turn his back upon another who belongs to quite a different tribe to himself, but to the special group in that tribe corresponding to the one to which his father-in-law belongs in his own tribe. We frequently had occasion to notice this marked, but often formal, avoidance of the father-in-law when working with the natives in their camps. So long as the two men sat, it did not matter

[1] In the Mara tribe if a man secures food he is supposed to send some of it to his father-in-law by his wife. If the father-in-law catches a female kangaroo he will keep it all, but if a male he will send some to his son-in-law.

how close together, but with their backs towards one another, it was all right; there was no objection to their talking in one another's presence and hearing, but on no account must they see or face each other. The very constant feature of giving presents of food to the father-in-law may very likely be associated in its origin with the idea of some form of payment for the wife.

The restrictions having reference to food which may not be eaten by particular individuals at special times may be divided into three groups: first, those the object of which is very clearly to reserve the best foods for the old people; second, those which ensure the reservation of certain foods for the men, as opposed to the women; and third, those which deal with and restrict the food of individuals under special conditions and at special times.

Probably in all Australian tribes there exist general restrictions dealing with what the younger members of the tribe may and may not eat. We have previously described them in the Arunta tribe.[1] In the Kaitish young men may not eat emu, snake, porcupine wild-cat, eagle-hawk, or large lizards; if they do their bodies will swell up and they will turn prematurely gray. The restrictions upon young women are still more comprehensive. They include acacia seed—penalty, stomach upset; emu eggs—penalty, throat bad; wild turkey or its eggs—penalty, swollen cheek; wild dog—penalty, throat bad; big snakes—penalty, the same; echidna—penalty, general swelling of body; big lizards—penalty, grow thin; wild "cat"—penalty, head break out all over with sores; eagle-hawk—penalty, grow thin and poor; kite—penalty, breasts not develop; big rat—penalty, swollen head; rabbit-bandicoot—penalty, body swells up; fish—penalty, sores on the legs. They are allowed to eat such things as emu flesh (but not eggs), wallaby and kangaroo, small snakes and lizards, crows, podargus, ordinary bandicoot, witchetty grubs, yams, and various vegetable foods such as grass seeds. The restrictions with regard to women are much the same through all of the tribes, and there appears to be everywhere the strict rule with regard to the non-eating of brown

[1] *N.T.* p. 471.

hawks. The penalty for non-observance of this is the disappearance or non-development of milk in the breasts, which, moreover, wither up, though, amongst some people, they are supposed to swell until they burst. Not only also is the bird forbidden as food, but the women are everywhere very afraid of it; if a woman be suckling a child, and one of the birds flies anywhere near, she will run away in fear lest its shadow should by any chance fall upon her breast, which would then swell up and burst. In the case of very old women the restrictions are removed.

The young men in the Warramunga are gradually released from the restrictions as they grow older, but a man is usually well on in middle age before he is allowed to eat such things as wild turkey, rabbit-bandicoot, and emu. In the same tribe there is a general restriction applying to eagle hawks, the reason assigned being that the bird feeds on the bodies of dead natives.[1]

The restrictions applied to young doctors really come under the same class as most of those above described, inasmuch as they are evidently intended to reserve the best things for the old men, who, in this particular instance, belong to one special set. It must also be remembered that not only are the young men forbidden to eat certain choice foods, but they have to bring in supplies of these for the exclusive use of the old doctors. There is nothing, it may be remarked in passing, which can in any way be regarded as an arrangement between the old and the young men; the one and only object of these restrictions is to reserve the best things for the old men, the younger people having absolutely no voice of any kind in the matter. Their duty is simply to do exactly what they are told to do by the old men, whose authority is supreme. Any disobedience is carried on in the face of the knowledge that prompt punishment will result, even without the sin being found out, for the young native has the most implicit belief in the penalties attached to any infringement of the rules.

In every tribe there are restrictions applying to the food

[1] Compare with this the tradition of the Urabunna tribe in regard to the origin of the Wilyaru ceremony in Chapter XIII.

of individuals under special circumstances. The most general of these are those concerned with boys during and following upon the performance of the initiatory rites. In the Arunta the youth may not touch opossum, snake, lizard, and "porcupine"; in the Warramunga the boys, when taken out to visit distant groups, have to eat wallaby and sugar-bag which the men give them; after the performance of subincision they are told that they must not eat large lizards, snakes, turkeys, bandicoot, emu, emu eggs, or echidna, and these restrictions apply until they are fully middle-aged. There are certain restrictions which also apply to youths when, for the first time, they are shown the sacred ceremonies at the time of initiation. Two Thungalla boys, whom we saw initiated amongst the Warramunga, were shown ceremonies of the white-cockatoo totem by an old Thapanunga man to whom they belonged, and before they will be allowed to eat the bird they will have to make an offering of food to the old man, and also present him with weapons.

In the Binbinga tribe the newly initiated boy may not eat snake, female kangaroo, wallaby, female emu, turtle, big lizards, big fish, female bandicoot, native companion, jabiru, black duck, dingo, turkey or its eggs, pigeon, yams. All of these things are tabooed to him until such time as his whiskers are grown. Finally he takes snake and other offerings of food to an old man, who is his *napitji* (wife's father); the snake is first of all put round the neck of the latter, and then the young man's mouth is touched with it, and after that he is free to eat it.

The restrictions with regard to newly initiated youths are closely similar in all of the tribes, the object being, as in other cases, that of confining the best food to the older men, and at the same time inculcating upon the youths the habit of strict obedience. In all the tribes also the young men are only released from the restriction on presentation of an offering of food to some old man who has a special connection with that one food, so that one or other of the old men is constantly being made the recipient of some present of food.

Throughout all of the tribes there appear to be certain restrictions which apply to the food of a pregnant woman. In the Urabunna neither the husband nor wife may eat the echidna, but this is the only restriction in regard to the behaviour of the man. In addition the wife is not allowed to eat snakes, the large Parenthie lizard (she may eat small lizards), kangaroo, turkey, emu or emu eggs. In the Arunta she is not supposed to eat meat during the early stages; it is not actually forbidden to her, but excessive sickness is attributed to this cause, and therefore the women are mostly restricted to a vegetable diet at this time. The husband may eat meat, but is not supposed to go out in search of large game. If he does so the spirit of the child, which often accompanies him when he goes out into the bush, not only gives warning to any large game, such as kangaroo or emu, but if the man attempts to throw a spear or boomerang, will make it take a crooked course. The Unmatjera tribe have the same belief. In the Kaitish tribe the woman is not allowed to eat echidna, or else the child will not develop rapidly; if she eats opossum or eagle-hawk, the child is supposed to hang on to the wall of the womb; if rabbit-bandicoot, it develops slowly; if carpet snake, she swells out behind; and if wild turkey or its eggs, the child dies inside her body. She must also drink sparingly of water. In the Warramunga both the woman and her husband are forbidden to eat snakes, echidna, Parenthie (a big lizard), emu and its eggs, rabbit-bandicoot, fish, wild turkey and its eggs, and eagle-hawk. It is supposed that if the woman were to eat any of these things the child would die. In the Gnanji tribe, in much the same way, neither the man nor the woman may eat big snake, iguana, wallaby, kangaroo, emu, cockatoo, echidna, crocodile, or turtle. In the Binbinga tribe again neither the woman nor her husband may eat big lizards or snakes, turtles, echidna, emu, kangaroo, big fish, female opossum, female wallaby, female bandicoot, flying fox, dingo, turkey, pigeon, native companion, or jabiru. If either of them eat of these foods then the child will move about inside the womb, scratching the walls and causing the death of the mother.

The only restriction in regard to vegetable food of any importance that we know of is the one in the Arunta tribe, according to which no menstruous woman is allowed to gather the Irriakura bulbs, which form a staple article of diet for both men and women. The idea is that any infringement of the restriction will result in the failure of the supply of the bulb.

NOSE-BORING

To the north of the Arunta there do not appear to be any ceremonies attendant on the operation of boring the nasal septum. In the Arunta, Ilpirra, and Unmatjera tribes a boy, immediately after the operation, which is conducted by his father or elder brother, strips a piece of bark from a tree and throws it as far as he can in the direction of the Alcheringa camp of his mother, just as later on he throws his tooth. A girl, whose nose is first bored by her husband, takes a small *pitchi*, fills it with sand, and, keeping her feet close together, jumps about moving the *pitchi* as if she were winnowing seed. In the Kaitish the operation is performed by an *ertwali* (wife's father), and is carried out during warm weather. In the Warramunga there is a tradition that the operation was first performed in the Alcheringa by an old crow who used his beak for the purpose.

In all tribes a nose-bone or stick, or, during ceremonies, a bunch of leafy twigs, is often worn through the hole at the choice of the individuals, but these are much more frequently seen in the central tribes than in those on the coast. At the present day no significance of any kind is attached to the custom, the stick or bone being merely worn as an ornament. The only object of any real import worn through the hole is the mysterious *kupitja*, the mark of the medical man amongst the Warramunga.

INHERITANCE

In the Arunta nation every individual has not only his own personal chattels, weapons, and implements of various kinds, but he also has sacred objects such as Churinga, which,

to a certain extent, are regarded as his property, though they are kept in the sacred storehouse of the local group of which he is a member. They are under the charge of the headman, and he does not touch them without the consent of the latter. These Churinga belonged to ancestors, and with some of them sacred ceremonies are associated. His own chattels he may, if he feel so disposed, give away during his lifetime, though after his death there are only certain special individuals who may inherit them. On the other hand it is quite otherwise with the Churinga and the ceremonies associated with them; they are very much like the beginnings of entailed property, and must descend along a certain line, and at no time has their owner the right to part with them save along this line. If the man has a son of mature age, then on the death of the parent the son will take charge of them—the eldest son if there be more than one. If, however, the son be a mere boy, they are taken over by a younger brother (blood or tribal) of the dead man until such time as the son is mature. If there be no son at all, then they pass permanently into the brother's possession, and will in due time descend to his son. In the case of a woman, though she has a *Churinga nanja*, she never sees it, and on her death it is handed over to a younger brother. If she has no brother-in-blood, the old men who stand to her in the relationship of *oknia* (father) and *arunga* (grandfather) decide upon some tribal brother, younger than herself, to whom it is given. The woman may, of course, be the reincarnation of a celebrated Alcheringa ancestor, in which case there will be some special ceremony associated with the Churinga, the right to perform which, as in all such cases, will go with the Churinga.[1] Not only is there a considerable amount of repute associated with the possession of a large number of Churinga and ceremonies, but there is also the material advantage that young men who are shown such ceremonies for the first time have to present the owner of them with an offering of food.

In all cases it will be seen that the Churinga always remain in the possession of individuals belonging to the one

[1] For further details, see *N.T.* p. 154.

moiety of the tribe; hence the fact that the woman's Churinga does not descend to her son, but to a brother. If it descended to her son, then, as descent is counted in the paternal line, the Churinga would pass into the possession of a man of the moiety to which she does not belong.

The same conditions apply in the case of the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes, but when we pass north from these into the Warramunga there is no such number of Churinga, nor does the individual have a proprietary right in certain sacred ceremonies. These belong to the group as a whole, and this again is to be associated with the fact that each totemic group has one great ancestor who performed the ceremonies connected with the group. He also left behind him the spirit individuals who are now reincarnated, but who, unlike the ancestors of the Arunta tribe, did not themselves perform ceremonies, and hence their living representatives have no individual association with or proprietary right in them. A man may possess one or two Churinga, but these will descend in the usual way along with his chattels.

In the Warramunga, Walpari, Wulmala, Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Binbinga tribes, after a man's death his chattels pass into the possession of men who are his mothers' brothers or his daughters' husbands — that is, everything goes to men of the moiety of the tribe to which the dead man's mother belonged. With the solitary exception of their yam- or digging-sticks, the women are not allowed to take anything away at all.

What happened in the case of a Warramunga man who died during the time of our visit will serve to illustrate the matter. As soon as ever the death occurred the man's *mia-mia*, or shelter of boughs, was torn down and destroyed. His few chattels were gathered together and taken charge of by a Thakomara woman, his mother, or, in this instance, mother's sister. The next morning, while the mourning ceremonies were being carried on, the dead man's chattels were brought by the Thakomara woman to a group of men composed of two Tjapeltjeris, one Tjupila, one Thapanunga, and an elder and younger Thakomara. The woman placed them

on the knees of the elder Thakomara and then retired. The old man opened up the bundle, which contained all the worldly possessions of the dead man. The complete list of these was as follows:—Three boomerangs, two clubs, three *pitchis*, one tomahawk, one hair-girdle, one vegetable-fibre girdle, one knife, and a common-looking piece of stone wrapped up in bark. The old men examined this last carefully, but could evidently make nothing of it, and it was simply left on the ground when they went away as of no importance. They did not appear to be afraid lest it should possess or be able to work evil magic of some kind in consequence of its having been carried about by the dead man. There were no Churinga, nor indeed anything of a sacred nature. The old Thakomara asked the younger one what things he would take, urging him to take the whole lot, in the usual polite way of the natives, being of course fully aware that he would do no such thing. It ended in the younger man taking as his share the clubs and boomerangs, and the elder man everything else, including the most valuable thing, the tomahawk, an iron one which we had lately presented to the dead man. The younger Thakomara man told us that, according to custom, he would present the weapons which fell to his share to other Thakomara men younger than himself. The old Thakomara took his share to his *mia-mia* and retained them there; being a very old man he was not supposed to distribute them. In this way it will be seen that there is a regular circulation of things amongst the various groups. The Tjunguri man's things descend to a Thakomara; a Thakomara man's things go to a Thapanunga; a Thapanunga man's go to a Tjambin; and finally, a Tjambin's things go to a Tjunguri.

THE MAKING OF FIRE

There are two distinct methods of making fire in use amongst the central and northern tribes. One is by means of rubbing a piece of hard over a piece of soft wood with a saw-like movement, the other is by means of twirling one stick on another. The former method is practised amongst

the more southern tribes extending as far north approximately as Powell's Creek. The second is the plan adopted by the Urabunna and by the more northern tribes, and also by those inhabiting the country eastwards to the Gulf and across into Queensland.

The Arunta, Kaitish, and Unmatjera tribes normally use a spear-thrower as the hard wood and a shield as the soft wood. The former is made out of mulga and the latter out of the bean-tree (*Erythrina vespertilio*). In the Arunta, for example, two men will sit down opposite to one another, holding a shield steady on the ground between them by means of their feet; then taking one of their spear-throwers they will each of them, holding on to one end, pass it vigorously backwards and forwards with a sawing motion over the shield, the surface of which soon becomes marked by a groove. The fine powder which is separated off very soon, often in less than a minute, begins to smoulder, and then by careful blowing a flame is soon produced in the dry tinder amongst which it is placed. They seem to have certain favourite old shields which they use for this purpose, and many of them are marked, like the one in the illustration, with charred grooves, the same groove being used time after time.

A second method of obtaining fire by means of a sawing movement is met with amongst the Warramunga, who also adopt the method just described. In addition to this they use a cleft stick. This is made of relatively soft wood, and a stick of harder wood is rubbed rapidly across the cleft, with the result that the powder which comes off smoulders and, tumbling down amongst the tinder placed in the cleft, sets this on fire.

There are two traditions amongst the Warramunga with regard to the making of fire. The first relates how two hawks named Warapulapula and Kirkalanji arose at a spot called Wakuttha, where there is a water-hole, and where also they performed sacred ceremonies. Two big gum-trees, which still exist, arose to mark the spot where they lived and for the first time made fire. One day Warapulapula said to his mate Kirkalanji, "I think that we two will make

fire and then walk about in the smoke." Accordingly they did so by rubbing two sticks on one another. Not being accustomed to deal with it, they set the whole country on fire, and Kirkalanji was so badly burnt that he died. It was this fire also which caught the moon man and the bandicoot woman, and burnt the latter.

According to another Warramunga tradition two brothers of the Winithonguru (native cat) totem were wandering over the country. One day the younger brother said to the elder, "How shall we make fire? Shall we twirl two sticks together?" But the elder brother said, "No, we will rub two sticks together." They did so and thus made fire, for up to that time they had had none. The elder told the younger brother to pick the fire-stick up and bring it along with him. He did so, but not being used to handling fire, burnt his hands badly.

Amongst the Binbinga, Anula, Mara, and other tribes in the Gulf country, the sawing method is not met with, the drilling or twirling plan being always used. For this purpose two pieces of wood are taken, one of which is rounded off so as to be about one-half or three-quarters of an inch in diameter. This is held upright between the two palms of the hands so that one end rests on the second piece of wood, which is pressed on the ground and held firmly by the feet of the operator. This piece varies in length. In the specimens which we saw used amongst the Mara and Anula tribes it was made of the same wood as the upright one. When being used there is, first of all, a notch cut to one side at the spot at which the upright stick is going to be twirled upon the horizontal one. This is to allow the smouldering powder produced by the twirling to fall out on to the ground. Usually two men take part in the operation, sitting down opposite to one another. First of all one man will take the upright piece and rapidly twirl it round and round. After he has done this a few times the second man will continue the work, the great thing being to keep the twirling movement as continuous as possible. Within a minute, as a general rule, the powder, which collects in the small hole and tumbles out by the notch

made in the horizontal piece, begins to smoulder, and as soon as it does so it is gently blown and a flame produced. As a general rule a little fine sand is placed in the hole in the horizontal piece so as to increase the friction.

In the Urabunna tribe the operation is essentially similar to that in the Mara. A small piece of bark is, however, always placed beneath the notch, the heated powder dropping on to the bark. When the friction produces red-hot powder, this is then slipped off the bark into a little mass of dried grass, which is either blown upon by the mouth or else held up in the wind and soon breaks out into a blaze. The whole apparatus is called *makka-tira*. The upright piece which is twirled between the hands is called *wapuppa kuppa*, the child-stick ; the one upon which it is twirled, and out of which they suppose the fire to come, is called *wapuppa aluka*, the mother-stick, or sometimes *makka aluka*, the mother of the fire.

The Mara people have the following tradition with regard to the first making of fire. In the Alcheringa there was a Kakan or eagle-hawk man who discovered how to make fire by rubbing two sticks on one another. He was a black Kakan, and belonged to the Murungun class. He wanted to keep the fire for the Murungun and Mumbali people, and not allow the Purdal and Quial to have any, but a white Kakan came along and objected to his being so greedy. The two had a long discussion, and finally the white Kakan took a fire-stick and gave it to the Purdal and Quial men, though the black Kakan covered the fire over with his wings and tried to prevent him from getting any. Close by where the two hawks were disputing there was a big pine-tree which was so tall that its top reached right up into the sky. Up and down this the natives used to climb. The hawk, unfortunately, set the grass on fire, and the pine-tree was burnt, so that the natives, who happened to be up in the sky at that particular time, could not get down, and have remained there ever since. The fire spread as far north as what is now called the Roper River, where the white hawk threw his fire-stick away to Mungatjarra. The black hawk stayed behind, and died on the spot at which

he first made fire. The Mara people call their fire-sticks *Purdalla*, the Anula call theirs *Mapu-urtalla*, and the Binbinga, *Ku-unkalamma*.

We have already described the curious ceremony called *Wanna* as performed by the Warramunga tribe, and it will be noticed that both in this and the Mara tribe there is the same idea of fire being made in the first instance by a member of one moiety of the tribe, and subsequently handed on as a present to the people of the other moiety.

CHAPTER XXII

MYTHS RELATING TO SUN, MOON, STARS, COMETS RAINBOW, WHIRLWIND

Number of myths relating to celestial bodies is relatively small—Arunta traditions of the sun—Ceremony of the sun totem—Tree associated with the sun in the Kaitish tribe—Traditions in the Kaitish—The moon man and the lubra in the Warramunga—Almost entire absence of myths in the coastal tribes—Falling stars associated with evil magic—Belief among the Kaitish that the place where a star falls indicates the whereabouts of a man who has killed another—In the Mara tribe it is supposed to be an unfriendly spirit—Evening star, Pleiades, Orion, and the Milky Way in the Arunta—Kaitish believe stars to be women—Mara believe them crystals—Eclipse associated with evil magic—Comet tail is a bundle of spears—Kaitish tradition with regard to the rainbow—Latter supposed to be anxious to prevent the rain from falling—Reverse belief in the coastal tribes—Whirlwind in the Arunta supposed to bring spirit children.

THE number of myths dealing with the sun, moon, stars, and various other natural phenomena is comparatively small amongst these tribes. The sun is universally regarded as female, and the moon as male; but some tribes, such as the Binbinga, appear to have no myths of any kind regarding them. The members of one tribe, like the one mentioned, will tell you that they know nothing whatever about them, but that the men of another tribe do. The stars, except such prominent ones as the bright evening star or a group like the Pleiades, pass unnoticed amongst the natives, except in the most general way.

In the Arunta tribe the sun is called Allinga or Okerka, and there are two distinct traditions relating to her. In the one she is supposed to have come out of the earth in the form of a woman, at a spot belonging to the bandicoot people, far away out to the east, where it is now represented

by a big stone. Every night it is supposed to return to the stone, and arises there in the morning. The woman belonged to the Panunga class, and therefore the sun does also, and in consequence is regarded as having a definite relationship to various individuals, just as a human being of the same class has. According to the second tradition the sun arose at a place called Urapailla, in the country of a group of people belonging to the Unjiamba (Hakea plant) totem. Just as in the first tradition, she came up in the form of a woman, who afterwards ascended into the sky. There are certain ceremonies concerned with the sun totem which are now in charge of a man of the locality, who himself belongs to the Unjiamba totem, but whose maternal grandmother was a member of the sun totem. In the ceremony which we witnessed there were two performers, one of whom carried on his head a small *nurtunja* (sacred pole), representing the Hakea, while the other man had in his hands a small flat disc, about a foot in diameter, which was supposed to be specially associated with the woman and also with the sun. A central spot of red down represented the navel of the woman, and a series of lines of down radiating out from it represented the rays of the sun. The two men knelt, one in front of the other, and went through the very characteristic swaying and shuffling motion, whilst the audience performed the *wahkutnimma*, running round and round them crying out "*Wah! Wah!*" When it was over, the disc was pressed against the stomachs of the elder men, and a newly initiated youth was brought up, shown the decorations, and had everything explained to him.

In the Kaitish tribe the sun is also called Okerka. It is supposed to have arisen in the form of a woman away out in the east, and to have travelled afterwards to a place called Allumba, where a big tree arose to mark the spot. After some time the sun woman went back again to the east, and now it arises every morning in the east, goes round to the west down there, and then during the night travels back under the earth and comes up in the morning. The tree at Allumba must on no account be destroyed, or else the natives believe that they will all be burnt up.

Everything on it is strictly tabooed, and no animal may be killed either on it or close by. If a native were to kill and eat an opossum from this tree, the food would burn up all his inward parts so that he would die.

The moon (Atninja) is regarded by the Arunta tribe as being especially associated with the opossum totem. According to one myth he was originally an opossum man, who came up on to the earth and was carried about by another old opossum man in a shield as the latter went about hunting for opossums. A grass-seed man stole him, and the opossum man, being unable to overtake the thief, shouted out to the moon telling him to go up into the sky, which accordingly he did, and there he has remained ever since. The Kaitish people call it Arilpa, and have only very vague traditions about it. They say that in the Alcheringa the moon sat down as a very old man at a place called Urnta, a big hill near to Barrow Creek. He came to Urnta from the north-east, and on arriving there said that he was very sorry he had come, and went back again. A big stone arose to mark the spot where the old man sat down, and he can still be seen in the moon carrying a great tomahawk. Out to the west he has a lubra who lives at the spot at which he goes down. According to another tradition, the moon arose first in the form of a Purula man named Pulla, who came down from the sea to a place called Kulla Kulla, where there were a great many lubras living. From amongst them he stole one who was an Uknaria, and thus stood in the relationship of *Unkulla* (father's sister's daughter) to him, and therefore was not his "straight" wife. The other women tried to prevent him from stealing her but could not do so. Then he went on to Uningamara, where he took a Panunga lubra; she had a child born, and then he left her and went on and stole a Kumara lubra, and called himself an Appungarti man; she had a child, and he left her and went on and stole a Thungalla, treating her in just the same way. One after the other he took Umbitjana, Appungarti, Uknaria, Kumara, Purula, and Tjapeltjeri women, each of whom he abandoned after she had had a child. Then for some time he lived at a place called Ariltha-unina,

where he had a great number of wives, and here, having had much experience, he instructed the men of the tribes in the matter of which was the proper wife for each class of men to have. Finally, in his old age he settled down at Kulla Kulla with one wife, who belonged to the Uningamara (a little bird) totem. She died, and a stone arose to mark the spot. An old man named Okinja-allungara one day came up to the moon man's camp with the object of stealing a lubra; but the moon was angry, and caught hold of him just as he seized the lubra, and killed him with his tomahawk. Then he went up into the sky, and can now be seen standing up in the moon with his tomahawk uplifted ready to strike.

According to the Warramunga tribe the moon at first walked about on the earth as a man who, of course, arose in Warramunga country. One day he was walking about, and camped by the side of a water-hole at the foot of a hill in the Murchison Range. There he saw the tracks of a woman, but did not see her until the early morning, when he spied her walking about some distance away from his camp. He, however, called to her, and she shouted back in answer. Then he said, "Don't you talk so far away—I want you to come up close; which way have you come up; have you come from Bindabingadji?" The lubra came up, and they sat down close together talking. Meanwhile two hawks near by had, for the first time, just discovered how to make fire, only unfortunately they set the country on fire, and the flames gradually approached nearer and nearer. The lubra said, "Look out, the fire is close up now," but the moon man said, "No hurry, the fire is quite a long way off yet." However, while they were talking and enjoying themselves together, the fire suddenly spread all round them and burnt the lubra severely. The moon man at once cut a vein open and drew some blood from himself, which he sprinkled over the woman and so restored her to life, and then they both went up into the sky.

Amongst the Tjingilli, Binbinga, and Umbaia there do not appear to be any myths, so far as we could discover, concerning the moon, and amongst the coastal tribes such

as there are, are of the vaguest and most meagre description. The Mara people say that in the old times some black-fellows went out fishing near to the mangrove swamps and caught the moon in their net. It broke through, and when they tried to catch it again it escaped into the water and was lost. They have no idea as to how it got into the sky. The tradition is probably only a fragment of what they have heard from people of another tribe, for they say that, though they themselves know nothing more about the matter, there are other tribes some distance away who know all about it.

Falling Stars

Falling stars appear to be associated with the idea of evil magic in many tribes. The Arunta believe that mushrooms and toadstools are fallen stars, and look upon them as being endowed with *arungquiltha* (evil magic), and therefore will not eat them. In one special form of evil magic, used for the object of punishing a woman who has run away with another black-fellow, a falling star, seen after the performance of the ceremony, is regarded as representing the spirit part of the woman who has been killed by magic.

Amongst the Kaitish tribe the belief exists that a falling star indicates the whereabouts of a man who has killed another by means of a pointing-stick or bone. If a member of any group has been killed in this way his friends watch for a falling star, settle to their own satisfaction where it reaches the earth, and then, armed with the *wailia-wailia*, made from the hair of the dead man, the *gammona*, or son-in-law, organises an avenging party and goes off to that spot and kills the enemy. After spearing him they leave his body lying on the ground in the ordinary way. The local men know from experience of their own actions exactly what has happened, and the lubras at once go out in search of the spot at which the star fell, which they say they can always find, because here the earth has been made soft by the star falling into it. They finally bury the body at that special spot.

In the Mara tribe a falling star, which is called *Tjan-*

wangu-wangu, is supposed to be one of the tv spirits called Minungara—father and son—wl the sky. When they see a black-fellow ill, th sends the younger one down to the earth, in falling star, to see if the sick man be nearly him to return when the man is, as the natives s dead." If the younger spirit returns and repo only a child he does not trouble to come down an adult, then the elder Minungara comes to hope of being able to suck the blood out Though he is regarded by the natives as bein form like a man, yet he has a very small mout only be used for sucking. The natives believe there is a friendly spirit, called Munpani, who woods, and is constantly on the look-out to Minungara from hurting them.

Stars, Eclipses, Comets

The Arunta believe that the evening star Alcheringa in the form of a Kumara woman *nurtunja* (sacred pole), and lived alone at a spot by a stone in the Macdonnell Ranges. They als with all other natives without exception with wl in contact, believe the Pleiades to represent women who, in the Alcheringa, lived upon ea later time went up into the sky. Orion they emu, and the stars generally as the camp-fir who live in the heavens on the banks of a grea sented by the Milky Way. As a general rule, natives appear to pay very little attention to detail, probably because they enter very little i which is connected with their daily life, and m with their food supply. In the Kaitish tribe th *Kurallia*, and are supposed to be women who and children of a great being named Atnat beyond the sky. Amongst the Mara on th there is a tradition, common to them and the that in the olden times there was a great pin

reached right away into the sky. A number of men, women, and children used to climb up into and down from the sky every day by means of this tree. One day, while they were up above, an old hawk named Kakan discovered the way to make fire by means of twirling one stick upon another. In a dispute which he had with a white hawk the country was set on fire, and the pine-tree was unfortunately destroyed, so that the people up above could not get down again on to the earth, and accordingly have remained in the sky ever since. These people had crystals implanted in their heads, elbows, knees, and different joints, and it is the flashing of these at night-time which makes the lights that we call stars. The medicine men in some cases can go up at night and talk to the star people.

An eclipse of the sun is always supposed to be associated with evil magic, the usual belief being that some evil spirit is trying to eat it up, or, as amongst the Arunta, that *arung-quiltha*—an impersonal form of magic—is trying to get into the sun so as to live there and obliterate its light. The magic can only be overcome by counter-magic, and therefore when an eclipse is seen the medicine men are busy withdrawing magic from their own bodies and projecting it into the sun.

Amongst the northern Arunta and the Kaitish the Magellanic clouds are supposed to be full of evil magic, which sometimes comes down to earth and chokes men and women while they are asleep. The southern Arunta call them *Inji-kinji-tera*, and regard them as the camping-place of two great black men.

With regard to comets, the general belief is that the tail or tails are bundles of spears belonging to a star endowed with very strong magic. The large comet of 1901 was clearly visible whilst we were amongst the natives. Fortunately at the same time a very celebrated medicine man named Ilpailurkna—a visitor amongst the Kaitish from the neighbouring Unmatjera tribe—was also there. By his efforts, repeated night after night, when going out alone into the bush, he projected his magic *atnongara* stones towards the comet, and its evil magic was gradually overcome.

It faded away, and the whole tribe was saved from destruction. There was no doubt amongst the natives as to the fact that Ilpailurkna had saved both their lives and ours also, and that, had he not by good fortune possessed magic power sufficient to drive the comet away, the great bundle of spears would have been thrown down and we should all have been killed.

The Kaitish people imagine that lightning is made by men who are performing the ceremonies designed to secure a fall of rain. When the head of the totem does this he takes a yam-stick, paints it over with red ochre, decorates it with down, and sings over it. This done he rubs the down off, blowing it up towards the sky, and then buries the stick in a hole, where it is left untouched. The down is supposed to make the thunder and lightning, and as these precede the fall of rain in this part of the world, it is supposed to be instrumental in causing the downpour.

RAINBOW

Amongst the Kaitish the tradition is that in the Alcheringa two men sat down on the top of a hill, near to where is now Barrow Creek, and stroked their whiskers, out of which a stream of water flowed and spread over the country. Finally they died and the whiskers were turned into stones, which still persist. After this the rainbow came out of the stones and went up into the sky. The rainbow, called *Tjitjara* or *Aukulia*, is supposed to be the son of the rain and to be always anxious to stop the rain from falling, so that it is "sung" in order to make it go away when it appears in the sky and the natives want more rain to fall. When the head of the rain totem in the Kaitish tribe makes the ceremony of Intichiuma he first of all goes to the *ertnatulunga* or sacred storehouse of his local group. There he paints a rainbow on the ground in red ochre, then he paints one on his own body and another on a shield, on which also appear a number of zigzag lines of white pipe-clay which represent lightning. This shield must only be seen by old Kumara and Purulu men (the rain-maker himself being a Kumara

man). If by chance it were to be seen by a man of the other moiety of the tribe, the ceremony would be ineffectual. The performer takes the shield away from the *ertnatulunga* and keeps it hidden in his own camp until the rain has fallen, after which he destroys the rainbow drawings. The idea of this evidently is to take charge, as it were, of the rainbow and prevent it by magic from appearing in the sky until such time as the rain shall have fallen.

The Warramunga believe that the rainbow issues from the vent of a water snake, called Nappakandattha, in the form of a red oval plate. The great mythic snake called Wollunqua can also place it in the sky at pleasure, but they have no idea that it either prevents or assists the fall of rain.

Amongst the coastal tribes, the Mara and the Anula, the belief is the exact opposite of that held by the Kaitish. The former believe that the rainbow precedes and is helpful in causing rain to fall. At a place called Upintjarra, near to the west shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, in the country of the Anula, there is a creek with a deep water-hole in its bed. On either side of this, and also in the creek bed, is a spot especially associated with the "dollar bird," which is called by the natives *Munbakuaku*. The bird is popularly known in this part of the country as a "rain bird," because it is much in evidence when the rainy season begins. In the water-hole hard by lived its mate—a snake called Gnurluwa. These two used to make rain in the Alcheringa. When the snake wanted rain to fall, it was his custom to spit up into the sky, and thus he made the rainbow, which was quickly followed by the clouds and rain. At the present day the rain-maker goes to the water-hole, secures a snake, kills it, and places it on the bank by the side of the hole. Then he makes a little arched structure, called *abubukuti*, out of grass stalks twined round with fur-string. He fixes this in the sand, so that it forms a little arch over the body of the snake, and after singing it for some time the clouds come up and the rain falls.

WHIRLWIND

In many parts of the centre of the continent whirlwinds, lifting up columns of dust two or three hundred feet high, are of frequent occurrence. The Arunta call them *a-pa-pa*, and the women especially are much afraid of them, thinking that spirit children travel about in them, and that if they should happen to be caught in one the children would enter their bodies. They therefore take good care to avoid even the small ones, and should one, as not infrequently happens, travel across a camp, there is an immediate scattering of the women in all directions. The same belief is found in the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes, but amongst the Warramunga there is no idea of spirit children being associated with them. They are called *oaranjeringa*, and both men and women are afraid of them, the women especially, for they believe that an unfriendly spirit—an *oruntja*—travels about in them, on the look-out to kill black-fellows.

CHAPTER XXIII

WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS

BOATS

Restricted or wide range of various weapons and implements—Stone implements—Adzes—Knives—Picks—Tomahawks—Spears—Central Australian natives make and use stone implements usually described as characteristic of Palæolithic and Neolithic man—Method of flaking—Description of various forms of flakes used in adzes, knives, spear-heads, etc.—Woman's knife in the Kaitish and Warramunga—Hafting of knives and picks—Chipped spear-heads—Use of flaked knives for cutting flesh—Ground axes—Method of making them—*Pitchis*—Various forms of these made out of soft and hard wood—Spear-throwers—Types of spears—Gouges—Fish-hooks—Boats.

IT is by no means always easy to determine the exact locality which is the home of any weapon or implement, owing to the fact that most of them are traded over great distances. Some, for no apparent reason, have a much more restricted range than others. Thus, for example, there are forms of spear-throwers which are never found outside of a more or less limited area within which they are made, and the same is true of certain forms of spears. On the other hand some forms of *pitchis* or of shields will be found distributed over a very wide area, and in the possession of natives living hundreds of miles away from the spot at which they were manufactured. So again stone knives are bartered and carried long distances. To a certain extent it depends upon the presence in any particular locality of the material necessary for the manufacture of the special object. This, however, is not by any means the only determining factor. In the case of the stone knives, for example, the quartzite necessary for their manufacture is practically found over the

whole, or the greater part, of the interior, and yet the better ones are only made in certain districts. Everywhere over the interior the smaller stone knives are, or at least were, made until a short time ago, but the larger-bladed and wooden-hafted ones were actually manufactured only in the far north, especially amongst the Tjingilli tribe.

On the whole there is a very considerable uniformity amongst the weapons and various objects in the possession of the different central tribes, from the Arunta in the south to the Tjingilli in the north. Passing eastwards from the latter tribe towards the Gulf of Carpentaria, the same uniformity is maintained until we come to the true coastal tribes, amongst whom we naturally meet with certain objects not present amongst the inland tribes.

There is one feature which is eminently characteristic of the latter, and that is their fondness for red ochre. Almost every weapon and implement which they possess has a thick coating of this mixed with grease, and the same applies to their personal ornaments, with the single exception of the men's human-hair girdle. Amongst the coastal tribes it is much less plentifully used.

(1) Stone Implements

At the present day the making of stone implements threatens to become rapidly a thing of the past, over practically the greater part of the central area. Even amongst tribes which have had very little intercourse with white men, iron is beginning to replace stone, and it will be only a matter of comparatively few years before, at all events, stone hatchets will cease to be made and used. Iron tomahawks pass from tribe to tribe. Odd bits of hoop iron are laboriously ground down to a sharp edge and are beginning to replace the stone axe or spear-head. Prongs of stout wire take the place of the old wooden ones. When once these innovations make their appearance, it is wonderful with what rapidity they spread from group to group. Up to the present time, however, except in the immediate neighbourhood of settlements which are fortunately too small and too far between to affect

large numbers of the natives, the latter have lived in blissful ignorance of the age of iron, and have continued to fashion their weapons and implements with the old flaked and ground, or, more rarely, chipped stone knives and hatchets.

The stone weapons and implements can be conveniently divided into the following groups:—(1) adzes, (2) knives, (3) picks, (4) tomahawks, and (5) spears. In regard to them, as a whole, the most interesting feature is that one and the same tribe will not only use but make roughly or most carefully flaked stones, chipped stones, and ground axes. It is, however, only amongst the northern and north-western tribes that carefully chipped stones are met with, and from these parts they are traded south.

The Central Australian natives make and use stone implements which are usually described as typical, respectively, of both the Palæolithic and Neolithic periods. Some of their flaked knives are practically as crude as those of the extinct Tasmanians, while the chipped ones which exist side by side with the former are as well made as those found in European barrows. Amongst the Central Australian aborigines it is simply a question of the material available. If they have a supply of quartzite, then they make flaked or flaked and chipped implements. As a matter of fact they always have this material available, and therefore every tribe uses it. In some parts they also have stone, such as diorite, which is suitable for grinding, and then they make, in addition to the flaked knives, the so-called Neolithic ground axe. Had such a tribe as the Arunta or the Warramunga become extinct, leaving behind it, in the form of stone implements, the only traces of its existence which would have persisted, the modern ethnologist would have been not a little puzzled by finding side by side the most crudely and the most beautifully flaked and chipped stone implements and at the same time ground axes. In fact the Central Australian savage, so far as his stone implements are concerned, is a member of both the so-called Palæolithic and Neolithic stages in the development of the human race.

We will now describe the various forms of stone implements met with amongst the tribes, commencing first of all

with the adze. In many cases this consists of a flake of flint or of opalescent quartzite, one side of which normally shows a very characteristic, smooth, conchoidal fracture, while the other is always chipped. The flake is characteristically biconvex in section, and has a convex cutting edge. When being made, a block of suitable stone is held in one hand and struck with a small pebble of quartzite until a flake of the desired size is separated off. This flake is then held in the left hand with the side on which is the conchoidal fracture turned away from the operator, who, with another and smaller block of quartzite, chips the surface nearest to him so as to smooth it down. Finally he carefully chips the cutting edge into shape, so that it is convex in outline and margined with a series of fine chippings, which give to it a more or less serrated appearance when closely examined. These secondary chippings on the edge vary to a large extent in their number and size. Only one surface of each of the flints used in the adzes is usually chipped, but there is very considerable difference in the size and shape of the flakes and the fineness or coarseness of the chippings, more especially along the cutting edge. In some cases the latter is very narrow, perhaps only an eighth of an inch in width and almost flat, forming thus a chisel edge, but more often it is about an inch or even more in width and the edge is practically gouge-shaped; in fact, the term gouge is actually preferred by some writers.[1] From the manner in which the implement is used the term adze is, however, preferable.

Chipped flakes of this kind are met with all over the central area. Personally we have seen them in use from the Lake Eyre district in the south to the Gulf of Carpentaria in the north, and as far westwards as Mount Olga, which lies out in the desert country to the south-west of Lake Amadeus. They are also distributed over, at all events, the greater part of the western area of the continent.

In the Arunta and Luritja tribes the stones are fixed into the handles of the spear-throwers, a feature peculiar to these two tribes. This instrument is described elsewhere; in

[1] Etheridge, *Proc. Linn. Soc. N.S.W.*, vol. vi., 3rd series.

this connection it will suffice to say that the handle end of the thrower has a lump of resin attached to it, obtained from the porcupine grass (Triodia sp.), and into this the stone flake is inserted so that its edge is in the same plane as that of the width of the thrower, the conchoidal facet corresponding in position with the convex side of the implement. The stone projects a quarter of an inch, or perhaps a little more, beyond the resin, and when being used the implement is grasped by the hand above the mass of resin with the conchoidal fracture surface turned away from the operator. It is used in just the same way in which a chisel or gouge might be if the latter were grasped close to the cutting surface with its concavity turned towards the worker, who then made cuts with it directed towards himself.

FIG. 172.—MAN USING ADZE FOR MAKING THE GROOVES ON THE OUTSIDE OF A *PITCHI*. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

A well-made flint has the form just described, but in many instances they are much less regular in shape, and the chipping may be of a more or less rude description. In some cases the flake is chipped nearly, or indeed quite, to a point, or to the shape of a very small chisel, sometimes with a straight but at others with a curved edge. Implements of this form are used by the Warramunga and other tribes for cutting the series of grooves which ornament the surfaces of their large *pitchis*. The illustration shows a Warramunga man in the act of doing this (Fig. 172). The *pitchi* was held between his knees and, grasping the adze in both hands, he spent hour after hour in laboriously cutting a series of parallel grooves, each of them not more than one-eighth of an inch wide and all of them cut with remarkable regularity. As in regard to everything else of this kind

there are certain individuals who are more skilful in the work than others. It is always done by men and never by women, who neither use nor possess adzes.

In the making, again, of the curious flaked sticks called *inkulta*, a native will take a short straight twig of a suitable tree, about eighteen inches in length. First of all he will pare off the bark, using the stone for this purpose, then holding the wood in his left hand and the spear-thrower in the right, he will very carefully make the first cut, which results in the peeling off of a curved flake which remains attached to the central stick at one end; then he will make a second cut to the side of the first and slightly higher up,

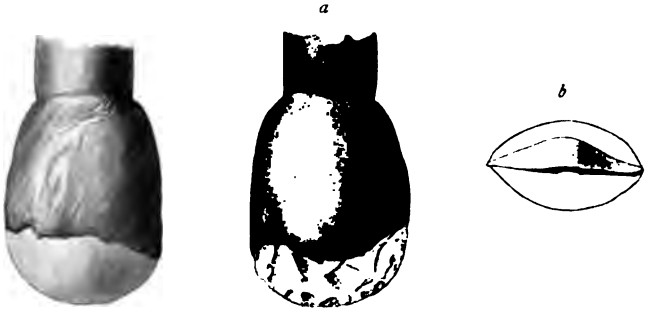


FIG. 173.—ADZE WITH LARGE FLINT USED FOR COARSER WORK. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

and so on, one after the other, turning the stick round and round until he has made a large number of cuts resulting in the formation of a spirally arranged series of curved flakes of wood. The operation looks very simple when you watch the native at work, but successfully to make one of these flaked sticks, using only the primitive stone implement of the savage, is no easy matter.

The illustrations have been chosen so as to show the more important types of adzes, so far as shape and size are concerned. Fig. 173 represents an adze from the Arunta tribe with an especially large flint which shows the very characteristic single conchoidal facet forming one (the upper) surface. It also shows the chipped under-surface and cutting edge, and the convex outline of the latter. In

Fig. 174 we have almost the other extreme in regard to size. An implement such as this will be used for making the finer grooves on *pitchis*, while the former will be used for rougher work, such as the preliminary hollowing out of

FIG. 174.—ADZE WITH SMALL, VERY REGULARLY-SHAPED FLINT. UPPER, UNDER, AND SIDE VIEWS. ARUNTA TRIBE.

the block of wood or the making of wider, shallow grooves such as those seen on the handles of picks or on the outside of many of the *pitchis*. Fig. 175 shows one of an intermediate size, and is not so carefully or extensively chipped

FIG. 175.—TWO ENDS OF AN ADZE. UPPER AND END VIEWS. ARUNTA TRIBE.

as either of the two first. The smaller end, however, is chipped so as to have a point which is very useful in making fine grooves. Fig. 176 represents one in which the flint is of large size, but instead of having a convex cutting edge

the latter is almost straight. It will be noticed that there are a good many secondary chippings, especially towards one side, and the result is the formation of a flint which is very serviceable in smoothing down the excrescences on the handle of a spear or adze. A flint of this shape can also, if required, be used for grooving by holding the implement slantwise so as to utilise one of the two angles.

While the flints are fundamentally similar, it will be noticed that there are two distinct forms of handles. One is curved, and, typically, has a flint at each end inserted in porcupine-grass resin or bees'-wax. The other is straight and has the flint at one end only. The former is the commoner type in the central area; the straight form is met with more out to the west and south-west of the Arunta, and is apparently the common type in some parts of West Australia. In these parts the curved form is not met with. When being used the implement is always held with the hand grasping the handle, close to a knob of resin in which the flint in use is fixed, and the strokes are always directed towards the body of the operator. Very frequently the part grasped by the hand is marked by grooves and scratches, the main part being quite smooth, though, in rare cases, it may be grooved along its whole length.

FIG. 176.—ADZE WITH LARGE, IRREGULAR-SHAPED FLINT. UPPER, UNDER, AND END VIEWS. ARUNTA TRIBE.

The flaked knives vary to a large extent in size, but are all fundamentally alike in form, any difference between them being attributable, not to deliberate design on the part of their maker, but to peculiarities in the nature of the material used, which varies in structure from that of a close-grained quartzite to that of a smooth, opalescent quartzite. In some form or another quartzite is distributed over a very large

area of the centre of Australia. It forms, for example, the relatively thin layer of so-called desert sandstone which caps the numerous flat-topped ranges of the central area, and affords an abundant supply of stone suitable for flaking and chipping.

Each blade has three principal facets, and may be said to be normally trigonal in section. There is always a broad single surface which forms what may be called the back of the knife, the remaining two surfaces being inclined to one another at a very obtuse angle. This angle may, however, be cut off, owing to the presence of a small fourth surface, which indeed is almost always present at the handle end, though sometimes concealed in the hafting. In some cases it may even extend as far as the end of the whole blade, which is then of course tetragonal in section, the fourth surface being smaller than the one on either side of it.

The shape of the blade varies very much, being sometimes broad in proportion to its length and at others long and narrow, but apparently this is not a matter of design and depends entirely on the way in which the stone flakes. From the same block of quartzite a native will flake off broad, lanceolate, and narrow or elongate blades, and will use them indiscriminately, so long as the point and edge are satisfactory.

There are certain localities where the best knives are made, and it is amongst the more northern tribes, the Tjingilli and Warramunga, that these are met with. Just within the northern boundary of the Warramunga country, at a spot now called Renner's Springs, there is a special quarry which has been worked for many years past. The ground is strewn with numberless discarded flakes, which are struck off in scores from lumps of quartzite which have weathered off from the desert sandstone capping of the hill where the quarry is situated. For every one flake which is considered good enough to use there are at least a score discarded. The operation, as we saw it performed, was a very simple one. The native chose a small lump of stone, which measured about eight inches in length and, roughly, six in diameter, the surface at one end being approximately flat.

Towards the other end it slightly tapered away. This end was placed on the ground, and then, holding the block upright with his left hand, he merely gave it a series of smart blows with a little quartzite stone held in his right hand. The first two blows were on spots round the margin close together, each resulting in the detachment of a flake so as to form two surfaces inclined at an angle to one another. It appeared to be simply a matter of chance as to how far this angle ran down the block. As a general rule the two surfaces are not in contact for their whole length. How far this is or is not the case depends simply upon whether the two first flakes lie closely side by side or are separated from one another at their upper ends by a longer or shorter face, which thus renders the blade of the knife tetragonal in section. It will be seen that it is therefore a matter of chance as to how far the blade is trigonal or tetragonal in section. This can, however, be more easily explained by means of a diagram. The first blow is made at the point marked *x*. This results in the flaking off of a chip lying between the points *a* and *b*. The second blow is made at the point marked *y*. By means of this a second chip is removed from the surface between the points *c* and *d*. If these two flakes run down the face of the block and intersect one another as shown in the diagram, then by means of a third blow at the point *z* a flake like the one figured may be secured. It is simply a matter of chance whether the two points marked *b* and *c* are actually confluent or are more or less widely apart. In the former case the final flake will be trigonal in section along its whole length, while in the latter it will be tetragonal for

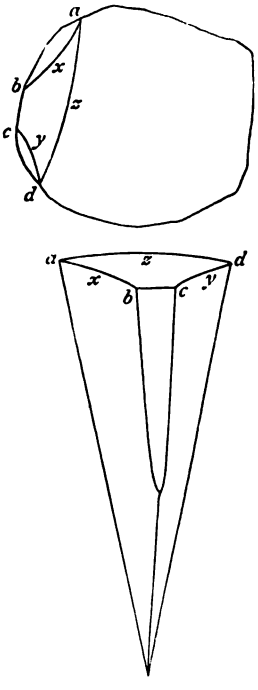


DIAGRAM A.

a greater or lesser part of its length. In some instances the face of the main block, from which the flakes are being cut off may have a number of small surfaces more or less irregularly arranged. One or more of these may perhaps be included in the flake as finally separated off, giving to it an irregular shape, but, provided only that it has a suitable cutting edge, any irregularity of this kind, such as is well shown in the case of several of the knives drawn from actual specimens, does not appear to matter at all in the eyes of the natives. Practice at the work is, of course, essential, and there are some natives who are more successful than others, but the making of a really good knife is more or less a matter of chance, and the endless number of discarded flakes shows how long a time is often spent before a suitable one is struck off.[1]

Precisely the same flakes which are used as knives are employed also for the manufacture of spear-heads and of the curious pick-like weapons found more especially amongst the northern central tribes. In fact the form of the flake before it is attached to the weapon for which it is intended, gives no clue, of necessity, to its future use, though as a general rule those of the spear- and pick-heads are larger than those employed as knives. However, this is by no means universally the case, though frequently, if a specially large flake comes off, it will be retained for use as a spear- or pick-head, while those of medium size will be employed indiscriminately for all three purposes.

In many cases, if the original flaking be not considered satisfactory, additional small chips may be removed from one or other of the two surfaces inclined to one another at an obtuse angle, giving the stone a coarsely chipped appearance, and further still, one, or perhaps even both, of the edges near to the cutting point may be marked with a series of secondary chippings—a feature more common in the case of spears than in that of other weapons.

[1] Exactly the same is true in the case of the ground axes. A very large area at Mount William in Victoria, where, in the olden times, there was a celebrated diorite quarry, is strewn with discarded axe heads which have been roughly chipped and thrown aside because, during the process, the stone has chipped away in such a manner as to spoil their shape and render them unfit for further work.

Figs. 177-186 represent knives with only a resin haft which have been selected to form a series illustrating the more important variations in the form of the blade. As a matter of fact no two blades are ever actually alike, but it must be clearly understood that the native does not aim at making blades of different shapes, and that any classification of them according to size and shape must be at best a very

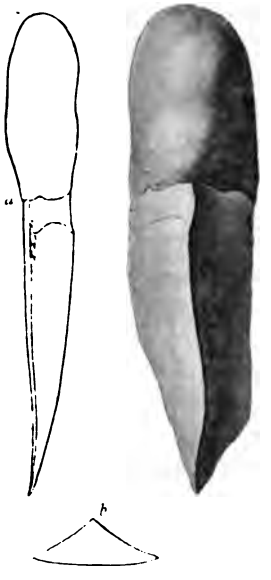


FIG. 177. — STONE KNIFE OF REGULAR SHAPE. TRIGONAL IN SECTION. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 178.—STONE KNIFE WITH VERY REGULAR SHAPE, THE BLADE MADE OF OPALINE QUARTZITE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

artificial thing. What we may perhaps call the normal—that is, the most regular shape is represented in Figs. 177 and 178, though at the same time it is actually one of the rarest met with. It is formed by merely three blows which chance to produce, without need of further work, a blade which is trigonal throughout its whole length, or at least that part of it which is not enclosed in resin. Fig. 178, though the smaller, is the more perfect of the two, and is made out of smooth, opalescent quartzite. Fig. 179 represents a very

common form in which the fourth surface is evident, but only for a short distance near to the handle. It is, therefore, for the greater part trigonal in section, but tetragonal just at the handle end. Fig. 180 is a very good example of one in which the fourth surface extends right down to the point. It will be noticed that the single surface forming the back of the blade is very distinctly convex, as indeed it is in all of

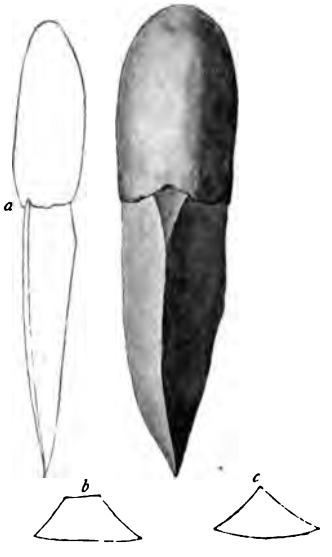


FIG. 179.—STONE KNIFE SHOWING FOURTH FACET FOR SHORT DISTANCE DOWN BLADE. SIDE VIEW AND SECTION. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 180.—STONE KNIFE SHOWING FOURTH FACET RUNNING THE WHOLE LENGTH OF THE BLADE, WHICH IS THIN EVERYWHERE; TETRAGONAL IN SECTION. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

the knives, though more markedly so in some than in others. In Figs. 181 and 182 we have two specimens in which in the one on the left and in the other on the right the lateral facet shows two surfaces due to irregular flaking. These two specimens also illustrate well the variations in regard to form, the one being broad and leaf-shaped, the other long and lanceolate. Fig. 183 is selected as a representative of the more irregular flakes, and one also which has undergone

a small amount of secondary chipping. The original flaking, for some reason, was very irregular at one point, and here, along the edge, a few smaller flakes have been separated off in the endeavour to make the form more regular. Fig. 184 is an example of a multi-faceted flake of a remarkable flat form, as seen in the side view. At the actual point there are no fewer than four faces in contact with one another, and

FIG. 181.—STONE KNIFE, BROAD AND SOMEWHAT IRREGULARLY SHAPED, BROAD BLADE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The section is taken near to the handle.

FIG. 182.—STONE KNIFE WITH LONG, IRREGULAR-SHAPED BLADE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

One section is taken near the handle and the other one-third of the way back from the tip.

one of these has undergone a certain amount of secondary chipping. Fig. 185 is an extreme example of the presence of irregular facets combined with secondary chipping—in fact the entire point has actually been produced by the chipping, so that the knife is neither, strictly speaking, a flaked nor a chipped one, but combines the features of both. Fig. 186, lastly, is an example of a not very common form in which, instead of tapering to a point, there is a terminal

cutting edge almost at right angles to the two lateral ones. The facet giving rise to the cutting edge does not correspond to the fourth one present in many of the other knives, but to one of the lateral ones.

There is one special form of knife, of a very crudely and coarsely flaked nature, which is met with amongst such tribes as the Kaitish and Warramunga. It is used apparently only

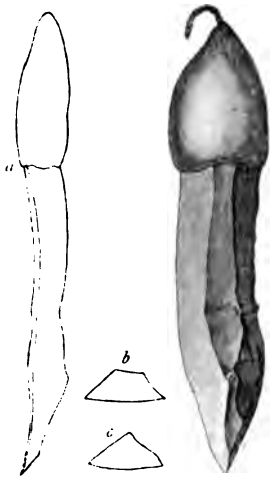


FIG. 183.—STONE KNIFE WITH IRREGULAR FLAKING AND SECONDARY CHIPPING, BUT WITH A GOOD CUTTING POINT. TJINGILLI TRIBE.

Human hair-string is attached to the resin. One section is taken slightly less than half way down the blade, and the other through the highest part of the blade.

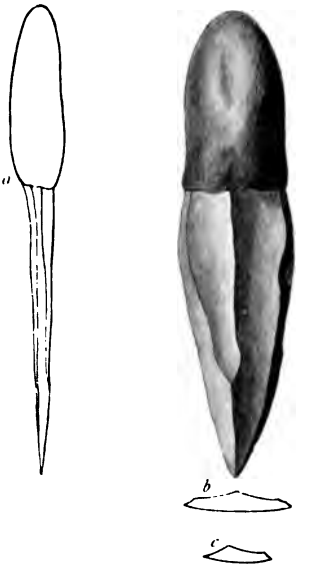


FIG. 184.—STONE KNIFE WITH VERY FLAT BLADE, SHOWING ALSO SECONDARY CHIPPING NEAR THE TIP. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The sections taken at one-third and the other two-thirds of the way down the blade.

by the women, the men of the same tribe having the better class of flaked instruments such as we have never seen in the possession of the women. This special knife has a short, stout, and very rudely flaked blade of the usual quartzite stone, calling to mind, in its general appearance, the better class of the stone implements used by the lost Tasmanian race. It is, however, hafted with a small mass of porcupine-grass resin, so as to make it easier to hold in the hand,

and is really more useful as a scraper than as a true cutting implement.

Fig. 187 represents one of the better class of these. It is really a very rude flake with the edges chipped all round. Fig. 188, on the other hand, as will be seen indicated in the section, is still cruder; the upper, darker face is the original weathered surface, and the two steep sloping sides are very roughly chipped. Fig. 189, from the point of view

FIG. 185.—STONE KNIFE WITH IRREGULAR FLAKINGS AND SECONDARY CHIPPING ALL ROUND THE TOP. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

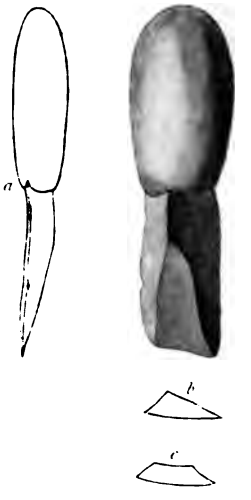


FIG. 186.—STONE KNIFE WITH FLINT BLADE WITH FOUR FACETS, THE FOURTH FORMING A BROAD TERMINAL CUTTING EDGE. ARUNTA TRIBE.

of usefulness as a cutting implement, is better than either of the two former, and has the usual back surface formed of a single facet. There is no division into any other regular faces, but there are a large number of very irregular conchoidal facets, so chipped that a fairly good cutting edge is produced, and the implement has the form represented in the section.

In regard to the hafting of the knives there are two plans followed. In the case of those already described the

blunt end is simply encased in a mass of resin, moulded so as to form a round lump easily held in the hand. This is the only kind of hafting used in those made by the Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes.

In addition to this a second form is employed by the Warramunga and Tjingilli tribes. The resin lump is more flattened than in the first kind, and into it the blade is fixed at one end and a small flat slab of wood at the other. The

FIG. 187.—WOMAN'S STONE KNIFE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE

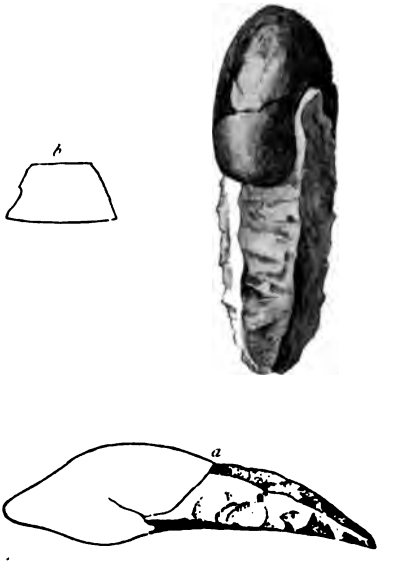


FIG. 188.—WOMAN'S STONE KNIFE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

latter is usually of just about the same size, superficially, as the resin, and is always ornamented with a pattern drawn in yellow, white, and black, while the resin is always red-ochred.

So far as the stone is concerned there is practically no difference between these and the simple resin-hafted knives, except perhaps that the larger flakes are apparently reserved for these knives. Fig. 191 is an excellent example of a very regular-shaped blade; Fig. 192 shows clearly the fourth facet, as described in connection with the other form

of knife; Figs. 193 and 194 are two with more or less irregular facets. In Fig. 190 we have an example of a knife in which the wooden haft is either purposely made very short and inconspicuous, or it has perhaps been broken and then cut down. The blade is also of rather a remarkable shape, similar to that of Fig. 186, in the presence of three cutting edges, but in this specimen it is the one corresponding to the usual fourth facet which forms the

FIG. 189.—WOMAN'S STONE KNIFE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 190.—STONE KNIFE WITH VERY SHORT WOODEN HAFT. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The blade is very irregularly flaked, a broad facet extending to the end and forming a cutting edge.

terminal edge. The designs on the handles are very characteristic of these knives. The mark on Fig. 193, which is so frequently described as the broad arrow, has in reality nothing to do with this. It is simply the drawing of an emu track, and is very often met with in aboriginal designs.

For the purpose of protecting the blade, when the weapon is carried about it is always encased in a sheath made of "paper bark," derived either from an acacia, or in the far north from the tea-tree (*Melaleuca leucodendron*). The thin bark is cut into small strips which are placed

lengthwise along the blade, and then wound round and round with fur or vegetable fibre string, each strand lying in close contact with its fellows. The whole is then covered with white pipe-clay, and a small bunch of emu or cockatoo feathers, more usually the former, is inserted at the end. When emu feathers are used, some twenty or thirty of them are attached, always by their free tips, to a short stick, so that

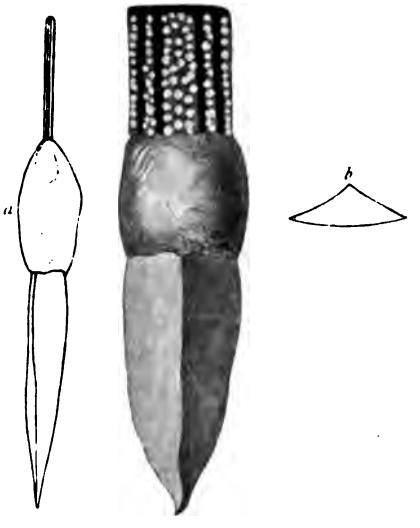


FIG. 191.—WOODEN HAFTED STONE KNIFE WITH VERY REGULARLY FLAKED QUARTZITE BLADE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 192.—WOODEN HAFTED STONE KNIFE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

when this is placed in position their quills form a radiating bunch which projects from the end of the sheath.

The stone picks have always, and the stone spear-heads frequently, a similar sheathing of bark and fur-string, but in the case of the former this is usually further ornamented with pipe-clay and a bunch of feathers, both of which are characteristically wanting in that of the spear.

The blades of the picks are precisely similar to those of the knives, those represented in Figs. 195, 196, and

197 forming typical examples. Occasionally they may show a considerable amount of secondary chipping. As a general rule the stones are mounted so that, when held in the right hand with the point downwards, the single back facet lies to the right side, but now and again the stones are inserted in the reverse way (Fig. 197).

FIG. 193.—WOODEN HAFTED STONE KNIFE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 194.—WOODEN HAFTED STONE KNIFE WITH IRREGULAR FLAKING AND THE BLADE SMALL IN COMPARISON TO THE HANDLE.

The hafting of the pick is carried out in one of two very different ways. This is not a matter of local variation, as one and the same tribe will employ both methods. In the simplest case (Fig. 195) a straight piece of wood about eighteen inches long, cut from a mulga or gum-tree bough, is taken. It is cut with a stone flake so as to taper towards the handle end, and its surface has a series of longer

or shorter grooves corresponding in shape to the curved edge of the flake. It will be an inch or more in diameter at the broad end, which is then slit open down the middle so as to allow of the stone being inserted. The whole of this end is then covered over with a rounded mass of resin, or, in the far north and on the Gulf coast, bees'-wax, which together with the handle is then red-ochred.

FIG. 195.—WOODEN HAFTED STONE KNIFE SHOWING SECONDARY CHIPPINGS. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

In the second method a suitable stem about three feet long is taken from a Hakea, acacia, or gum-tree and cut in half along its length. The bark is removed, and then the middle part is placed over a slow fire, consisting of a small mass of hot charcoal, until it becomes pliant. If it be not straight enough to please the operator, any slight twist is removed by gradual pressure after the application of heat. During the process the withy is constantly removed from the fire and tested to find out whether or no it can be bent round without breaking. When this can be done it is at once bent double round the stone and tied together by two bands of string made out of fur, vegetable fibre, or perhaps

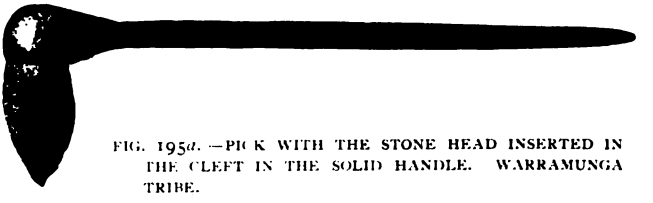
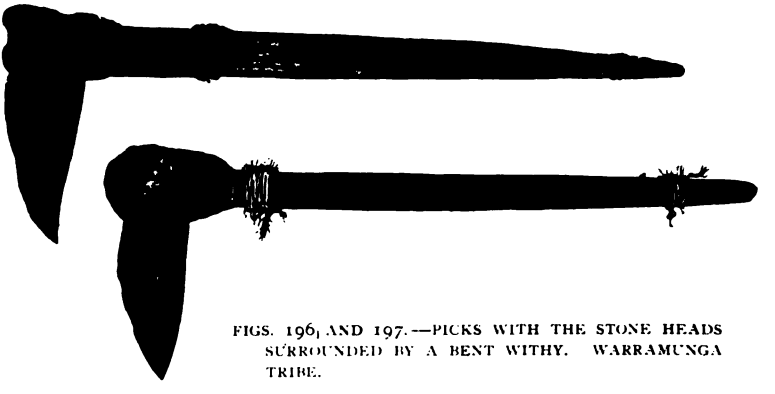


FIG. 195*a*.—PICK WITH THE STONE HEAD INSERTED IN THE CLEFT IN THE SOLID HANDLE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

most often human hair. The stone is then firmly fixed in position by resin, which more or less completely hides from view the bent end of the withy.

The hafting of the spear-head is very simple. The end is enclosed in a lump of resin into which the stone is fixed; very often, while the resin is soft, string is wound round so as to render the whole mass more firm and less brittle.

Except to a very slight degree, the art of chipping does not appear to be practised by the more southern tribes, like the Arunta, Kaitish, and Unmatjera. Even amongst the Warramunga and Tjingilli it is very crude. Further north, however, and more especially out towards the north-western district of the continent, the natives are adepts in the art. The material employed is usually an opaline quartzite, and this is chipped into small leaf-shaped spear-heads, perhaps



FIGS. 196, AND 197.—PICKS WITH THE STONE HEADS SURROUNDED BY A BENT WITHY. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

two inches in length and one in greatest width, which taper off to a wonderfully fine and delicate point. There is of course very considerable difference in the workmanship of these stones, and during recent years the natives have utilised glass bottles, and along the telegraph line the porcelain insulators, for the purpose.

Now as to the use of these flaked stones. In the first place, the nature of the stone out of which they are made renders them entirely unfitted for cutting hard material such as wood. They can only be of much service in cutting flesh, and it is in reality for this purpose that they are made. They are of course well adapted for cutting through the skin and flesh of animals such as wallaby, kangaroo, and

emus, on which the natives feed. In addition to this they are constantly used during fights and in connection with certain ceremonies such as those attendant upon mourning and initiation. The very numerous scars which mark the bodies of the great majority of the natives are all produced by cuts with these stone knives, and there are very many occasions—as, for example, the one shown in the illustration (Fig. 165)—upon which the men will use them to cut their shoulders. During a fight also two men will stand with their arms round one another, and with their stone knives will cut into the fleshy part of each other's backs and thighs. Or again, as we have described in connection with the burial ceremonies amongst the Warramunga tribe, it is incumbent upon men who stand in a certain relationship to the dead man to cut their thighs. These fights and markings of the body, and what we may call ceremonial cuttings, are constantly taking place, and in addition there are rites, such as those of circumcision and subincision, and that of *ariltha kuma* performed upon women, during which the knives are used.

A very curious feature about these knives is that though plenty of them are seen in the hands of the men, it is a most rare thing to come across one which shows any trace of having been used. Those now in our possession, and which we actually saw in use during the mourning and initiation ceremonies amongst the Warramunga tribe, are perfectly clean, and look as if they had been newly made and never soiled in any way by use. The reason of this is that, in the first place, blood does not easily attach itself to quartzite, and in the second place, each knife after being used is carefully cleaned; sometimes indeed the blood has to be removed by the mouth of some special individual, but in other cases it is always washed off, so that no traces of it are left behind. The knife with which the man represented in Fig. 136 actually gashed his thighs showed not a trace of blood when we saw it a very short time after. It is a simple matter to take one of these knives and cut through flesh; should a drop of blood adhere to it, it will be found that this can be very easily shaken or, if necessary, washed off,

leaving the blade perfectly clean. Even if any blood should dry on the stone, it can still be very readily removed, as it does not sink in. In this way the fact can be explained that the stone knives which find their way into museum collections usually look quite new, and show no traces of having been actually used for cutting flesh. Whilst we were staying amongst the Warramunga tribe, we witnessed the initiation ceremony of subincision performed upon three youths. Two knives were used, one in the case of two younger Thungalla youths, and the other in the case of an older Thakomara. In each instance, after the operation, the knives were first of all cleaned and then ornamented with rings of charcoal and spots of yellow ochre. The one used twice had two rings and the other only one. Every trace of blood was carefully removed from them.

At the present day ground axes are much less common than flaked implements, which is to be associated with the fact that the material suitable for making them is only found in relatively few spots in the central area of the continent. In the Macdonnell Ranges there is a special quarry where supplies of diorite used to be obtained, but the making of ground axes has now practically ceased in this part. Amongst northern tribes they are still made, but it will not be many years before they entirely disappear. We witnessed the complete operation on several occasions, as carried out by a member of the Warramunga tribe, who was supposed to be especially skilful in the art. In each case a large rounded diorite pebble was taken. By means of a small lump of hard quartzite the stone is first of all very roughly chipped down to approximately the required size and shape. At this stage it has the appearance seen in Fig. 198, which is drawn from one of these stones in course of manufacture. This process only occupies a comparatively short time, but during its performance the operator has to be very careful not to spoil the stone. A mistake in the cutting off of a flake might remove a part of the surface which is to form the edge, and so render it useless, or too hard a hit might result in breaking the stone in two.

When the preliminary flaking which determines the

shape of the axe is over, there follows the tedious operation of levelling the surface. For this purpose the operator takes a small rounded pebble of quartzite, and hour after hour, for a day or two in succession, he will patiently hammer away or rather tap at the rough surface, each stroke removing a fragment of the stone, until the whole surface is covered over with minute dents and all of the irregularities are smoothed down. In a well-made axe this operation is performed so thoroughly that all traces of the first made, rough flaking are removed (Fig. 199). There is, however, great variation in this respect, and the older axes, as a general rule, are much superior in workmanship to those of

FIG. 198.—BLOCK OF DIORITE, ROUGHLY CHIPPED INTO SHAPE, READY TO BE FURTHER CHIPPED AND THEN GROUND TO FORM AN AXE-HEAD. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 199.—CHIPPING A BLOCK OF DIORITE PRIOR TO GRINDING IT DOWN TO FORM AN AXE-HEAD. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

the present day. The exact shape of the axe varies much according to that of the original block of stone. Some-

times it is broad and flat, at others longer, narrower, and more bulky.

When the hammering operation is completed to the satisfaction of the maker there follows the grinding-down process. For this purpose one of the ordinary flat blocks of sandstone used for grinding ochre or grass seed is used. Sitting down on the ground with the stone between his knees, the operator takes a little fine sand, strews this over its surface,

FIG. 200.—MAN GRINDING AN AXE-HEAD. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.
A partially ground axe-head is lying beside the grindstone.

and then sprinkling water over, rubs the axe-head backwards and forwards. Every now and then he scatters a little more sand over the stone, holding the axe-head carefully as he grinds so as to produce the two smooth surfaces which unite at the curved cutting edge, the exact shape of which has been previously determined by the preliminary flaking and chipping (Fig. 200).

When the stone has been thus prepared there comes the hafting. For this purpose a withy is made, exactly as already described in connection with the pick. It is bent

round the blunt end of the stone, so that usually a small portion of the latter projects beyond the level of the wood. The two halves of the withy are bound together with one or two bands of string. A lump of porcupine-grass resin is softened by heat and pressed in between the withy and the stone, usually completely enclosing the head of the latter, and sometimes, but not often, enclosing also the part of the former which bends round the stone.[1] The resin is finally

FIG. 201.—FIXING THE AXE-HEAD ON TO THE HANDLE WITH RESIN. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

The man is applying a fire-stick to the resin to soften and mould it into shape.

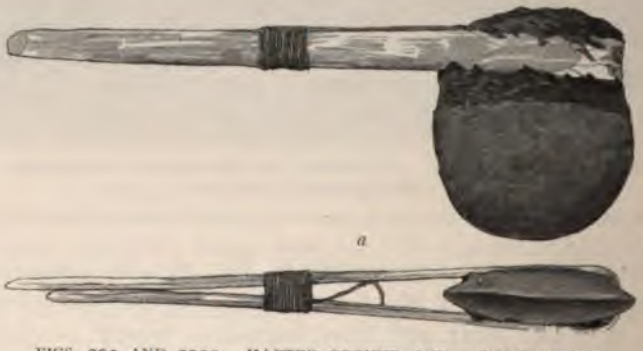
smoothed down, as represented in Fig. 201, by means of a smouldering fire-stick which is passed backwards and forwards over it. The next and final operation merely consists in grinding down some red ochre and smearing this all over the handle, a pattern drawn in red, white, and yellow being sometimes added to the stone by way of ornamentation (Figs. 202, 203).

[1] In the more northern parts and round the Gulf of Carpentaria, where the Triodia plant does not occur, bees'-wax is used, but this is very much softer than the resin. In other parts of Australia grass-tree (*Xanthorrhœa*) resin is used.

Ground axes of this kind are principally used for such purposes as cutting blocks of wood out of trees, chips out of the trunks of trees to aid in climbing, or for cutting branches open in search of animals or eggs or "sugar-bag." The

FIGS. 202 AND 202*a*.—METHOD OF HAFTING A GROUND AXE. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

most unsatisfactory feature of the Central Australian axes is the method of hafting, and it is a curious fact that they have not utilised string for this purpose. They are at best clumsy



FIGS. 203 AND 203*a*.—HAFTED GROUND AXE. GNANJI TRIBE.

tools, and a hard blow is very likely indeed to crack the resin and thus loosen the axe-head, though, as the resin is easily softened and readjusted, this merely means the loss of time, which is not a very serious matter to a savage. In

[1] The name commonly applied to the comb of the small, black native bee.

other parts of Australia a circular depression is sometimes made in the axe-head which allows of the bent withy securing a firm grip of the stone, more especially if it be fastened in position by string. More rarely still, as in the case of axes made in certain parts of Queensland, a number of pliable twigs are tied together so as to form a serviceable handle and a relatively firm attachment for the stone, which is further secured in position by resin, which fills in the interstices between the twigs. Two bands of thin strips of cane serve to bind the twigs together.

PITCHIS—WOODEN BOWLS AND TROUGHS

There is very great variation in the size and form of the *pitchis* used amongst the central tribes. In the first place,

FIG. 204.—ROUGHLY MADE *PITCHI*, CUT FROM THE BARK OF A EUCALYPTUS.

they can be divided into two groups according to the material out of which they are made. The one includes the hard and the other the soft wood specimens. The wood usually employed for the former is some kind of Eucalyptus tree, and is often so hard that it is difficult to understand how they can possibly have been cut out and fashioned, in some cases, into such a symmetrical form by means of the crude stone implements of the natives. The simplest forms are decidedly crude in make, such a one as that represented in Fig. 204 following roughly the outline of the trunk of the tree out of which the slab of wood has been cut (Fig. 205). It is simply a shallow trough widely open at each end, with both the inner and outer surfaces marked with coarse irregular groovings made by a large flint. In other cases (Figs. 206,

207) the form is more regular; the outer surface has the usual coarse groovings, but the inner one is marked with parallel fine grooves. Fig. 207 represents a very characteristic form often met with in the Luritja, Arunta, and Kaitish tribes, but not so frequently in the more northern ones, where the great majority of the *pitchis* are of soft wood. This is to be associated with the fact that the bean-tree, out

FIG. 205.—GUM-TREE FROM WHICH A ROUGH, BARK *PITCHI* HAS BEEN CUT. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

of which the soft wood is obtained, is much more prevalent in the northern than in the southern area.

Occasionally hard wood *pitchis* of wonderfully symmetrical form are met with, the two represented in Figs. 208 and 209 being beautiful examples of simple, native workmanship. Their symmetry of form is perfect. As a general rule the wood out of which these hard *pitchis* is made is dark-coloured, and it is very rare indeed to find any of them ornamented with designs drawn in red ochre or pipe-clay. In both of the two last examples the sides are turned up so as to produce a really graceful outline, and as this

does not actually make the *pitchi* more useful and entails a very great amount of labour, it shows that the production of it must afford pleasure to the native in just the same way in which the much more elaborate carving on implements such

FIG. 206.—HARD WOOD *PITCHI*. ARUNTA TRIBE.

as those of the Maories indicates the fact that the New Zealand native appreciates beauty of curve and outline. When once the *pitchi* has been roughly chipped it is ready for use, and after that the finer work is added as opportunity

FIG. 207.—HARD WOOD *PITCHI*. ARUNTA TRIBE.

offers. In the case of the implement represented in Fig. 207, for example, the grooving on the internal surface is not yet complete. This is done at intervals, and it is a common thing to find a man in camp seated on the ground patiently

[FIG. 208.—HARD WOOD *PITCHI* OF VERY SYMMETRICAL FORM. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

spending hour after hour in finishing off to his own satisfaction the surface of the *pitchi*, until finally it is completely covered, as in Fig. 208, with a series of close-set parallel grooves.

The soft wood *pitchis* are much more easily made. The wood of the bean-tree is so easily cut that there is compara-

tively little difficulty in first of all obtaining a block of wood and then chipping it down roughly to the required shape. The latter, however, varies much according to the purpose for which it is intended to be used. There are two main

FIG. 209.—HARD WOOD *PITCHI* OF VERY SYMMETRICAL FORM, WITH THE SIDES HIGH. KAITISH TRIBE.

types of soft *pitchis*—one being trough- and the other boat-shaped. The first type is represented in Figs. 210-216. It may be either very shallow, with almost flat open ends, or the ends and the sides may be curved up to a greater or

FIG. 210.—SHALLOW, SOFT WOOD *PITCHI*. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

lesser extent, the extreme form being seen in Fig. 216, where the two sides actually curve over. As a general rule the outer surface is marked by fine groovings which run parallel to one another from end to end. The inner surface is more

FIG. 211.—SOFT WOOD *PITCHI* SHIELD SHAPED IN DORSAL VIEW. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

or less smooth, though it often has large, irregularly arranged grooves. For some reason, however, the grooves are so cut that the ends are marked off distinctly from the two sides, as seen in Fig. 216. A somewhat exceptional form is seen in Fig. 211, which in external view is precisely similar to a shield.

All of these soft wood *pitchis* are typically covered externally with red ochre, and not infrequently they may be

FIG. 212.—SOFT WOOD *PITCHI*. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 213.—SOFT WOOD *PITCHI*. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

decorated with designs drawn in yellow ochre, charcoal, and white pipe-clay (Figs. 212-214). Except so far as size is concerned, there is very little variation in regard to the boat-

FIG. 214.—SOFT WOOD *PITCHI* DECORATED WITH A GEOMETRICAL DESIGN DRAWN IN PIPE-CLAY. KAITISH TRIBE.

FIG. 215.—SOFT WOOD *PITCHI* DECORATED WITH LINES AND DOTS OF PIPE-CLAY AND A CONVENTIONALISED DRAWING OF A DUGONG. ANULA TRIBE.

shaped *pitchis*. Their outer surface is always covered with fine parallel grooves and the inner with coarser ones, always arranged in two slanting series, as shown in the illustrations. The largest measures nearly three feet in length and ten

inches in height. They are always constructed so that they will stand upright on the ground, and can be rocked about

FIG. 216.—VERY DEEP, SOFT WOOD *PITCHI*, USED FOR CARRYING WATER IN. KAITISH TRIBE.

FIG. 217.—BOAT-SHAPED *PITCHI*. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

from side to side without easily overturning. They are used for carrying food and water, but for the latter purpose the

FIG. 218.—BOAT-SHAPED *PITCHI*. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 219.—BOAT-SHAPED *PITCHI*. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

trough with inturned upper edges (Fig. 216) is the most useful form. In Fig. 219 an unfinished one is drawn. This was obtained from a native of the Warramunga tribe, who

was busily engaged making the fine outer grooves with an adze while he held the *pitchi* between his knees. The sides were supported by two staves which still remain in the implement. When complete each of the boat-shaped *pitchis* is always coated over externally with red ochre, and may also be ornamented with lines of yellow ochre, charcoal, and white pipe-clay.

FIG. 220.—SPEAR-THROWER. ARUNTA TRIBE.

SPEAR-THROWERS

There are four main types of spear-throwers used amongst the central and northern tribes. The one represented in Fig. 220 is the characteristic form in the Luritja, Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes,—in fact its distribution is strictly limited to the central area not extending north of about Barrow Creek. It consists of a broad, lanceolate blade of mulga wood (*Acacia aneura*), tapering off at either end. It is almost always decidedly concave in section, though now and again specimens which are nearly flat are met with, calling to mind the implement of the West Australian native except for the absence of the incised pattern which is so characteristic of the latter. At one end a small point of wood is attached by means of a lump of resin bound round firmly with sinew. The opposite extremity has a still larger mass of the same material which at once affords a grip for the hand and the means of inserting a flake of flint. The latter forms the most useful cutting implement of the tribes in which this form of thrower is prevalent, and is precisely similar in shape and manufacture to the flakes described in connection with adzes. The best

implements of this type are undoubtedly those made by the Luritja. The point is fixed so that the spear while being thrown lies along the concave side of the thrower. When in use the native at first holds the thrower with his right arm thrown well back and low down. With his left one he supports the spear as far along its length as he can reach. The right arm is raised, the left hand removed from the spear, which is then poised on the thrower, supported only by the man's thumb and first finger. As the thrower is brought into play and utilised as a lever, the finger and thumb let go of the spear, which is then propelled forwards by the thrower.

FIG. 221.—SPEAR-THROWER, DECORATED FOR USE DURING A CEREMONY. ARUNTA TRIBE.

In one respect, owing to the broad surface offered to the air, this is the most awkward form of thrower, but in reality it serves a treble purpose—first as a thrower, secondly as a cutting implement; and thirdly as a receptacle for holding certain things, such as decorative material and blood, used during ceremonies. Altogether it is by far the most useful single weapon or implement possessed by the Arunta people.

The most common form amongst the Warramunga, and indeed all of the remaining tribes, is that represented in Figs. 222 and 223. The blade consists of a simple, straight, flattened piece of wood; at one end a wooden point is fixed into a mass of resin or bees'-wax, and at the other the blade is cut out on both sides so as to form a serviceable handle which can be easily gripped. It is usually made of a relatively light soft wood, though now and again heavier wood such as that of an acacia is used. The Arunta form, though at times it may be decorated, is

never covered with red ochre, whereas the simpler northern type most frequently is.

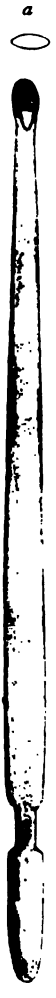


FIG. 222.—SPEAR-THROWER. WARRAMUNGA AND NORTHERN TRIBES.

FIG. 223.—DECORATED SPEAR-THROWER. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

FIG. 224.—TASSEL SPEAR-THROWER. ANULA TRIBE.

Passing eastwards from the Tjingilli tribe a form of

spear-thrower often met with is the one represented in Fig. 224. It is made principally by the Umbaia and Gnanji tribes, and is traded to a certain extent southwards but more still eastwards towards the Gulf. It consists of a rounded stick made usually of some dark wood, such as that of the acacia, and tapers slightly towards the end, at which a small rounded knob of wood is attached at an angle by means of a lump of resin. There is no distinct handle, but a tassel, which is always made of strands of human hair-string, is attached to the wider end. From the point of view of efficiency as a thrower it is better than either of the two previously described types, as it offers very little resistance to the air.

FIG. 225.—SPEAR-THROWER WITH POINT FORMED OF RESIN. DALY RIVER NATIVES.

Amongst the northern tribes living on the Daly River a spear-thrower of a different type is met with. The shaft again is rounded and tapers to a point at the handle end. At the other end there is a small mass of resin which has been worked into such a shape that it has a blunt point which fits into the end of the spear. About six inches from the opposite end there is a ring of resin, and between this and the pointed extremity resin is wound round the handle in the form of a flat band which affords a good grip for the hand (Fig. 225).

SPEARS

We have already described the more important types of spears met with amongst the central tribes,[1] and as these weapons are to a very large extent traded from one locality to another, there is considerable uniformity in regard to them amongst various groups of tribes. There are, however,

[1] *N. T.* p. 575, Fig. 110*a*. See also Dr. Stirling's description in *Report of Horn Expedition to Central Australia*, part iv. plate 5.

certain forms which are characteristic of large areas. Thus, for example, the Arunta nation, comprising the Arunta, Unmatjera, Kaitish, and Luritja tribes, have normally only three forms—(1) a heavy one made out of a single long piece of dark wood with a flattened point derived from an acacia or the desert oak (*Casuarina descaineana*); (2) a lighter one with a curved barb attached by sinew to a separate head of heavy wood, the shaft being made of a single or of two hafted pieces of a lighter wood such as that of a Tecoma tree; and (3) a form similar to the latter, only minus the barb. Now and again a stone-headed spear may be met with, more especially in the northern parts, and here also one of the many barbed and even multi-pronged spears characteristic of the Warramunga and other tribes may find its way down from the north.

Taking them as a whole we may divide the spears of the central and northern tribes into eleven main types:—

(1) The heavy unbarbed spear of the Arunta nation, not found in the northern tribes.

(2) The barbed spear of the Arunta, not found in the north.

(3) The unbarbed spear of the Arunta with separate head and shaft, not found in the north.

(4) Single-pronged, multi-barbed spears with the barbs on one side only. The shaft of heavy or light wood.

(5) Single-pronged, multi-barbed spears with shaft of light wood or reed. The barbs are arranged along two or more sides of the head.

(6) Multi-pronged, multi-barbed spear with shaft of light wood or reed.

(7) Unbarbed spear with single flattened wooden point attached to a reed shaft.

(8) Stone-headed spear with the head made of flaked quartzite and the shaft of reed.

(9) Stone-headed spear with the head made of chipped slate and the shaft of reed.

(10) Stone-headed spear with the head of chipped opalescent quartzite. The main part of the shaft is of reed, on to which a short length of hard wood is hafted.

All of the above have a slight depression at the handle end, which fits into the point of the spear-thrower.

(11) Short light spears with a thin tapering point of hard wood and a reed shaft used for spearing fish.

The first three of these types we have already described.[1] Examples of the fourth type are represented in Figs. 226-

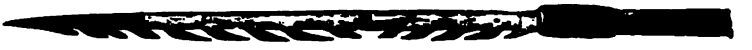


FIG. 226.—SPEAR. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

228. They vary to a considerable extent in the nature of the barbs. The latter are always confined to one side of the head, and in the more normal forms point backwards and are very numerous. The head is always made of hard wood, and is attached to the shaft by means of a mass of

FIG. 227.—SPEAR. DALY RIVER NATIVES.

resin or wax—often, but not always, wound round and round with vegetable fibre string. In some forms of this type the barbs instead of pointing backwards are very numerous and small, and stand out at right angles to the length (Fig. 227). These forms are met with amongst all of the central and

FIG. 228.—SPEAR WITH [illegible] BARBS. ANGLA TRIBE.

northern tribes. Amongst more especially those on the Gulf coasts a curious variety is met with. The barbs are clearly indicated, but their points are not separated, so that, though there are a number of holes corresponding to the spaces between successive barbs, the edge is a continuous

[1] See above, p. [illegible] note.

one on both sides of the prong, the latter having in transverse section the shape represented in Fig. 228. It is of course quite possible that after a time the barbs are cut out and separated, but spears of this form are not infrequently met with, and they are certainly used in this apparently unfinished state, and have a somewhat longer terminal point[1] than is usual in the case of the normal multi-barbed weapon. A somewhat abnormal form, closely allied however to the fourth type, is seen in Fig. 231, where for half the length of the prong there are barbs on one side only and in the other half on both sides.

The fifth type is a very distinct one, and the two figured represent characteristic varieties. They have evidently been derived from an original form with a long simple pointed head. In the first instance this is modified so that it

FIG. 229.—SPEAR WITH LONG BARBS. NATIVES OF DALY RIVER.

becomes more or less flattened in one plane, and then barbs are cut which project to a greater or lesser extent from the central part (Fig. 229). The barbs may be much longer than in the specimen figured—in fact the points of two barbs opposite to one another may be separated by more than a foot, in which case the spear is of no actual use as a weapon, and is reserved for display during ceremonies, and valued as an indication of the superior skill of the maker. Such spears are carried during ceremonial dances, and bear much the same relationship to an ordinary spear as, amongst more highly civilised communities, the mace does to an actual club.

In the second form the barbs are very much smaller and blunter, and are cut at the ends of two short planes which lie at right angles to each other. Their structure is represented in Fig. 230. The spear has a reed shaft, and measures 9 feet 3 inches in length.

[1] This peculiar form of spear was described and figured by Mr. Etheridge in the *Macleay Memorial Volume*, 1893, p. 232, pl. xxx.

The sixth type has two or three multi-barbed prongs attached by resin or sinew, or both, to a light reed shaft. The barbs are cut out of the solid, and vary considerably in number and size, but are never very large. This is a type

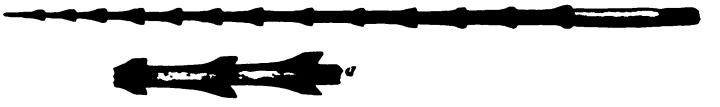


FIG. 230.—SPEAR WITH BARBS CUT ALONG TWO PLANES. NATIVES OF DALY RIVER.

very commonly met with amongst all of the northern tribes (Fig. 231).

The seventh type is a much rarer one. Its point is made of a single piece of hard wood, which is attached by resin and twine to a long reed shaft, and almost suggests

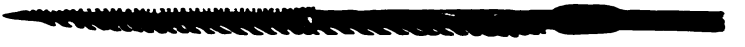


FIG. 231.—SPEAR WITH A SYMMETRICAL ARRANGEMENT OF BARBS.

[illegible]

that in reality it is a model in wood of the common type of stone head (Fig. 232). The one figured measures [illegible] feet [illegible] inches in length.

The eighth type is a common one, and is characterised by having a flaked quartzite head similar in structure to the

[illegible] (Fig. 233). The best [illegible] are made by the [illegible] type, but they are also manufactured [illegible] [illegible] and are very [illegible] [illegible] the northern and [illegible] tribes [illegible] to find the

stone replaced by a flat piece of hoop iron ground down to a point. In many cases the stone head shows, as in some of the knives, a considerable amount of secondary chipping.

The ninth type is much rarer than the one just described. Where quartzite is not available a slate rock is used. This is somewhat roughly chipped into shape and attached by means of resin and twine to a light reed shaft which may be 10 feet in length (Fig. 234).

The tenth type is manufactured in the far north and north-west parts, though it is traded down south as far as

FIG. 233.—STONE-HEADED SPEAR. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes, and out eastwards on to the Gulf coast. The head is made of a small, lanceolate-shaped piece of opalescent quartzite, which is very carefully chipped so as to have a fine serrated edge. It is attached by resin to a shaft the main part of which is made of reed with a piece of hard wood hafted on so as to form the

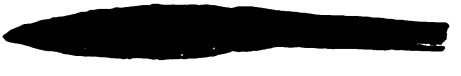


FIG. 234.—SLATE-HEADED SPEAR.

FIG. 235.—SPEAR WITH HEAD OF FINELY CHIPPED OPALINE QUARTZITE. KAITISH TRIBE.

terminal part into which the spear-thrower is fixed. Spears of this nature and their detached heads are used for magical purposes. The one represented in Fig. 235, for example, was found in the possession of a man of the Ilpirra tribe, to whom it had come from the far north. It was supposed that the head had been endowed with evil magic by its original owner, and that a wound inflicted by it, however slight, would have fatal results. It is a matter of fact that a native will simply lie down and die, if he believes that the spear which has wounded him was charmed. The only possible cure for a wound of this kind is the exercise of

strong counter-magic. At the present day the head is very often made of glass, carefully and neatly chipped out of a piece of a bottle, or, along the overland telegraph line, it may be manufactured out of a broken insulator.

The eleventh type is very different from all of the above. It is much smaller, and is thrown by the hand and never

FIG. 236.—LIGHT FISHING-SPEAR. ARUNTA TRIBE.

with a spear-thrower. Its principal use is that of spearing fish (Fig. 236). The total length is between 4 and 5 feet, and it consists of a shaft of heavy or light wood and a simple, long, thin, sharply-pointed prong attached to the former by means of resin or wax. Small hand-spears of this form are met with amongst all of the tribes.

GOUGES

Gouges are made by splitting a strong bone, such as the femur of a kangaroo, and then grinding down one or both

FIG. 237. GOUGE MADE OF BONE. KAITISH TRIBE.

FIG. 238.—GOUGE MADE OF BONE. KAITISH TRIBE.

ends. In this way a very efficient tool is secured. They vary a good deal in size, the longest in our possession (Fig. 237) measuring 10 inches in length and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width. In this particular one only one end is ground down, and as the bone had begun to split open at the other end, it has been neatly and tightly tied round with sinew. A second one (Fig. 238) measures $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width; in this specimen both ends are ground down.

FISH-HOOKS

The true central tribes do not manufacture fish-hooks, for which indeed they would have but very little if any use. Their method of catching fish is a simple one. Sooner or later most of the water-holes, in which the fish remain when the rivers cease to run, become comparatively shallow. When this is so, and the men can easily walk through them, they gather bushes, and a line of natives marches from one end of the pool to the other, pushing the bushes before them in the water, and making as much disturbance as they can. The result is that the fish swim away towards the opposite end of the pool and then, with a final rush, the natives drive them up into the shallows, many of them in their endeavours to escape becoming entangled in the bushes.

FIG. 239.—FISH-HOOK MADE OUT OF BONE. NATIVES OF DALY RIVER.

In the rivers, however, which flow into the Gulf there are deeper and more permanent water-holes and very much larger fish, and there the natives make hooks of various forms out of wood or bone. The simplest and most efficient type is that represented in Fig. 239, where the hook is cut out of solid bone, possibly the femur of a kangaroo. It is considerably flattened with a fairly sharp point, but there is no attempt to form a barb. The end where the line is attached is slightly expanded, so that, when the twine is tied tightly below this, it cannot slip off, —indeed the greater the pressure the tighter becomes the attachment.

In a second type the structure is in two parts—a long shaft and a separate pointed piece which serves as hook. The simplest form is made of wood. The two pieces are attached together by a lump of resin, though probably this may cover over a preliminary attachment by means of string. The attachment of the line is similarly enclosed in a lump of resin (Fig. 240). In other cases bone is used. Some such bone as a radius or fibula is employed. The swollen

head serves to prevent the string from slipping off, and, as in the wooden one, the sharpened piece of bone which serves as hook is attached to the main shaft by a lump of resin. The attachment is rendered more secure either, as shown in Fig. 241, by twine which winds round and round the wax, or by tough strands stripped from the inner side of a bark and then wound round the wax, as seen in Fig.

FIG. 240.—FISH-HOOK MADE OUT OF WOOD AND RESIN. NATIVES OF ALLIGATOR RIVER.

FIG. 241. FISH-HOOK MADE OUT OF BONE AND RESIN. NATIVES OF ALLIGATOR RIVER.

FIG. 242.—FISH-HOOK MADE OUT OF BONE AND RESIN. NATIVES OF ALLIGATOR RIVER

242. The attachment of the line is rather ingenious. The method adopted in the specimen represented in Fig. 242 is as follows. An ordinary piece of two-ply string, made out of tough inner bark, is placed by the side of the shaft, one or two ends of fibres being at first allowed to hang freely down from the end of the string of which they form the terminal part. A second piece is then taken. One end of it *c* is placed near to the head of the bone (Fig. 243).

It is then wound round the line and bone. The end of the main line (*a*) is then turned upwards, making a loop with itself, and above the head of the bone it is intertwined with the two plies of the line for perhaps three to six inches. The end *b* of the second string is then wound round the two parts of the line which have thus been turned back on one another. Finally, the string is wound tightly round and round the proximal part of the line itself, the end *b* being then tied round the line or run down again for some little distance.

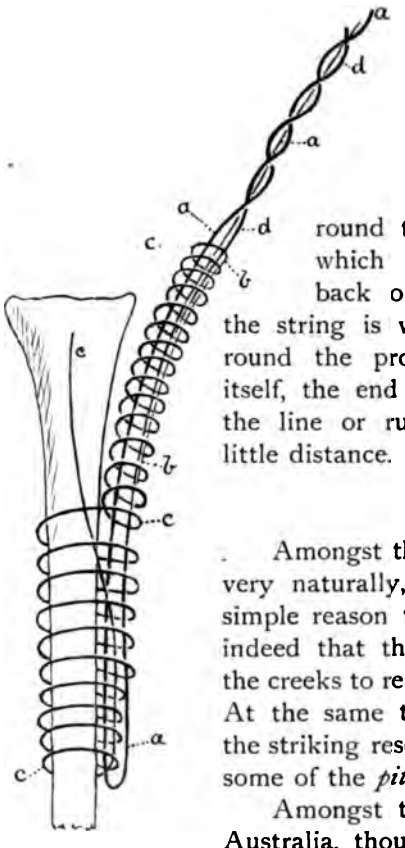


FIG. 243.—METHOD OF ATTACHMENT OF THE LINE TO A FISH-HOOK.

a, *d*, The two plies of the string forming the line; *c*, the second string which attaches the line to the bone.

BOATS

Amongst the central tribes boats are, very naturally, quite unknown, for the simple reason that it is only very rarely indeed that there is sufficient water in the creeks to render a boat of any service. At the same time it is curious to note the striking resemblance in form between some of the *pitchis* and boats.

Amongst the south-eastern tribes of Australia, though boats are made, they are of a comparatively rude form. The simplest consists merely of a slab of the bark of some tree, such as *Eucalyptus rostrata*, cut from a part of the trunk bent in such a way as to form a kind of wide, shallow bowl with the ends as well as the sides turned up.[1] A second somewhat more elaborate

[1] For an account of the making of one of these see the description of Mr. Howitt, quoted in Brough Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i. pp. 407-422, in which also there is a long account dealing with the canoes of Australian natives and their origin.

one is made of bark, but the ends are tied together, and the sides are kept from collapsing outwards by cords and inwards by bars of wood. A boat such as this may perhaps carry three individuals.

FIG. 244. BARK CANOE. ARUNTA TRIBE.

On the Gulf coast, as also along that of Cape York and westwards again towards Port Darwin, boats of a superior class are met with. They are of two very distinct kinds—the one is a "dug-out," and the other is built of sheets of bark carefully sewn together. We met with no trace of anything like an outrigger.

The "dug-outs" are not apparently indigenous to the Gulf country, nor made by the natives, who say that they obtain them by way of exchange from the Malays, who periodically come down the coast in quest of tortoise-shell and trepang. It is chiefly in exchange for the former that the natives secure this kind of canoe. They may be twenty or more feet in length and three in beam, and are hollowed out of a single log, with the ends slightly raised so as to form a definite bow and stern. They are propelled by simple paddles, each with a single blade.

The true indigenous Australian boat has the form represented in Fig. 244. This particular one measures seventeen feet in length, slightly more than two feet in beam, and has both ends raised, the bow being higher than the stern. There is no attempt to form a keel. The bark is derived from some species of gum-tree which easily peels off in long broad strips. The outer rough portion is scraped off, and it is then ready for use. In the case of the one drawn there are seven pieces of bark. Two narrow strips form the upper part of the bow on

each side, and two smaller pieces the upper part of the stern. These are sewn on to the three remaining pieces which form the main part of the boat. One of them extends along the whole length of its side from bow to stern, and, save for a short distance at either end, from bulwark to where the keel ought to be. The two others form the opposite side of the boat—the near one in the drawing. These three strips are firmly sewn together along the bow, stern, and keel, and up one side. Along the bulwarks, but

FIG. 245.—YOUNG MAN MAKING TWINE OUT OF LONG SHREDS OF BARK. ANULA TRIBE.

not extending quite to either end, runs a thin long branch of mangrove wood securely tied on to the bark. For the purpose of preventing the sides from collapsing outwards there are nine "ties" of rope passing across from side to side, arranged as in the figure. This rope is made out of the inner fibrous part of the bark of various trees, or out of the leaves of the Screw pine torn into shreds (Fig. 245). As a general rule it consists, like the greater part of the native twine, of two plies only, but every now and again it has three. Two of these ties serve, as it were, to pinch in

the extreme ends of the bow and stern (Fig. 246). To prevent the sides from collapsing inwards three stout sticks are arranged at the level of each "tie" rope, as shown in the section, one passing across immediately under the tie

FIG. 246.—BOW END OF CANOE.

rope from side to side, the other two slanting across from immediately under the horizontal piece to rather more than half way down on the opposite side of the boat. Extra pieces of bark are laid along the bottom of the boat, partly

FIG. 247.—CANOE PADDLE.

to afford additional strength where the cross pieces press against the sides, and partly to afford a dry floor under which the small amount of bilge water which percolates through the keel line can collect (Fig. 248).

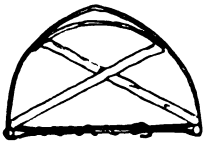


FIG. 248.—CROSS SECTION OF CANOE.

The particular one here figured belonged to and had been made by men of the Anula tribe, and, when we secured it, had just been brought across from the Pellew Islands and up the Macarthur River for fifty miles. Though sheltered to a certain extent by the islands, there is yet a considerable stretch of open sea between the latter and the mainland; but in a boat of this size six or eight natives will cross, some of them paddling, while others are baling out any water which may leak in or splash over.

CHAPTER XXIV

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENT

Almost entire absence of clothing—Pubic tassel—Waist-girdle—Woman's apron—Arm-girdle—Head-band—Neck-band.

STRICTLY speaking there is very little amongst any of the tribes which can be spoken of as clothing—that is, anything the object of which is to cover any part of the body or protect it from the weather. We have already [1] drawn attention to the fact that the central tribes are practically destitute of clothes, and the same is true of all of those studied by us. The idea of utilising the skins of animals for this purpose has not occurred to them, though in many parts kangaroos and wallabies are plentiful. In this respect they are in a lower stage of development than the coastal tribes of the east and south-eastern parts of the continent. The natives are very susceptible to cold, and shiver around their camp fires during the winter nights when the temperature often falls below freezing point in the Macdonnell Ranges. The only covering takes the form of small aprons worn by women and pubic tassels worn by men. The latter articles vary to a considerable extent in size. In the southern tribes—the Arunta, Luritja, and Kaitish—they are usually small and quite inadequate as a covering; in fact they are frequently coated with white pipe-clay, which serves the purpose, especially during the progress of corrobborees, when large numbers of men and women meet together, of drawing attention to the part which in other tribes they are designed to conceal. They are not often larger in size

[1] *N.T.* p. 16.

than a five-shilling piece, and may be even smaller. The string is usually made out of opossum fur, but that of the bandicoot may sometimes be employed. An exceptional form from the same tribe is seen in Fig. 249. It consists of three separate tassels joined together. Each of the latter is formed of a large number of strings densely attached to a strand about three inches in length, the two ends of which are brought together and tied as seen in the drawing. The tassel is fixed by means of a short string on to the pubic hairs.

FIG. 249.—PUBIC TASSEL. ARUNTA TRIBE.

In the northern tribes, the Warramunga, Tjingilli, etc., and the coastal ones, the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara, the

FIG. 250. PUBIC TASSEL. ANULA TRIBE.

FIG. 251. PUBIC TASSEL. ANULA TRIBE.

tassel is large enough to really serve as a covering—a feature which is especially noticeable in the latter group. Figs. 250 and 251 represent two typical forms. In each there is

a large mass of strings hanging down from a central part, forming a kind of knob, where the separate strings are all matted closely together, a certain amount of bees'-wax enclosing them. From this part there arises a single string long enough to allow of the tassel being attached to the waist-girdle. Sometimes (Fig. 250) there may be two strings attached to a little ball of wax which is passed under the waist-belt. In some cases the string of which the tassel is made may be ornamented with grease and red ochre, but in others this may be wanting, and then the string has a much looser and more furry appearance. An exceptional form is seen in Fig. 252, in which the tassel is attached to one end of a waist-band, to the other end of which it is tied by a piece of human hair-string which passes through the knob of the tassel.

FIG. 252.—GIRDLE AND TASSEL OF EXCEPTIONAL FORM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

The Mara tribe has distinct names for these pubic tassels according to the amount of red ochre used in their decoration. One with none at all is called *urlbunju*, one with a small amount is called *midjardi*, and one, like that figured, with a large amount is called *wanmir*. Sometimes, and more especially during the performance of corrobborees, the men will wear pubic ornaments made out of shells.[1] Amongst the coastal tribes it is very common to see the men wearing a good-sized bunch of leafy twigs suspended from the waist-girdle.

Every man wears a waist-girdle. In the southern tribes this is most often made out of human hair-string, though opossum fur-string may occasionally be employed. In the Warramunga, northern, and coastal tribes human hair-string girdles are frequently met with, but they also employ

[1] For a description of this, used as an object of magic, see *N. T.* p. 544.

vegetable fibre for the purpose. This particular form of girdle, as we have elsewhere described, is "sung,"—that is, endowed with evil magic,—and then traded south to the Kaitish and Arunta tribes. It is used by the men as a

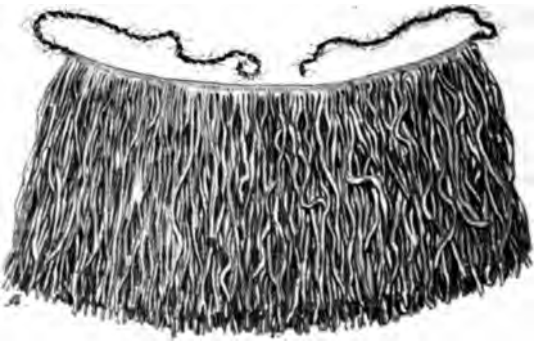


FIG. 253.—WOMAN'S APRON. ANULA TRIBE.

kind of knout, a blow from which is supposed to have very evil effects upon a woman. Amongst the coastal tribes it is also used as a neck-band.

Like the pubic tassels the women's aprons vary much in size, being larger and more constantly worn in the northern than in the southern tribes. A girl is not allowed to wear one until such time as she has passed through the ceremony of *atna-arilthа-kuma*. Most often the apron is made out of opossum fur-string. There is a strand which passes round the waist, and from this a number of strands hang pendent side by side (Fig. 253). Occasionally, but only very rarely, aprons made out of human hair-string are met with (Fig. 254). In all cases, except the latter, they are covered with red ochre.

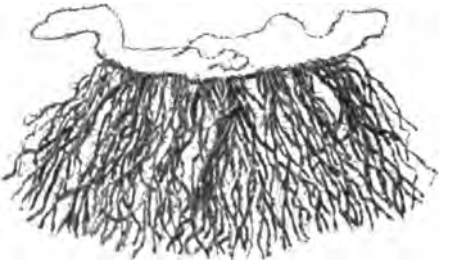


FIG. 254. WOMAN'S APRON MADE OF HUMAN HAIR-STRING. ANULA TRIBE.

Arm-bands are worn by both men and women, and are frequently seen in the Aruntą tribe—more often indeed here than in the Kaitish, Warramunga, and Tjingilli. They are usually of simple nature, and made of strands of fur-string smoothed down with grease and red ochre. As many as twenty-five or thirty may be worn on the one arm. Amongst the coastal tribes, the Mara and Anula, the arm-bands may be much more decorative. A simple form is made out of a piece of split cane bound tightly round with fur-string. This is called *maningeri* by the Mara. A more elaborate and really pretty one is made in the same way, but in addition it is thickly covered with the bright red, yellow, and green feathers of the Blue Mountain parakeet, or the pink ones of the galah cockatoo. In the one drawn there are two pendants of human hair-string, with little masses of wax into which tufts of feathers of the blue coot are fixed (Fig. 255). This form is called *yinmerli*. Perhaps, however, the commonest form amongst the coastal tribes is a band which consists of split strips of cane neatly plaited. It is called *lilkara*, and is precisely similar in structure to the neck-band already described (Fig. 256).

FIG. 255.—ARMLET DECORATED WITH COCKATOO FEATHER AND PENDANTS. MARA TRIBE.

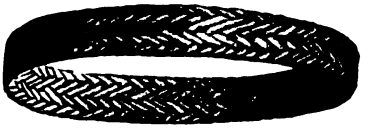
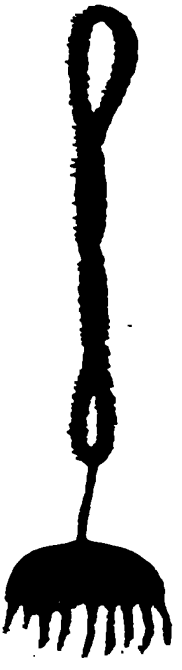


FIG. 256.—ARMLET MADE OF PLAITED SPLIT CANE. MARA TRIBE.

The simplest form of head-band met with amongst all of the tribes is a smooth, red-ochred band similar to the common neck- or arm-band. This is worn, as a general rule, exclusively by women, though on rare occasions a man may wear one of his wife's as a remedy for headache. Often, by way of ornament, tufts of *alpita* are attached to these rings (Fig. 257), or an ornament made of a lump of resin with kangaroo teeth fixed into it (Fig. 258). These ornaments

are worn hanging down over the forehead, and they are met with amongst all of the tribes. In the Mara and Anula the

FIG. 255.—HEAD-RING AND TASSELS OF THE TYPE OF THE RABBIT-BANDICOOT, WORN BY MEN AND WOMEN. (ARUNTA TRIBE.)



[illegible] strands of the ring are [illegible] with a single one which terminates in a bushy tassel precisely similar to the pubic one. This form of head-ring is worn only by men. [illegible] the Mara (Fig. 255). [illegible] already described [illegible] Arunta tribe are [illegible]

monly met with in all of the central tribes. Each consists of a large number of strands of opossum fur-string tied together at either end, from which strings pass which can be tied behind the head. By means of moistened pipe-clay the strings can be made to form a flat band on which designs in red and yellow ochre can be painted. In the northern and coastal tribes the band is much more definite in form, and is made out of thin strands of fur-string closely woven together. The two specimens represented will serve to illustrate those which are worn by the coastal tribes. In the simpler form (Fig. 260) the strands which are woven together to form the flat, band-like surface are knotted together at one side as shown in the figure, and by means of a string made of human hair the two ends can be tied together. The broad part is ornamented with pipe-clay and narrow bands of red ochre.

FIG. 260.—MAN'S FOREHEAD-BAND. ANULA TRIBE.

A more complicated form is seen in Fig. 261. The strands are separated into two series, and at each end these are bound round with fine string in such a way as to form two distinct loops, to each of which a string is attached for the purpose of tying the band on to the head. The band itself is ornamented with pipe-clay and ochre, and from each loop there is a pendant, consisting of a string with a small mass of bees'-wax terminating in what is very evidently the imitation of a flower, the petals of which are made out of small brown feathers cut into uniform shape with a centre of down imitating the stamens.

It is really well executed, and is the only example with which we have met of any attempt to thus deliberately imitate any such natural object. It serves to show, however, the capacity of the native in this respect, and doubtless there are more decorated articles of this nature, though they cannot be common.[1]

The commonest form of neck-band in the Arunta tribe consists of a single thick strand of fur-string profusely coated with grease and red ochre so as to have a smooth surface. It is closely similar to the ordinary woman's head-band. A second form frequently met with amongst all of the tribes consists of four or five strands united together at

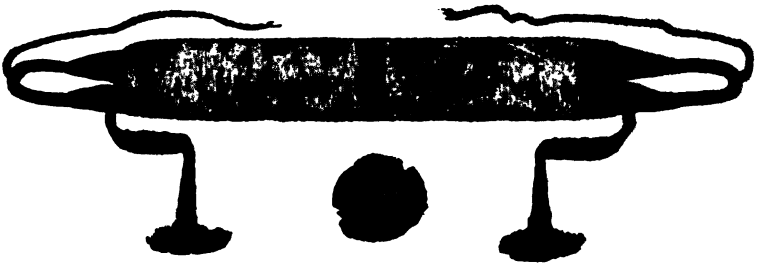


FIG. 261.—MAN'S FOREHEAD-BAND WITH ATTACHED PENDANTS IMITATING FLOWERS. MARA TRIBE.

either end. Sometimes they form a flat, band-like structure, but more often, as in Fig. 262, the strands are coiled upon one another. From each end passes off a string which serves to tie the band round the neck. Very often the ends of the strings are ornamented with tassels of feathers, birds' down, dingo or rabbit bandicoot tail-tips attached to a central stick (Fig. 263). Neck-bands of this form are worn by both men and women, but the ornamented ones are more frequently seen on the former than on the latter.

In the coastal tribes—the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara—the men very often wear bands similar to the one drawn in

[1] Since the above was written we have seen a few similar objects in the fine Australian ethnological collection in the South Australian Museum at Adelaide. The specimens in that collection came from the Alligator River; the one above described was collected by us on the Macarthur River, on the west coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

Fig. 264. There are from ten to twelve strands of fur-string

FIG. 262.—NECK-BANDS ORNAMENTED WITH PENDANTS OF WILD-DOG TAILS. ARUNTA TRIBE.

fastened together at each end, and also by four to six transverse bars of string, so as to form a broad, flat band. From one end a small string passes off, and from the other a stout one. The latter is attached to a tassel made of a large number of strands of opossum fur-string precisely similar in structure to the large pubic tassel met with in the same tribes. When worn the band is tied behind the neck so that the tassel hangs down the back.

FIG. 263.—NECK-BAND WITH ORNAMENTS OF SMALL BONES FIXED IN RESIN AND RABBIT BANDICOOT TAIL-TIPS, WORN BY MEN. ARUNTA TRIBE.

A somewhat unusual form of neck-band is represented in Fig. 265. It consists of a thin strand of human hair-string, to either end of which a little lump of resin is attached, and each of them carries a pair of eagle-hawk claws. The strand is tied so that the claws hang down the back.

We have already referred to the waist-girdle made of vegetable fibre string which is commonly worn by the Warramunga and Tjingilli. After being charmed by "singing,"

FIG. 264. NECK-BAND AND ATTACHED TASSEL WORN DOWN THE BACK BY MEN. ANULA TRIBE.

FIG. 265.—NECK-BAND OF SINGLE STRAND OF HUMAN HAIR-STRING AND ORNAMENTS OF RESIN INTO WHICH EAGLE-HAWK CLAWS ARE FIXED. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

it is traded away to the southern tribes, and used by them as an article of magic. In the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes we meet with exactly the same object. It is, however, not only used as a waist-band, but in addition it is often worn by the men as a neck-band. When thus used it has the form shown in Fig. 266. At one part all of the strands are enclosed in a knob of bees'-wax, at the end opposite to this a ring of wax surrounds the strands, and after having been placed round the neck, a second ring of

wax is added, dividing the original single loop into two—a larger one round the neck, and a smaller one which hangs down the back. The wax is so soft that it can easily be broken and replaced. Two other neck-bands closely similar

FIG. 266.—NECK-BAND AS WORN BY ANULA AND MARA NATIVES.

The same object is used as a waist-band in the Warramunga tribe, and as a magic knout in the Arunta.

FIG. 267.—NECK-BAND. ANULA TRIBE.

FIG. 268.—NECK-BAND. THE STRINGS ARE SURROUNDED AT THREE PLACES BY BEES'-WAX. ARUNTA TRIBE.

to one another are drawn in Figs. 267 and 268. Each of them consists of two series of strands of vegetable-fibre string which, for part of their length, are gathered together and tied round with fur-string. The extent of this portion varies much. The two parts are then enclosed together in string so as to form a single structure which passes round

the front of the neck. Occasionally the loose strands may be enclosed in wax, like those of the neck-band already described (Fig. 268).

A necklet with pendants of incisor teeth of kangaroos or wallabies is met with amongst the coastal tribes, and is called *quiuru* by the Mara. There is a central band made of a considerable number of vegetable-fibre strings somewhat loosely and irregularly bound round by a separate strand. A varying number of pendants is added, each made of a string with a lump of resin at either end into which a kangaroo incisor is fixed. The string is simply tied round

FIG. 269.—NECK-BAND WITH INCISOR TEETH PENDANTS. MARA TRIBE.

the main band so that the pairs of teeth hang down, and lie upon the chest when the necklet is in use. The string is more or less red-ochred, and the teeth are usually coated with pipe-clay so that they stand out very clearly on the dark skin of the natives (Fig. 269).

There is very considerable variation in regard to the form of the object called *thalumanii* by the Mara natives, and which, from the way in which it is worn, may be best described as a chest-band (Figs. 270 and 271). It is formed out of a large number of strands of vegetable-fibre string wound into a circle, the circumference of which measures about three feet six inches. For a length of about nine inches the strands are wound round with fine string. When

in use the bound part is worn vertically along the middle of the back between the shoulders. The strands are divided into two halves—one set passes on each side from the upper end, crosses the shoulder, and so on round the neck to the other side of the body, and then back again under the arm to the lower end of the median part. A slightly more elaborate one has the two sets of strands marked out by

FIG. 270.—CHEST-BAND. MARA TRIBE.

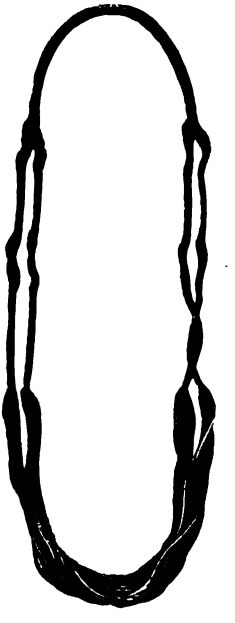


FIG. 271.—CHEST-BAND. MARA TRIBE.

being separately bound round for a short distance from their origin from the median part. Objects of this form are also used as neck-bands,—in fact the larger ones may be used indiscriminately as chest- or neck-bands. Sometimes, as in the one represented in Fig. 271, the strands may be tied round in several places merely, so far as can be seen, for the sake of decoration.

CHAPTER XXV

DECORATIVE ART

Absence on implements and weapons of ornament suggested by natural objects —Appreciation of colour—Use of bird and plant down—Drawing of circles and spirals very characteristic of the central tribes—Spirals may possibly be derivatives of drawings of human faces—Four important methods of ornamentation — Designs either zoomorphs, phytomorphs, or geometric —Designs on implements and weapons—Rock drawings—Decoration of ceremonial objects—Designs on Churinga—Ground drawings.

THE Australian savage has long ago got beyond the stage of decorative art which consists mainly in the emphasising, usually by the addition of pigment, of some peculiarity, such as a knot or a node, in the material out of which he makes his implements. This particular form of decorative art is indeed very rarely met with in Australia, or at all events in the northern and central parts of the continent.

Perhaps the one most striking feature of the decorative art of these savages, so far as their weapons and implements is concerned, is the almost entire absence of ornament which has been suggested by any natural object. Now and again, but only very rarely, this is met with, and for the most part the ornamentation of implements and sacred objects alike consists of what can only be called conventional designs, of the origin and often even of the meaning of which the native has not the slightest idea. In his rock drawings he will sometimes outline animals and plants, though only very rarely the latter ; but it is most exceptional to meet with any designs upon his implements or sacred objects which are zoomorphic or phytomorphic in origin.

Apparently, from the artistic point of view, the Central

Australian savage has been but very little influenced by his natural surroundings, and delights in the production of wavy lines, circles, and spirals just as the West Australian does in squares and zigzag lines.

He has a very distinct appreciation of colour, though naturally, so far as his ornamentation is concerned, he is, owing to lack of material, rather restricted in this direction, and confined to the use of only a few colours. The latter comprise red ochre, which can be mixed with white pipe-clay so as to produce varying shades, yellow ochre, charcoal, and, in parts, wad—an oxide of manganese, which when powdered up gives a pearl-grey colour to the skin on which it is rubbed.

A very striking feature of his decorative art is the use which he makes of down derived either from birds such as the eagle-hawk, or from the involucral hairs of different species of plants. The down thus obtained he mixes with pipe-clay or red ochre, and employs to ornament his ceremonial objects. With the aid of such materials he produces simple, bold designs of circles, spirals, and symmetrically curved lines, which are by no means devoid of artistic feeling.

Red, yellow, white, and black are the prevailing colours; blue and green are never met with amongst the central tribes because there is no blue pigment available. Yellow ochre is constantly employed, but it is a curious fact that while the natives continually tinge down with red ochre they never, or only extremely rarely, use yellow for this purpose. The latter, however, is often used as a background on which a mass of white dots is painted. All of the designs show an appreciation of strong contrasts such as are afforded by black or red circle or spiral and curved bands enclosed and outlined by a mass of white dots.

The origin of these geometrical designs is quite unknown, and their meaning, when they have one, is a purely conventional one. Thus, for example, a spiral or series of concentric circles incised on the face of one particular Churinga will indicate a gum-tree, but a precisely similar design on another Churinga will indicate a frog. The drawing of these spirals and concentric circles is apparently much

more frequently met with amongst the central tribes than amongst the southern and eastern coastal tribes, and is associated to a large extent with the possession of Churinga, on which they form a very characteristic ornament. As a general rule, but not invariably, they indicate the principal object supposed to be represented in the design. This may be the totemic animal or plant of the totemic ancestor, or it may be a tree or rock at which the ancestor is supposed to have lived. It is very probable that the circles drawn on rocks and on articles such as the forehead bands of the Arunta, which have no sacred significance, were originally derived from the marks on the Churinga. There is nothing whatever sacred about the circles as circles: they are only regarded as such when drawn on an object which itself is sacred or Churinga. Undoubtedly many of the ordinary drawings are the result of the artist's recollection of what he has seen on sacred articles.

There is one point in connection with these designs to which we have alluded previously, and to which it is perhaps worth while drawing attention again. Professor Haddon has shown that in the case of one of the New Guinea shields the design of circles and spirals is very clearly the derivative of a human face. Further still he has shown that on the Papuan bull-roarers and ceremonial tablets, which are shown to the young men for the first time when they are being initiated, just as the Churinga are in the case of the Australian youths, designs representing the human face are drawn.[1] It is at all events very clear from a study of the New Guinea ceremonial tablets, shields, and other objects that in course of time what was once intended as the drawing of a human face might come to be represented by a spiral or a series of concentric circles. The designs on the Australian Churinga are of very ancient origin, and it is quite possible that these and the New Guinea ceremonial tablets and bull-roarers may have had a common ancestry. If this be so the Australian Churinga may be supposed to have been ornamented long ago, as the New Guinea ones now are, with

[1] "The Decorative Art of New Guinea," Royal Irish Academy. *Cunningham Memoirs*, No. 10, 1894, Pl. 6.

conventionally drawn human faces, and that the present characteristic designs are derivatives of these. On the other hand it is very difficult to realise that in every case the modification should have become so complete as it has. Further still it would imply a loss of artistic capacity, as no central Australian native at the present day is capable of representing the human features as they are carved and painted by the Papuan native, and, in addition, it would form a striking exception to the rule that the designs with which the central Australian native ornaments his body and the implements which he uses are essentially non-imitative.[1] It is only in the centre of the continent that the concentric circle and spiral design are constantly met with, and as we have already pointed out, it is just in this part that the most primitive beliefs and customs have probably been retained. The squares and zigzags of the western natives have almost certainly been derived as a further modification of the concentric circle design. There has been apparently a sharply marked division of the native tribes into two main groups so far as this question is concerned. Roughly speaking, a line drawn from the head of Spencer Gulf to the southernmost point of the Gulf of Carpentaria will divide Australia into two parts, in the western of which the spiral and concentric circle ornamentation and their derivatives are met with, while in the eastern this is absent. The line of division is not of course strictly accurate, and, more especially in the north central parts, the western scheme of ornamentation may extend further eastwards than is indicated. At all events, amongst the eastern and south-eastern coastal tribes the ornamentation of common and sacred implements and objects has no relationship to that of the same amongst the central tribes. Further still, amongst the south-eastern coastal tribes the art of the natives, as seen in the decoration of their spear-throwers, shields, etc., is much more imitative than in the central tribes.

[1] In *Custom and Myth* (new edit. 1893, p. 279) Mr. Lang, speaking of the Australian savage, points out "that the native art of one of the most backward races we know is not essentially imitative." This at all events holds true of the natives of the centre and north of the continent.

So far as the methods of ornamentation are concerned we can distinguish the following :—

(1) Incision by means of a tooth or sharp edge of a flint. In the case of the Churinga, both wood and stone, the design is always made by means of an opossum tooth.

(2) Burning with a fire-stick. This method is confined, so far as we are aware, to the ornamentation of some of the pointing-sticks.

(3) Painting the surface with ochre, pipe-clay, or charcoal. This is the most frequent method of ornamentation, and is employed in the drawing of designs on the body as well as on implements and objects of all kinds, and also on rock and ground surfaces.

(4) Decoration with down derived from birds or plants. Designs are drawn with this material upon the body and also on ceremonial and magical objects.

So far as the nature of the decorations is concerned we can divide them into three groups :—Zoomorphs, phytomorphs, and geometrical designs. It must, however, be borne in mind that some of those included amongst the last may very possibly be the derivatives of one or other of the first two groups, which have become so modified in course of time that their original significance is completely lost. At the same time, their meaning and origin are completely unknown to the natives.

In describing them it will be more convenient to refer to them under the headings of the various implements, weapons, ceremonial objects and ceremonies with which they are associated. From this point of view they fall into the following groups :—1. Designs on implements and weapons of various kinds. 2. Cross drawings, 3. Decorations concerned with ceremonies. 4. Ground drawings. 5. Designs drawn on the body [illegible]

[illegible]

There are two [illegible] of these, the one consisting [illegible] designs drawn in

coloured material, though occasionally both types of ornament may occur on the same object.

Amongst the incised ornamentations the simplest form, which may perhaps be included under this head, consists of the finer or coarser groovings which ornament the surfaces of many of their objects. In its simplest form it is constantly present on the more convex face of the boomerangs, both the ordinary and the pick-shaped one. The lines of the grooves follow the length and curve of the weapons. The reverse side is only marked by very coarse and shallow grooves of varying extent. The *pitchis* again (Figs. 208, etc.) are ornamented externally and sometimes also internally by grooves of different widths, cut with remarkable regularity, and every shield in the same way has a longitudinal series on its outer face.

The ornamentation above referred to is of a general nature and does not give rise to a pattern. In other cases, however, the incisions are arranged so as to form one. Such ornamented boomerangs are commonly met with in the interior of Queensland, whence they are evidently traded down south along the eastern side of the central area—not through the central tribes—until they reach the Lake Eyre district. Thence they pass northwards on the west side of the lake through the Urabunna tribe, and then on into the southern part of the Arunta tribe, though they are never met with in the northern parts of the latter. This type of boomerang is a very distinct one, and is never met with amongst the true central tribes except as an importation. It can easily be distinguished from those of the central tribes, even when they carry, as they occasionally do, incised patterns, by the simple fact that it is never red-ochred, while all of those indigenous to the centre are thus coloured.[1]

For the only specimens known to us of true boomerangs indigenous to the Arunta tribe, which carry an incised pattern, we are indebted to the kindness of our friend Mr.

[1] *N. T.* pp. 595-602. Ornamented boomerangs have been described by various writers. Cp. Etheridge, *Proc. Linn. Soc. N.S.W.*, 1894, 1897, 1898, and *Macleay Memorial Volume*, p. 228. See also Roth, *Eth. Studies*, pp. 144, 145.

C. E. Cowle, who obtained them amongst the south-western groups of the tribe. They are all marked by an absence of the usual flutings and by the presence of an abundant coating of red ochre. In the simplest form (Fig. 272) the more convex side is ornamented with a large number of pairs of short, straight grooves, which are very roughly and more or less irregularly arranged along lines running transversely across the surface; in fact it would be difficult to conceive of a more primitive method of producing anything like a pattern. The same form of grooves may be longer and more regularly arranged, giving

FIG. 272.—ORNAMENTED BOOMERANG. ARUNTA TRIBE.

FIG. 273.—ORNAMENTAL BOOMERANG. ARUNTA TRIBE.

rise to alternate smooth and incised bands (Fig. 273), or they may (Fig. 274) be grouped together and scattered more or less irregularly over the surface. In other cases again the bands of grooves may be distinctly marked, but only separated by a mere line from one another, except perhaps at one or two places where there is a smooth band ornamented by two or more series of curved, incised lines (Fig. 275). In other cases there may be groups of both straight and curved lines of varying length scattered over the surface. In this example, as well as in that shown in Fig. 276, there is an evident, though slight, attempt to arrange the series of lines into groups, but there is no definite pattern formed.

FIG. 274.—ORNAMENTED BOOMERANG. ARUNTA TRIBE.

All of these boomerangs are ornamented with similar patterns on the reverse side, with the exception of that shown in Fig. 275. A small portion of this is represented on an enlarged scale in Fig. 275*b*. It shows a pattern

FIG. 275.—ORNAMENTED BOOMERANG. ARUNTA TRIBE.
The design is different on the two sides.

which we have only met with on one other implement—a fighting club from Lake Eyre. It has exactly the appearance which would be produced by working a gouge in zigzag fashion across the surface. By the juxtaposition of two series of these incisions a distinct floral design is produced which, were it met with alone, might be most naturally regarded as phytomorphic in origin—as, for example, in the pattern most on the right-hand side, which looks as if it were an attempt to imitate a fern frond or perhaps a cycad leaf. It is interesting also to notice how a modification of the design, in which only the terminal parts of the cuts remain,

FIG. 276.—ORNAMENTAL BOOMERANG.
ARUNTA TRIBE.

gives rise to a pattern calling to mind a caterpillar or, perhaps more still, the conventional mountains as indicated on many maps. That this is a modification of the more complete series of cuts can be seen clearly in the upper part of the pattern next to the end one on the right side. It may be added that the weapon is of pure native workmanship, without the slightest trace of any influence of a white man or his tools.[1]

In Fig. 277 we have an example of a large fighting boomerang with a very clearly marked design. To a certain extent the surface is divided into sections, though, at the left side, two of them are, as it were, run into one another. At the right side are two transverse rows, each consisting of four groups of grooves. Then comes a space with a row of short lines running across its central part.

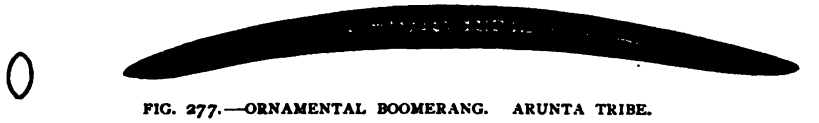


FIG. 277.—ORNAMENTAL BOOMERANG. ARUNTA TRIBE.

The next section has again four groups of grooves, but the central part is occupied by a single line with pairs of short ones arising from it at an angle on either side. Then follows a small, smooth band, and then a section in which the central design is similar to that of the previous section, except that at one end there are a few somewhat irregularly curved lines. The groups of longitudinal grooves, which in other sections run parallel to the length of the boomerang, are here broken up so as to form a rough zigzag. The next two sections are run into one by the development of a central pattern, consisting of a median group of lines with a zigzag group on either side. The sections themselves are indicated by the outer longitudinal groups of grooves. Both this specimen and the one represented in Fig. 83*a* are marked by the very clear division of the surface into sections,

[1] Since the above was written Mr. A. Zietz, Assistant Director of the South Australian Museum, has informed us that this style of decoration is met with on many implements in the country in the neighbourhood of Lake Frome. The Central Australian specimen differs from the Lake Frome specimens in having a thick coat of red ochre.

by which the ornamentation is regulated. Both of them are also of considerable size and really intermediate in this respect between the ordinary fighting boomerang which is thrown by the hand, and the still larger one which is held in both hands and used as a fighting club. The decoration on them also calls to mind that on the latter form of implement, which also, like the one in question, is red-ochred.[1]

In all of these specimens it will be noticed that the handle end is clearly differentiated owing to the entire absence, in this part, of any design. Each specimen, further, is decorated on both sides, which is a rare thing among this class of weapons.

In the far north objects made out of bamboo or cane of some form are met with, and on these a pattern is usually

FIG. 278.—ORNAMENTED BAMBOO TRUMPET. ANULA TRIBE. ×¼.

incised. Naturally the presence of nodes and internodes determines to a large extent the distribution of the design. An excellent example of this form is seen in the trumpet drawn in Fig. 278, where there is a combination of incised and painted patterns. Around the centre of each internode runs a band consisting of a series of more or less roughly incised zigzag lines, the incisions being filled with black so that the design stands out more or less prominently. At the end furthest away from the mouth, when the instrument is used, there is painted a design in white pipe-clay. It consists of three larger circular bands and one small terminal circle, and is drawn with little relationship to the nodes. The first band is in contact with the last incised pattern, and consists of four circles with dots between them.

[1] For a description of this, see *N. T.* p. 599.

Then follows a zigzag line running across the interval between the first and second band. The latter consists of three circles, the two first of which are separated from one another by a short space, across which run a number of longitudinally arranged lines, in the intervals between which are white dots. Then again follows a zigzag line the tips of which are in contact with the third band, which is smaller than the two first and has only three circles with spaces between two of them for a row of dots. Between this and the last single circle, which is close to the end, there runs a series of widely separated straight white lines. This is the only bamboo trumpet which we have seen, and it is also the only one which has any incised pattern. The ordinary trumpets are decorated with a thick coat of red ochre, and designs sometimes in the form of a darker, spiral band running round from end to end, or more often in the form of white or white and yellow circles.

Amongst the coastal tribes, on the Gulf of Carpentaria, a form of pipe is often met with which has very probably been derived from the Malays; at all events, as the native Australian in his natural condition does not smoke, it can hardly be regarded as strictly indigenous. It is evidently based in form upon that of an opium pipe with a small bowl and a long stem. We often saw it amongst the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara tribes. When in use a small quantity of tobacco is placed in the bowl, which is usually made out of a little bit of tin or the metal top of an old cartridge. One end of the stem is closed with paper bark, which also fills up any chinks left round the bowl. After a little vigorous pulling the whole stem becomes filled with smoke, and, as it is often of considerable size, perhaps three feet or more in length and about two inches in diameter, it holds a considerable amount. The pipe is then passed round from one man to another, each taking a mouthful and inhaling it. It is a common thing for a man to exhale the smoke through his nostrils. These natives prefer this method of smoking to the European style, though they also readily adopt the latter method. Of the three pipes figured one is decorated with colour, and the other two with incised lines. In the one

(Fig. 279) made of bamboo the design has relation to the nodes and internodes; occupying the central part of each of the latter is a double band, the two parts being separated from each other by three narrow incised rings. There are three of these double bands. Each of them is divided into a series of oblong spaces which run along the length of the stem, and are separated from one another by a narrow

FIG. 279.—ORNAMENTED BAMBOO PIPE. ANULA TRIBE.

plain bar. Every one of these spaces, in the case of those nearest to the mouth end, is filled with incised V-shaped lines, the apices of which point towards the mouth, and thus produce a crude, herring-bone pattern. Of the remaining two sets of bands the designs in the halves furthest away from the mouth end are much the same, except that, in adjacent spaces, the apices of the V's usually point in

FIG. 280.—ORNAMENTED PIPE. ANULA TRIBE.

opposite directions. In the other halves each oblong space is divided up into smaller ones by short transverse bars, and each of the smaller spaces thus formed is filled with similar incised V-shaped lines, arranged, for the most part but not always, at right angles to those in the larger spaces.

The pipe represented in Fig. 280 is made out of some wood, with apparently a pithy centre, which had been extracted. The ornamentation consists of a series of broad and narrow bands. The latter have been marked by incised

lines passing round the stem; the whole band has been red-ochred, and then circles of white pipe-clay have been drawn between the incised lines. The broader bands again are divided into oblong spaces by narrow, longitudinal bars. Each space is occupied by slanting, incised lines which, as a general rule, slope in opposite directions in adjacent spaces. The bowl is inserted in a space in the middle of one of the broader bands which is clear of incised lines, and in the space next to this are two roughly cut, slightly curving, and overlapping series of lines, breaking the continuity of others passing round the stem. The design and workmanship of these incised patterns are decidedly crude.

So far as painted designs are concerned, the great majority of implements and weapons are merely coated over with red ochre, but in some cases a special design may be added. As a general rule this is strictly geometrical in nature, and it is extremely rare to meet with any design which can be recognised as a biomorph. The natives themselves say that these decorations have no meaning of any kind, and that they are merely added to make the object look better.

The simplest form of this type of decoration consists in a coating of pigment applied to some part of an implement, such as the resin mass attaching the stone head of a spear to the shaft, or in an often roughly drawn series of lines done in white pipe-clay, charcoal, or ochre. A very simple form of the latter is seen in Fig. 233, where a few transverse and longitudinal lines of white pipe-clay ornament a mass of resin. In some cases the *pitchis* show a very simple line ornament, as seen in Fig. 218, where bars of black and yellow decorate the two ends, running transversely across the object. Another very simple form consists in the alternation of bands of different colours—as, for example, in Fig. 232, where the twine attaching the wooden head to the shaft of the spear is covered with bands of pipe-clay and pink ochre. The hatchet drawn in Fig. 281 shows a very simple form of line and band ornament. There is, first of all, a band of white pipe-clay around the resinous attachment, and one passing at right angles to the withy, across

the top of the axe. Round the stone itself three bands of red ochre have been painted, and these have been still further decorated with somewhat irregular lines of pipe-clay.

Sometimes colour may be employed to draw attention to, or at least to emphasise, a structural feature, as in the

FIG. 281.—STONE AXE DECORATED WITH LINE ORNAMENT.

case of the very simple design on the spear represented in Fig. 230, where one particular face is coated with pipe-clay.

So again the head part of the spear represented in Fig. 231 is divided into two parts by the nature and distribution of the prongs, and this is further accentuated by the difference of the design. The proximal part is red-ochred, and has a line of white running along on each side

FIG. 282.—STONE AXE DECORATED WITH DOT ORNAMENT

at the base of the prongs, and then round the back of the head at each end, with long curved lines crossing over from side to side within the longitudinal space thus enclosed. The terminal half has the central part covered with yellow ochre. On each side there is a band of white pipe-clay running along at the base of the prongs, the latter being also painted white. In some cases there is an attempt at

masses of colour rather than lines—as, for example, in the case of the spear-head seen in Fig. 226. The resin mass is coloured red, and a band on either side of it and the first prong yellow. The main part of the head is coated with two bands of pipe-clay separated only by a narrow band of red ochre, which has also been used to colour the tip and four last prongs.

A better line design is seen on the handle of the adze in Fig. 283. As usual on a round object the design is

FIG. 283.—ADZE DECORATED WITH A SIMPLE LINE DESIGN. TJINGILLI TRIBE.

bordered by circles, and within these there is a series of lines crossing one another. Or again, in the case of the spear-head drawn in Fig. 228, we have an example of a line design broken up into sections, and consisting only of terminal, enclosing lines running transversely round the head, and within them more or less irregularly arranged longitudinal lines. The heads of the multi-barbed spears are always decorated with some such simple design as this, and very often red and yellow pigment will be used as well

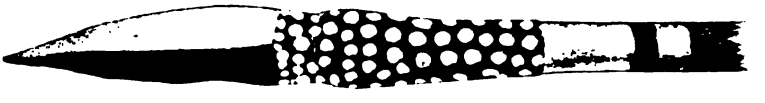


FIG. 284.—DECORATED SPEAR-HEAD. TJINGILLI TRIBE.

as white. In Fig. 284 is represented the head of a spear from the Tjingilli tribe, in the decoration of which bands of colour and spots are employed. The whole of the resin mass has been covered with light red ochre, and a band of black painted round the part of the stone head in contact with the resin. A band of pipe-clay an inch in length succeeds the resin, then comes a short band of red ochre with a band of sinew in the centre, and then a narrow band of white pipe-clay. The red and black parts are further covered over with dots of pipe-clay. It is very usual to

decorate spears with designs of this kind during ceremonies or when visits are being paid to distant groups.

A more elaborate pure-line design is seen in Fig. 214, which represents the outside view of a *pitchi* from the Anula tribe. Here again we have the design characteristically broken up into sections by transverse bands. Three in the centre contain wavy, longitudinal lines, and two at either end have pairs of longitudinal lines, the spaces between which are crossed by slanting or cross-hatched lines.

Very often, instead of a pure-line design, one composed of lines and dots, or of dots only, is used. Thus, for example, in the case of the stone hatchet drawn in Fig. 282, the resin mass and part of the withy enclosing the head are dotted all over, and in addition bands of pipe-clay dots run round the head itself.

So again the Arunta spear-thrower seen in Fig. 221 has its very broad and flat blade marked by slanting bands of red ochre of varying width, and covered with lines of pipe-clay dots. It has been ornamented for use during a ceremony. A more pleasing design is seen in Fig. 223, where a Warramunga native has, first of all, drawn a broad zigzag band of pink ochre along the length of his thrower, and then emphasised the band by outlining it with a single series of pipe-clay dots drawn with remarkable regularity. It is not often that spear-throwers are so carefully decorated, but it is not at all uncommon to find those of this particular form with two or more white splotches of pipe-clay along their length.

The combination of lines and dots is very characteristic of the wooden-hafted knives of the Warramunga, Tjingilli, Umbaia, and other tribes; in fact we have never seen one of them in which the flat wooden handle was not thus decorated. There is of course considerable variation in the design, but those represented in Figs. 191-194 will serve to illustrate them. The background is usually red ochre, but it may be yellow. The bands are always black and the spots white. Not seldom a design similar to the common broad-arrow brand is met with, and here, once more, we may draw attention to the fact that this has in reality

nothing to do with the broad-arrow. It is simply the drawing of an emu's track, and is one of the very few zoomorphs met with.

The best example of line and dot ornament is to be seen on some of the boomerangs. Apart from the constant thick coating of red ochre which covers all of those from Central Australia, it is not very often that ordinary boomerangs are thus decorated, and when they are, all that is usually done is to paint a few bands in black or white at one end. The lines may run transversely, or longitudinally, or both.

FIG. 285.—BEAKED BOOMERANG DECORATED WITH BANDS OF DOTS, AND GROOVES WHICH FOLLOW THE OUTLINE OF THE WEAPON. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

Occasionally, however, a more elaborate design may be added, such as is shown in the three drawings representing boomerangs from the Warramunga tribe.

In one of them, a beaked boomerang, there are three bands of yellow ochre close to the head end, on which are drawn a large number of black dots (Fig. 285). This form of decoration is the one commonly used in the case of this peculiarly shaped weapon, though very often the yellow band is absent, and there are simply lines of black or white dots. In the case of the other two, which are ordinary throwing boomerangs, the design consists of black lines and white dots (Figs. 287 and 288). The black is simply

charcoal mixed with grease, and is applied first, the tip of the finger being usually dipped into the pigment and then used as a brush. After that a short piece of twig is taken, the end of which is of about the same diameter as it is desired to make the dots. First of all it is cut off square, and then frayed out with the teeth so as to form a primitive but effective brush. The pipe-clay is most usually moistened

FIG. 286.—MAN MIXING PLANT DOWN WITH WHITE PIPE-CLAY IN PREPARATION FOR CEREMONIAL DECORATIONS. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

In the background, on the right side, is a rough *pitchi* full of lumps of pipe-clay. The prepared down lies on the shield to the right side.

in the mouth. It is a somewhat curious scene to watch a number of natives chewing the pipe-clay, which has been previously roughly powdered (Fig. 286), and then spitting the semifluid material out into a *pitchi* or receptacle of some kind. One would think that the grit would be very objectionable, and that it would be much simpler and more pleasant to grind it down and mix it with water on a stone; but though this is sometimes done, it is more usual, when preparing material for ceremonies, first of all to grind the

pipe-clay until such time as it has the consistency of coarse sand, and then to chew it in the mouth. When all is ready the twig-brush is dipped into the white paste, and then simply dabbed down on to the surface of the object being decorated, on which it forms a white disc of the same size as the end

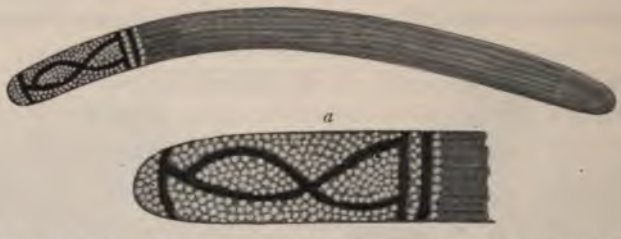


FIG. 287.—BOOMERANG DECORATED WITH LINE AND DOT ORNAMENT AND GROOVES. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

of the brush. It is a very simple and effective way of producing a flat, circular disc. It will be noticed that the symmetry of the drawing in Fig. 288 is very marked, and that in both of them the lines and dots have no definite relation to the original longitudinal flutings, being arranged

FIG. 288.—BOOMERANG DECORATED WITH LINE AND DOT ORNAMENT AND GROOVES. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

quite independently of the direction in which they run. In neither case has the design any special meaning: it is purely a geometrical arrangement of lines and dots drawn without any idea of imitating or suggesting any natural object.

Amongst the Arunta and Kaitish tribes the decoration of the forehead-bands may often be decidedly elaborate. Amongst the more northern tribes the band itself becomes more definite in form, and the design less elaborate, though

at the same time, as in the case of the imitation flower already described, ornamental pendants may be added (Fig. 261). Sometimes amongst all of the tribes the ornamentation of the forehead-band may be limited either to a coating of white pipe-clay, down from flowers or buds, or dust derived from the bark of a special gum-tree (*Eucalyptus terminalis*). Amongst the northern and coastal tribes the strands of which it is made are firmly woven together so as to form a broad, flat surface, such as that represented in Fig. 260, and on this bands of white and red are painted. When he has the chance of doing so, the native will weave in bands of red and blue string which he has made out of material procured from white men. In the case of the bands worn by the Arunta and Kaitish on special occasions, the general resemblance between the decorations on them and those on the Churinga is very striking, but the natives say that they have nothing whatever to do with one another.[1] It is a noticeable fact that it is only amongst the people who use the Churinga most frequently—that is, the southern central tribes—that we meet also with the concentric circles and spirals as common designs on everyday articles such as the forehead-bands.

Finally, in connection with the designs painted on implements, attention may be drawn to the decoration of the *pitchi* drawn in Fig. 215. In addition to four crudely drawn lines and spots of pipe-clay, the central space is occupied by a conventional drawing of a dugong made by a native of the Anula tribe. Apart from the emu track commonly met with, this is almost the only example of the attempt to imitate natural objects which we have seen in the designs drawn upon the various implements of the tribes with whom we have come into contact. It is of course possible that some of the so-called geometrical designs may be derived from biomorphs, but there is no evidence of this, and the one most striking feature of all their designs is the remarkably slight way in which the Central Australian native has been influenced in his decorative work by the natural objects around him.

[1] These are figured in *N. T.* p. 569.

ROCK DRAWINGS

These may be divided into two series—(1) ordinary ones at spots which may be visited by men and women alike, and (2) sacred drawings on rocks at places where sacred ceremonies are held which only the initiated men are allowed to see.

There is considerable uniformity in regard to all of these drawings, which comprise zoomorphs, phytomorphs, drawings of hands and feet, and stencillings of the former, usually done in red ochre, and, finally, geometrical designs, some of which, again, may be derivatives of biomorphs. The sacred rock-drawings are all apparently geometrical in nature, or at least so conventionalised that if they are imitative it is quite impossible to recognise in the faintest manner what they are supposed to represent.

We have already fully described and illustrated this phase of native art, in regard to the sacred as well as the ordinary drawings.[1] It will be noticed that, in this particular form of native art, biomorphs—more especially zoomorphs—are frequently met with. The drawings always occur scattered about, without any apparent attempt to group them together. They never, as it were, depict a scene or attempt to tell a story.

DECORATIONS CONCERNED WITH CEREMONIES

The various ceremonial objects may be divided into two series, according to whether they are used during ceremonies such as the ordinary corrobborees, which may be witnessed by men, women, and children, or during the sacred ceremonies.

Each corrobboree has its own decorations, though there is considerable uniformity in regard to these.[2] In the Arunta

[1] *N. T.* pp. 614, 633, Figs. 124, 131, 132, 133. See also Dr. Stirling's account in *Report of Horn Scientific Expedition to Central Australia*, "Anthropology," Pt. IV.

[2] For further descriptions of the ordinary corrobboree decorations, cf. *N. T.* p. 618, Figs. 125, 126, 127. Stirling, in *Report of Horn Expedition to Central Australia*, p. 72, Pl. 8, 9, 14, 15. Roth, *loc. cit.* p. 107, Figs. 283-304.

FIG. 289.—PREPARATION FOR THE TJITJINGALLA CORROBBOREE. ARUNTA TRIBE.

tribe the dances are spoken of as *altherta*. Each performer wears a head-dress, which is usually conical in form, but may be cylindrical. The former shape is made out of a number of twigs of a shrub such as a Cassia, which are placed with their bushy ends on the head and the main stems projecting upwards and backwards (Fig. 289). They are tied round and round with human hair-string, and then a design of a more or less simple nature is painted on them with down, the design being usually continued downwards on to the face. Very often it consists of a central wavy band of red down enclosed by white, and on the face there is usually a band of the same across the forehead, another across the bridge of the nose, and one down each side, which again is often continuous with bands passing on to the shoulder and down the body. Very often the tip of the helmet is decorated with a tuft of feathers. Another very common form of decoration consists of a series of bands of down running horizontally across the helmet parallel to those on the face (Fig. 290). The body is ornamented with curved bands, or sometimes with circles of down. A double band on each side usually extends as far as the knee, and those of each side, arching over, meet one another in the middle line above the navel. It is a very general thing for the performers to have bundles of leafy twigs tied round the legs just above the ankles. In these ordinary corrobborees the down used is obtained from the involucral hairs of a species of Portulaca; the birds' down is used almost exclusively for sacred ceremonies. The only exception to the latter rule with which we are acquainted takes place in the Tjitjingalla corrobboree, which is apparently identical with that described by Roth under the name of Molonga.[1] In the closing scene connected with this, one man was specially decorated with lines of birds' down and wore in his head-dress a number of tufts of feathers attached to short sticks, which projected in a radiating way. He also carried a long wand, decorated at its upper end with a large tuft of owl feathers. The whole of his helmet, the upper part of his face and arms, and the whole of his body, as far

[1] *Ethnological Studies*, etc., p. 117.

FIG. 290.—DANCE IN THE TJITJINGALLA CORROBBOREE. ARUNTA TRIBE.

down as the waist-girdle, was one mass of wavy lines of red and white down. The other performers were decorated in the usual way with plant down (Fig. 291).

As a general rule it is only the men who are decorated for these dances, but there are certain of them which are

FIG. 291.—FINAL DANCE IN THE YIUTJINGALLA CORROBBOREE. ARUNTA TRIBE.

performed by women. The decoration of the bodies of the latter during one of these was quite unlike that seen at any time on the men. In the first place, there was no helmet. Each woman had a broad, white band of down across her forehead,—in this case obtained from the rabbit, which has recently invaded the central area. The white fur on its tail is much appreciated by the natives for decorative purposes.

FIG. 292.—WOMEN'S CORROBBOREE. ARUNTA TRIBE.

Each woman wore also a long string, made out of the same material, hanging pendent from the head-band over the shoulders on each side. Altogether the decorations of the women shown in the photograph must have represented several hundred rabbits (Fig. 292). Every performer had a double continuous band of plant down running across the forehead and over the bridge of the nose. The other decorations consisted of lines of the same, the design varying to a certain extent on the different performers. In all there was a series running from the top of the shoulder on to the breast, where, except in one instance, they terminated abruptly against the upper side of an oblong drawn transversely across the breast. Other lines ran between these from side to side across the chest. On the upper part of the abdomen there was an isolated design which usually had the form of an oblong with one or more lines running horizontally across it. In one case the design had the form of a horse-shoe, and in the other of an inverted T. On each thigh there was drawn an elongate ellipse.

There is a very considerable variety in the decorations associated with different corrobborees, but those here and previously described will serve as typical examples.

The decoration of objects connected with sacred ceremonies is usually more elaborate than in the case of those associated only with the ordinary corrobborees. A very typical series is represented in the coloured plate, which contains drawings of articles used during the performance of sacred ceremonies in the Arunta, Warramunga, Tjingilli, and Anula tribes. That is, they represent a group of tribes extending from Charlotte Waters in the south, northwards through the centre to Powell's Creek, and then eastwards to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria (Plate 2). It serves to show the very wide distribution of the one feature common to and very characteristic of the ornamentation of all objects used in connection with sacred ceremonies, and that is the extensive use of down derived from birds, or from birds and plants combined, and either whitened by mixture with pipe-clay or coloured various shades of red by means of ochre.[1]

[1] All the objects figured are in the ethnological collection in Museum, Melbourne.

In the Arunta nation the down used in their ceremonies is obtained exclusively from birds—chiefly the eagle-hawk. In the Warramunga and northern tribes the down is a mixture of that derived from birds and from the dried flowers of a species of the composite plant, Epaltes. The two kinds of down are pounded up together on an ordinary grinding-stone. The flowers, when gathered, are a dirty grey colour. If white be required, pipe-clay is mixed with them, and if red is wanted, ochre is ground up with them. The down, as usual, is fixed on to the body by means of human blood, and it is always attached in the form of an immense number of little spots. The men, when decorating one another, have the left hand filled with compressed down, out of which they take little pellet-shaped masses, one after the other, until gradually, after hours of labour, the whole of the upper part of the body may be completely covered over with bands and masses of variously coloured down. It is customary also to paint on the skin a band of yellow or red ochre corresponding in position to the band of the same coloured down in the finished designs.

In connection with some of the ceremonies in the Arunta, flat slabs of wool shaped like large Churinga may be carried on the head. Three of these are represented in the drawing (Figs. 1, 2, 3). They were worn, along with four other closely similar ones, during the performance of a rain ceremony at Charlotte Waters by southern Arunta men. Each slab is decorated on both sides, and has first of all a coating of red ochre all over it. In one case two wavy lines of black pass along the whole length, the remaining part of the surface being covered with spots of white pipe-clay. In the second the dots are so arranged as to leave series of red lines slanting alternately in different directions, and in the third the dots outline four series of concentric circles. Each of them was fixed upright into a simple head-dress, made as usual out of Cassia twigs, bound round with hair- or fur-string, and then ornamented in front with lines of white down continuous with others passing over the face and then on to the shoulders and upper part of the body. It is wonderful how the natives contrive to make the slabs remain

firm in the head-dress while they dance about; but every now and again, especially if the wind be blowing, as is usually the case on the open plains around Charlotte Waters, they have to be supported by the hand. The longest one is tipped with a bunch of eagle-hawk feathers, and the two somewhat shorter ones with bunches of owl feathers.

In many of the Arunta ceremonies Churinga are used as head decorations, but they are always ornamented with birds' down and never with pipe-clay, and with only very rare exceptions bear incised patterns. Their significance is quite different from that of the ceremonial slabs just described, which, though they are very old, and have been used for a long time past in connection with one particular rain ceremony, have no relationship to the Alcheringa ancestors of the tribe as the Churinga have.

Amongst the Warramunga tribe we met in one instance with small wooden slabs about a foot in length, decorated with a band of yellow in the centre, red at one end and black at the other. They were used in connection with an ant totem, and were not the equivalents of Churinga but of the slabs used in the rain dance. In the Tjingilli and Umbaia tribes we again met with similar slabs associated with the performance of ceremonies connected with the yam totem. Three of these, from the Tjingilli tribe, are represented. In each case they are slightly concave in section, and have one end pointed for insertion in the head-dress and the other bluntly truncated with a central projecting point. In one of them (Fig. 293) the design consists of two interlacing curved bands of black, with transverse bars running across at the points of intersection of the bands. In a second (Fig. 294) there is a single curved band from which four pear-shaped structures hang down, and in a third (Fig. 295) there are five transverse bars of black, the upper four of which have each of them two black, pear-shaped pendants. In all three cases the remaining part of the front surface is covered with a mass of white dots, and in two of them the back is very crudely decorated with transverse lines of pipe-clay, or with lines of the same crossing one another so as to form lozenges, the spaces in and around which are filled

with splotches of white. The whole surface of the slabs, before the design was drawn, had been coated over with red ochre. Two of these slabs are interesting as showing very clearly a conventional imitation of the yams attached to lines supposed to represent the roots from which they spring. A very different form of decoration, worn on the head during the performance of another ceremony of the

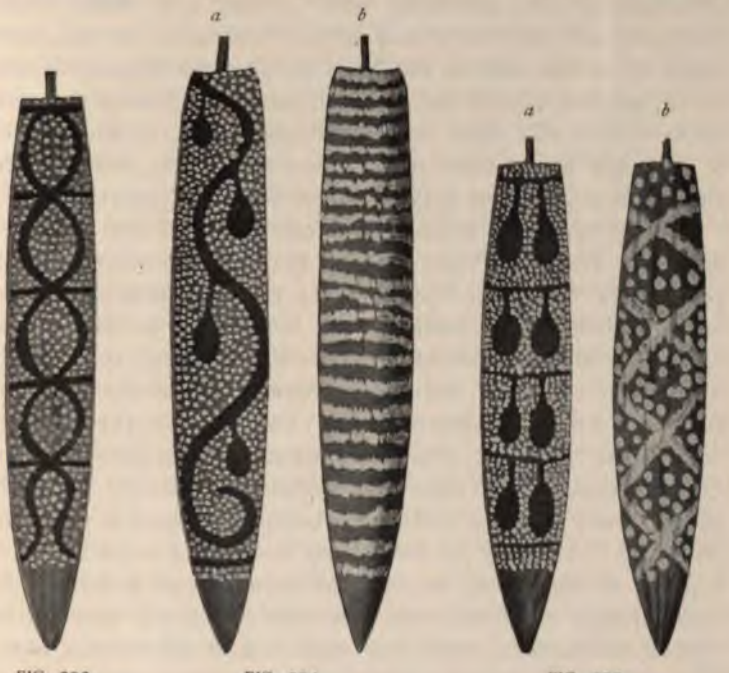


FIG. 293. FIG. 294. FIG. 295.

DECORATED WOODEN SLABS USED DURING THE PERFORMANCE OF CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE YAM TOTEM. TJINGILLI TRIBE.

yam totem in the Tjingilli tribe, is shown in Plate 2, Fig. 4. It consists of two flat discs made of grass stalks, bound round and round with human hair-string. Except for a circle of white down round the outer margin, the whole of the front surface is covered with red-ochred down. Through each disc runs a curved twig with a small terminal tuft of owl feathers, one of which also ornaments the tip of the stick which runs through each disc, and serves to support

the structure in the head-dress. The discs are supposed to be emblematic of yams.

A very different form of head-dress is seen in Plate 2, Fig. 5. This was worn during the performance of a ceremony connected with the plum-tree totem (a species of Santalum). It consists of a central mass of grass stalks, bound round as usual with human hair-string, and then ornamented with alternate lines of red and white down. At each end there is a tuft of owl feathers. It has been fixed on to the cast of the head of a native decorated with down, as was that of the original performer during the ceremony. For the time being the head-dress, which is really a *nurtunja*, is symbolic of a "plum-tree." As soon as ever the ceremony is over it is normally taken to pieces.

Other forms of head-dresses are seen in Plate 2, Figs. 5 and 6. These are two out of five similar ones worn by performers during a Tjudia (deaf adder) totemic performance in connection with the fire ceremony in the Warramunga tribe, and are of a somewhat unusual type, as the decoration of down completely covers the whole cap, both back and front. Under ordinary circumstances the design is confined to the front. Fig. 7 represents a head-dress of a form very commonly worn during ceremonies of the wind totem, the central wavy band of red down being supposed to represent the wind. Possibly its form may be due to an attempt to suggest a whirlwind, but on the other hand precisely the same design on a head-dress is very commonly seen during Tjudia ceremonies, when it is supposed to represent a snake. The head-dresses represented in Figs. 8 and 9 are of a somewhat different type, and are met with amongst tribes who live where the "paper-bark" wattle or tea-tree (*Melaleuca leucodendron*) is abundant—that is, from the country of the Warramunga northwards. The bark strips off very easily, and, as the name implies, in sheets as thin as paper. These are simply folded up so as to form a cylinder, which is tied round with hair-string, the strands passing along the length of the outer and then of the inner face of the cylinder, the front surface of which is then decorated with down. The two figured were used during ceremonies of the Anula tribe.

Occasionally also the latter and the Mara and Binbinga tribes fix decorated slabs of wood into their head-dresses. In the Arunta tribe this is frequently done, but here Churinga are used for the purpose. The latter are only very rarely met with amongst the coastal tribes, and the slabs are specially made for the occasion, and are not kept after the ceremony is finished. The particular one figured was used during the performance of a snake totemic ceremony in the Anula tribe.

Two objects worn during ceremonies of the white-cockatoo totem are drawn in Figs. 9 and 10. The first of these was supposed to represent a white cockatoo, and was carried in his hand by the headman of the totemic group during the performance of the Intichiuma ceremony in the Warramunga tribe. Its resemblance to the bird is not very evident, and, moreover, it has two tufts of owl feathers at the end of a curved twig. It is made out of a fold of paper bark ornamented with a broad band of red and a narrow edging of white down. The second was worn in the head-dress of a man of the Tjingilli tribe who was performing a totemic ceremony. It was supposed to represent the top knot of the bird, and, more appropriately than in the case of the first object, it was ornamented with three tufts of white cockatoo feathers. Like the first one it is made of a small double fold of paper bark, but has a median line of white and an edging of red down.

In Fig. 11 a small tuft of the red-barred tail feathers of the black cockatoo is represented. This formed an ornament fixed into the head-dress of a man in the southern Arunta who was performing a rain ceremony. The white down on the feathers represents clouds and the red the water. This particular decoration is worn because in the Alcheringa the black cockatoo brought rain down from the north. Precisely similar decorations are used during the performance of a ceremony connected with the Irriakura (an edible bulb) totem in the northern part of the Arunta tribe, only in this case the down with which the feathers are covered is supposed to represent the flowers of the plant.

A simple form of head-dress is seen in Fig. 12, which has the form of a semicircle made as usual out of grass stalks bound tightly round with hair-string. The whole is

coated with red ochre and then ornamented with a band of white down. When being used it is fixed on to the top of a head-dress, and is supposed to represent the limp, disjointed body of a dead animal—in this particular case a wallaby. A very similar object, only somewhat larger in size and decorated with rings of down, was worn in the Arunta tribe during a ceremony of the white bat totem, and represented, on this occasion, the body of a dead black-fellow which was about to be cooked and eaten.[1]

Very often in connection with the sacred ceremonies different objects such as shields and *pitchis* are used. They are always more or less decorated, and for the time being are regarded as Churinga or sacred. The four decorated shields represented in Figs. 15, 16, 17, and 18 were used during ceremonies connected with the witchetty grub totem. First of all the whole surface is rubbed over with fresh red ochre, and then the designs are added, taking the form, as seen in the figures, sometimes of wavy or zigzag lines, at others of larger and smaller series of concentric circles. Then, by way of further ornamentation, dots of down may be added. In the upper and lower left-hand ones the central series of concentric circles represents the bush on which the grub feeds, the wavy lines indicating its tracks. In the lower one on the right side the larger series of circles are supposed to represent the same bush and the smaller ones the Udniringa bush on which the mature insect lays its eggs, while on the smaller shield the zigzag lines again represent the tracks of the insect.

The little *pitchi* shown in Fig. 17 was used during a rain ceremony in the southern Arunta. In the Alcheringa a great ancestor, named Irria, took lumps of gypsum out of his inside and presented them to another man in order to enable the latter to cause rain to fall, and this represented the *pitchi* in which the gypsum was carried. It was coated over with red ochre, and then further decorated with a broad median band of red and an outer narrower band of white down.[2]

[1] *N.T.* p. 474, Fig. 95.

[2] Other objects represented in the plate have been described elsewhere. A long account of the making and use of various forms of *nurtunjas* and *waningas*, such as are drawn in Figs. 17-21, is given in *N.T.* pp. 271-386.

The designs on Churinga are of three forms—(1) incised patterns, (2) painted patterns, and (3) decorations of down. The last of these is usually only added during the performance of sacred ceremonies in connection with which the Churinga are used, though occasionally, as in the case of the curious ones represented in Fig. 87, the down may be present quite irrespective of their being used in a ceremony.

It is very customary to cover more especially the wooden Churinga with a coating of red ochre, which is renewed from time to time when the *ertnatulunga* is visited or the objects are brought into camp for ceremonial purposes. In addition to this a definite pattern is sometimes painted on them, but it is always of a simple character. We have previously described a series of stone Churinga of the Unjiamba totem in the Arunta tribe, each of which is ornamented with a series of alternate lines of red and white drawn transversely to the length of the Churinga.[1] Two other types of this style of decoration are shown in Figs. 295 and 296. In the first of these the Churinga is associated with the Kulpu (honey bag) totem amongst the Kaitish tribe. It is of stone, flattened and pear-shaped, with a lump of resin at the small end. The whole surface has a coating of yellow ochre, and down the centre runs a broad black line. In the second the Churinga is of wood, decidedly concavo-convex in section, and has the two ends red-ochred and the central part blackened with charcoal. This belonged to a man of the Gnanji tribe, but neither in the case of this nor in that of the former could we ascertain the meaning of the design. Unless you can get hold of the actual man with whom it is associated, it is most difficult to ascertain the meaning of the design, even if the person whom you question knows all about it. It is a matter of strict etiquette not to reveal matters such as these,

FIG. 296.—STONE CHURINGA OF HONEY-BEE TOTEM. KAITISH TRIBE.

[1] *N.T.* Fig. 21.

emu totem, the other being that of a Kumara woman of the same tribe named Ilpa-yimbika, who belongs to the Latjia (a yam) totem. To a certain extent the chippings are arranged in rows following roughly the length of the object, and may be associated with straight or curved bands, circles, and spirals.

The straight or slightly curved bands are represented in the Figs. 299, 300, and 301. In Fig. 95 a somewhat

FIG. 297.—CHURINGA NANJA OF A MAN OF THE EMU TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

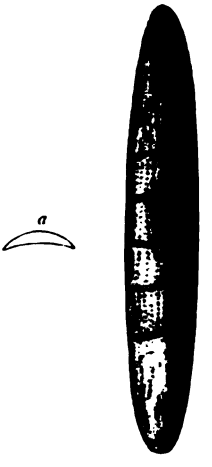


FIG. 298.—CHURINGA NANJA OF A KUMARA WOMAN OF THE YAM TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

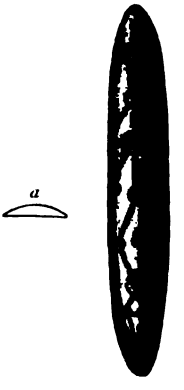
FIG. 299.—STONE CHURINGA. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

unusual form of decoration is met with in which, in addition to a series of odd bands running transversely half way across the surface, there are four ovals the spaces within which are filled with incised lines. In Fig. 299 we have a stone Churinga from the Warramunga tribe, flattened and pear-shaped in outline, with its narrower end tipped with resin. A somewhat roughly cut band of lines follows the outline all of the way round, about half an inch from the margin. Five bands run across the flat surface touching the curved one at either end, and other shorter ones run at right angles to the latter, radiating towards the edge, but not

passing round it. In Fig. 300 a Churinga associated with the rain totem in the Arunta tribe is represented. The lines are much more carefully incised than in the case of the last one,—the central, slightly curved band represents a creek, and the straight short bands along the side indicate the marchings of the ancestors from one spot to another along the banks of the creek. In another we have a good example of a style of decoration which is usually met with on Churinga belonging to the frog totem in the Arunta tribe. This special one, however, is the *churinga nanja* of a Kumara woman named Litji-litji, belonging to the yam totem. It is made of wood, and on the convex side there are a number of circles connected together by straight or slightly curved bands. This design on a Churinga of the frog totem indicates trees and tracks and sometimes frogs and their legs, but in a yam totem it may indicate yams and the roots from which they grow, or individuals and their tracks.

a

FIG. 300. STONE CHURINGA OF THE RAIN OR WATER TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.



a

FIG. 301.—CHURINGA NANJA OF A KUMARA WOMAN OF A YAM TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

Wavy bands are very usually regarded as indicative of snakes, but it is not at all safe to arrive at this conclusion in the absence of definite information. Such wavy bands are seen on several of the Churinga figured. In the case of two they are associated with snake totems, the first in the Gnanji and the second in the Umbaia tribe, and in these two cases they do actually represent snakes. In the wooden Churinga belonging to an Arunta man of

the Udniringita totem in the Macdonnell Ranges, the long wavy bands represent the wanderings of the old ancestors in the Alcheringa. Still more irregular wavy bands are seen in the figure representing a stone Churinga of an Arunta man belonging to the Irritja (eagle-hawk) totem.

Curved U-shaped bands are very often met with. A design of this kind is usually supposed to represent a group of individuals sitting down together. It is just possible that to a certain extent this may be imitative in origin, the two limbs of the U representing the outstretched legs of the men sitting on the ground. Even under ordinary circumstances it is not unusual for a native to represent a seated man in this way. Thus, for example, we were one day, when amongst the Kaitish tribe, listening to an account which was being given to us by an old man, describing how an original Purula man split into two. The old man who was speaking to us repeatedly, as natives are in the habit of doing, illustrated his remarks with drawings made on the sandy soil. When he was speaking of the original Purula man, he represented him by a U drawn on the ground with the tip of his finger. When, according to the tradition, he split into two, this was represented thus, UU. When the two men sat down closely, as natives do during ceremonies, in such a way that the back of one man was close to the front of the other, he represented it thus, Ш. On some Churinga this particular design has the form of a number of U fitting into one another—as, for example, on the water Churinga seen in Fig. 300, in which it is repeated several times, indicating on each occasion groups of people sitting down by the side of a creek. On other Churinga the design has become modified, so that there is an outer U and a series of lines parallel to the two arms, filling up the space within them (Figs. 307, 308). The main design on Fig. 302, though it has at first sight the form of two of these U-shaped structures on a large scale, is quite possibly derived from an original spiral or series of concentric circles which, for some reason, have been divided into two, and an irregular band of straight lines interposed between the two halves. In the upper of the two divisions

there is the clear commencement of a spiral in the centre. This particular Churinga belonged to a man of the Yarumpa (honey-ant) totem in the western Macdonnell Ranges.

FIG. 302.—CHURINGA BELONGING TO THE HONEY-ANT TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

In some cases spiral bands are present, as in Fig. 89, a curiously shaped stone Churinga of the wild-cat totem in the Kaitish tribe. In many instances the design commences as a spiral and is completed as a series of concentric circles, and it can hardly be doubted that the latter has been originally derived from the former.

FIG. 303.—STONE CHURINGA OF THE YAM TOTEM. KAITISH TRIBE.

The concentric circles vary to a very considerable extent. An excellent example is seen in Fig. 303, which represents a Churinga of the Menadji (a large yam) totem in the Kaitish tribe. In some cases the circles may be very numerous, and drawn with wonderful precision, considering the fact that they are incised on stone with the aid of so primitive a tool as a tooth.

In somewhat rare cases the circles may become flattened

FIG. 304.—CHURINGA OF THE MULLA, A SAND-HILL RAT TOTEM, SHOWING TRANSITION BETWEEN SERIES OF CIRCLES AND SQUARES. WESTERN ARUNTA TRIBE.

out so as to give rise finally to groups of concentric squares. In the Churinga shown in Fig. 304 this gradual angulation

of the circles, so as to give rise to squares, is evident, but in the case of the bell-bird Churinga (Fig. 305), both well-developed circles and squares occur on the same object. The first of these two Churinga belonged to a man named

FIG. 305.—CHURINGA OF THE BELL-BIRD TOTEM, SHOWING SERIES OF CONCENTRIC SQUARES ALONG WITH CIRCLES. WESTERN ARUNTA TRIBE.

Mulla-mulla, of a sand-hill rat totem, and both of them lived in the western section of the Arunta tribe. This is of some interest, as, further still to the west, the characteristic ornament of the natives consists of concentric rectangles and zigzag lines such as could be derived from the breaking up of the former. The circles on the Arunta Churinga certainly preceded, in point of time, the squares, and it is quite possible that the present very characteristic designs of West Australian implements, with the rectangular patterns and zigzag lines, may have been derived long ago from a scheme of ornamentation such as is now met with amongst the Arunta.

FIG. 306.—STONE CHURINGA WITH THE CENTRAL PART OF THE SERIES OF CONCENTRIC CIRCLES FILLED WITH A FEW INCISED STRAIGHT LINES. WARRAMUNGA TRIBE.

In some cases, instead of there being a simple spiral or series of circles, the central part may be occupied by an oval or rough circle, or an irregular square (Fig. 306) enclosing two or more straight lines. This is seen in the Churinga belonging to a man of the wren totem.

Finally, on some Churinga there are to be seen the tracks of animals. As a general rule tracks are represented by groups of straight or curved lines of various lengths, which can scarcely be called imitative, but now and again, and more especially on Churinga associated with bird totems, marks clearly

imitative of tracks are seen. Thus, for example, on the Churinga belonging to Ulperinia, a man of the emu totem, there is just one single emu track represented. On the Churinga belonging to the snake totem in the Gnanji tribe there are four emu tracks, the reason of this being that the water-hole, called Whanaluru, with which this is associated, is intimately connected in tradition with both the snake and emu totems, the ancestors of these

FIG. 307.—WOODEN CHURINGA OF THE UDNIRINGITA TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

FIG. 308.—WOODEN CHURINGA OF THE UDNIRINGITA TOTEM. ARUNTA TRIBE.

two totems having met here during their wanderings and left spirit individuals behind them. The only example of any except a bird's track being actually imitated on the Churinga is seen in the one represented in Fig. 304. This is the *churinga nanja* of the man who belonged to the sand-hill rat totem. The characteristic track made by the long and short toe on the hind foot of the animal as it hops along is represented, the tracks passing first up one side, then round the end and down the other side. This

Churinga is a very old one, and at the upper end the tracks have become almost obliterated by constant rubbing with grease and red ochre.

GROUND-DRAWINGS

Their ground-drawings are undoubtedly among the most interesting of the attempts made by the natives at anything

FIG. 309.—GROUND-DRAWING ASSOCIATED WITH THE WOLLUNQUA TOTEMIC CEREMONY OF A PLACE CALLED TIKOMERI.

in the way of decorative art. We are only acquainted with one of them in the Arunta tribe.[1] This is associated with the Intichiuma ceremony of the emu totem, and consists of circles, patches, and sinuous lines drawn in yellow, black, and red, and outlined with white spots. The various parts represent eggs, laid and unlaid, feathers, intestines, etc.

In the Warramunga tribe more or less elaborate ground drawings form a prominent feature in connection with the ceremonies associated with certain totemic groups. They are a curious mixture of purely conventional and, to a

[1] *N.T.* p. 179, Fig. 29.

certain extent, imitative designs, just as in the case of the emu drawing. The seven which are here represented were drawn in connection with the ceremonies of the Wollunqua and Thalaualla totems. Figs. 309-312 represent four out of a total of eight such drawings made upon the ground on as many successive days. As a general rule one was made for the performance of a particular day and rubbed out the next morning, its place being then taken by a new one, but in one or two instances the old drawing was retained and a new one added. As soon as the old men had decided what particular ceremony was to be performed, one or two of them

FIG. 310.—GROUND-DRAWING ASSOCIATED WITH THE WOLLUNQUA TOTEMIC CEREMONY OF A PLACE CALLED PARAPAKINI.

went on to the ceremonial ground and carefully smoothed down the surface of a patch of ground of the requisite shape and size. Water was then sprinkled upon this, and it was rubbed over and over with the palms of their hands until the surface was quite smooth, and, as soon as the water evaporated, had a kind of hard crust over it. The next thing done was to paint it with a coat of yellow or red ochre as the case might be. In all of the four illustrated, yellow ochre was used, but, in some of the other Wollunqua designs and in most of those of the Thalaualla, red ochre was employed. This done, the leading man took some red ochre or a mixture of grease and charcoal, and, using his finger as a brush, marked out the bands or circles which in all cases

formed the leading feature of the design. The smallest of the latter had a total length of seven feet and the longest of eighteen feet. As soon as the main design was outlined the younger men came up and, hour after hour, as shown in Fig. 78, they patiently added dot after dot of pipe-clay, using a little frayed twig as a brush, until the bands and circles were completely enclosed. All the time they kept up a continuous singing relating to the marching of the Wollunqua in the Alcheringa. When all was ready the design was carefully covered with gum boughs, and remained thus until after the ceremony, at the close of which the performers ran in and seated themselves upon the boughs

FIG. 311.—GROUND-DRAWING ASSOCIATED WITH THE WOLLUNQUA TOTEMIC CEREMONY OF A PLACE CALLED PARAPAKINI.

above the design. Then the boughs were removed and the meaning of the design explained to the younger men.

The first of the ceremonies was associated with a place called Tikomeri, where, at a native well, the old snake lifted himself up and tried to go down into the earth, but found the ground too hard, so he gave it up. The central series of circles represents the well, the two curved bands on the lower side in the figure indicate the neck of the snake as he turned round first in one direction and then in the other. The three remaining bands in the upper part are said to represent the shed skins of small snakes, but exactly who they were or in what way they were associated with the Wollunqua, we could not find out, nor did the natives appear

to know. The three separate series of circles represent special trees near to the well in which the Wollunqua left behind him a supply of spirit individuals, thus giving rise to what the Warramunga call a *Mungai*.

FIG. 312.—GROUND-DRAWING ASSOCIATED WITH THE WOLLUNQUA TOTEMIC CEREMONY OF A PLACE CALLED UNUNTUMURRA.

Figs. 310 and 311 are really part of one design, and were drawn side by side on the ground. They are associated with a place called Parapakini. In the black design the circles represent a place called Tjinkaringia, where the snake stopped in his wanderings to look about. The two curved bands represent him in the act of doing this. It will be noticed that the idea of the animal moving about is always expressed by a repetition of the curved band. The red design, which measured nine feet in length, is associated with an incident in the life of the Wollunqua when he met the two hawks named Warapula and Kirkalanji, who are reported to have made fire for the first time in the Warramunga tribe by rubbing two sticks

together. The circles, together with the curved bands radiating from them, represent the fire made by the hawks at a place called Mintili. The bands are indicative of the fire spreading out in various directions. It will be noticed that they are practically identical with those which, in Fig. 309, represent the neck and the cast skins of snakes. Of the three series of concentric circles the two nearest to the fire design represent springs of water which arose to mark the spot at which the hawks cooked and eat white

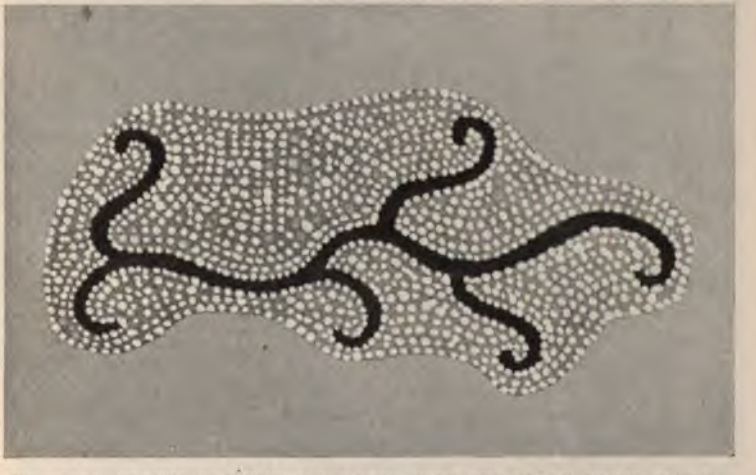


FIG. 313.—GROUND-DRAWING ASSOCIATED WITH THE BLACK SNAKE TOTEMIC CEREMONY OF A PLACE CALLED PITIMULA.

ants. The third series represents a tree which, in the same way, arose at the place where the birds threw the remains of the ants.

The fourth drawing was of a very considerable size, measuring eighteen feet in total length (Fig. 312). It is associated with a spot called Ununtumura, where the old Wollunqua ceased from his wanderings, dived into the earth, and returned to his home at Thapauerlu, where he has remained ever since. The long curved band represents the snake, the head of which is indicated by the swollen part terminating in two bands in contact with the circles. The latter represent Ununtumura, and the snake is supposed

to be in the act of actually diving down into the ground at this spot. Of the separate series of concentric circles the two larger ones indicate "paper-bark" trees, and the two smaller ones bushes, in all of which spirit children were left behind. A striking feature of this design is the tracks of a man who is reported to have lived with the snake at Thapauerlu and to have followed him up when he started off on his wanderings, being very anxious to make him return. At Ununtumura he came up with him and, standing by his side, lifted up his arms and struck the snake as hard as ever he could in the hope of making him dive

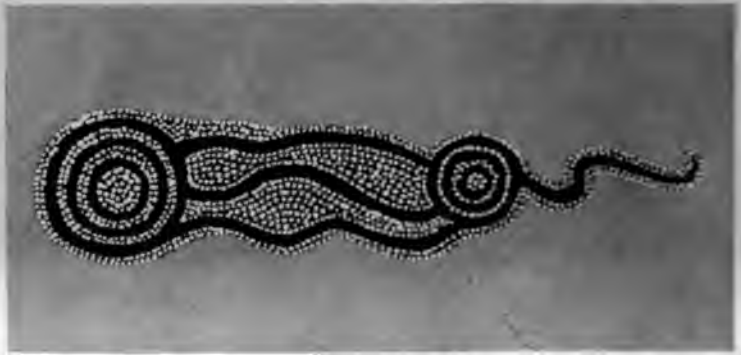


FIG. 314.—GROUND-DRAWING ASSOCIATED WITH THE BLACK SNAKE TOTEMIC CEREMONY OF A PLACE CALLED TJINQUROKORA.

down. The two human footprints side by side close to the head of the snake indicate the man standing by the latter, while the two large curved bands attached to the circles represent his arms lifted up to strike the snake.

The remaining three illustrations are connected with the Thalaualla (black snake) totem. In Fig. 313, which measured seven feet in length, the curved branching band represents the creek and its branches amongst the M'Douall Ranges at a place called Pitimula. The snake wandered all over the country, in this part leaving spirit children behind him.

In Fig. 314 the large series of concentric circles represents the water-hole called Tjinqurokora, where the

Thalaualla arose, and the smaller series a rock pool close by. The curved bands indicate the body of the snake as he moved about performing ceremonies.

The final ceremony of the Thalaualla series was only incidentally connected with the snake itself. The design drawn in Fig. 315 is supposed to represent six of the

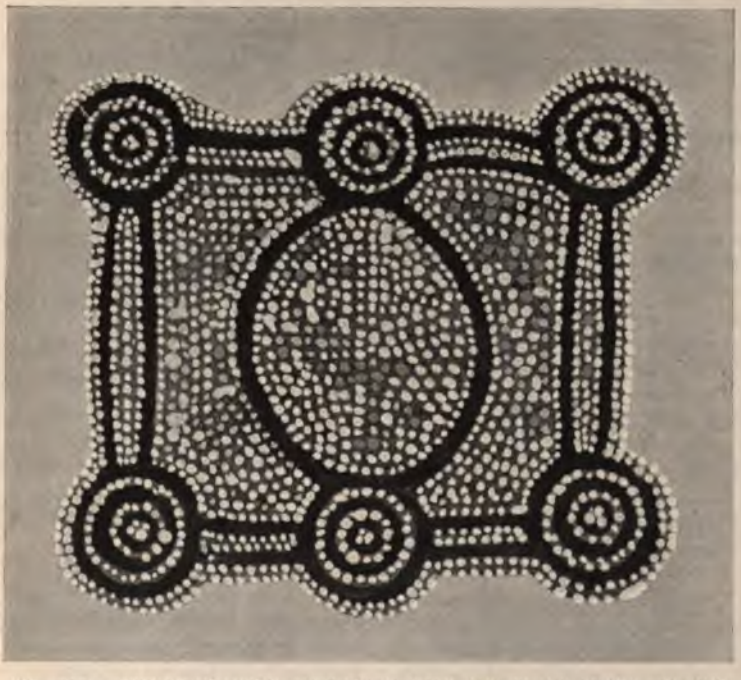


FIG. 315.—GROUND-DRAWING ASSOCIATED WITH THE BLACK SNAKE TOTEMIC CEREMONY OF A PLACE CALLED TJINQUROKORA.

Munga-munga women whom the snake sent away from Tjinqurokora. They travelled a long way out to the east, carrying yams with them which also were their Churinga. The circles represent their bodies, and the double bands connecting them are supposed to indicate their legs, drawn up when they sat down, tired out with walking.

GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS USED

Abubukúti—A small arched structure used during the performance of a ceremony of the rain totem. Mara tribe.

Achílpa—Native name for the "wild cat" (*Dasyurus sp.*), which gives its name to a totemic group in the Arunta tribe.

Ai-il-pilla—Name given in the Kaitish tribe to the tree or rock with which the ancestral spirit is specially associated. The equivalent of the *Nanja* tree or rock in the Arunta tribe.

Akíltja—Term for blind in the Arunta tribe. *Apera akíltja* is the name given to tree associated with an *Alchéringa* blind ancestor.

Alátji—Status term applied to an uncircumcised boy in the Gnanji tribe.

Alátna—Status term applied to a young woman before the operation of *arílthа* in the Gnanji tribe.

Alátunja—Name applied to the heads of local groups in the Arunta tribe.

Alchéringa—Name applied by the Arunta, Kaitish, and Unmatjera tribes to the far past, or dream times, in which their mythic ancestors lived. The word *alchéri* means dream.

Alkíra—The sky. Arunta.

Alkíra-kiúma—Name given to the first initiation ceremony in the Arunta and Unmatjera tribes. It consists in throwing the boy up into the air and catching him. *Alkíra*, sky; *kiúma*, to throw.

Alkíria—Term applied to an elder brother, blood or tribal. Kaitish tribe.

Allia—Seed of gum-tree. Kaitish tribe.

Allínga—Name given to sun. Kaitish tribe.

Allóngalla—Name of *Chúringa*. Kaitish tribe.

Alpíta—Tail-tips of the rabbit bandicoot. Arunta tribe.

Alquáthara—Term applied to "mates," as, for example, the ancestors of the rain and the emu totems. Kaitish tribe.

Althérta—Name for ordinary corrobborees. Arunta tribe.

Amára—Ceremony of knocking out of teeth. Gnanji tribe.

Ambaqúerka—Young child. Arunta tribe.

Ambíringa-tjinta—Ceremony of breaking the bone of a dead person. Warramunga tribe.

Ámbua—Form of woman's magic. Kaitish tribe.

Améra—Spear-thrower. Arunta tribe.

Amóama—Name of storehouse in which the sacred objects of a totemic group are stored. Kaitish tribe.

Amúnga-qúinia-qúinia—Name of small lizards which snap up flies quickly. The two *Alchéringa* individuals who first of all made men and women in the Arunta tribe became transformed into these.

Anauarinia—" Poison " stones used for evil magic purposes. Warramunga tribe.

Anjulúkuli—Stone carried in the hands of a man performing a sacred ceremony in the Umbaia tribe.

Ánula—Name of a tribe.

Ápera—A tree. Arunta tribe.

Apérta—A stone. Arunta tribe.

Apèrta úria—Mound of earth above the grave. Kaitish tribe.

Aptllia—Term applied by a man to daughters of the younger brothers of his mother with whom he may not have marital relations. Urabunna tribe.

Appungérta—Name of a subclass. Arunta tribe.

Arabtlia—Warty excrescence on a gum-tree. Warramunga tribe.

Arakúrta—Status term applied to the novice between the times of circumcision and subincision. Arunta tribe.

Arakútja—Native term for woman. Arunta tribe.

Arálka-lilima—Stroking the mouth with *Chúringa*. Arunta tribe.

Arálkira—Fair in colour.

Arillnja—Word meaning tabooed. Urabunna tribe.

Arílpa—Name of moon. Kaitish tribe.

Arílthа or *Arílthа-kúma*—The ceremony of subincision. Arunta tribe.

Árira—Elder sister. Kaitish tribe.

Arítna—Word for name. Arunta tribe.

Arítna chúringa—Term for sacred name. Arunta tribe.

Arumbátja—Name given to sacred ceremonies. Umbaia tribe.

Arumbúringa—The spirit double. Arunta tribe.

Arúnga—Grandfather ; also name for the *curo*, a kangaroo. Arunta tribe.

Arungqúiltha—Name given to evil magic, and also to the object possessing it. Arunta tribe.

Arúnqua—Wooden pointing-stick. Binbinga tribe.

Arúnta—Name of a tribe.

Atalátia—A hollow sound. Arunta tribe.

Atjíria—Name applied to a younger brother. Kaitish tribe.

Atjuálli—Name given to a mother's mother's brothers. Kaitish tribe.

Atnatú—Name given to a powerful spirit individual who is supposed to inhabit the sky. Kaitish tribe.

Atna-arílthа-kuma—The operation of cutting open the vagina. Arunta tribe.

Atna-théra-théra—Incomplete men and women. The name is due to the fact that they are supposed to have had two anal openings, one on each wrist. Kaitish tribe.

Atnílinga—Pointing-sticks. Kaitish tribe.

Atninga—Avenging party. Arunta tribe.
Atninga untérrima—Name of series of ceremonies attendant on the despatch of the *atninga* party. Arunta tribe.
Atninja—Name of moon. Arunta tribe.
Atninni—Mother's brothers. Kaitish tribe.
Atnirinja—Spirit of dead individual. Kaitish tribe.
Átnitta lírima—Endowing the intestines with sight, so that a man can detect the unfaithfulness of his wife or the approach of a *kurdáitcha.*
Átnitta ulpáilima—Striking the stomachs of men during ceremonies with the head or a stone. Arunta tribe.
Atnóngara—Stones put into the body of a medicine man so as to endow him with curative powers. Arunta tribe.
Atnúnga—Name of rabbit bandicoot. Arunta tribe.
Atthamarínia—Name given to the spirit doubles. Kaitish tribe.
Atúmmina—Woman's yam-stick. Kaitish tribe.
Atwia-átwia—Name applied to individuals who perform the ceremony of circumcision in the Arunta tribe.
Auadáua—A grass seed which gives its name to a totemic group. Arunta tribe.
Auíllia—Mother's brother. Kaitish tribe.
Auíniari—Wife's father. Warramunga tribe.
Awukaría—Name of one of the subclasses in the Anula tribe.

Barakópuqua—Spot at which the great ancestor of a totemic group went into the earth. Urabunna tribe.
Barkála—Bush shades made by ancestral women of the *Itjílpi* totem. Warramunga tribe.
Barkamúnda—Ceremony of releasing the recently initiated youth from the ban of silence existing between him and the women. Warramunga tribe.
Bidi-bidúba—Name of bull-roarer. Larakia tribe.
Biíngaru—Name of one of the subclasses. Worgaia tribe.
Biliarínthu—Name of one of the subclasses. Worgaia tribe.
Binbinga—Name of a tribe.
Bingóngina—Name of a tribe.
Bióka—Crystal used by the Gnanji tribe in ceremony for the production of rain.
Bláingu—Name of one of the subclasses in the Worgaia tribe.
Bóbbi-bóbbi—Name of an ancestral snake. Anula tribe.
Bokukáli—Name of the smaller crocodile (*C. johnstoni*) which gives its name to a totemic group. Gnanji tribe.
Bullénmo—Name of rabbit bandicoot. Worgaia tribe.
Bullukári—Stones representing old female kangaroos. Warramunga tribe.
Bulthára—Name of one of the subclasses in the Arunta tribe.
Burúmburu—Name of column of stone in the Phillips creek where a grub changed its skin and thus turned into a cockatoo. The same term is also applied to the *Miniúrka*, *q.v.* Warramunga tribe.

Chúringa alkúrta—Name applied to a shield used during the performance of a sacred ceremony in the Arunta tribe.
Chúringa ilpíntira—Design associated with a totemic group, drawn on the ground. Arunta tribe.
Chúringa irúla—Wooden *Chúringa* or sacred stick. Arunta tribe.
Chúringa uchâqua—Stones representing the chrysalis stage of the *udniringita* grub.
Chúringa ulpailima—Polishing and rubbing the *Chúringa* with red ochre during a sacred ceremony. Arunta tribe.
Chúringa únchima—Small stones representing the eggs of the *udniringíta* grub. Arunta tribe.

Diéri—Name of a tribe.

Ekérinja—Forbidden or tabooed. Arunta tribe.
Engwúra—Final initiation ceremony. Arunta tribe.
Équilla tímma—Projecting smell into a person's food. Arunta tribe.
Eqúinna—A white friable stone used for decoration during ceremonies. Warramunga tribe.
Érlia—Name for the emu. Arunta tribe.
Erlípinna—Name of a grass seed used for food. Kaitish tribe.
Erlítji—Husband's mother's brother. Kaitish tribe.
Erlúkwirra—Women's camp. Arunta tribe.
Ertnatúlunga—Storehouse of sacred objects. Arunta and Unmatjera tribes.
Értua—Wild turkey (*Eupodotis australis*). Arunta tribe.
Értwa—A man. Arunta tribe.
Ertwáininga—Name applied to groups of ancestral women who travelled across the Kaitish country. Kaitish tribe.
Ertwakúrka—Status term applied to a man after he has been initiated but before he has passed through the *Engwúra*. Arunta tribe.
Erúba—Name given by women to the noise made by the bull-roarer. Larakia tribe.
Euro—A kangaroo (*Macropus robustus*).

Gambátja—Father; father's brothers. Warramunga tribe.
Gámmona—Mother's brothers or daughter's husband. Arunta tribe.
Gnabáia—Three spirit individuals, two of whom are unfriendly and one friendly. Anula tribe.
Gnágun—Daughter's husband or mother's brothers. Mara tribe.
Gnánji—Name of a tribe.
Gniárti—Name applied to the operation of circumcision in the Mara tribe.
Gnulúngun-piátjula—Name applied to the initiation ceremonies of the Mara tribe.
Gnungapunna—Name applied to the honeycomb of a wild bee. Walpari tribe. It gives its name to a totemic group.
Gnura—A camp. Urabunna tribe.
Gnuru—Name applied to the foreskin. Warramunga tribe.
Góngaru—Name of a tribe.

Idnimíta—A grub which gives its name to a totemic group. Kaitish tribe.

Ikámaru—Name of one of the subclasses in the Worgaia tribe.

Ikúntera—Wife's father. Arunta tribe.

Ilatílkima—Name given to the sound made by striking a shield carried by a man who has returned from an avenging expedition. The word signifies solid. Arunta tribe.

Illíka—A knout used for magic purposes by the Arunta tribe.

Ilkínia—A sacred totemic design. Arunta tribe.

Ilkitnaínga—Name applied to the *Intichiuma* ceremonies of the Kaitish tribe.

Ilkúnta—Flaked sticks worn in the head-dress. Arunta tribe.

Illaur-íllima—Giving of water to a party which has been engaged in some secret business such as the returning of *Chúringa*. Arunta tribe.

Illiáura—Name of a tribe.

Illínja—A shadow. Arunta tribe.

Illítji—Name of one of the moieties into which the Umbaia, Gnanji, and Bingongina tribes are divided.

Illúta—Name of a small wallaby. Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes.

Ilpa—Navel. Unmatjera tribe.

Ilpílpa-antiána—Headman of a local totemic group in the Kaitish tribe.

Ílpirra—Name of a tribe.

Ilthúra—Holes containing stones called *Chúringa uchâqua*, representing the chrysalis stage of the *udniringíta* grub. Arunta tribe.

Iltjélla—Mother's sister's daughter. Unmatjera and Arunta tribes.

Iltjinkinja—Special messengers sent out to summon distant groups to sacred ceremonies. Arunta tribe.

Immirínja—Name applied to the men who have actually done the killing on an avenging expedition. Arunta tribe.

Imwánia—One form of pointing-stick. Kaitish tribe.

Inápertwa—Incomplete ancestral men and women. Arunta tribe.

Inárlinga—Name given to the Echidna. Kaitish tribe.

Ingílla—Name given by Warramunga to the shell ornament, called *lónka-lónka* by the Arunta.

Ingwáninga—One form of pointing-stick. Kaitish tribe.

Íni-íni—Ceremony of rubbing men with stones representing parts of a kangaroo in order to make them better able to catch the animal. Warramunga tribe.

Ínji-kínji tèra—Name applied to the Magellan clouds. Arunta tribe.

Injílla—Pointing-sticks. Arunta tribe.

Inkúpia—Name applied to ant-hill. Kaitish tribe.

Inmíntera—Incomplete ancestral men and women. Kaitish tribe.

Inqúatitja—Head of local totemic group. Unmatjera tribe.

Inter-íntera—Incomplete ancestral human beings. Kaitish tribe.

Intíchiúma—Ceremony to increase the supply of the totemic animal or plant which gives its name to the totemic group which performs the ceremony. Arunta and Unmatjera tribes.

Intjitja—Name applied in the Mara tribe to the past times in which their mythic ancestors are supposed to have lived.

Inwúra—Sacred messengers or party of men engaged upon some such errand as that of returning *Chúringa*. Arunta tribe.

Ipmúnna—Maternal grandmother or maternal grandmother's brothers.

Irman—Name of snake which is supposed to be put into the head of the medicine-man. Warramunga tribe.

Irna—One form of pointing-stick. Arunta tribe.

Irriákura—Bulb of a cyperous plant, a favourite article of food. Arunta tribe.

Irrimúnta—Stroking the design of a snake drawn on the bodies of men performing a ceremony of the snake totem. Warramunga tribe.

Irrititji—Term applied to *Chúringa* or to anything carried by a totemic ancestor—such, for example, as a stone knife used during circumcision. It is very nearly the equivalent of the term *Chúringa*. Warramunga tribe.

Irritja—The eagle-hawk. It gives its name to a totemic group. Arunta tribe.

Irtnia—Chrysalis case of an *idnimita* grub. Unmatjera tribe.

Irúla—Wooden. Arunta tribe.

Irúlknakinna—Waist-girdle made out of hair cut from the head of a dead man. Arunta tribe.

Iruntarinia—Spirit individuals. Arunta tribe.

Itia—Younger brother or sister. Arunta tribe.

Itjilpi—Name of an ant which gives its name to a totemic group in the Warramunga tribe.

Íttha—Term applied to evil magic. Kaitish tribe.

Itúrka—Term applied to an individual who transgresses laws in regard to relations with a woman of a forbidden group. Arunta tribe.

Káballa—Elder sisters. Warramunga tribe.

Kábbidji—Name of one subclass in the Kaitish tribe.

Kádni—A Jew lizard which gives its name to a totemic group. Urabunna tribe.

Kai-in—Term applied to boomerang. Warramunga tribe.

Káikai—Husband. Binbinga tribe.

Kaila—Term applied to boomerang. Kaitish tribe.

Kaitish—Name of a tribe.

Kákan—A species of hawk which gives its name to a totemic group. The ancestor of the latter first discovered fire. Warramunga tribe.

Kakíti—Small mound of earth made on the spot on which a man actually dies. Warramunga tribe.

Kalábera—General term for tree. Warramunga tribe.

Kallúa—Arm-bone of dead man. Binbinga tribe.

Kánku—Father's father, son's son. Binbinga tribe.

Kánkwia—Father's father, son's son. Warramunga tribe.

Kántjari—Word for fish. Gnanji tribe.

Kánu—Status term applied to boy before circumcision. Warramunga tribe.

Karína—Wife. Binbinga tribe.

Karínji—The bird called *jabiru*, which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.

Kárti—Name applied to a fully grown man. Warramunga tribe.

Kátajálina—Name of spirit which is supposed by the women and children to eat the youth during the initiation ceremony. Binbinga tribe.

Kátakítji—Name of a lizard in the Warramunga, and of a snake in the Umbaia tribe, which gives its name to a totemic group.

Katáta—Shield. Kaitish tribe.

Kátja-kátja—Children (man speaking), brother's children (woman speaking). Binbinga tribe.

Katjíri—Mother, mother's sisters. Mara tribe.

Katunúnga—Wife. Warramunga tribe.

Kauáua—Sacred pole decorated at its upper end to represent a man's head; used at the conclusion of the *Engwúra* ceremony. Arunta tribe.

Kíngelu—Name of one of the subclasses. Worgaia tribe.

Kingílli—Name of one of the moieties into which the Warramunga tribe is divided.

Kíra—Stone knife. Tjingilli tribe.

Kirárawa—Name of one of the moieties in the Urabunna tribe.

Kirra-úrkna—Name applied to the girdle made out of hair cut from the head of a dead man. Arunta tribe.

Kítji-kítji—Term applied to the lending of lubras. Worgaia tribe.

Kítji-parítji—Trees representing the yam-sticks of the *Munga-munga* women. Warramunga tribe.

Koáka—Name given to the special fire kindled at the base of the forked stick on which is placed the parcel of bones of a dead person. Binbinga tribe.

Kóperta kálkuma—Ceremony of biting the head of a novice in order to make his hair grow. Arunta tribe.

Kúial—Name of one of the subclasses. Mara tribe.

Kukáitja—Younger brother. Warramunga tribe.

Kukúku—Mother's brother's sons. Binbinga tribe.

Kukúnia—Grandmother on the mother's side. Binbinga tribe.

Kulínia—Stick used for fire-making. Warramunga tribe.

Kúlla-kúlla—Husband. Warramunga tribe.

Kúlpu—Sugar or honey bag; the comb of the wild bee. Warramunga tribe.

Kúltjia—Arm-bands. Arunta tribe.

Kulúngara—Gashing of thighs during mourning ceremonies. Warramunga tribe.

Kumára—Name of one of the subclasses. Arunta tribe.

Kummínji—Hedge-wood tree. Gnanji tribe.

Kúmpirra—The spirit of a dead person. Urabunna tribe.

Kunapípi—Name applied to a sacred ceremony. Also to an object used during the performance of the same. Anula tribe.

Kúnja—Hole left where a tooth has been knocked out. Gnanji tribe.

Kuntamára—Name applied to the ceremony of repeating subincision. Warramunga tribe.
Kúpitja—Small object worn through the nose by a medicine man. Warramunga tribe.
Kurállia—Stars. Kaitish tribe.
Kurdáitcha—Name applied to men who are supposed to wear feather shoes when they set out to kill a man. Arunta tribe.
Kúrinah—Name given to the spirit which is supposed to enter a woman and be born in human form. Kaitish tribe.
Kurnándi—Mother, mother's sisters. Warramunga tribe.
Kúrta-kúrta—Name applied to anything of a sacred nature, as, for example, the fire at a grave or bull-roarers. Binbinga tribe.
Kúrti—A dead man. Gnanji tribe.
Kúrtu—Stone knife. Binbinga tribe.
Kurúpatu—Boomerang. Tjingilli tribe.
Kútnakitji—Name of a green snake which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.
Kutúlu—Spirit part of an individual. Warramunga tribe.
Ku-unkalâma—Fire-stick. Binbinga tribe.
Kwérkapúnga—Child stone rubbed with *Chúringa* to make child enter a woman. Kaitish tribe.

***Laláuga*—Hollow log ornamented with totemic design of the individual whose bones are buried in it. Binbinga tribe.**
***Lálkira*—A grub which gives its name to a totemic group. Arunta tribe.**
Larakía—Name of a tribe.
Léilira—Stone knife. Arunta tribe.
Liarítji—Name of one of the moieties of the tribe in the Tjingilli, Umbaia, Gnanji, and Bingongina tribes.
Lílkara—Armlet of split cane. Mara tribe.
Lilparítji—A large lizard which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.
Lírima—To see. Arunta tribe.
Litjingára—Name given to food presented by young men to older men after the performance of various ceremonies. Warramunga tribe.
Lodgo—Name applied to a stone knife. Gnanji tribe.
Lónka-lónka—Ornament made out of shell or bone. Arunta tribe.
Loritmítpi—Earth grave. Gnanji tribe.
Lúmuru—Representations of pointing-sticks worn during sacred ceremonies in connection with a mythic beast called *Pauwa* and the *jabiru* bird. Warramunga tribe.
Lúnkulúngu—White-ant eggs. The name of a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.
Lúringa—Noise made by the bull-roarer. Kaitish tribe.

Mdegwa—The adult insect, the grub stage of which is called *udni-ringíta*. Arunta tribe.
Mdian—Men's special camp. Warramunga tribe.

Mai-áurli—Name given to the spirit individuals left behind by the ancestors of the totemic groups. They are sometimes also called *múrra-múrra.* Urabunna tribe.

Mai-ínwa—Name given to the time during which the mythic ancestors of the Worgaia tribe are supposed to have lived.

Main-báku—Neck-girdle made out of vegetable fibre string. Mara tribe.

Makuntálthi—A small parcel containing whiskers cut from the head of a special man and associated with betrothal. Warramunga tribe.

Malála—Older circumcised boy. Warramunga tribe.

Mala-malápppa—Status term applied to females after the performance of *atna-arílltha-kuma.* Gnanji tribe.

Mánia—Men's pubic tassel. Binbinga tribe.

Maninjálla—Men's pubic tassel. Anula tribe.

Mántera—A small snake (*Vermicella annulata*) which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.

Mapu-urtála—Fire-stick. Anula tribe.

Mára—Name of a tribe.

Maringílitha—Evil magic. Wórgaia and Gnanji tribe.

Márru—Special stones representing old male kangaroos. The latter are supposed at times to emanate from the stones. Warramunga tribe.

Mártan—Stone knife. Warramunga tribe.

Marúku—Name applied to the ceremony of subincision. Mara tribe.

Máta-máta—Small woman's apron. Warramunga tribe.

Mátjina—Status term applied to a young girl. Gnanji tribe.

Matjulári—Ordinary large woman's apron. Warramunga tribe.

Matthúrri—Name of one of the moieties in the Urabunna tribe.

Máuia—Evil magic. Northern tribes.

Méimi—Mother's brother's sons. Anula tribe.

Méllii-méllii—Messengers sent out in connection with ordinary ceremonies. Warramunga tribe.

Méltjinta—Term applied to the coming up of ancestors out of the ground. The same term is also applied to a drawing made on the ground during the performance of a ceremony associated with a spot at which the ancestor thus came out of the ground. Warramunga tribe.

Menádji—A large yam which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.

Mia—Mother and mother's sisters. Arunta tribe.

Midjádi—Term applied to a man's pubic tassel when it is only ornamented with a little red ochre. Mara tribe.

Milganáttha—Women's special camp. Warramunga tribe.

Mimáiina—Wife's mother. Binbinga tribe.

Mimíti—Wife's brother. Mara tribe.

Mingarínji—The head of a totemic group. Binbinga and Mara tribes.

Míni-ímburu—Ceremony connected with the building of a mound representing the sand-hill at which the *Wollunqua* snake went down into the ground. Warramunga tribe.

Miniúrka—A large bundle associated with the *tappin* ceremony, which represents the Uluuru moiety of the tribe giving light and warmth to the men of the Kingilli moiety. Warramunga tribe.

Minungára—Name given to two spirits inhabiting the sky. Mara tribe.

Mirri—Shield. Warramunga tribe.

Mitji-mitjári—Stone *Chúringa*. Warramunga tribe.

Móidna—Spirit part of a man. Gnanji tribe.

Mongúra—A sacred totemic design. Warramunga tribe.

Múlga—Common name of *Acacia aneura*.

Múlla—A mosquito. Anula tribe.

Mulungári—*Kurdaitcha* of the Tjingilli tribes.

Mulyanúka—Name applied by the members of one moiety of the tribe to the other. Arunta tribe.

Mumbákuáku—The roller bird, commonly known in the north as the dollar or rain bird. Mara tribe. It gives its name to a totemic group.

Mumbáli—Name of a class in the Mara tribe.

Mumpáni—A friendly spirit supposed to reside in the woods. Mara tribe.

Munálgi—Spirit part of an individual. Warramunga tribe.

Munapáuana—A small wooden *Chúringa*. Warramunga tribe.

Mundádji—Name of a spirit individual. Binbinga tribe.

Mungái or *mungáii*—In the Warramunga the term is applied both to the totemic animal which gives its name to a totemic group, to the latter, and also to spots which are especially associated with the totemic ancestors. In the Tjingilli and Binbinga tribe the term is applied to the far past times in which their mythic ancestors are supposed to have lived.

Múnga-múnga—Certain women of the yam totem who walked over into Queensland, carrying with them *Chúringa*, which they deposited by the way at places where they left spirit individuals behind them. Warramunga tribe.

Mungarítji—A large Varanid lizard which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.

Munkáni—Medicine man. Mara and Anula tribes.

Munkanínji—Medicine man. Also the name of one of the unfriendly spirit individuals. Binbinga tribe.

Muntálki—Spirit part of individual. Warramunga tribe.

Muntíkera—A carpet snake which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.

Muntínpa—Special pointing-stick belonging to an ancestor of the wild cat totemic group. Warramunga tribe.

Muntúlqua—Small crystals which issued from the bodies of the ancestors of totemic groups and gave rise to spirit children. Warramunga tribe.

Múra—Brother of wife's mother or wife's mother. Arunta tribe.

Murbútu—Small fishing net. Mara tribe.

Murkálti—Woman's head-rings. Warramunga tribe.

Múrra-múrra—Name of *Chúringa*. Anula tribe.
Múrra-múrra.—Spirit individuals left behind at certain spots by the great ancestors of the totemic groups. Urabunna tribe.
Múrri-múrri—Paternal grandfather or son's son.
Murrúmburra—Large crocodile (*C. porosus*). Anula tribe.
Múrtu-múrtu—Name of wooden *Chúringa*. Also the name of an ancestor who used to make the noise all day long. Warramunga tribe.
Múru—Operation of circumcision. Warramunga tribe.
Múrungun—Name of a subclass. Mara tribe.

Naiántha—A species of Grevillea tree out of which bull-roarers are made. It is associated in tradition with an ancestor named *Múrtu-múrtu*. Warramunga tribe.
Nakála—The moon. Anula tribe.
Nakomára—Name of one of the subclasses in the Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.
Nakrakía—Name applied by the members of one moiety to the other members of the same. Arunta tribe.
Nakúni—Father. Binbinga tribe.
Nála—Name of a female subclass. Bingongina tribe.
Nalanginínja—Name of a female subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Nalaringínja—Name of a female subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Nalíri—Name of a female subclass. Bingongina tribe.
Náltjeri—Name of a female subclass. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.
Náluru—Father. Mara tribe.
Namarangínja—Name of a female subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Namarátha—Hair cut from the head of a dead man. Anula tribe.
Namaringínta—Name of a female subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Namatwinna—Small wooden *Chúringa* used for magic purposes. Arunta tribe.
Námbin—Name of male subclass. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.
Nambitjingínja—Name of a female subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Namími—Father's mother. Mara tribe.
Naminínja—Name of a female subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Namínni—Mother's brother, daughter's husband. Warramunga tribe.
Namíta—Name of a female subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Nandia—Name of forehead-band. Warramunga tribe.
Nanáttha—Name applied to hair cut from the head of a living man. Anula tribe.
Nánia—Maternal grandmother. Kaitish tribe.
Nánja—Tree or rock supposed to be especially associated with an ancestral spirit individual. Arunta tribe.
Nánmi—Word for no. Mara tribe.
Napanúnga—Name of a female subclass. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.

Napaurínia-úrkulu—Name applied to the *Wollunqua* snake when speaking of it in public. Warramunga tribe.

Nápin—Hole made by the knocking out of a tooth. Warramunga tribe.

Nápi-nápi—Wife's brothers. Anula tribe.

Napitjátja—Grandfather or grandchild on the maternal side. Mara tribe.

Napítji—Husband's father. Binbinga tribe.

Náppa—Water. Warramunga tribe.

Napungérta—Name of a female subclass in the Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.

Náralu—Name of a female subclass in the Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.

Narrauwítji—Status term applied to a young man after subincision. Gnanji tribe.

Natauapínnia—Stone knife carried by the ancestor of the wild-cat totemic group. Warramunga tribe.

Nathagúra—Name of a fire ceremony associated with the Uluuru moiety in the Warramunga tribe.

Natjérta—Name applied to the human hair-string girdle. Warramunga tribe.

Niamáku—Name of a female subclass. Gnanji tribe.

Niámaragun—Name of a female subclass. Umbaia tribe.

Niámerum—Name of a female subclass. Binbinga tribe.

Ni-írra—Parcel containing the hair of a dead man. Binbinga tribe.

Nínum—Name of a female subclass. Umbaia tribe.

Nipári—Wife's father. Mara tribe.

Niri-marára—Mother's brother's sons. Mara tribe.

Niriúma—Name of a female subclass. Binbinga tribe.

Nitjári—Sons and brother's sons. Mara tribe.

Nuanakúrna—Name of a female subclass. Gnanji tribe.

Núlla-núlla—General name for a fighting club.

Núlum—Name of a female subclass. Umbaia tribe.

Nunálla—Name of a female subclass. Bingongina tribe.

Nunatjulúnga—Wife's mother. Mara tribe.

Nungálla—Name of a female subclass. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.

Nungallakúrna—Name of a female subclass. Gnanji tribe.

Nungállum—Name of a female subclass. Umbaia, Bingongina, and Binbinga tribes.

Nungapúna. Honey bag or comb of wild bee made in the ground. Warramunga tribe.

Nungári—Name of a female subclass. Bingongina tribe.

Núpa—Term applied by man to daughters of his mother's elder brothers with whom it is lawful for him to have marital connection. Urabunna tribe.

Nuralakúrna—Name of a female subclass. Gnanji tribe.

Núrdla—A man. Urabunna tribe.

Nurlanjukúrna—Name of a female subclass. Gnanji tribe.
Núrlum—Name of a female subclass. Binbinga tribe.
Núrtunja—Sacred pole decorated with designs in bird's down representing a totemic object. Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes.
Núrulum—Name of a female subclass. Umbaia tribe.
Núthi—Elder sister. Urabunna tribe.

Oaranjéringa—A whirlwind. Warramunga tribe.
Okérka—The sun. Arunta tribe.
Okília—Elder brothers and sons of father's elder brothers. Arunta tribe.
Oknánikilla—Spot where the ancestors of a local totemic group went into the ground leaving their spirit parts behind them associated with *Chúringa*. Arunta tribe.
Oknía—Father, father's brothers. Arunta tribe.
Oknira—Word used to mean very or great. Arunta tribe.
Oknirabáta—An old and learned man. Arunta tribe.
Ópilla—Name of a subclass. Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes.
Orúntja—A mischievous and unfriendly spirit. Arunta tribe.

Páitja-páitja—Name applied to an old man. Binbinga tribe.
Palanméri—An avenging party. Warramunga tribe.
Paliarína—Name of a female subclass. Umbaia, Gnanji, and Binbinga tribes.
Paliarínji—Name of a male subclass. Umbaia, Gnanji, and Binbinga tribes.
Pálla-palláma—Name of the platform of boughs on which the bodies of men and women are placed by the Gnanji tribe after death.
Palpála—Name of the little pit in which the arm-bone of a dead person is finally buried. The same name is also applied to the going down of totemic ancestors into the earth, and to designs drawn on the ground and associated with the spots at which this took place. Warramunga tribe.
Palpalkítjima—The bell-bird. Kaitish tribe.
Paltínta—Spot where the ancestor of a totemic group left spirit children behind. Urabunna tribe.
Panúnga—Name of a subclass. Arunta tribe.
Papérti—Elder brother, father's elder brothers' sons. Warramunga tribe.
Papílla-trima—Presentation of men who are visiting a strange camp in connection with a sacred errand to the local women. Arunta tribe.
Papítin—A large yam which gives its name to a totemic group. Tjingilli tribe.
Páppa—Elder brothers, father's elder brothers' sons. Binbinga tribe.
Pári-pári—Medicine man. Anula tribe.
Párra—Ceremony of subincision. Warramunga tribe. Also the name

of the special ground on which the *Engwura* ceremony is performed. Arunta tribe.

Parungindi—Woman's apron. Mara tribe.

Paûwa—Mythic mischievous creature. Warramunga tribe.

Perúltja—Ceremony of subincision. Urabunna tribe.

Pillinjíri—Grass of which the kangaroo is very fond, and which is used in a ceremony to increase the numbers of the animal in any special locality. Mara tribe.

Pilpílpa—Name of a plover, a bird especially associated with a rain ceremony. Arunta tribe.

Píltja—Ceremony of throwing the newly born child up and down in the air. Kaitish tribe.

Píndi-píndi—Pearl oyster which gives its name to a totemic group in the Anula tribe.

Pintjálpi—Closely woven bag or basket. Anula tribe.

Piráungaru—Term applied by a man to certain women amongst those who stand to him in the relationship of *nupa* to whom he may lawfully have access. The term is reciprocal. Urabunna tribe.

Pirrítthi—Pointing-bone made most usually from the fibula of a dead man. Gnanji tribe.

Pitchi—Name commonly applied to the wooden vessels of various shapes and sizes which are used for carrying things about in. The term is the equivalent of *kuliman* commonly used in other parts.

Pitjinta—Ceremonies to secure the increase of a totemic animal or plant. Urabunna tribe.

Pittóngu—The big bat which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.

Poarádju—Name applied in the Umbaia and Gnanji tribes to the past times in which their mythic ancestors are supposed to have lived.

Poarípa—Name applied by the Walpari tribe to the past times during which their mythic ancestors are supposed to have lived.

Puil-íllima—Noise made by loud shouting, while at the same time the hand is vibrated rapidly backwards and forwards in front of the mouth. Arunta tribe.

Púlla—Ceremony of circumcision. Unmatjera tribe.

Puncha—General term for a hill. Arunta and Unmatjera tribes.

Pungarínia—Name of a female subclass. Umbaia, Gnanji, and Binbinga tribes.

Pungarínji—Name of a male subclass. Umbaia, Gnanji, and Binbinga tribes.

Pungarínju—Name of a male subclass. Worgaia tribe.

Púnthan—Ceremony of biting the scalp of a novice in order to make the hair grow. Warramunga tribe.

Puntidír—Name of a spirit individual. Warramunga tribe.

Puntúku—Term applied to an old and learned man. Warramunga tribe.

Punturta—Ceremony of circumcision. Urabunna tribe.

Púra arúltha kúma—Ceremony of subincision. Arunta tribe.

Púra iripurénnia—Placing of the penis in the hands of other men in connection with an avenging party. Arunta tribe.
Púrdal—Name of a class in the Mara tribe.
Purdálla—A fire-stick. Mara tribe.
Purínthai—Status term applied to a novice after circumcision. Warramunga tribe.
Purlíngi—Status term applied to a circumcised youth. Gnanji tribe.
Púrnka—Father's sister's children. Binbinga tribe.
Púrntu-púrntu—The shaking of the bodies of performers in connection with a snake totem. Warramunga tribe.
Púrpa—Fire. Tjingilli tribe.
Purtánji—Name for spear-thrower with a tassel. Warramunga tribe.
Purtjimála—Fighting club. Mara tribe.
Purtúli—Name given to the *Chúringa*. Umbaia and Tjingilli tribes.
Purtúlu—Name applied to spirit individuals. Warramunga tribe.
Purtúrtu—Status term applied to a fully developed woman. Warramunga tribe.
Purúla—One of the subclass names. Arunta tribe.
Purúnkita—Mangrove. Arunta tribe.
Putjátta—A snake which gives its name to a totemic group. Gnanji tribe.
Putjimála—The rainbow. Anula tribe.

Quábara undáttha—Sacred ceremony. Arunta, Unmatjera, and Kaitish tribes.
Quia-márra—Name of the tassel spear-thrower. Mara tribe.
Quínnia—Darkness or dusk. Warramunga tribe.
Quinthínga—Yellow ochre. Worgaia tribe.
Qu-undarára—Platform of boughs on which the dead body is placed. Kaitish tribe.

Raka-úmba—The sun. Anula tribe.
Raráku—Name given to the past times in which the mythic ancestors of the totemic groups lived. Anula tribe.
Raralílima—Laying of hands over the mouth of the sacred storehouse to warn the spirits of the approach of human beings. Arunta tribe.
Roumbúria—Name of one of the classes. Anula tribe.

Tákula—A flattened pointing-stick. Arunta and Kaitish tribes.
Tálkui—Ceremony of subincision. Anula tribe.
Tána—Small object containing the whiskers cut from a dead man, used for magic. Warramunga tribe.
Tanúnga—The ceremony of cutting a lock from the whiskers of a living man as an emblem of betrothal. Warramunga tribe.
Tápa-tapú—Father's mother. Warramunga tribe.
Táppin—Name given to a series of ceremonies which are supposed to

represent the presentation of fire by the Uluuru to the Kingilli. Warramunga tribe.

Táru—Name given to the ceremony of circumcision in the Anula tribe.

Ténpai—Name of the smaller crocodile (*C. johnstoni*). Gnanji tribe.

Tháballa—A laughing boy. The name of a totemic group in the Warramunga tribe.

Thádurwan—A fire ceremony associated with the Kingilli moiety. Warramunga.

Thakomára—Name of a male subclass. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.

Thalamínta—Ceremonies to procure the increase of the totemic animal or plant in the Warramunga tribe.

Thalaringínja—Name of a male class. Tjingilli tribe.

Thaláualla—The black snake which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.

Thalírri—Name of a male subclass. Bingongina tribe.

Thálla—Teeth. Warramunga tribe.

Thálla-teilbúnthan—Ceremony of finger-biting to release women and novices from the ban of silence after the initiation ceremonies. Warramunga tribe.

Thíma—The equivalent of the word tabooed. Warramunga and Bingongina tribes.

Thamarangínja—Name of a male subclass. Tjingilli tribe.

Thamínbi—The equivalent of the word tabooed. Umbaia tribe.

Thaminínja—The name of a male subclass. Tjingilli tribe.

Thaminjílla—Maternal grandfather. Binbinga tribe.

Thampurungnára—Status name applied to a woman who has passed through the operation of *arílthá*. Warramunga tribe.

Thamúnga—Name applied to the ceremony of circumcision. Binbinga tribe.

Thamúnki—Name applied to the circumcision ground. Anula tribe.

Thankathértwa—A snake which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.

Thántha— Name of *Chúringa*. Urabunna tribe.

Thapanúnga—Name of a male subclass. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.

Thapungárti—Name of a male subclass. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.

Tharúma—A shield. Tjingilli, Umbaia, and Gnanji tribes.

Tharúnka—A message-stick. Gnanji tribe.

Thérpera—A pointing-stick, the surface of which is notched with little grooves made by a fire-stick. Kaitish tribe.

Thrumbruknára—Status term applied to fully initiated men. Warramunga tribe.

Thumpungnára—Status term applied to a young man who has recently passed through the ceremony of subincision. Warramunga tribe.

Thunálgi—Spirit part of a living individual. Warramunga tribe.

Thungaláku—Name of a male subclass. Gnanji tribe.

Thungálla—Name of a male subclass. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.
Thungallinínja—Name of a male subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Thungállum—Name of a male subclass. Umbaia, Bingongina, and Binbinga tribes.
Thungári—Name of a male subclass. Bingongina tribe.
Thungarinínta—Name of a male subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Thúthu—Name applied to sacred ceremonies. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.
Tjakáka—Mother's elder brother. Anula tribe.
Tjalálai—Children (woman speaking); sister's children (man speaking). Binbinga tribe.
Tjalápurtan—Noise made by a man shouting and at the same time vibrating his hand rapidly backwards and forwards in front of his mouth. Warramunga tribe.
Tjalikíppa—White cockatoo which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.
Tjalka-lílima—Ceremony of touching the mouth of a widow with food offered by her at the close of the mourning period to the younger brother of a dead man. Kaitish tribe.
Tjámbin—Name of a male subclass. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.
Tjambitjína—Name of a male subclass. Bingongina tribe.
Tjamerámeru—Name of a male subclass. Worgaia tribe.
Tjámerum—Name of a male subclass. Umbaia and Binbinga tribes.
Tjamurúka—Name of a male subclass. Gnanji tribe.
Tjantímmi—Objects made out of hair cut from the head of a dead man. Tjingilli tribe.
Tjántji—Wild dog which gives its name to a totemic group. Binbinga tribe.
Tjapatjingínja—Name of a male subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Tjapeltjéri—Name of a male subclass. Warramunga tribe.
Tja-wángu-wángu—Falling star. Mara tribe.
Tjilára—Man's forehead-band. Arunta tribe.
Tjilla-patjílla—Navel string. Kaitish tribe.
Tjimára—Name of a male subclass. Bingongina tribe.
Tjiminínja—Name of a male subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Tjimíta—Name of a male subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Tjingílli—Name of a tribe.
Tjintílli—Bunches of leafy twigs used during ceremonies; tied round the ankles or held against the thighs. Warramunga tribe.
Tjínum—Name of a male subclass. Umbaia tribe.
Tjirílpi—Pole used during performance of fire ceremonies. Warramunga tribe.
Tjitjára—Rainbow. Kaitish tribe.
Tjuanáku—Name of a male subclass. Binbinga tribe.
Tjudía—The deaf adder which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.
Tjúkuli—Boomerang. Umbaia and Gnanji tribes.

Tjúlum—Name of a male subclass. Umbaia tribe.
Tjúlantjúka—Name of a male subclass. Gnanji and Binbinga tribes.
Tjunámma—Ceremony of subincision. Binbinga tribe.
Tjungarái—Mother's brothers. Binbinga tribe.
Tjungúri—Name of a male subclass. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.
Tjúpila—Name of a male subclass. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.
Tjúrla—Name of a male subclass. Bingongina tribe.
Tjúro—Status term applied to a young girl before puberty. Warramunga tribe.
Tjurtália—Wife's mother. Wife's mother's sisters. Warramunga tribe.
Tjurúku—Name applied to a very old and learned man. Worgaia tribe.
Tjurulinginja—Name of a male subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Tjúrulum—Name of a male subclass. Binbinga and Umbaia tribes.
Trumingínja—Name applied to a female subclass. Tjingilli tribe.
Túmanna—Name applied to the noise of the bull-roarer, also to a man who made the noise with his mouth in the mythic past. Warramunga tribe.
Túrtu—Sacred ceremony. Tjingilli tribe.
Turtúndi—Mother's mother and her sisters. Warramunga tribe.
Twanyírika—A spirit supposed by the women and uninitiated to make the noise of the bull-roarer. Arunta tribe.

Ua—Name of one of the moieties of the tribe. Mara tribe.
Uanáku—Name of a male subclass. Gnanji tribe.
Udniringíta—Name of a witchetty grub which gives its name to a totemic group. Arunta tribe.
Úilúila—A woman. Urabunna tribe.
Uknária—Name of a male subclass. Arunta and Unmatjera tribes.
Uknarinúnta—Name applied to a totemic design. Warramunga tribe.
Úkua—Mother's brother. Gnanji tribe.
Ulánji—A snake which gives its name to a totemic group. Anula tribe.
Ularáka—Name given to the past times in which the mythic ancestors are supposed to have lived. Urabunna tribe.
Úlkna—Earth grave. Kaitish tribe.
Ullaküppera—A little hawk which gives its name to a totemic group. Arunta tribe.
Ullu-kúllu—A falling star. Warramunga tribe.
Ulpátilima—The striking or rubbing of the body in connection with sacred ceremonies. Arunta tribe.
Ulpmérka—Status term applied to an uncircumcised boy. Arunta tribe.
Úlqua—Name applied to the head of a totemic group. Kaitish tribe.

Úlquita-átuma—The striking of the shields of the men who have taken part in an avenging expedition. Arunta tribe.
Ulúuru—Name of one of the moieties in the Warramunga tribe.
Úmba—Sister's children. Arunta tribe.
Umbaia—Name of a tribe.
Umbána—A bush wurley representing the chrysalis case of a grub which is built in connection with a ceremony to secure the increase of the supply of the grub. Arunta tribe.
Umbírna—Wife's brother. Arunta tribe.
Umbitjána—Name of a class. Arunta tribe.
Únawa—Husband or wife. Arunta tribe.
Undáttha—Down used for decoration during the performance of sacred ceremonies. Arunta tribe.
Ungalínni—Term applied to men who are being made into medicine men, during which time they are dazed and stupid. The term also signifies the latter condition. Warramunga tribe.
Ungálla—Name of a subclass. Arunta tribe.
Ungámbikula—Name applied to two beings who came from the western sky and transformed incomplete creatures into men and women. Arunta tribe.
Ungaraítja—Elder sister. Arunta tribe.
Ungúnja—Men's private camp. Arunta tribe.
Ungúnji—A fly which gives its name to a totemic group.
Úngwulan—Spirit of dead person which is supposed to hover round the tree grave. Warramunga tribe.
Ungwúna—Kurdaitcha. Warramunga tribe.
Uniárku—Kurdaitcha. Wórgaia tribe.
Unjiámba—Flower of a hakea plant which gives its name to a totemic group. Arunta tribe.
Únka—Spirit of a living person. Urabunna tribe.
Unkúlla—Father's sister's children. Arunta tribe.
Unkúra—Porcupine grass resin. Kaitish tribe.
Unkúrku—Maternal grandmother. Warramunga tribe.
Unkúrta—The Jew lizard which gives its name to a totemic group. Kaitish tribe.
Unmátjera—Name of a tribe.
Unqúrlia—A pointing-stick covered with red ochre and spots of blood. Kaitish tribe.
Untjálka—A grub which gives its name to a totemic group. The same name is also applied to the bush on the leaves of which it feeds. Arunta tribe.
Unwúrru—Sacred messengers. Warramunga tribe.
Úrabúnna—Name of a tribe.
Uraláku—Name of a male subclass. Gnanji tribe.
Uramánia—Boomerang. Arunta tribe.
Úrku—Name for one of the moieties of the tribe. Mara tribe.
Úrkulu—General name for snakes. Warramunga tribe.
Úrkutu—Name of one class of medicine men. Warramunga tribe.
Urlbúnja—Pubic tassel not ornamented with red ochre. Mara tribe.

Urliára—Status term applied to fully initiated men who have passed through the *Engwúra* ceremony. Arunta tribe.
Urlúkuru—Name of a spirit which dwells in the woods and is friendly to the natives. Binbinga tribe.
Urtália—Name of one of the moieties of the tribe. Anula tribe.
Urtumúnji—Word for tabooed. Walpari tribe.
Útu—The wind which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.

Wahkutnímma—The running round the performers during a sacred ceremony, shouting "*Wah!*" Arunta tribe.
Waília-waília—Strands of hair-string cut from the hair of a dead man. Kaitish tribe.
Waílpa—Circumcision ground. Kaitish tribe.
Waínian—Stone spear. Mara tribe.
Waírgu—Name of a subclass. Wórgaia tribe.
Waláppa—Ordinary corrobboree. Anula tribe.
Wáliki—The dugong. Mara and Anula tribes.
Wállira—Fly whisk. Mara tribe.
Walpari—Name of a tribe.
Walúnkun—Fire-stick. Warramunga tribe.
Wandáttha-wándi—General name for sacred ceremonies. Urabunna tribe.
Wáninga—Sacred ceremonial object in form of a banner used in connection with totemic ceremonies. Arunta tribe.
Wanjillíri—Status term applied to fully initiated men. Anula tribe.
Wankilli—Father's sister's children. Warramunga tribe.
Wanmanmírri—Torches used during the fire ceremony. Warramunga tribe.
Wánmir—Pubic tassel. Much red-ochred. Mara tribe.
Wánna—Cold. Warramunga tribe.
Wántju—Series of ceremonies to make young people grow. Tjingilli tribe.
Wárittha—Name of a subclass. Wórgaia tribe.
Wárramúnga—Name of a tribe.
Warúnda—Name given to ordinary corrobborees. Urabunna tribe.
Watamúrra—Small *Chúringa* given to a boy to carry about after circumcision. Binbinga tribe.
Watíliki—Waist-girdle made of vegetable fibre. Warramunga and Tjingilli tribes.
Watilikírri—Name of beaked boomerang. Warramunga tribe.
Wátjinga—Name given to the echidna. Kaitish tribe.
Wátji-wátji—Name of opprobium applied to a man who has intercourse with a woman of the wrong class. Warramunga tribe.
Wat-thilli—Tree, rock, or other natural object supposed to be especially associated with spirit ancestors. Equivalent to *nanja*. Urabunna tribe.
Wa-wa—Name of a mythic individual called a laughing boy. Tjingilli tribe.

Wi-áirpi—Name of bull-roarer. Anula tribe.
Wiália—Name of a class. Anula tribe.
Wíliaru—Curlew. Kaitish tribe.
Willingára—Name of a tribe.
Willítji—One of the moieties in the Tjingilli tribe.
Wílyaru—Final initiation ceremony. Urabunna tribe.
Wíngara—Name applied to the far past times during which their mythic ancestors are supposed to have lived. Warramunga, Walpari, and Wulmala tribes.
Winithónguru—Name applied to the wild cat (*Dasyurus* sp.) which gives its name to a totemic group. Warramunga tribe.
Wíntaku—A curlew which gives its name to a totemic group. Walpari tribe.
Wintári—Name applied to a pole erected during the performance of a fire ceremony. Warramunga tribe.
Wirálgi—Nose-bone. Warramunga tribe.
Wírdika—Girdle made of human hair-string. Mara tribe.
Wirringírri—Yellow ochre. Warramunga tribe.
Witalírri—Name applied to head-band worn by men. Warramunga tribe.
Witúrna—Name given by the women to the noise made by the bull-roarer. Urabunna tribe.
Wollúnqua—Name of a mythic snake. Warramunga tribe.
Wongána—Term applied to poking fun at one another during the fire ceremony. Warramunga tribe.
Wonk—A prefix meaning "speech." The Urabunna tribe calls the Dieri tribe Wonkadieri, and *vice versâ* the Dieri call the Urabunna Wonkurabunna. The use of the term is apparently confined to the Dieri group of tribes.
Wórgaia—Name of a tribe.
Wulmála—Name of a tribe.
Wúrtja—Status term applied to a youth during the interval elapsing between the ceremonies of circumcision and subincision. Arunta tribe.
Wurúnthamúta—Term implying hard-hearted, greedy. Arunta tribe.
Wúthari—Waist-girdle made out of human hair-strings. Anula tribe.

Yabúturáwa—Sacred ceremony. Mara tribe.
Yakomári—Name of a subclass. Umbaia, Binbinga, and Gnanji tribes.
Yakomarína—Name of a female subclass. Umbaia, Binbinga, and Gnanji tribes.
Yáku—Word for no. Binbinga tribe.
Yallmanínji—Name applied to a large pole used during the last of the initiation ceremonies. Mara tribe.
Yaminjílla—Mother's father. Gnanji tribe.
Yantumára—Name applied to medicine men, and also to a falling star. Anula tribe.
Yapulúru—Series of sacred ceremonies. Gnanji tribe.
Yarúku—Subincision ceremony. Mara tribe.

Yarumbátja—Sacred ceremony. Umbaia and Gnanji tribes.
Yarúmpa—Honey ant, which gives its name to a totemic group. Arunta tribe.
Yau-átthia—Term for tabooed. Gnanji tribe.
Yélka—Bulb of *Cyperus rotundus*, a favourite food of the natives, which gives its name to a totemic group. Arunta tribe.
Yin-mérli—Armlet with feathers decorations. Mara tribe.
Yo—Word for yes. Binbinga tribe.

ales, se*ries on Anthropology*, London, 1899.
en on t

7.	M. 18. Old. War.	2. d 5.	F. 43. Child 5 years. K.	F. 44. Child 11 years. War.	F. 45. Child 7 years. War.	F. 46. Child 6 years. War.	F. 47. Child 6 years. War.	M. 48. Child 5 years. War.	M. 49. Child 4 years. War.	M. 50. Child 8 years. War.	M. 51. Child 10 years. War.	M. 52. Child 9 years. War.
	18.8	7	17.3	16.8	16.5	16.5	17	17.5	16.5	18.5	18	17.5
	13.4	5	13	13.5	13	12.3	12	12	12	13	13.1	13
8	4.7	5	3.9	4	4.2	3.8	3.6	3.6	3.3	4	4.1	4.1
5	5.2	6	3.3	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.5	2.9	4	4	3.7
2	16.7		15.4	16.5	14.9	15.4	16.1	16.8	14.6	16.9	17.1	16
	20.8	9	18.5	18.8	17.8	18.6	18.5	19.2	17.1	19.3	19.4	18.9
9	13.1	6	10.9	11.8	11.6	11.8	10.9	12.5	11.9	12.9	11.5	12.5
5	13.1	3	11.1	10.9	10.6	10.4	9.7	10.6	9.9	9.9	11.1	11
9	10.7	8	9.2	9	9.5	8.8	8.7	9.3	8.3	9.8	9.5	9.6
8	77	5	48.5	65.8	55	55	50	49.5	41	57.5	63	59
5	47.5		30	40	33.5	33	31.1	31.5	26.5	36.2	38.5	32.2
2	19		11.7	16	13.8	14	13	12	10.5	13.5	16	13.7
	26		18	22.4	18.5	19	18	18.6	16.3	21	21.7	19
8	78		55.5	64	59	58.5	58	55	48	60.8	61	58
	97.5		68.5	82	72.5	72	68	70	57	75	74	71.5
	168.7		110	137	119.5	118	111	108.5	92.5	125	128.5	121
5	146.5		89.5	115.2	102	99	93	88	74	105.1	112	100.8
8	137.7		88	113	97	95.5	90.5	84	72	101.1	106.7	98.2
	6.5	3	4.3	5.6	4	5	4.5	5	4	5.2	5.5	5.2
2	173		111.5	144.5	124	121.2	117.5	111.5	94	131.5	139.2	120.8
6	34.2		22	25.5	25.5	23.5	24	23	19.5	26	26.5	23.8
	29		17.5	21	19.5	19.5	18	19	16	21.2	20.5	18.5
9	9.8		9.2	10.2	10	9.7	9.4	9.7	8.7	9.1	9.9	9.5
6	9	2	8.6	8.7	8.4	8	8.5	9.1	7.8	8.4	8.8	8.4
6	3.7	1	3.1	3.1	3	2.7	2.9	3.2	2.8	3.1	3.1	3
	10.2	7	9	8.3	9.5	8.2	8	7.6	7.7	9.4	10	9.3
2	6.5	1	5.5	6.1	5.2	5.7	5.5	5.7	5.8	6.1	6	5.2
8	3.6	3	3.4	3.5	3.2	3.6	3.5	3.7	3.7	4	3.6	3.6
2	102.2		62.5	82.8	71	68.2	64.5	60	49.2	75.5	76.5	71.5
3	11.8		10.7	12	12	11.5	11.5	11.2	10	11	11	10.5
5	93.8	5	55	...	...	...	...	54.5	49.5	58.3	63.5	55.8
	31.5		21	20.8	21.5	20	22	22.5	18	24	24	22.2
1	19 7		14	14	14.2	13.2	14	16	13	15.5	15.7	15

1 Un. = U

To face p. 766.

APPENDIX B

TOTEM NAMES

THE following does not pretend to be anything more than a very incomplete list of the material objects which give their names to totemic groups in one or other of the tribes studied by us. We purposely refrained from attempting to draw up anything like a complete list, for the simple reason that such a thing cannot possibly be done except after perhaps spending years amongst the various tribes. There are few things in regard to which it is more difficult to obtain information from a native than matters connected with a totemic group other than his own, or the few with which he may be more or less associated, owing to local contiguity. An inquirer will doubtless be told the names of a certain number, but the only way in which it is really safe to attempt to draw up any such list is to do so after actually coming into contact with members of all of the various groups in a tribe. Lists have been published purporting to give the entire number of totemic groups in certain tribes, but we can only say that, in so far as they make any claim to being complete, they are liable to be very misleading.

It must therefore be clearly understood that the following list is nothing more than a mere outline of the nature and number of the totemic groups amongst the tribes studied by us. We have only indicated those with which we are personally acquainted either by meeting with actual members of the same, or by direct reference to them during ceremonies, etc.

Speaking generally, it may be said that almost every material object gives its name to some totemic group. If an animal, such as a kangaroo or emu, is widely distributed, then we find totemic groups of the same name widely distributed. There is naturally no such thing as a pearl oyster or a dugong totemic group in Central Australia, nor is there a porcupine-grass resin group on the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. At the same time there is nothing which would really give colour to the theory that the natives of any

one district feed exclusively upon any one animal or plant. No native tribe, or group of tribes, for example, feeds exclusively, or even principally, upon kangaroos, emus, grass seed, acacia seed, dugongs, crocodiles, lilies, witchetty grubs, or pearl oysters. Every tribe, and every local group of a tribe, utilises as food, and apparently always has done so, every edible thing which grows in its district. The Anula people on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria feed upon the kangaroo just in the same way as the Arunta do, but at the same time the Anula are not able to feed upon the munyeru seed, for the simple reason that it does not grow in their country, and the Arunta are not able to feed upon crocodiles and dugongs, because they do not exist in the central area. In accordance with this distribution of animals and plants, we find a corresponding distribution of totemic groups.

In the following list native names are printed in italics, and in each case we have indicated whether the material object which gives its name to a totemic group is or is not used as an article of diet. In the great majority of cases it will be noticed that the totemic object is eaten or is of service in some other way to the natives, but it must be remembered that the object is normally only eaten by individuals who do not belong to the group to which it gives its name.

It must be clearly understood that the fact of the absence of a particular totemic group in any tribe, as indicated in the following list, is no proof that such a group does not exist. The list is only intended to indicate the general nature of the material objects which are regarded as totems.

MAMMALS

Arawa, a wallaby, Unmatjera, eaten.
Arwatja, a little rat, Arunta, eaten.
Atjilpa, wild cat (*Dasyurus geoffroyi*), Arunta, not eaten (is eaten in other tribes).
Atnunga, rabbit bandicoot (*Peragale lagotis*), Kaitish, eaten.
Atnungara, the pig-footed bandicoot (*Choeropus castanotis*), Unmatjera, eaten.
Bandicoot (*Perameles obesula*), Arunta, eaten.
Dog, wild (*Canis dingo*), Unmatjera, eaten. *Matla*, Urabunna, eaten. *Uknulia*, Arunta, eaten; Mara, Anula, and Binbinga, eaten.
Dugong, Anula and Mara, eaten.
Echidna, *Inarlinga*, Arunta, eaten.
Elkintera, large white bat (*Megaderma gigas*), Arunta, eaten.
Euro, the hill kangaroo (*Macropus robustus*), Urabunna, Arunta, Unmatjera, Warramunga, eaten.
Illuta, a small bush wallaby, Unmatjera, eaten.
Iwuta, nail-tailed wallaby (*Onychogale lunata*), Unmatjera, eaten.
Kalamni, a small wallaby, Unmatjera, eaten.
Kangaroo, large red (*Macropus rufus*), Arunta, Unmatjera, Kaitish, Gnanji, Mara, eaten.

Kukula, a rat, Urabunna, eaten.
Mulga, native cat (*Dasyurus geoffroyi*), Urabunna, eaten.
Muntilieru, a small rat, Urabunna, eaten.
Nudluwatlu, pig-faced rat, Gongaru, eaten.
Opossum (*Trichosurus vulpecula*), Arunta, Unmatjera, Kaitish, Mara, and Anula, eaten.
Pittongu, bat (*Pteropus* sp.), Warramunga, eaten.
Qualpa, a long-tailed rat, Unmatjera, eaten.
Talka, a rat, Urabunna, eaten.
Thakwia, a jumping mouse, Unmatjera, eaten.
Untaina, a small rat, Arunta, eaten.
Untjipera, a small bat, Arunta.
Wallaby (a species of), Arunta, Kaitish, Mara, Gnanji, eaten.
Watjinga, the Echidna, Warramunga, eaten.
Winithonguru, the native cat (*Dasyurus* sp.), Warramunga, eaten.
Woruquari, a rat, Warramunga, eaten.
Wutta, a long-tailed rat, Unmatjera, eaten.

Birds

Arthwartha, a little hawk, Arunta, eaten.
Bell bird, *Akapailapaila*, Kaitish, eaten. *Ertwaitja*, Arunta, eaten; Luritja, eaten.
Black swan, *Guti*, Urabunna, eaten.
Cockatoo (a species of), Mara, eaten.
Crane, Warramunga and Mara, eaten. In the Anula two species, a larger and a smaller, both eaten.
Crow, *Workala*, Urabunna, eaten. *Wongana*, Unmatjera, eaten; Mara, eaten.
Curlew, *Wiliaru*, Unmatjera, eaten. *Wintaku*, Walpari, eaten; Anula, eaten.
Dollar bird (*Eurystomus australis*), Anula, eaten.
Duck, Warramunga, eaten. *Inyari*, Urabunna, eaten.
Eagle hawk, *Irritja*, Arunta, eaten; Urabunna, not eaten; Unmatjera, Tjingilli, and Mara, eaten.
Emu, *Warraguti*, Urabunna. *Erlia*, Arunta; Unmatjera, Kaitish, Warramunga, Tjingilli, and Anula, eaten in all.
Fish hawk, *Tjutjutju*, Anula, eaten.
Galah cockatoo, Mara, eaten.
Goshawk, Gnanji, eaten.
Grass parrots, *Atnaltjulpira*, Arunta, eaten.
Hawk, little fish, Mara, eaten.
Hawk, white, Warramunga, eaten; Mara, eaten.
Ilpirapinja, wren, Kaitish, eaten.
Impi-impi, a small bird, Arunta.
Irkalanji, the brown hawk, Arunta, eaten.
Jabiru (*Mycteria australis*), Warramunga, eaten.
Kerikki, a species of hawk, Urabunna, eaten.
Kite, Mara, eaten.
Kutnitjilli, a water-hen, Urabunna, eaten.
Magpie (*Gymnorhina* sp.), Kaitish, eaten.
Mularakaka, a species of hawk, Anula, eaten.
Naminpatunga, a small bird, Warramunga, eaten.
Namungiyera, a small bird, Warramunga, eaten.
Native companion (*Grus australasianus*), Anula, eaten.
Owl, Arunta, eaten.
Parakeet, Princess Alexandra, *Atninpiritjira*, Arunta, eaten.

Parrot (a species of), Mara, eaten.
Pheasant, native (*Leipoa ocellata*), Arunta, eaten.
Pigeon, *Inturita*, Arunta, eaten. *Mulapera*, the top-knot pigeon, Urabunna, eaten.
Pitjawinawina, a small bird, Tjingilli, eaten.
Podargus, Arunta, eaten.
Quail, *Tulkara*, Arunta, eaten.
Ring-necked parrot, *Irripitja*, Arunta, eaten.
Shag, *Tantani*, Urabunna, eaten.
Talulthalpuna, wild fowl, Arunta, eaten.
Thinmi, a little bird, Unmatjera, eaten.
Thippa-thippa, a small bird, Arunta.
Tjalikippa, white cockatoo, Warramunga, eaten; Tjingilli, eaten. *Illunga*, Unmatjera, eaten.
Turkey (*Eudopotis australis*), *Ertua*, Arunta, eaten. *Kalathura*, Urabunna, eaten; Mara, eaten.
Ullakuppera, a little hawk, Arunta, eaten.
Uningara, a small bird, Warramunga.

REPTILES

(1) Snakes—
Arrikarika, Arunta, eaten.
Blue-headed, Mara, eaten.
Brown snake, Arunta, eaten.
Deaf adder (*Acanthophis pyrrhus*), *Tjudia*, Warramunga, eaten.
Gaurwa, Anula, eaten.
Katakitji, Umbaia, eaten.
Kundatjiri, Warramunga, eaten.
Kutnakitji, Warramunga, eaten.
Muntikera, carpet snake, Warramunga, eaten.
Napintipinti, Anula, eaten.
Nappa-undattha, Warramunga, eaten.
Napunkuntatjera, Worgaia, eaten.
Nathakura, Warramunga, eaten.
Obma, carpet snake, Arunta, eaten.
Okranina, a non-venomous snake, Arunta, eaten.
Panunkulla, Warramunga, eaten.
Putjatta, Gnanji, eaten.
Rapupuna, Anula, eaten.
Sand-hill snake, Mara, eaten.
Thalaualla, black snake, Warramunga, eaten.
Thankathatwa, Warramunga, eaten.
Ulanji, Anula, eaten.
Undathirka, Arunta, eaten.
Unkurthurta, Warramunga, eaten.
Wadnungani, Urabunna, eaten.
Water snake, Mara, eaten.
White snake, Walpari, eaten.
Wobma, a non-venomous snake, Urabunna, eaten.
Wollunqua, Warramunga, a mythical snake.
Yellow snake, Mara, eaten.

(2) Crocodiles—

Crocodiles only occur in the more northern parts of the central area. There are two species, a larger one (*C. porosus*) and a smaller one (*C. johnstoni*). Both give their names to totemic groups, and both are eaten.

(3) Lizards—

Erliwatjera (*Varanus gouldi*), Arunta, eaten.
Etjunpa (*Varanus* sp.), Arunta, eaten.
Frilled lizard (*Chlamydosaurus kingi*), *Kadnunga*, Binbinga, eaten.
Goanna (*Varanius varius*), Arunta, eaten; Unmatjera, Kaitish, Mara, eaten.
Iltjiquara (*Varanus punctatus*), Arunta and Unmatjera, eaten.
Ilura (*Nephrurus* sp.), Arunta, eaten.
Jew lizard (*Amphibolurus barbatus*), Arunta, eaten. *Unkurta*, Unmatjera, eaten; Kaitish, eaten. *Kadni*, Urabunna, eaten.
Kapiri (*Varanus* sp.), Urabunna, eaten.
Katatal (*Gehyra* sp.), Urabunna, eaten.
Katnakitji, Warramunga, eaten.
Lirripitji, Warramunga, eaten.
Miniria (*Moloch horridus*), Kaitish, eaten.
Mungaritji (*Varanus spenceri*), Warramunga, eaten.
Okiliaua, a species of skink, Urabunna, eaten.
Parenthie (*Varanus giganteus*), Unmatjera, Arunta, Kaitish, Urabunna, eaten.
Tjilkupati, Umbaia, eaten.
Tjiltjitjara, Umbaia, eaten.
Waripali, Warramunga, eaten.

(4) Turtles—

Fresh-water turtles are only met with in the water-holes along creeks running into the Gulf of Carpentaria. In the part of Australia to which this work refers, we only know of a fresh-water turtle totemic group in the Mara tribe, in which also there are two salt-water turtles named *Nurulan'a* and *Thuriutu*, which give their names to totem groups and are eaten.

Amphibia

A very common frog, found burrowing in the beds of rivers where the sand is slightly damp (*Limnodynastes dorsalis*), gives its name to an important totemic group in the Arunta tribe. It is eaten.

Fish

Barramunda (probably a species of *Osteoglossum*), Anula, eaten.
Groper (species of *Oligorus?*), Mara, eaten.
Interpitna, a species of fresh-water fish, Arunta, eaten.
Irpunga, a species of fresh-water fish, Arunta, eaten.
Mullet, salt water, Anula and Mara, eaten.
Runutji, a fresh-water fish, Anula, eaten.
Shark, large and small, two species of, Anula, eaten.
Stingray (*Urolophus* sp.), Mara and Anula, eaten.

Insecta

Bee, Gnanji, not eaten, but its honey is.
Blowfly, *Momo*, Urabunna, not eaten.
Bull-dog ant (*Myrmecia nigriceps* and probably other species), *Kaldu*, Urabunna. *Tjanka*, Arunta, not eaten.
Fly, Unmatjera, not eaten.
Grasshopper, Mara, eaten.
Gnungapunna, honeycomb of a bee which builds in the ground, Warramunga and Walpari, eaten.

Idnimita, a grub, Unmatjera, eaten.
Intiliapaiapa, a water-beetle, Arunta, not eaten.
Iralla, a beetle, Unmatjera, not eaten.
Itjilpi, ant, Warramunga, larvæ eaten.
Jarwinnia, mosquito, Urabunna, not eaten.
Kata, a human louse, Urabunna, not a regular article of diet.
Kudnapintjinara, sand-fly, Urabunna, not eaten.
Kulpu, honeycomb of a bee which builds in trees, Warramunga, Worgaia, Anula, Binbinga, and Mara, eaten.
Lalkira, a grub, Warramunga, eaten.
Lunkulungu, white-ant larvæ, Warramunga, eaten.
Mosquito, Unmatjera and Warramunga, not eaten.
Murilla, the March fly, Urabunna, not eaten.
Parti, a grub, Urabunna, eaten.
Sugar ant (*Melophorus inflatus*), Arunta and Unmatjera, eaten.
Ungunji, a fly, Urabunna, not eaten.
Untjalka, a grub, Arunta, eaten.
Watnimmera, a caterpillar, Urabunna, eaten.
Witchetty grub, Arunta, Walpari, eaten.

Mollusca

The only mollusc with which we are acquainted as giving its name to a totemic group is one of the so-called pearl oysters, called *Pindi-pindi*, in the Anula tribe. It is eaten, and its shell much used for the manufacture of ornaments. The only mollusc, other than very minute ones, found in the true central area, is the mussel (*Unio* sp.), which in some parts forms a very important and characteristic article of diet, as it can, owing to its burrowing habits, tide over a long spell of dry weather, but we never met with a totem group of that designation.

Plants

Acacia seed, *Kalku*, Urabunna, eaten.
Altjantwa, a grass seed, Arunta, eaten.
Anarlinga (a species of Hakea), Arunta, flower used for making a drink.
Atjurita, bean tree (*Erythrino vespertilio*), Kaitish, much used for making implements.
Anadana, a grass seed, Arunta, eaten.
Elonka, fruit of *Marsdenia* sp., eaten.
Erlipinna, a grass seed, Kaitish, eaten.
Ingwitjika, a grass seed, Arunta, eaten.
Injirra, a grass seed, Arunta, eaten.
Intawta, a grass seed, Arunta, eaten.
Korungaila, grass seed, Urabunna, eaten.
Menaaji, a yam, Warramunga, Worgaia, eaten.
Mulga, Arunta, a gall on the Mulga tree (*Acacia aneura*), is eaten.
Munyeru (seed of *Claytonia balonnensis*), Arunta, Kaitish, Unmatjera, eaten.
Papitin, a yam, Tjingilli, eaten.
Pillinjiri, a grass seed, Mara, a favourite food of kangaroos.
Tjankuna, an edible berry, Arunta, eaten.
Ultjinkinja, an acacia seed, Arunta, eaten.
Unjiamba, a species of Hakea, from the flowers of which, after steeping them in water, the natives derive a favourite drink, Arunta, Unmatjera.
Untjirkna, an acacia seed, Arunta, eaten.

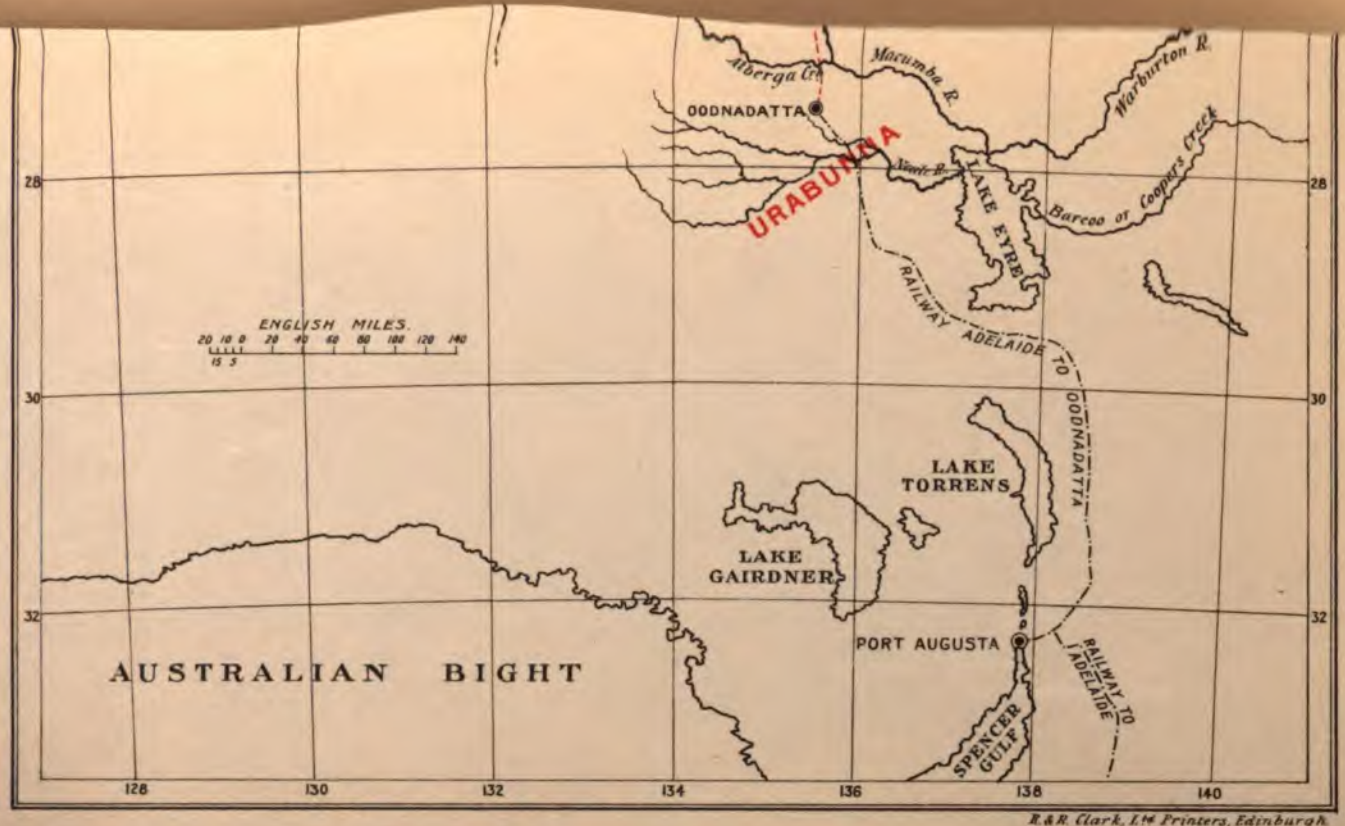
Widla, a term applied to "bushey-tuck-out," that is, vegetable food in general, Urabunna.
Yelka, the bulb of *Cyperus rotundus*, Unmatjera, Arunta, Kaitish, eaten.

Material Objects, Natural Phenomena, etc.

Boomerang, Warramunga.
Cold weather, Anula.
Darkness, *Quinnia*, Unmatjera.
Fire, totemic groups of this name occur in the Tjingilli, Warramunga, and Arunta.
Hailstone, Warramunga.
Lightning, Anula.
Moon, Arunta and Kaitish.
Red ochre (much used for decorative purposes), *Urkappa*, Urabunna.
Resin (derived from porcupine-grass, and used as a fixative), *Unkura*, Warramunga.
Salt water, Mara.
Star, evening, Arunta, Unmatjera and Warramunga.
Stone, Arunta and Mara.
Sun, Arunta and Unmatjera.
Water, this gives its name to a totemic group in all of the tribes.
Whirlwind, Anula and Mara.
Wind, *Utu*, Warramunga.

Human Beings

Karti, a full-grown man, Warramunga.
Thaballa, a laughing boy, Warramunga and Tjingilli.



R. & R. Clark, Ltd Printers, Edinburgh.

INDEX

THE END

Printed by R. & R. Clark, Limited, *Edinburgh.*

A1